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Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).

AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8431 and Add.1-4, A/C.1/L.1015, A/C.1/L.566 and
567)**

1. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is very happy to see you presiding over the work of the First Committee, a key organ of the United Nations entrusted with the discussion of questions of international politics and security. Your devotion to the ideal of a community of nations based on the complete prohibition of war, the establishment of peaceful coexistence and co-operation in mutual respect makes you the ideal Chairman to guide our work to a felicitous conclusion at one of the most crucial moments in international relations.

2. It is also gratifying to see you assisted by such a dynamic and charming Vice-Chairman as Ambassador Radha Ramphul of Mauritius and also by a Rapporteur with such a wealth of diplomatic talent as our colleague, Minister Migliuolo of Italy.

3. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing officers of the Committee, Ambassadors Aguilar, Farah and Cernik, for the way in which they directed the work of the First Committee last year and for having achieved unanimity of views.

4. The strengthening of international security, we believe, is still the primary concern of the United Nations. We think it is also a barometer of the successes and failures of our Organization. We cannot be too grateful to the delegation of the USSR for having taken the initiative, at the beginning of the twenty-fourth session, of putting this item on the agenda, thus confronting the international community with its responsibility to discharge the main function for which it was originally created. The development of the debate during two sessions led to the adoption last year of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]—a historic Declaration

which is now quite justly termed the "International Peace Programme".

5. In practice, this historic resolution, adopted by the twenty-fifth commemorative session of the United Nations, indicated the guidelines to which Members of the United Nations should adjust their international conduct, and has thus pointed the way to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter, while breathing fresh life into the Organization.

6. At this session, our task is to see to it that that Declaration is implemented, that those principles do not remain Utopian. We must therefore conscientiously take stock of both positive and negative aspects. That is only the beginning and not the end of our work. Obstacles lie in the way of implementation of the principles of the Declaration; we must point to them with courage and muster all the energies of the United Nations to overcome them. We cannot shirk our responsibilities in this matter, the road to action being scarcely started. To play down the urgency of this question of strengthening international security or to hedge it about with a multitude of problems which, no matter how important, are not as urgent for the key question of war or peace, of death or life, would be tantamount to an unjustified abdication of our responsibilities. This was not the spirit in which the strengthening of international security was conceived.

7. The areas of tension and imminent danger to international peace and security are not so difficult to identify. Apart from the regrettable events in East Pakistan, which we trust will be brought to an early end on the basis of the unity of the country, the peaceful return of the refugees, and the normalization of relations between the two sister republics of the subcontinent intimately affected by the problem—apart from these events, wherever international security has been disturbed it is the doing of imperialist power politics.

8. Power politics does not hesitate to flout the right of peoples to self-determination and unity, violate their territorial integrity and sovereignty, unceasingly threaten their independence and hamper their efforts at rebirth and development. To subject the entire world to an exclusive hegemony, any coercive practice is resorted to. Sometimes, as in Indo-China, it is open war that is unleashed against innocent peoples that wish to free their masses from the colonial heritage and create a future on a socialist basis of equity, equality and unity. At other times, as witness the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine and of occupied Arab territories, it is through massive military and economic aid lavished on the racist minorities that they support the bastions of settler colonialism. The indigenous

inhabitants are evicted from their homes and turned into refugees. *Faits accomplis* are used in order to carry out new aggression and the dark designs of expansion into neighbouring countries are pursued with Phantom aircraft and napalm. Again, as witness the explosive situation in southern Africa. It is by paralysing any effective action on the part of the United Nations through pressure or through veto that the adepts of *apartheid* and colonialism are ensured impunity in advance. Here it is bombing, there it is economic pressure, embargoes, blockades. Somewhere else it is interference in domestic affairs, the setting up of reactionary puppet régimes. No illicit practice is considered too much to achieve their goals. That is the ill that afflicts our international community.

9. Yet the most striking positive development that has taken place on the international scene is that ever-growing opposition to these practices of power politics has at last brought about radical changes in the facts of the situation. The people of Europe are now seriously undertaking a process of reconciliation. The treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the latter and Poland, the agreement on West Berlin, the economic agreement between France and the Soviet Union that has just been concluded—are the corner-stones of *détente* and peace in Europe. The European Security Conference and the reduction of forces seem to be close to fulfilment. The negotiations on strategic arms are taking place on a footing of equality and that would have been inconceivable if monopoly or superiority had remained.

10. The recognition so long awaited by the majority of the international community, of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China has at last breached the ramparts of the so-called policy of containment and has given that country its rightful place in the Organization. This was assured by a key event which has made the United Nations universal in nature and has brilliantly demonstrated that right can prevail over power politics.

11. Such recognition, by the majority of the Members of the United Nations, of other injustices that create tension and increase the number of the destitute, must not be delayed. The First Committee is the right place for the majority to show its determination to have right prevail over might, to see to it that conquest and occupation by force are inadmissible in fact as well as theory, unambiguously to condemn the philosophy of *fait accompli* and racial superiority. The sickness infecting the international community must be denounced without hesitation or condonement. This is the great virtue of draft resolution A/C.1/L.566, which clearly states real reasons for the deterioration of international security; it establishes the appropriate order of priorities, opens the way to a series of measures to ensure the implementation of the Declaration and prepares the ground for the world Organization at last to mobilize all its strength to act firmly against violations that threaten international security.

12. Thus, this Organization, which represents the best hope of mankind for lasting peace, could, as the Secretary-General points out at the end of the introduction to his report [A/8431], become a historic instrument capable of saving mankind from the ravages of a third world war.

13. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Syria for his congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

14. Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): Comrade Chairman, I should first like on behalf of the delegation of Mongolia to congratulate you warmly, as an outstanding figure in our Organization and the representative of the fraternal Bulgarian people, on your election to this important and responsible post, and to wish you great success in your noble activities. We also welcome the Vice-Chairman of the Committee and the Rapporteur upon their election.

15. As a result of the common efforts of the overwhelming majority of delegations in the Assembly, last year saw the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which has received wide support in the world community and is regarded as one of the important achievements of the twenty-fifth commemorative session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It can thus be said that, as a result of the Soviet Union's initiative, the United Nations has begun its activities in the 1970s with a more concentrated analysis of the causes of the existing tense situation and a more profound understanding of the most important tasks involved in carrying out its basic obligation, the maintenance of general peace and security. In other words, it has established the starting-point for further efforts in a decisive aspect of modern international affairs—the strengthening of international security. Now the Organization and the international community as a whole face the most important task, implementing the provisions of the Declaration.

16. I should like now to quote the apposite remarks with which Secretary-General U Thant introduced his report on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. He stated:

“Under the Charter it is the solemn duty of all States to implement this Declaration in its entirety. It is to be hoped that this item will be of lasting concern to the Assembly and that its discussion will help to underline the interdependence of various world problems, for international security is a mosaic of global pieces. It can be built and maintained only when we see the vision of peace as the common dream of all men, and the seeds of conflict as the common danger.” [A/8431, para. 12.]

17. Among the complicated and multifaceted events occurring in the world at the moment, two basic points can be singled out. First, there is the growing intensification of the struggle of peoples in all countries to strengthen international security and the growth of forces of peace, national independence and social progress. To recognize this reality would open the way to normalizing international relations and guaranteeing stability in the world. Secondly, there is the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence, which today is not only accepted as a basic means of strengthening peace but is also acquiring a more practical bias and growing into business-like co-operation between States with different social systems in international affairs and in economic and other fields.

18. The most recent examples of this are the Treaties of peace, friendship and co-operation concluded this year by the Soviet Union with the Arab Republic of Egypt and with the Republic of India. Further positive evidence is provided by the reciprocated visits of the leaders of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries which have taken place recently and have been at the centre of attention of the entire world community. Today, the Soviet programme of peace and international co-operation, which contains constructive proposals on vital problems of modern international life, is receiving growing support and recognition.

19. I should like to stress that recent bilateral and multilateral meetings between leaders of the countries of the socialist community, especially the meeting in the Crimea at the beginning of August this year, have made a new and important contribution both to the further development of relations of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the socialist States and the strengthening of the position of world socialism, and also to the over-all task of strengthening peace and international security.

20. It should also be pointed out that the well-known positive achievements towards reducing international tension were made possible very largely by the patient and purposeful efforts of the socialist States.

21. As is well known, the international community welcomed the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and by the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, and also the four-Power agreement on West Berlin, as factors contributing to an improvement of the situation in Europe.

22. We believe that a successful all-European meeting on questions of security and co-operation would be a new step towards stabilizing the situation and strengthening the spirit of mutual understanding on that continent.

23. Unfortunately, such positive steps promoting the strengthening of peace and tranquillity for all peoples have so far been observed only in a few areas, or else are of a regional nature.

24. Behind present developments in Europe we can see, standing out in great contrast, crisis situations in various areas of the world which have been caused by the aggressive actions of the forces of war and reaction.

25. Despite the firm demands of the peace-loving community that armed interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia should be ceased immediately, the United States of America is continuing the neo-colonialist war in Indo-China. In word only, the aggressors declare their intention to withdraw their forces from Indo-China, but in deed they are extending the hostilities, renewing the bombardment of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and sabotaging the quadripartite talks in Paris.

26. Responsibility for the maintenance of the hotbed of war in Indo-China lies entirely and exclusively with the Government of the United States of America and its allies in aggression.

27. Our delegation considers, like many others, that a real basis for a peaceful settlement of the Indo-China problem would be to withdraw United States forces from that region immediately and to enable the peoples of Indo-China to settle their own affairs without interference from outside.

28. The Middle East continues to be another acute point of confrontation. Israel is deliberately prolonging the dangerous crisis, and is attempting to maintain the present abnormal situation and obtain a definitive annexation of the occupied Arab territories. For this purpose, Israel continues to ignore the readiness of the Arab Republic of Egypt and other Arab States to conclude a peace agreement based on recognition of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the Middle East and respect for the lawful rights of all Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine.

29. We consider that the constructive position of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the aim of which is a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis through the mediation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ambassador Jarring, and on the basis of all the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, fully corresponds with the idea of strengthening peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world.

30. It is perfectly clear that the existing hotbeds of military conflict are a result of gross violations of the Charter of the United Nations by the United States and Israel, and their failure to implement the provisions of the Declaration, which provides that States should refrain from the threat or use of force and that the territory of any State should not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force.

31. In this connexion, my delegation, as a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.566, would like to stress particularly the importance of one of its paragraphs, which appeals to all States to take immediate and effective measures to implement the provisions of the Declaration and to make the renunciation of the use or threat of force in settling controversial issues a law of international life.

32. There is no need to explain the timeliness of this provision. Basically, if all parties truly respect the above principle and are motivated by a sincere desire to contribute to the strengthening of international security, any controversial problems can be settled by political means and the appropriate bilateral or regional agreements can be achieved.

33. In this connexion, it is our belief that in the present dangerously acute situation on the Indian subcontinent, adherence to the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration would promote the basic interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan, and the interests of maintaining and ensuring peace in that area.

34. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on such important questions as the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict international control and the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination is well known. We shall set it

out in detail when the relevant agenda items are discussed in committee.

35. One important prerequisite for the strengthening of international security is strict observance by all States of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

36. Our delegation is pleased that the struggle to implement the principle of universality in the United Nations has achieved a new important success with restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its organs. This victory for justice will enable the Chinese people once again to make an active contribution to increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations and strengthening international security and peaceful co-operation between States.

37. We hope that in the near future both German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, will be accepted as Members of the United Nations; this would further strengthen the principle of universality in our Organization.

38. It is our view that the United Nations, in addition to making efforts to eliminate hotbeds of war and avert armed conflicts—the first and essential condition for ensuring international security—should give proper attention to such important problems as the establishment of regional systems of collective security and of zones of peace and international co-operation based on bilateral or multilateral treaties, in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Of course, achievement of positive results in these matters requires time and joint effort. However, specific steps being taken in this direction embody the noble idea of protecting peace and ensuring international security.

39. In this spirit, it is our view that the present session of the General Assembly might appeal to States to work for the creation of regional systems of peace and peaceful co-operation in strict accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

40. At a time when tactical and strategic methods of war-making are being continuously improved and when any kind of accident may have catastrophic consequences, an agreement between the nuclear Powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and also a pact between States concerning non-aggression or non-use of force, would be of great importance for the principal task of the United Nations—maintaining general peace and security for all peoples. It is our view that the objective conditions for the conclusion of such international instruments have now been established.

41. The maintenance and development of friendly co-operation between countries and the restoration of normal relations between States in the interests of general peace and security for all peoples are the unchanging goal of the foreign policy of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic. This firm policy was once again reaffirmed in the decisions of the sixteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which was held in July this year.

42. The Mongolian People's Republic is making every effort to give full support to the practical implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and to all measures aimed at developing friendly co-operation between peoples.

43. The CHAIRMAN (*translation from Russian*): I thank the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Erdembileg, for his welcome addressed to the officers, for his congratulations to them and to the Chairman, and for his statement.

44. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Chairman, when submitting your candidacy for the chairmanship of our Committee for the present session, it was my pleasant duty to recall the great services that you rendered both your country and the Organization, and also to stress your own high personal qualifications. Today, addressing the Committee for the first time, I should like, on behalf of my delegation and personally, to congratulate you on your election and to offer you our widest and most sincere co-operation. I am also happy to congratulate the two other distinguished officers of the Committee, the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Ramphul, of Mauritius, and the Rapporteur, Minister Migliuolo, of Italy, and to offer them our co-operation. Since I have worked with them in this and other bodies of the United Nations, I can well attest to their ability and qualifications.

45. Two years ago, on the very laudable initiative of the Soviet Union, we began consideration of an item in this Committee entitled "The strengthening of international security". After the very wide and constructive debates that took place at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions and after long and laborious negotiations, the First Committee adopted a draft resolution which the General Assembly later adopted on 16 December 1970 [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which we believe to be one of the most important agreements arrived at by the Organization at its twenty-fifth session, and one of the four or five basic texts adopted by the United Nations during the first quarter century of its existence.

46. The delegation of Venezuela, convinced of the importance of the subject and of the need to utilize the commemorative session for the adoption of a declaration of this nature, participated actively in all phases of the process which led to the near-unanimous adoption of the Declaration.

47. In the statements that we made in the general debate during the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly, we very openly and at length expressed the views of our Government on the matter. We took an active part in the preparation of the draft resolution—which was primarily of a procedural nature—submitted at the twenty-fourth session by a group of Latin American nations. That draft resolution, with a few slight amendments, was adopted by the Committee and in due course by the General Assembly [*resolution 2606 (XXIV)*]. Subsequently, we contributed, in the regional group to which we belong, to the preparation of the draft resolution which it presented to the Committee at the twenty-fifth session in document A/C.1/L.517, and in due course it was my

honour to preside over the informal working group that was created to harmonize the different draft resolutions and submit a single text.

48. Those who participated in the work of the informal working group and in the drafting group, which was presided over by the then permanent representative of Brazil, Ambassador de Araújo Castro—and which included you, Mr. Chairman, and our Rapporteur—knew full well that the task confronting us was not easy. But thanks to those efforts, an agreement was finally arrived at and the text which was submitted to the Committee was adopted with very few amendments by an overwhelming majority of Member States. I must reaffirm today my own satisfaction as Chairman of the Committee at the last session at seeing that Declaration adopted almost unanimously, a document which expresses clearly, simply, but nobly, the points of agreement of different regional systems, of different social and economic groupings and of the most varied ideologies and degrees of development.

49. The Declaration also has the fundamental merit of being an organic whole, and its separate parts are so articulated as to give an over-all view of the problem as well as to provide for the means of solving them.

50. If I have gone over these facts which are known to practically all members of the Committee, it is because I thought it necessary to stress the importance which the delegation of Venezuela attaches to the subject we are discussing and the immense value we attribute to the Declaration adopted on 16 December 1970.

51. Naturally, we would gain nothing from this Declaration, as others before me in this debate have said, if individually and collectively we did not do everything necessary to ensure its implementation.

52. The Declaration itself, in its final paragraph, paragraph 27, stresses the need for the United Nations to make constant and continuous efforts to strengthen international peace and requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly on the steps taken in pursuance of the Declaration.

53. The report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/8431, and its addenda are of undeniable usefulness. The introduction is a very brief statement of fact and assessments which give us useful food for thought. The replies of Governments also constitute a very valuable source of information on the results obtained and on the problems that call for immediate attention.

54. But, of course, we must regret the fact that only 36 Governments have replied to the Secretary-General's questionnaire. We believe that this omission must not and cannot be interpreted as a lack of interest in the implementation of the Declaration. The sanctity of replies and the brevity of some of them may be due, on the one hand, as some representatives have pointed out, to the difficulty of answering such a request for general information, and, on the other, to the increasing burden of replying to enquiries sent out by the Organization, the specialized agencies and regional bodies, particularly for countries which do not

have adequate staff and the necessary means to reply to all the requests for information.

55. At least that is the reason why my delegation omitted answering, and we would like to redress this omission by pointing out what we believe to be the appropriate ways of ensuring the application of the Declaration.

56. I should like to emphasize that we do not believe it appropriate or correct at this time to try to amend the Declaration, expressly or implicitly. As we said earlier, we consider that it is an organic whole which must therefore be interpreted as a unit. While the Declaration is not and cannot be a perfect or complete document—in the sense that it does not admit of revision—it is obvious that any effort to redraft it, partially or wholly, would be unnecessary and even prejudicial since it would reduce its importance and strength. We gather from a number of statements made at the present session that a desire to amend the Declaration would lack the necessary support for such decisions to possess the political value and weight required.

57. The subject that we are discussing is quite appropriately termed "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General". Hence, it is not up to us to prepare a new declaration or to reiterate certain principles, or make specific reference to some problems and not mention others. We now have to discuss and come to agreement on the ways of ensuring the full implementation of the Declaration. As the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 3 of his report, "The time has come to agree on practical means of strengthening international security".

58. Furthermore, we feel that the role of this Committee must be to analyse the problem of international security as a whole and not partial aspects which are being carefully studied by other committees or by the General Assembly in its plenary meetings. Quite justifiably, many speakers, including the representatives of Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador, have stressed paragraph 19 of the Declaration, taken of course from the Latin American draft, where the General Assembly affirms its belief that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries, so that any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them. This close relationship exists not only between international security, disarmament and development, but also between international security and respect for human rights and, obviously, the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, or of discrimination based on colour, religion, sex, language or ethnic origin, as well as of all vestiges of colonialism. In one word, international security cannot be achieved unless all—I repeat "all"—the principles recalled in the Declaration are respected, and unless collective action is taken in all—again, I repeat "all"—fields mentioned in that document.

59. Therefore, as far as that question is concerned, in this Committee we cannot deal with subjects and questions which are included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly and which, unfortunately, in some cases have appeared on our agenda for many years, because we would be losing the over-all view of the problem and we

would unnecessarily duplicate the work of other bodies, which would be inappropriate and costly.

60. The problems of development, which many of us consider to be of exceptional importance, must be dealt with in the Second Committee; the questions of human rights, in the Third Committee—which as it happens is now considering the important question of the fight against racial discrimination; and the problems of dependent Territories, in the Fourth Committee. I am listing only the most important categories of question.

61. However, in the general debate on this question, we certainly would not object to reference being made in the First Committee, as many representatives have done, to the main events, positive and negative, that have taken place in the world since our last session. Nor can we object to mentioning or commenting on such questions as the announcement of forthcoming nuclear tests, which are of justifiable concern to countries neighbouring on the region and, indeed, to the entire community. This annual balance sheet and the reference to problems of the most topical importance allow us to see the problems confronting us more clearly and better to judge the causes as well as the measures that should be adopted to eradicate them.

62. In one word, this item should not serve as a pretext for repeating the general debate in the plenary nor to duplicate the debates on subjects and questions which the General Assembly has decided to assign to other committees or to plenary meetings of the Assembly itself.

63. Along the lines that I have just outlined, my delegation endorses the idea that this question should be a continuing item on the agenda. Thus, we support the Secretary-General's hopes expressed in paragraph 12 of the introduction to his report that "this item will be of lasting concern to the Assembly and that its discussion will help to underline the interdependence of various world problems, for international security is a mosaic of global pieces".

64. May I now refer to the decisions which we believe should be adopted by the Committee on this subject at the present session.

65. First of all, I consider it useful and helpful to reaffirm our adherence to the Declaration and to repeat that it is a single organic whole whose parts are very closely inter-linked.

66. Secondly, I would repeat our conviction that the United Nations, because of its purposes and principles, because it is meant to be universal, and because the great majority of States of the world are its members, and through the means it offers, should be, as the Charter says, a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations to achieve common ends and, principally, the maintenance of international peace and security.

67. Thirdly, we must focus our attention on practical means of strengthening international security, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report.

68. Concretely—and in this we fully agree with the delegation of Brazil—we must stress the need to agree on

guidelines for more effective peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter as paragraph 7 of the Declaration states. Unfortunately, in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, nothing has been achieved this year.

69. We must also consider adequate means to establish collective security in economic questions, to which the representatives of Brazil and Colombia also referred.

70. We must also urge all States to contribute to the solution of the grave financial crisis besetting the Organization. Whatever opinion we may have of the ways in which the Organization functions, the validity of its policies or the decisions adopted by the majority of its Members, we must bear in mind the fact that in it, with its limitations or imperfections, we have the best if not the only instrument for achieving lasting peace on earth.

71. In conclusion, and generally, we must centre our attention and our efforts on the implementation of those provisions of the Declaration which define ways and means of ensuring the exclusively peaceful settlement of disputes, measures to prevent and eliminate threats to peace, measures for stopping acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace and means to strengthen the Security Council and make it more effective—that is, the measures called for in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 16 of the Declaration.

72. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I want to thank Ambassador Aguilar for his statement, and once again express my thanks to him for supporting my candidacy to this post. I shall endeavour to follow in his footsteps as Chairman of the First Committee and thus to ensure the success of our work.

73. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Chairman, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on behalf of the Algerian delegation on your election as Chairman of this Committee and to tell you of our deep satisfaction at seeing that high responsibility entrusted to the representative of a country such as yours, whose efforts for international peace and security we value highly and for which we have feelings of high esteem and sincere friendship. I am convinced that your competence, lengthy experience and wisdom will be the best possible incentive for us in our task and the best guarantee of success for our efforts.

74. Our congratulations are also addressed to the other officers of the Committee who, we are convinced, will be able to give you valuable assistance in the discharge of your duties.

75. The twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization was marked by the near-unanimous adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. The exceptional importance of that document has already been too much stressed for it to be necessary to dwell on it further. But it is remarkable that for the first time in the history of our Organization we have gone beyond an academic debate on the general problems relating to peace to devote ourselves to the search for specific measures to be applied by all Member States in

order to bring about the effective strengthening of international security. The resolution adopted reflects the concern of the whole international community, and especially that of the countries of the third world, which are certainly more sensitive than others to any threat to world peace; in any case, it reflects our common will to remove the dangers threatening mankind and henceforth to place international relations in a sounder framework of harmony and co-operation among peoples.

76. While reaffirming the principles of the Charter, the Declaration especially stresses the equal right of all peoples to security. There is first their collective right to guarantee present and future generations against the scourge of a generalized war that would threaten the very existence of all mankind. This undoubtedly is a concern we all share equally, for we share the self-same urge to protect the human race and the same conviction that our society can flourish only in a climate free from any threat of violent confrontation.

77. But it is easy to understand that every people views the concept of security in a specific context determined by its own concerns. If the security of the great Powers is ensured by the tremendous means at their disposal for their defence, and even more by the balance of forces guaranteeing them against any attempt at aggression, it no doubt signifies the preservation of a level of well-being and civilization that enables their peoples to lead a life free from material concerns and oriented towards better development in the future.

78. For small countries, security implies more complex concepts. It is based both on the need to protect themselves against any foreign infringement and on the imperatives of economic and social development made even more apparent through the shrinking of our modern world, which offers a direct and sometimes brutal contrast between the deprivation of some and the opulence of others.

79. Thus the Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth session, by spelling out the elements on which international security is based, took into account the concerns of all, and the measures it defines call upon the solidarity of all to ensure their effective implementation. It is clear that before being translated into practical achievements, world security requires first of all the establishment of a state of mind oriented towards the search for peace, making it incumbent upon the powerful to avoid the temptations of domination or self-serving policies that could arise from their strength, and upon the weak not to use their weakness as justification for abdicating their responsibilities.

80. International security cannot be the work of just some, be they ever so powerful. It can be achieved only through a collective effort in which every country makes its contribution and through which the solidarity of the international community finds its most striking expression.

81. We shall not be the last to express satisfaction at the signs of *détente* that have appeared in some parts of the world, suggesting that this may be the beginning of a development in international relations which we hope will extend to all aspects of international life.

82. First, there is the progress achieved in the field of disarmament. We know how lengthy and disappointing were the efforts devoted to it; we also know how fragile the first results will remain so long as they are not part of a wider and more coherent whole. But we should be ill-advised not to welcome them as an encouraging sign that the threat of war has decreased. None the less we remain convinced that the problem of disarmament is not the exclusive concern of the nuclear Powers—and even less so of the super-Powers. This is a problem of concern to us all. Therefore its solution should involve all the countries of the world, since all are threatened by the dangers of a continuous arms race.

83. By the same token, the recent treaties concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR, and between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, the contacts established between the two Germanies, and the agreement of the four Powers on Berlin undoubtedly remove a dangerous hotbed of tension in Europe. Through the elimination of the last vestiges of the cold war, these events open the way to the establishment of relations of co-operation between European countries and, in the first instance, to the convening of a conference on European security and co-operation. Knowing the role played by Europe in the launching of world wars, we should not fail to welcome this new situation as an important contribution to the strengthening of international security.

84. The contacts established between Peking and Washington and the prospects of the forthcoming journey of the President of the United States to China betoken the end of the policy of isolation practised towards the People's Republic of China. There again, the factors of tension have disappeared which, for over 20 years, have weighed heavily on the international situation and the search for lasting solutions to problems which directly threaten peace in the world.

85. But, while these elements are incontrovertibly helping to strengthen international security, they do not result from the implementation of the United Nations Declaration. Of course, that in no way detracts from their usefulness, but it would be illusory to see in them the first fruits of our Organization's decisions. But our object is to consider the effects of those decisions one year after their adoption and to see to what extent they should be added to and improved upon in order to enable our Organization to play its full role in its fundamental task of maintaining peace in the world.

86. In that connexion, the recent decision of our Assembly to restore all the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can truly be considered as a historic event, not only because it puts an end to a state of affairs which was in flagrant contradiction with obvious realities, but also and especially because it will enable our Organization finally to confront its responsibilities with renewed efficiency. Taking part as a permanent member in the work of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China will give the decisions of the highest international body the authority they must have if they are to be heeded, since they will more completely reflect the will of the international community. It is therefore legitimate to hope that we shall thus see a new start in international actions

and a more decisive approach towards better understanding among peoples.

87. If we now consider the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security to assess the results achieved in their implementation, we are awestruck at the complete absence of such results. We are certainly not so naive as to believe that resolutions, even unanimously adopted and surrounded by the utmost ceremony, could settle problems which have defied our efforts for many years. But what credence can one attach to undertakings of Member States when those States act contrary to their declarations and are the first to break the rules which they helped to lay down?

88. It would be an easy game to go through all the principles and measures contained in the Declaration and to compare them with facts which contradict them in the present situation.

89. The use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of a State is exemplified by the continuing war in Viet-Nam, which originated in the United States aggression against the Viet-Nameese people. The conflict has now been widened to include Cambodia and Laos, whilst the Paris talks continue to mark time.

90. The persistence of colonial domination is particularly manifest in Africa, where the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) are still waging a deadly struggle against the Portuguese forces to snatch their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

91. The policy of racial segregation and *apartheid* practised by South Africa and the illegal régime in Rhodesia is a grave infringement of the principle of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, an infringement which has been unanimously condemned by our Organization since its creation but which seems to be encouraged by the friendly attitude of some Powers towards Pretoria and Salisbury.

92. The Declaration solemnly reaffirms "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". Yet, do we not see Israel maintaining its military occupation of Arab territories which it invaded in the course of its 1967 aggression? But why should Israel feel any scruples about infringing with such nonchalance and contempt the principles of the Charter, the essential provisions of the Declaration and resolutions of the Security Council, when its very existence rests on the acquisition of territory resulting from the use of force? That acquisition cannot be termed legal, and the Palestinian people, which is engaged in a liberation struggle to recover its homeland and its inalienable rights, is fighting for a just cause whose legitimacy is reaffirmed in the very Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

93. One could easily continue the list and reach the conclusion that in truth the Declaration has become yet another resolution of our Organization which has remained without effect. The real problem, in the end, is the authority of international institutions and the obligation of

Member States to submit to their decisions. We have just recalled the arrogant attitude of Israel, which systematically rejects decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council. We could also mention the similar case of South Africa concerning Namibia, or that of Portugal, which continues its policy of colonial domination in Africa. And yet, these are not great Powers having the means to defy international opinion without fearing the consequences. This adds to the seriousness of the crisis of authority of the United Nations and opens the way to other violations which could in the end totally discredit our Organization.

94. While it is our duty to be realistic in assessing the results achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and not to place unwarranted hope in its effectiveness, we should still not be unduly pessimistic and abandon all hope of collective action to bring greater justice and understanding into international relations. This action, which requires the free and full adherence of all countries, must take place on three levels: relations among the great Powers, relations between small and medium-sized Powers, and relations between the large and the small. There is no question of our dictating the conduct of the great Powers, when it is hard enough, as we stressed a few minutes ago, to impose the authority of our Organization on small countries. But we are happy to see that the great Powers derive their wisdom from the balance of forces and that their peaceful coexistence results from an awareness of the dangers of confrontation. But this is a precarious state of affairs based on a fragile balance, which will be constantly threatened as long as the headlong arms race continues. Disarmament then appears to be the key to strengthening peaceful coexistence among the great Powers and, hence, to strengthening international security. I shall not dwell on this subject, as we are to debate it later.

95. Action by the small countries in favour of international security is both individual and collective. Every one of those countries must strengthen, organize and develop itself so as to be able to exercise its sovereignty and preserve its independence; by obtaining the means of ensuring its own security, each will make its contribution to the security of all. But it is in their solidarity that the small countries will find the best defence of their interests and their freedom, and the most effective tool for the exercise of their international responsibilities.

96. Is there not a striking example of this in the ever-greater influence of the group of non-aligned countries on the international scene, or in the growing dynamism of the group of developing countries, the "Group of 77", whose second conference is now being held in Lima? What has been called the "battle for oil", in which several countries of the third world fought side by side and which was an important step in the reaffirmation of their sovereignty over their natural resources, is also an event of capital importance showing the means of action which small countries can find if they are together. The provision concerning the settlement of disputes through peaceful means is especially applicable to small countries which must oppose any foreign intervention in their conflicts. The role of regional organizations can then become essential in this field, as we can see from the highly positive influence of the Organization of African Unity in various disputes among African countries.

97. But it is especially in the field of relations between the great Powers and the small countries that the greatest dangers affecting international security appear. The policy of spheres of influence, of political and military interference, of economic exploitation, is exercised precisely on that level and it finds its source in the desire for hegemony of the great Powers and in the temptations of material, technological and military superiority. There can be no hope of strengthening international security so long as the power of the great is used to enslave the small. It is certain that the equal rights of States will never be matched by equality in their strength, wealth or means of action. It is therefore in a better and wiser use of the supremacy of some in the interest of others that we will find the best way to do away with threats to world peace and to strengthen the foundations of international security.

98. And this is where the role to be played by the United Nations becomes most apparent, as a meeting point of the concerns and needs of all and the crucible where the trends and aspirations must be harmonized. International security, especially in its collective aspect, could find no better instrument, and no serious attempt could be undertaken to implement our Declaration without strengthening our Organization, its structures, its methods and its influence. By offering to the People's Republic of China its rightful position here, our Organization has undoubtedly taken on a new dimension, enabling it to envision with optimism its future activities to foster peace in the world.

99. To speak of international security is to deal with a problem directly influencing the life and future of our peoples. It also has a direct bearing on the very *raison d'être*

of the United Nations. Far be it from us to think that we have stated the fundamental rules which would enable us to find radical solutions to this problem. We have striven to spell out our ideas in this matter, convinced as we are that, large or small, we are condemned to absolute equality before the dangers threatening world security. If Algeria has always worked for better understanding among peoples, if it is happy to have contributed on a modest scale to achieving in its own geographical area—the Maghreb, Africa, the third world—it remains convinced that international security can only be the work of all, because it is first and foremost the negation of selfishness and the spirit of domination.

100. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the Khmer Republic in exercise of his right of reply.

101. Mr. HOEUR LAY INN (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): In his statement the representative of the Mongolian People's Republic spoke of aggressive acts of the United States in my country, Cambodia, which is now the Khmer Republic. As I briefly stated at our 1811th meeting, my delegation reaffirms that the United States of America is not committing aggression against us. The only aggression that we are suffering in the Khmer Republic, I repeat, is from the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong.

102. The representative of Algeria also cited my country. If the conflict is spreading in my country, this is due solely to the same North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong aggressors.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.