Twenty-ninth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

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

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 11 December 1974, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GIDY (Afghanistan) (Vice-Chairman)

Rapporteur: Mr. COSTA LOBO (Portugal)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General /367/ (continued)

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The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

74-71330/A
AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)


The CHAIRMAN: Before calling on the first speaker inscribed on the list, I should like to announce that the delegations of Bulgaria, Mongolia and Poland have become sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

Mr. BENSMAIL (Algeria) (interpretation from French): The question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is once again on our Committee’s agenda; in our opinion, this is fully justified both because of the importance of the Declaration and because of the fundamental purpose of our Organization, which is to promote and maintain international peace and security. This is why we continue to believe that only by considering this question every year will it be possible for us to assess the extent to which the Declaration has been implemented by Member States, as this is a long and exacting task requiring the permanent commitment of the international community. Also, the lack of enthusiasm of some delegations with regard to this item does not surprise us because these same delegations each session advise us not to consider important questions on the pretext that to do so would only lead to useless polemics.

During this session most delegations have frequently alluded to recent events that have contributed to improving the international atmosphere and to increasing the possibility of achieving world peace. These favourable developments, particularly in Europe, have affected relations among developed countries, and they are certainly positive factors which the whole world welcomed.
We shall certainly not be among the last to welcome the important changes that have taken place in Portugal, changes which give us an additional reason for satisfaction in as much as they have enabled us to register definite progress along the road to the attainment of independence for the Portuguese colonies. In this connexion, Algeria, always in the vanguard of the anti-colonialist struggle, was one of the first countries to encourage the courageous steps taken by Portugal in the direction of decolonization, and had the honour to be chosen to serve as host for the negotiations that resulted in the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe recently. We are convinced that, with the recognition of the right to independence of Angola and Mozambique, Portugal will complete the process of decolonization, thus making it possible for it to join the rest of the African continent in a policy of fruitful co-operation.

However, these victories in the anti-colonialist struggle must not serve to conceal from us all that still remains to be done to put an end to the assaults on the dignity of man and on humanitarian values committed by the policy of apartheid of South Africa and the racist minority régime of Rhodesia. It is high time that the authorities of those countries heard the voice of reason and abandoned their racist policy of racial discrimination. During this session, the General Assembly has taken a decisive step by refusing to be content any longer merely to condemn the apartheid régime and to issue warnings to which that régime turns a deaf ear. It has chosen to make its condemnation more effective by asking the Security Council to proceed to a study of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the persistent violation on the part of South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the inability of the Security Council to act, together with the triple veto directed against Africa, has made it necessary for the General Assembly to take the decision of refusing to allow the representatives of the apartheid régime to take their seats in the Assembly. The same Security Council will soon be studying the question of Namibia, and we venture to hope that it will rise to its responsibilities at that time by deciding that the South African administration must withdraw from the Namibian territory.
Other reasons are not lacking that give rise to concern in regard to the present international situation. All over the world hotbeds of tension still exist and new ones are being created. These are the result of problems that were not adequately solved or of situations that are deteriorating because they were not dealt with in time with the requisite foresight and courage. Thus it is that war continues to rage in South-East Asia, despite the legal camouflage of the Paris Agreements, which have had no result except to demobilize international public opinion. In Cambodia and in Viet-Nam, the fighting goes on, with all its accompaniment of suffering and grief, as a result of the intervention, open or disguised, of American imperialism.

The situation in the Middle East still gives rise to grave concern and could at any moment grow worse despite the very precarious cease-fire that was arranged after the new Israeli aggression in October 1973. The territories of three Arab States, Members of our Organization, are still under occupation, and there is no indication that the Geneva Conference will be able to resume its work in the near future. The General Assembly, however, has greatly contributed to clarifying the debate through its decision to invite the authentic representatives of the Palestinian people to come here and set forth their claims and their problems, and it has demonstrated both courage and clear-sightedness by recognizing their right to self-determination. That recognition represents, without doubt, the most substantial progress that has been achieved since the search began for an effective solution to what is called the "Middle East crisis".

The crisis that began last July in Cyprus and that has since resulted in dangerous developments has brought an increase in the anxiety and concern aroused by the situation in the Middle East. We cannot be insensitive to the crisis in Cyprus, which places in jeopardy the independence and territorial integrity of a State that was a founder of the non-aligned movement.

During this session, the Algerian delegation, in collaboration with other delegations of non-aligned countries and within the framework of the mandate of the non-aligned countries as a whole, made its modest contribution to an equitable settlement of the crisis by submitting to the Assembly a draft resolution that was unanimously adopted. However, we
believe it to be essential that Cyprus be freed from its embroilment in international strategies and that an end be put to foreign intervention, whatever its source. Similarly, we regard it as urgent that all foreign forces be withdrawn, together with the foreign military bases, thus enabling that State to satisfy all the criteria of non-alignment.

The situation prevailing in the Mediterranean after the conflict in the Middle East and the crisis in Cyprus elicit our deepest concern. My country is a coastal State of the Mediterranean, and it is entirely natural that it should manifest its concern at the presence and movements of foreign naval fleets in the region, which constitute a threat to the security of the coastal States. My Government, from the very outset, has expressed its interest in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the principal aim of which is détente in the area of continental Europe. It has thus insisted that its voice should be heard, together with the voices of other non-European Mediterranean countries, in that Conference. Our interest is justified by our refusal to accept the principle of the transfer of tensions and by our urgently-felt need to establish in the Mediterranean a zone of peace and co-operation on the basis of solidarity among Mediterranean countries, the elimination of tensions, and encouragement for the development of common interests, together with the removal of the fleets and the elimination of foreign military bases from the region.

The upheavals that have recently taken place in international economic relations prompted the non-aligned countries to call for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to deal with problems of raw materials and development. The results of that session are sufficiently well known and we need not dwell on them. We need therefore only say that that session served as an illustration of the confrontation between an old order desperately seeking to cling to its privileges and a new order that wishes to overturn the obsolete structures of the past and build a new world founded on justice and equality. What some have called a world economic crisis cannot therefore be reduced to a so-called energy crisis. What we have invited the international community to make is a sincere reassessment of economic relations as a whole between the developed countries and the third world,
within the framework of sincere dialogue, as being the only means to achieve solutions satisfactory to all. That dialogue has already begun and it will continue in the coming special session, which should make it possible for us seriously to concentrate on the war against under-development, against what has finally emerged as a genuine threat to the peace of the entire world.

I wish to conclude these remarks by making a brief presentation of the draft resolution appearing in document A/C.1/L.706, sponsored by a group of non-aligned countries, including Algeria.
This draft resolution is practically identical to that adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. While pleased to note some encouraging trends in international relations, the sponsors wished to emphasize the existence of areas of crisis and tension throughout the world which jeopardize international peace and security. They also request the General Assembly to solemnly confirm all the principles and provisions contained in the Declaration, and appeal to all States rapidly to implement those provisions. They emphasize once again the right of all States freely to dispose of their natural resources without any foreign pressure. They also reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under alien domination to obtain their self-determination and independence. Finally, they invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to submit a report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the Declaration, because the sponsors feel that it would be extremely interesting to have an annual examination of this question in the General Assembly.

The sponsors, therefore, recommend this draft resolution to the First Committee and express the hope that it will be adopted by a broad majority.

Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Our work here in the First Committee, and in the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly as a whole, is drawing to a close. Surely everybody will strike a balance for themselves, but I do not think I shall be mistaken if I say that this year's General Assembly devoted special attention to the strengthening of international peace and security, with a view to making the process of détente irreversible and to consolidating a new type of relations between States. So it was when we studied and endorsed the positive trends of international relations, and also when we were seeking solutions to the alarming problems of mankind. And so it was when we did justice to the victims of aggression and tried to extinguish the fire of local conflicts.

We are of the opinion that the current session of the General Assembly has demonstrated that the United Nations can play an important part in the strengthening of international security if its activity is always guided by the lofty principles of the Charter.
The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has noted with satisfaction that in the past few years there has been an increasing tendency towards the lessening of tensions in international relations, and détente is now becoming a characteristic factor. We are of the opinion that in this process an essential part has been played by the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contained in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), as well as by the Secretary-General's reports on its implementation and the related debates at the subsequent twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly. All this proves that the majority of the States Members of the United Nations have become aware of the favourable change that has taken place in the international situation in recent years and which has contributed to the strengthening of international security.

It is commonly known that the favourable changes in the world situation are primarily the result of the steps taken by the Soviet Union and the United States in order to lessen international tension, and of the periodic meetings of their leading statesmen, including the very significant talks held recently in Vladivostok between Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and President Ford of the United States. The agreements reached by the two great Powers, especially those on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, anti-ballistic missile systems and underground nuclear test explosions, have considerably heightened the feeling of security of all peoples and have raised their hopes. We pay the tribute of recognition also to all other countries which strengthen détente by political actions.

A basic principle of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is to promote the intensification of the process of détente to the best of its ability and to contribute to the strengthening of international security. Being a European socialist nation, we are, of course, particularly interested in the trend towards peace and security on the European continent. We are pleased to see that last year further progress was made towards the establishment in Europe of a new type of relations based on peaceful co-operation. Last year the Hungarian People's Republic also made many efforts to promote European security and co-operation. Its representatives take an active part in the work of the second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and strive to expedite the Conference and contribute to its success by encouraging and submitting several proposals and initiatives.
The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic deems it highly important that political détente should be coupled with military détente on the European continent. It participates in the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Hungary supports all the initiatives which, in accordance with the principle of equal security, are suitable for the promotion of military détente and an effective reduction of armed forces and armaments.

In the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we endeavour to develop also our bilateral relations with other States Members of the United Nations. We take great care to develop good relations, mutual understanding and friendship between the people of Hungary and the peoples of neighbouring countries. We maintain especially close ties with the Soviet Union, which liberated our country from fascist occupation 30 years ago. This close friendship was well demonstrated by the visit of a Hungarian party and Government delegation to the Soviet Union last September and by the joint communiqué on the visit. Our steadily broadening co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries is highly instrumental in promoting our common progress.

The economic relations which the socialist countries maintain on the basis of equality among themselves and with other countries are of particular importance also from the point of view of security in these days. These economic ties, based on socialist principles, keep away the insecurity which is today felt so harmfully in many other relations. We unceasingly develop our relations with other European States and with countries outside Europe, too. In the span of one year we have established diplomatic relations with several countries.

In the course of last year, too, the development of relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and other States was successfully promoted by visits of leading Hungarian statesmen abroad; for example, the visits made to the Polish People's Republic and a number of other countries by the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs had talks in Austria, Syria, Iraq and in other countries.
Hungary was visited by the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, the Heads of Government of France, Libya, Iran and Norway, and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. It was just the other day that our Prime Minister returned from a visit to India and Burma where further avenues of co-operation were explored. All these bilateral negotiations of Hungarian statesmen serve also to contribute to the strengthening of international security. Practically all those talks provided occasion for giving expression to common efforts being made to realize the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

The purpose of strengthening the mutual confidence of peoples, of enhancing their mutual acquaintance and mutual respect, is served also by the Hungarian Government's policy concerning tourism, as a result of which Hungary, a country with slightly more than 10 million inhabitants, received over seven million foreign visitors during 1973, while nearly one fifth of the country's population made trips abroad.
The considerable results attained in the strengthening of international security cannot blind us to the deplorable fact that hundreds of millions of people in various parts of the world do not yet enjoy the blessing of peace. Several old conflicts arise, such as the crisis over Cyprus this year. But the efforts to put an end to military conflicts are inseparable from the strengthening of international security. That is why the Hungarian People's Republic welcomed the Paris Agreement on the cessation of war and the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam and undertook to participate in the International Commission of Control and Supervision. In this manner it wishes also to make a contribution to the full implementation of the Paris Agreements and to the creation of a lasting peace in that part of the world.

Out of the same considerations, the Hungarian People's Republic has noted with satisfaction the efforts towards a settlement of the Middle East conflict. The opening of the Geneva Conference under the auspices of the United Nations has created a forum for the just settlement of the problems of that area. Such settlement must provide for the complete evacuation by Israel of the occupied Arab territories, recognition of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, the guaranteeing of the security of all States in the area and the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is self-evident that these aims can be attained only with the participation of all sides concerned, among them the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. We welcome the passage of the related historic resolution of the General Assembly and wish the Palestine Liberation Organization complete success in the fulfilment of its difficult political tasks. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is of the opinion that the creation and strengthening of security in the area require continued efforts to secure early concrete results for the sake of peace.

The debate on disarmament questions has during the past few weeks also shown that the strengthening of international security is inseparable from the curbing of the arms race, the adoption of concrete disarmament measures and the realization of general and complete disarmament. Starting from this premise, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the United Nations could make a significant contribution to the strengthening of international security by giving effect as soon as possible to the General Assembly
resolution adopted at the twenty-seventh session on the convening of a world disarmament conference. At the same time, representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic are taking an active part in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

In conclusion I should like to express the hope that the current discussions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will be an additional contribution to the gradual realization of the principles laid down in the Declaration, pointing out the important role played by the United Nations and its capacities, as yet not fully utilized for the strengthening of international security. In the future the Hungarian People's Republic will also seek as best it can to promote the strengthening of international security and will support United Nations efforts towards goals serving the interests of all peoples of the world.

Mr. SMID (Czechoslovakia): The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security unanimously adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly justly remains the focus of our attention. Notwithstanding all the multifaceted activities of the United Nations reflecting the mosaic of the present political situation in the world as well as the multitudinous political, economic, social and other problems of present-day international life, the primary goal of the United Nations still consists in strengthening international security. That is why we attach such great and decisive importance to the implementation of the programme of the historic Declaration adopted almost five years ago and based on the main goal embodied in the Charter of the United Nations -- that is, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war -- as well as on the principle that all Member States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

The annual consideration of this question offers us a chance not only to draw up a balance-sheet of joint efforts to strengthen peace and promote international co-operation but also to examine issues still awaiting a solution.

In evaluating the international situation in the course of the general debate, the overwhelming majority of delegations of Member States of the United Nations have emphasized the process of détente as the most distinctive and
positive phenomenon among present developments. The very course of the
twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly evidences the change in the
over-all balance of forces in the world which has created a prerequisite for a
realistic chance to start resolving pressing international problems in a
constructive manner. Through the joint efforts of the peace-loving forces of the
world, the foundations of the peace and security of the peoples have been
strengthened, the danger of nuclear war has been reduced and the present shift
in international relations from cold war to détente and pursuance of the
principles of peaceful coexistence among States having different social systems
has been achieved. The deliberations of this session of the General Assembly
prove quite clearly that the process by which such rapid changes in international
relations turn into a qualitatively new situation is a complex and often
contradictory one. In that process there also exist forces attempting to hinder
or to reverse it. However, the predominant feature of the whole process is the
deepening of détente.
In this context, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in his statement in the general debate of the current session of the General Assembly declared that:

"It is therefore our duty to deepen the process of détente, to make it spread into other fields -- in short, to spare no effort in order to ensure that mankind may enhance its spiritual and material values in peace and in constructive international co-operation. This too should become an essential principle in the activities of the United Nations and at the current session of the General Assembly". (A/PV.2250, p. 32-35)

The Czechoslovak people welcomes the recent positive development in the world and fully supports all sincere efforts to further deepen it with a view to making it permanent and irreversible. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has fully joined the common front of the struggle of all countries of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, for the implementation of the historic peace programme adopted at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fundamental basis of Czechoslovak foreign policy continues to rest on the strength, unity and coherence of the countries of the socialist community, and particularly on the firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, a guarantee and assurance of our national and State existence.

Czechoslovak foreign policy pursues the normalization and promotion of good relations with all States of Europe and the world, as can be documented by examples of several events that have occurred since our discussion last year on the implementation of the Declaration. Progress in mutual relations in many fields has taken place which has emanated from this policy, particularly with regard to economic relations. The negotiations which are taking place with Austria to solve the still pending matters of property rights give realistic hope for the achievement of successful results. Further development has taken place also in our relations with the United States by virtue of the initialising of an agreement on the settlement of certain outstanding claims and financial issues and on the return of Czechoslovak monetary gold. As a result of the action by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate; however, the agreement could not yet be signed.
Czechoslovak foreign relations with a number of other European countries are developing favourably too; for instance, our relations with Finland, as evidenced by the recent visit of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustáv Husák. Furthermore, positive elements have been noted, particularly in the development of our relations with France, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Iceland, as well as with Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Italy. New opportunities have been opened for us in our relations with Portugal.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains traditionally good relations with the countries of what is called the third world. From the recent period, I should like to cite, for instance, the broadly developing relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and India, as demonstrated by the visits of the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Comrade Gustáv Husák, and most recently of the Czechoslovak Premier, Ludomír Strčík. Moreover, the recent talks, conducted at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, in Mexico, Argentina and Peru, have shown new possibilities of a further development of relations and mutually beneficial co-operation between Czechoslovakia and those countries.

We wish to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations also with other parts of the world. Good prerequisites in this regard exist, for instance, for mutually useful relations with Japan.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has active contacts with nearly all countries of the world and maintains diplomatic relations with 104 States. We are always prepared to develop on the basis of equality, mutual respect and benefit, our political, economic, cultural and other contacts with all States to which peace, freedom and the progress of mankind are dear.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a country situated in the heart of Europe, has for obvious reasons a paramount interest in reflecting all the benefits of détente in the European continent, which has in the past to a full degree experienced a situation resulting from the cold war waged by imperialist circles. The benefits of détente have to be reflected in practical life, in good relations among European peoples on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different economic and social systems.
We are therefore looking with hope to the future that the European nations are trying to build and secure at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. From the very beginning, Czechoslovakia has supported the idea of convening an all-European conference, and was one of the group of socialist countries which, as early as 1966, came up with the initiative to build a system in Europe that would ensure security to all countries of that continent, irrespective of their different social systems, and at the same time provide them an opportunity to develop their mutually beneficial co-operation.

Czechoslovakia is therefore sincerely endeavouring to contribute to the success of the present stage of the Conference. In our opinion, the results that have already been achieved in this stage of the Conference provide a solid basis for accelerating its work, and a prerequisite for reaching a third, and final, stage of the Conference at the highest level and within the shortest possible time. In this context, the Czechoslovak delegation highly appreciates the contribution made to the successful completion of the Conference on security and co-operation by the recent talks between the French President, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

We regard as the main core of the deliberations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe the necessity to agree on such basic principles of relations among States as would ensure the security and peaceful development of the whole European continent. Europe would thus become an important part of the peaceful stability of the world and would set an example for similar developments in other parts of the world.
It is quite natural that the strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe, being pursued at the second stage of the Geneva Conference which is now under way, should be followed by détente in the military sphere, particularly in the Central European region, where the concentration of military potential is highest. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is therefore a direct participant in the talks held in Vienna on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe. These talks are held in a constructive spirit, in the desire to achieve concrete results on the basis of a principle that measures have to be taken to prevent any disadvantage, harm or threat to the security of any of the participating countries.

The States members of the Warsaw Treaty, including the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, have taken a number of steps in the field of foreign policy which have resulted in creating a considerably healthier political climate in Europe and in anchoring in international law the political and territorial situation in Europe as it was formed after the Second World War. The countries of the socialist community, in close collaboration with all the progressive and peace-loving forces, have succeeded in directing the developments in the world towards the strengthening peace in the spirit of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has welcomed the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which is of exceptional importance for the future of the whole world. There is no doubt that whenever and wherever relations of peaceful coexistence take the place, of relations of confrontation of direct conflicts between States, it is always to the benefit of peace and security in the whole world. This is the more so in the case of the relations of countries with such a huge over-all potential as the USSR and the United States have at present. As a contribution also to its own security, Czechoslovakia welcomes the efforts that are apparent in the latest series of talks held between the two Powers, the efforts to make the development and improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States stable, notwithstanding the differences in the social systems and ideologies of those two countries.
Czechoslovakia welcomes every concrete achievement that has been or will yet be reached between the Soviet Union and the United States in the field of limiting strategic, offensive and defensive weapons. Indeed, if agreements were reached which resulted in a maximum restriction on the development of these weapons and if, consequently, the arms race, both in terms of quantity and quality, were curbed, it would benefit not only the direct participants of these treaties, that is, the USSR and the United States, but indeed the whole world. In the light of the above, it is quite clear that my delegation highly appreciates the positive contribution represented by the latest talks held in Vladivostok between the leading statesmen of the USSR and the United States, President Ford and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

It would be a great contribution to the further strengthening of détente in international relations if more tangible results were speedily achieved in the whole field of negotiations on general and complete disarmament. Socialist countries have always consistently strived and will continue to strive to the utmost, for the benefit of mankind, to get rid of the yoke of armaments. We are alive to the fact that the attainment of this objective is a very complex and difficult matter and therefore any progress that has been achieved has to be welcomed. Successes and failures in the field of disarmament depend on the policy pursued by States, particularly by the big Powers, and it is well known that not all of them are in favour of stopping the feverish armaments.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic advocates accelerating the preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference, which would effectively advance these matters of paramount importance. We welcome the increased interest of the absolute majority of delegations in this question, evident at the current session of the General Assembly, as well as the resolution adopted in this regard by the General Assembly. We are, however, of the opinion that the time has indeed come for the Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, established by the General Assembly, to start real, effective preparations for the conference.

The same goes for the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. We believe that the enlargement of its membership will result in more active and speedy work on the part of the Conference.
The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with other States of the socialist community, has been actively participating in the deliberations of the United Nations on the questions of disarmament and is prepared further to increase its efforts. It is of course necessary that a positive and concrete approach to these questions, which are of vital importance for mankind, be taken by all States and, as I have already said, particularly by all nuclear Powers, because, after all, the feverish arms race has to be stopped.

As I have already said, Czechoslovakia welcomes the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States which are of paramount importance for the future of the whole world. We wish that the positive trend of détente be spread to all fields. This presumes also a systematic development of economic co-operation among States with different social systems on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, peaceful co-operation, equality, non-discrimination and mutual advantage. The systematic development of international economic, scientific and technological co-operation on the above principles is becoming an important basis for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this context, I should like to state that Czechoslovakia welcomes the fact that the General Assembly at its current session, though thus far only in the Second Committee, has succeeded in agreeing on the wording of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States as a document of international co-operation about whose great historic importance there is no doubt.

The developments in the developed market-economy countries are characterized by growing indications of crisis. The rate of inflation is accelerating; unemployment is quickly growing; the gap between various social strata of the population is increasing. The principles of planned development of national economies are therefore becoming more and more topical and are attracting the attention of economists also in the capitalist and particularly in the developing countries.
The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is interested in broadening economic relations with all countries of the world irrespective of their social systems and in making these relations more stable, provided that they are based on the above-mentioned principles. It will continue to develop its traditional trade and economic co-operation with the developing countries, to assist them within the framework of its capabilities in solving the pressing problems of their economic and social development.

In spite of the over-all favourable development of the international situation, there exist in the world serious problems threatening international peace. The United Nations has to make every effort in order to eliminate and resolve these problems, in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. There still act in the world influential forces which would wish to bring the world back to the times of the cold war.

Among the problems which cause a just concern and may seriously threaten the results achieved on the path to the strengthening of peace and security in the world, there is without any doubt the alarming situation in South Viet-Nam where the Saigon régime, in violation of the Paris Accords of 1973, is attempting to gain military advantages and continues to attack parts of the country under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. We support the efforts of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam to stabilize the situation. In our opinion a realistic way to achieve this goal lies in that Government’s proposals of March 1974.

A real threat to international peace lies in the situation in the Middle East. It is in the interest of peace and security in the whole world to solve once and for all the true causes of the crisis in that region by way of speedily reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. In this context, we state once again our full support for the just demands that Israel evacuate all Arab territories it occupies, the just demands to recognize the rights of all States in that region and to secure the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and free life in its own State as confirmed anew by the useful decisions of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.
An alarming example of how potential and unsolved problems can threaten international peace and security lies in the situation in Cyprus. We continue fully to support the Soviet proposals to convene an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations which would make it possible to find a just solution in the interest of restoring the complete independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We support strict observance of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the question of Cyprus and resolutely oppose any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus. We support the demand that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the territory of the whole island and that the population of the island, irrespective of their nationality, be given the opportunity freely to decide on the constitutional system and on all their internal matters.

A threat to peace and security is also constituted by the situation persisting in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia where the racist régimes, in violation of the resolutions of the United Nations, continue to strengthen the policy of apartheid and racism and even plan hostile actions against the neighbouring States by the use of mercenaries, in connexion with the positive development that has occurred in the territories of the former Portuguese colonies. The time has indeed come for both those régimes as well as for their NATO allies to realize that the time for the final elimination of the colonial system in the world has come and that the will of the majority of the Member States of the United Nations and of world opinion must, after all, be respected.

In conclusion, permit me to state once more that among the number of factors forming the whole picture of world politics, those which act to the benefit of further détente and the strengthening of international security are producing an ever-increasing influence. Active assistance and contribution to this process is, of course, needed on the part of all peace-loving States, since the laws of history are being applied through consistent, every-day constructive activities of man and of the whole international community. In this regard, the role which the United Nations plays in the present world and in the system of international
security is becoming ever more clear. In this connexion, we have welcomed the fact that at the current session, a difficult and long-lasting period of work that can be of great importance in fulfilling the objectives of the United Nations and particularly of the Security Council in the field of strengthening international security, has been completed, that is, that the definition of aggression has been successfully adopted.

Mr. BRANKOVIC (Yugoslavia): May I, at the very outset of my statement on the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", point out that the Fourth Summit Conference of non-aligned countries, held in Algiers last year, stated, with regard to this subject, in paragraph 63 of its Political Declaration, the following:

"The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries emphasize that the strengthening of international security forms an integral part of the programme and actions for achieving peace and progress for all peoples and all countries. This aim can be reached only by creating an international security which would cover all parts of the world and which would be equal for all peoples and all countries."
The non-aligned countries have thereby demonstrated once again their basic orientation and their desire to abide by the provisions of the Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to exert maximum efforts with a view to ensuring its implementation. Bearing in mind the fact that the safeguarding of international peace and security is the basic objective of the United Nations, it is the wish of non-aligned countries that the provisions of the Declaration should be implemented in their entirety by all countries without any exception. I should like to stress that only the full implementation of the principles of the Declaration in relations between all countries can ensure the achievement of universal peace, security and international co-operation founded on equal rights, when all the causes of crises and tensions as well as actions by the forces of colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination will be eliminated.

Consideration of the application of the principles of the Declaration makes it imperative to examine first of all the current international situation and the changes taking place in it. Although some progress has been achieved within the over-all context of the international situation in the sense of détente between the great Powers as well as in some vital spheres of international development, acts of aggression and various forms of foreign interference practised by imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and neo-colonialism are nevertheless still present in international relations. Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned country, has constantly drawn attention, together with many other non-aligned countries, to this disquieting tendency. I should like to emphasize that, precisely within the context of interdependence, relations between the great Powers exercise a very strong influence on the position of a very large number of countries. My delegation feels that bilateralism and regionalism, which are indispensable in some fields, should constantly be embodied in the endeavours of the whole international community to solve problems of general interest, in the solving of which all countries should participate. Such, without any doubt, are problems involving peace, security, disarmament, development, and so on.
This dichotomy or contradiction in international developments has been illustrated most clearly by the fact that, simultaneously with détente and negotiations in Europe, we also witnessed the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East last year. In this regard, the United Nations played a prominent role in achieving a cease-fire and in establishing the United Nations Emergency Force, which again emphasized the topicality of the peace-keeping function of our Organization. However, the involvement of the United Nations cannot be limited to this alone. The world Organization must play a more active role precisely with a view to achieving a general solution in harmony with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Any attempt at eliminating the role of the United Nations or reducing it to that of a passive observer of situations involving conflicts would jeopardize the fundamental role of the United Nations and have a harmful effect on the development of international relations in general. As a matter of fact, the peace-keeping function of the United Nations must always be considered within the framework of the broader activity of our Organization as a peace-making factor in international relations.

The experiences gained from that crisis, as well as other similar situations, constantly warns us that, viewing matters in the long term, it will not be possible to stabilize international relations on a peaceful basis and in keeping with the principles of the Charter if such a contradictory course continues. Regardless of the fact that the existence of détente has facilitated the cease-fire in the Middle East in this phase, it has become clear that there are no limited crises which can be strictly controlled and could not jeopardize world peace and the positive results achieved by the joint efforts of many countries and peace-loving forces throughout the world. In our interdependent world, peace and security are indivisible. Therefore the only way to overcome the existing contradictions is to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in such a way as to ensure that détente shall encompass all the regions of the globe and guarantee the legitimate rights of all countries.
When discussing the question of international security we are often prone to leave out of consideration one of its very important components which is assuming ever greater significance within the over-all process of international relations and the settlement of conflicts in the present-day world, which is more interdependent than ever before. I am referring to the economic component of international security. In this regard my delegation wishes to emphasize in particular the very close link that exists between the strengthening of international security, disarmament, decolonization and economic development, on the one hand, and the necessity to narrow the gap between the developed and the developing countries on the other. Therefore it is just as important and worthy of effort to ensure the economic security of countries as it is to ensure that they achieve their political and military security. For this reason the Yugoslav delegation wishes to stress once again the need to establish a new international economic order, the foundations of which were laid down in the Declaration and the Programme of Action of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, and within this context it supports the concrete plans of action aimed at ensuring the implementation of their provisions.

Mr. SHARAF (Jordan): If international security is the main concern of mankind it is also the central concept of the United Nations system. It is therefore necessary to continue to debate its concrete requirements and evolving meanings. My delegation expresses its appreciation of the initiative of the Soviet Union in inviting the General Assembly to keep the issue of international security under continuous review and appraisal. The comments on the question coming from the various Members of the United Nations and contained in the report of the Secretary-General reflect varying evaluations of the state of affairs in the world today and the direction in which efforts to achieve the goal of international security are moving.

Allow me to add to this debate my delegation's views on the subject. Small and developing countries have no abstract and mathematical notion of the subject of international security: they have direct and concrete contact with it. Their borders are vulnerable to superior unchecked force;
their national economies and domestic social balances are fragile and are open to disastrous influences from an unstable international order. We have, therefore, something concrete and valid to say on the subject of international security. It is something that can help broaden the perspective of the international community as it deals with the subject of international security.

I wish, therefore, to speak about the three major levels on which the concept of international security must be handled and must evolve. They are the following.

First, let me take the scope of international security. The concept of international security has undergone, or must undergo, a profound evolution in the light of some major changes in our international environment. One major change is that the framework of reference of the concept is now a universal, or nearly universal, international organization. Through the origins of the contemporary international organization and collective security may have been European, a much larger area of the world is now within the framework of international organization. International security must therefore be a comprehensive and balanced concept. No area of the world should be accorded more weight in the allocation of attention than is dictated by the seriousness of the threat and the severity of the problem. In the past this was not the case. International organization displayed less sensitivity to the security, peace and rights of the peoples and nations of the less developed and less privileged world. The near indifference and lack of action during the past many years towards the agonies of the Middle East and South-East Asia were revealing facts. Hundreds of thousands perished in the conflicts in South East Asia. The national territories of certain Arab States have continued to suffer from occupation for nearly eight years and hundreds of thousands of other Arabs have remained homeless and in exile for over two decades, while the international corrective machinery has remained paralysed. Outposts of aggression in the Middle East and southern Africa have continued to pursue their policies of territorial expansion and of oppression and domination without being subjected to the decisive punitive action they deserve from the international community in the interest of
international security. International security is indivisible and must be viewed as such. All areas of the world equally deserve security and the concern of the international security machinery.

In this respect I wish to add another dimension to our evolving concept of international security. Peace and security are not static or negative concepts. They cannot, in our contemporary world, be defined strictly in terms of an absence of organized, conventional conflicts.
The United Nations is an instrument for change and emancipation as much as it is an instrument of peace. The issue of self-determination is in the foreground of international problems now, and the problem of the suppression of national self-determination calls for the active attention of the world. International peace and security are as much threatened today by colonial practices, apartheid and racial domination as by the conventional threats envisaged by the founders of the United Nations. There can be no valid assessment of the genuineness or dependability of the present international security without fully taking into account the progress towards the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of that vast population of the world still struggling towards independence, emancipation and equal rights.

Secondly, with respect to international economic security, at no time more than today has the world realized the fact that economic security is an essential and indispensable component of broad international security. Statesmen are shuttling across continents to avert a world economic catastrophe and to bring about a measure of order and balance in the world economy. But, again, a lasting and stable world economic order, like a political one, can be ensured only through justice and equity. In the present world of international interdependence, no part of the world can afford to isolate itself from the problems and needs of other parts. The world economy is so interlinked and its resources so widely distributed that a unified and comprehensive approach is the only valid and viable one to the broad solution of basic international economic problems. If international security must involve political justice, it must involve international social justice as well. Common concern for security should include concern for equal economic opportunity.

International security, as has been said, is not a static concept. It is a creative process. That is why it involves the continuous, reasonable change of the status quo. This must apply to the economic as much as to the political sphere. This creative process must involve the creation of prosperity and contentment in the hitherto underprivileged areas of the world -- which constitute the majority of the earth’s surface -- and the establishment of balanced and equitable relations between them and the advanced areas of the world. Just as colonial relationships have given way -- or are giving way -- to relationships of political equality, so
must also, the old and anachronistic structure of world economic relations. There is obviously wide attachment to this goal in the third world; but there is also understanding in the enlightened circles of the advanced industrial world of the necessity and inevitability of such change. A massive programme of international development, undertaken within the framework of restructured world economic relations, is a necessity for the stability and mutual benefit of our interdependent world. This is a new dimension and an important element in the evolving concept of international security.

Thirdly, as to the progressive control of the use of force, my delegation realizes that international security revolves, in the end, around the concept of collective security and the control of the use of force in international relations. The essence of the Charter is the maintenance of international peace and security. This central concept has been dramatically underlined by the advent of the nuclear revolution. The issue of collective security has overnight been transformed into that of collective survival. Hence the need for vigorous and judicious action for the control of the use of force in international relations and the progressive reduction of armaments.

My delegation wishes to emphasize that the proper framework for the control of the use of force and the ensuring of international security is the system of the United Nations. The juridical and political values and the procedures which should govern the use of force in relations among States have been defined by the Charter. Specific Chapters and Articles define the specific procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the powers of the organs of the United Nations entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security.

The General Assembly more specifically elucidated the basic principles of the Charter in this regard in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and, of course, in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Yet, the world has not achieved much progress in recent years in ensuring genuine and enduring international security and an effective reduction and control of armaments.

This is a fact that must be correctly understood and analysed. It reflects the nature and the realities of the contemporary international scene. At the risk of repeating truisms, one must re-emphasize that the inadequacies and
failures in the areas of disarmament and international security generally must be attributed to the attitude and political will of the States Members of the United Nations first and foremost. The Security Council cannot act effectively to thwart aggression and enforce resolutions unless the permanent members can act in unison. Progress towards disarmament is, in the end, contingent upon mutual confidence and the common willingness of the major Powers to exchange reasonable concessions in a spirit of compromise under adequate guarantees.

It must be acknowledged that important steps towards the reduction of international tension have been realized in recent years. East-West détente has had its impact on the international scene. Tension in Europe has been dramatically reduced, and relations in Europe have visibly improved. In the field of disarmament, concrete steps forward have been achieved through bilateral agreements between the two major Powers, particularly within the SALT talks. We have just concluded in this Committee a comprehensive discussion on the question of disarmament and a general evaluation of its problems and progress. It has been generally agreed, I think, that the steps recently achieved in the field of disarmament are positive but modest. The nuclear Powers are still not all represented in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament or in the proposed world disarmament conference. The spread of nuclear weapons has not been contained, in the spirit of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, although strongly discouraged by an increasingly concerned world public opinion. Technical problems and the over-all problem of mutual distrust have not been satisfactorily resolved in the broad area of nuclear and conventional disarmament, particularly among the major Powers. Vigorous initiatives must be taken within the United Nations and by the Powers directly concerned to encourage continued negotiations for the achievement of concrete steps towards general and complete disarmament.

Let me re-emphasize, in conclusion, that international security is a concept that must be redefined as well as an international situation that must be created; it is a comprehensive and dynamic concept. Super-Power détente, the reduction of tension in Europe and progressive steps in the field of disarmament cannot be separated from the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, the elimination of colonial and racial domination and the equitable restructuring of economic
relations between the privileged and the underprivileged nations of the world. The debates on this item and the comments of various States on it in past years have highlighted this link. We hope that at the conclusion of this debate some concrete ideas and positive courses of action will emerge in the interest of the international community.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to announce that Senegal and Egypt have become sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/1.706.
Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): I wish to announce the decision of my delegation to sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706, which was so ably introduced this morning by the representative of Algeria. I suspect that it was due to some technical error or miscarriage of communication that Nigeria was not included in the original list of sponsors. We would like to be so accepted, having regard to our earlier indication to that effect as well as to our participation in the consultations leading to the formulation of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. BRANKOVIC (Yugoslavia): I should like to apologize to the representative of Nigeria, and to inform the Committee that the omission of the name of Nigeria from the original list of sponsors was only a technical one.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to announce that Nepal has become a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

Mr. YUSUF (Somalia): Somalia was one of the original sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706, and we should appreciate it very much if our country's name is shown as one of the original sponsors of that draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: The comments of the representative of Somalia will be duly recorded.

I now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

Mr. ERELLI (Israel): I should like to exercise my right of reply in reference to some of the statements made earlier this morning in our Committee by the representative of Algeria and the representative of Hungary.
The representative of Algeria, among other things, asserted that the war
of October 1973 in the Middle East resulted from an Israeli attack. He used
the word "aggression" in this connexion, if I am not mistaken. If he really
believes what he said, then I think he ought to have his head examined -- and
I mean no personal offence at all. If he does not believe what he said, then he
has treated this Committee with utter contempt.

As to the representative of Hungary, it is to be deplored that he has
once again voiced support for the murder organization calling itself the PLO.
Any encouragement of that organization in fact encourages the murder of
civilians and women and children in Israel and does not at all advance the
cause of peace in the Middle East, which must come about by peaceful means.
However, no one will seriously claim that the Government of Hungary has
independent views in this matter, or in any other matters pertaining to the
Middle East.

Mr. SHARAF (Jordan): I realize that the Chair has repeatedly appealed
to us all to restrain ourselves and to confine ourselves to the issue before us,
which is a broad and important and pressing one. The representative of Israel,
however, has raised issues that ought to be answered, even only briefly.
The main and central one is with regard to the developments in the Middle East,
particularly during the last year, and to the fact that war took place in October
last year. It takes no great intelligence, nor continuous visits to a doctor
to have one's head examined, to realize that aggression is not an act that
takes place just overnight. It is even worse and more pressing when the
aggression continues for seven years, or even longer. The Arab countries
which went to war as a last resort in October of last year went to war only
because they felt despair and lack of hope for any progress in having their own
national territory liberated from an aggression and an occupation that had
continued for over seven years. They were, I think, fully justified and were
acting within their own rights, defined in the Charter as self-defence, but
also defined as inalienable, I think, by very basic human conventions, concepts
and principles.
Mrs. GHEEB (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to reply to the representative of Israel.

With regard to our support for the PLO, I do not think it is only Hungary that supports that organization, for after all the PLO was even invited to participate in the General Assembly's debate, which shows that the majority of the countries represented here support the PLO.

The other statement to which I wish to reply was with regard to our independence. I think no one has the right to interfere in our internal affairs. Also, we are known to be a particularly independent Member of the United Nations in all our views, and the representative of Israel has no right to interfere in our internal affairs.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.