Twenty-eighth Session
FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 30 November 1973, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. BORCH (Denmark)
Rapporteur: Mr. de SOTO (Peru)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security /397/ (continued)

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AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)


Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Once again the First Committee is considering one of the most important problems of the day, the question of the strengthening of international security. The experience of the last few sessions has shown that the discussion of this problem is in keeping with the vital interests of all peace-loving States since it is designed to bring about a fuller use of the United Nations capacity to strengthen peace and to defend the political independence of all States.

The unanimous adoption at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was a major event in the struggle of the peace-loving democratic forces of the United Nations for the implementation of its fundamental central task: the maintenance of international peace and security.

The overwhelming majority of States -- primarily the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America -- have given the widest support to the proposal of the Soviet Union for the comprehensive consideration of this problem by the United Nations, and this is clearly demonstrated by the decisions at both the Third Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka in 1970 and the Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers in September 1973.

The consideration of this question at this session is taking place under special circumstances. In spite of the designs still being harboured by certain forces in a number of cases and which are being intensified in other cases -- forces which even now think in terms of the old categories of the cold war and are coming out in favour of an unbridled increase in military budgets and the stepping up of nuclear potential, something which today's facts reject -- in the world at large a more favourable and largely novel atmosphere is taking shape. In international relations we note a perceptible change
in favour of the reduction of tension and the slackening of the threat of a direct confrontation between the two world systems. The foundations are being laid for qualitatively new relations among States and the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems is gaining ever wider international legal recognition.
Evidence of important positive changes that have taken place in the international atmosphere is the cessation of war in Viet-Nam, which was a tremendous triumph for the Viet-Namese people and the continuing easing of tension and the normalization of the situation in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, the agreements on the normalization of relations among European States, the successful conclusion of the preparatory consultations and the beginning of the work of the Pan-European Conference on Co-operation and Security, talks on the reduction and multilateral agreements with regard to armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, agreements for the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of strategic armaments concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States, and finally, the expansion of the scale of international economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation. In this way, we have before us evidence of a tremendously important change in international relations, a changeover from the cold war to détente, from military confrontation to the stabilization of security and peaceful co-operation.

With regard to the important positive changes which have occurred in international relations, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces on 27 October stated:

"The protracted and persistent struggle of the peoples against the outbreak of a new world war, for a lasting peace and international security, has been marked in recent years by appreciable success, by considerable progress. To mention the most important factor, the danger which has hovered over the head of mankind ever since the second half of the forties, the danger of the outbreak of world nuclear rocket warfare, has begun to decrease, and the prospects for the preservation of universal peace have become ever better and ever more reliable than they were ten or twelve years ago."

The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to point out that in the atmosphere which prevails at the present time, tremendous importance should be attached to the further activation of the efforts of all countries, great and small, to confirm lasting peace on earth. The peoples of the Soviet Union
are well aware and will always remember that with the peoples of the socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, they constitute an important part of the constant, permanent army of national liberation, progress and peace on our planet. In this regard, we should point out that in recent years we have witnessed the growth of the role in the international arena of the non-aligned States and the outlines are becoming ever clearer of the anti-imperialist anti-colonial tendency of the policy of a majority of these countries. This is clearly shown by the results of the recently concluded conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers.

An important role in the implementation of the requirements of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security should be played by international progressive public opinion, which is ever more insistently calling for the further easing of tension and the creation of conditions for a genuinely lasting peace. This is clearly shown by the World Congress of Peace-loving Forces which was held in Moscow from 25 to 31 October this year. The World Congress marked an important stage in the struggle of the peoples of the world for the preservation and stabilization of peace and has made an important contribution to the development of better mutual understanding and co-operation between organizations that have the most widely divergent political views, but are all striving for one noble objective, that is, to protect the present and future generations from the scourge of war. The documents of the Congress, particularly its call to the nations of the world, the communique entitled "For international security and disarmament, for national independence, co-operation and peace", is convincing testimony of the fact that the fundamental purposes and aspirations of the World Congress, namely, to do everything possible to promote peace on earth and fruitful co-operation among States and peoples, coincide with the fundamental purposes and tasks of the United Nations, as enunciated in its Charter. We should like to point out that participating in the work of the Congress were representatives of delegations of various organs of the United Nations.
The changeover to détente was the result of the interaction of powerful State and public forces, the consequence of the change in the balance of forces in the world arena in favour of the forces of peace and socialism and the result of the active and positive efforts of the socialist countries. Among these efforts we should point out particularly the steps taken by the Soviet Union in order to prevent world-wide rocket nuclear conflict.

In this context it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Soviet-American agreement on the prevention of the threat of nuclear war. This agreement is a milestone on the way to a very noble objective, which is, to do everything possible to spare mankind nuclear catastrophe, and this agreement is a highly significant step towards easing the danger of a confrontation between the two world systems, which would inevitably lead to a serious catastrophe for the whole of humanity.

Although this agreement still does not imply the direct prohibition of nuclear weapons, it still contains an extremely clear and well-defined obligation for the parties to act in such a way as to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war between them and also between any other parties and other countries. Such an obligation, with the clearly formulated will expressed by both parties to respect the rights and interests of all States, is an important element for a radical improvement in the international situation. It is easy to understand the extent to which this measure decreases the possibility of the outbreak of nuclear war. It also, to a considerable extent, promotes the formation in the world of a new moral and psychological atmosphere in which it becomes much easier for the peace-loving forces to withstand the aggressive designs of the imperialist forces and to fight for the implementation and the taking of new steps to improve the atmosphere and to ease tension.
Of no less importance for the strengthening of international peace and security, in our view, is also the document dealing with fundamental principles of negotiations for the further limitation of strategic offensive weapons. In this document, for the first time in history, in international form, we find enshrined the extremely important principles of negotiations and agreements on disarmament, and the limitation of the arms race, that is, the principle of the equal security of the parties and the inadmissibility of the obtaining of one-sided advantages. Accordingly, the document on the fundamental principles of negotiations sets forth the method, the approach, whereby all States, if they sincerely so wish, can achieve genuine progress in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

The Soviet delegation would like to make it absolutely clear that the readiness of other States to associate themselves with the principles laid down jointly by the USSR and the United States of America on the renunciation of the use of force, and the taking of decisive measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war, would be of extreme importance for the ensuring of universal security and durable peace on earth.

As we know, a major event in international life which made an important contribution to the efforts of States to strengthen international security was the adoption, on the initiative of the USSR, at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, of the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the adoption by the Security Council of appropriate measures for the full implementation of the provisions contained in this resolution, solemnly proclaimed by the Assembly on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations, renouncing the use of force and permanently prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, and also the binding nature of this statement, is something which is of particular importance at the present time when the world is witnessing an ever-increasing trend towards resolving controversy by peaceful means.
The delegation of the USSR considers it important for the Security Council to take a decision which would confirm the indissoluble link between the non-use of force, with the assistance both of conventional and nuclear weapons. Such a decision would be in keeping with the interests of the equal security of all States great and small. In its relations with other countries, the Soviet Union is pursuing a course for the States to include in bilateral and multilateral instruments, a provision in support of the principle of the non-use of force and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Such provisions have been included by the Soviet Union in a number of international instruments which have recently been signed by the Soviet Union with other countries.

In the view of the Soviet Union, the struggle for the radical improvement of the international atmosphere requires persistent and multi-faceted efforts. At the present time all the States Members of the United Nations have by now acquired considerable experience in resolving international problems, which shows that we can achieve real progress in various areas. All we need to do is to choose consistently the problems on which it is possible to achieve agreement right now in existing circumstances, and not to go on asking for all or nothing. For example, if two Powers, the USSR and the United States of America, have been able to agree on one of the most sensitive questions from the point of view of security, which affects this major form of weaponry -- that is, nuclear rocket weapons -- with the most scrupulous observance of the principle of equal security, then why cannot, for example, all the five nuclear Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, agree to a voluntary reduction of their military budgets and the allocation of part of the funds so saved for the provision of assistance to developing countries.

If this reduction is carried out equally by each State, it will not affect the principle of equal security. It is precisely this which is provided for in the USSR proposal for a 10 per cent reduction in the military budgets of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, China and the Soviet Union.

One of the most urgent tasks of the day, in the view of the Soviet Government, is that of promoting the total success of the Pan-European Conference on Co-operation
and Security. Decisions should be taken at this Conference such as would develop and deepen further the process of détente and lay down a secure foundation for security and co-operation in Europe. This is precisely the aim of the draft resolution put before the Conference by the Soviet delegation: a draft declaration on the foundations for European security and the principles of relations among European States, a document prepared in the light of the positions of the majority of States participating in the Conference.

However, it should be pointed out that the attempts of certain circles to use the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and its aspiration to détente in Europe and throughout the world, in order to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries, are doomed to total failure. The internal affairs of States fall fully within the scope of the sovereignty and jurisdiction of these States themselves. There is nothing new about this, of course. This is one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries are actions against the Charter and by no means contribute to a strengthening of international security.

In circumstances where the world is divided into two systems, international security can be built only on the full and unswerving observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence and, in particular, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. The Soviet Government has consistently pursued a policy of trying to achieve the expansion and extension of détente to the whole world, and we firmly believe that peace is indivisible.

The fundamental structural change which has begun in international relations can become stable and durable only if the process of improvement and the normalization of international relations is extended to all parts of the world and embraces all the major problems of the present day.
In this regard there are already some encouraging signs that the positive
trends in world development are universal. However, the easing of
international tension is not something that travels in a straight line
with no obstacles in its path. In various parts of the world, as
a result of the aggressive policies of various States, hotbeds of
dangerous conflict still survive and, what is more, military
confrontations are actually taking place. That is why one of the most
urgent tasks of the present day is the immediate settlement of situations
of conflict engendered by imperialist aggression. We must do everything
in our power to promote the total restoration of peace throughout
Indo-China and to give the peoples of Indo-China themselves the opportunity
to decide their own destiny.

The tremendous exploit of the heroic Viet-Namese people and its
outstanding victory constitute a success generally for the forces of peace,
democracy and socialism. The war in Viet-Nam has never been and could
never have been a purely regional phenomenon, it deeply affected the
interests of many States and its consequences have had an effect on world
politics as a whole. The very fact of aggression against a socialist
State blocked the way towards the improvement of the international atmosphere
to a considerable extent.

The struggle for the elimination of the hotbed of war in South East
Asia was one of the keypoints of the peace programme of the twenty-fourth
Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and became a general
demand of the socialist States and all progressive contemporary forces.
The Soviet Union has been unswerving and continues to be unswerving in its
support of the position of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional
Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam which call for
the unswerving implementation of the Paris Agreement by all parties.

The Soviet Union has consistently favoured a settlement of the Middle
East situation which continues to remain complicated and dangerous to the
cause of universal peace. Just a few weeks ago we all witnessed how,
because of the Israeli aggressors who arrogantly occupied Arab lands, and
as a result of their undermining of the political settlement in the
Middle East, war was actually renewed in the Middle East. The stumbling-block which inhibits the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is the aggressive policy of Israel and the encouragement of that country in its policy by Zionist and imperialist forces. The position of the Soviet Union in this regard is very clear: Israeli troops must be totally withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories, the rights of the Arab peoples must be fully guaranteed and the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine must also be observed. It is only on this basis that a just and hence lasting peace can be established in the Middle East and that the security of all States and peoples in that area, without exception can be guaranteed. The settlement of the Middle East crisis without any doubt would facilitate an improvement of the situation both in that region and throughout the world. The Soviet Union, faithful to the principles of solidarity with the struggle against aggression, for independence and the rights of peoples, has given and will continue to give all necessary assistance and support to the Arab States, the victims of Israeli aggression, in their just struggle.

While mentioning the great complexity of the situation in the Middle East, at the same time it is possible to note that for a just and lasting settlement of the crisis in this area conditions now exist that are more favourable than earlier, and an important role for the creation of these favourable conditions was played by the international détente for which the Soviet Union has consistently fought and is still fighting.

It is equally important to see that the process of the extension of détente throughout the world is something that embraces the Asian continent so that this process could include the whole of Asia. In this regard, and of particular importance, is the idea of collective security in Asia, an idea which has recently obtained considerable support in many countries in that area. The Soviet Union, as is well known, is the largest country in Asia, territorially speaking, and we are ready to do everything in our power to see to it that events in this continent follow a generally favourable course of development, of détente, of good neighbourliness and
co-operation. We are firmly convinced that Asia can and must live according to the laws of peace and that collective security is the real and correct course towards that end.

The Soviet Union wants to exclude wars and armed conflicts, and imperialist aggression, from the Asian continent so that every country and people can be guaranteed conditions for its free development and national revival so that in mutual relations among all Asian countries a spirit of mutual understanding should prevail. We are in favour of equal participation within the system of collective security of all Asian countries without exception. Such a system should not give any one-sided advantages to any country and every country of Asia should make a contribution to the creation of this state of affairs. The Soviet Union would welcome the participation of China in any measures designed to strengthen Asian security.

The building of such a system of collective security in Asia would create favourable conditions for the elimination of hotbeds of tension still surviving in Asia in such areas as Indo-China, the Middle East, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Korean peninsula. The cornerstone of the creation of such a system in Asia already exists. These are things we have inherited from history. Many principles upon which a system of collective security in Asia could be based have been proclaimed in the historic decisions of the Bandung Conference. Other principles have been reflected in a number of international documents affecting Asia. The Soviet Union would like to see principles such as the renunciation of the use of force in the resolution of international controversies, respect for the sovereignty and inviolability of frontiers, non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries and peoples, the broad development of economic and other kinds of co-operation on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage, the inadmissibility of the annexation of the territory of others, the inalienable right of every people to be master of its natural resources and to carry out social and economic reforms, and so on, underlying it.
(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

The interests of the strengthening of international peace -- the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security -- demand that all States also take effective measures to implement United Nations decisions on decolonization, the elimination of apartheid and racism, in order to bring about an early elimination of hotbeds of colonial and racial conflicts that threaten international peace and security and prevent the peoples from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.
The Soviet Union was the initiator of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and continues to march in the vanguard of the army fighting for the national liberation of peoples which are still under the colonial yoke. We shall consistently pursue a policy of further developing and strengthening co-operation with the young independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Soviet Union considers the United Nations to be an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and the ensuring of international security, and that is why we favour the adoption by States of practical measures to enhance the authority of this Organization. We believe that a necessary factor for the enhancement of its effectiveness in the interests of the strengthening of peace and security to the advantage of all peoples is strict observance of the United Nations Charter by all Members of the Organization.

The delegation of the USSR considers that the discussion of the question of the strengthening of international security at this session should promote the use of those possibilities which the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly enshrined in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Those possibilities, in our view, should be used in such a way as to promote the strengthening and the entrenchment of the process of détente and the expansion of peaceful co-operation of States and a reduction of the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war, and to prepare the ground for new steps towards a stable peace.

Therefore a comprehensive discussion of the problem of the strengthening of international security this year should take place in such a way as to promote the efforts of the peace-loving States to strengthen the principle of peaceful coexistence and to promote a fuller use of the possibilities which have been opened up as a result of the détente which has been brought about in the international situation. For these purposes, there should be comprehensive consideration at this session of measures taken by States for the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and also new concrete steps should be indicated for the further implementation of its most important provisions.
At this session we must also identify the reasons which have hindered the full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. Something which has now become a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly is the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which will continue to be an urgent and topical matter as long as there are in operation forces which have an interest, not in implementing the principles of the United Nations Charter, but in opposing the process of détente and in bringing back the cold war and continuing the arms race. The Soviet Union would like to see this session of the Assembly, in accordance with this Declaration, call upon States to develop international co-operation, to conclude bilateral and multilateral agreements to maintain peace on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and to express its support of the efforts of States to strengthen collective security on a regional basis. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, speaking yesterday in the Indian Parliament, said:

"We consider it our task to do everything in our power to promote a radical improvement of the world situation which would make it possible to create firm guarantees for peace and ensure genuine peaceful coexistence, détente and the broad development of international co-operation. And this is precisely the objective of the programme of peace prepared at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has become the platform of the foreign policy activity of our State."

We firmly believe that this session can and must make a contribution to the efforts of many States to ensure that the present détente becomes an irreversible trend and is the beginning of a fundamental restructuring of international relations, something which would benefit all States, great and small, of all continents.

Mr. FUNISAGNO ROV (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly.
consistent implementation of the ideas and principles of the Declaration by all States is a necessary condition for the strengthening of international peace and the strengthening of mutual trust and friendly co-operation among States and the implementation of the fundamental purpose of the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Republic has set forth its position on this question in its reply to the note of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in document A/9192.

My delegation would like to point out that at the present time in international life positive changes are occurring which can constitute the beginning of a radical restructuring of international relations on the basis of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. Underlying those changes we find there is a general change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of peace and social progress, and this is something which is conducive to the creation of the foundations for a lasting peace on earth. The positive changes have become possible primarily thanks to the active initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the intensification of the efforts of all peace-loving States, progressive world public opinion, and also the display of realism in the approach to urgent international problems. It should be stressed how great is the importance of the agreements, particularly the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, which was signed during the visit of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, to the United States, and the talks between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and France at the summit with a view to the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of international security.

Particularly perceptible, in our view, are the changes which have occurred in Europe, where the trend for a change-over from confrontation towards détente and co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence have manifested themselves in a concrete form, in a whole system of treaties and agreements, and also in the convening of an all-European Conference on Security and Co-operation.
In the view of our delegation, in the present circumstances the efforts of the international community should be designed to extend the process of détente to all parts of the world. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Tsedenbal, speaking at a meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace in Ulan Bator on 22 September of this year, stated:

"The Mongolian People's Republic, as a peace-loving Asian State, sincerely wishes to see on this continent the establishment of a stable peace which would ensure favourable conditions for the attainment of social and economic progress of all Asian countries and peoples."
It is important to point out that in Asia where, after the Second World
War, extremely bloody and destructive aggressive wars occurred, launched by
imperialism, a situation has been created which is propitious for the
strengthening of international security. As a result of the heroic struggle of
the Viet-Namese people and the international support that it received, the flame
of aggressive war in South East Asia has been extinguished, a war which threatened
universal peace.

The signing at the beginning of this year of the Paris Agreements, the
Agreement on the restoration of peace and the achievement of national accord
in Laos were serious steps towards the normalization of the situation in
Indo-China.

As a result of the Indo-Pakistan talks in Simla and Delhi, a number of
problems affecting relations between these States of the Indian
subcontinent were settled.

As we know, new positive trends have been observed in the Korean peninsula
also. Our delegation views the decision of the present session of the
General Assembly with regard to the dissolution of United Nations Commission
for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea as a first important step in the
right direction. We now await decisions on such most important elements of the
Korean problem as the question of the dissolution of the United
Nations Command and the withdrawal of foreign troops which have been occupying
South Korea under the United Nations flag. The Mongolian People's Republic
firmly adheres to the view that the Korean people itself should resolve its own
national problems without any outside interference. On this basis, the
Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the constructive programme
of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, consisting of

A general improvement in the international situation makes it easier for
the Asian countries to take energetic measures to seek ways and means of ensuring
durable peace and security on the largest continent in the world. In this regard,
I should like to stress that the idea of creating a system of collective security
in Asia deserves the most serious study and all-around support, a system that
would involve the participation of all States in the area. The creation of
such a system based upon the principles of peaceful coexistence and other fundamental ideas of equal and mutually advantageous relations between States, enshrined in the United Nations Charter would guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of every Asian State and would be in keeping with the national interests both of the individual countries and of the development of broad international co-operation. The creation of a system of collective security in Asia with its population numbering more than 2,000 million, which constitutes about 60 per cent of the world's population and which plays an important role in the world's politics, would, of course, have tremendous influence on the strengthening of universal peace. It would also permit the Asian States, many of which are developing countries, to devote considerable material and financial resources to the tasks of accelerating social and economic progress.

Of course, the creation for the first time of a general system of Asian collective security is by no means a simple matter. We need time and patience, and tremendous efforts must be made to overcome the divisions, lack of trust and prejudice which have been sown by imperialism and reaction and which are now being fanned into life by opponents of the creation of this system. But we consider that, given the general will and desire to establish a stable peace in Asia, the creation of a system of collective security in that continent is an attainable goal.

In order to achieve an improvement in the international situation in Asia, what is needed first and foremost is the elimination of the hot-beds of tension that survive. In South Viet-Nam flagrant violations of the Paris Agreements by the Saigon administration have not ceased and we are witnessing a continuation of armed conflict in Cambodia.

The explosive situation in the Middle East is still continuing, where the extremist circles of Israel are flouting the well-known resolutions of the Security Council. We consider that a settlement of the Middle East crisis can be achieved only on the basis of the withdrawal by Israel of its troops from all the occupied Arab territories and by the guaranteeing of the legitimate rights and security of all States and peoples of that area, including the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.
The present situation requires that the positive changes that have occurred in international relations should be ever further deepened and developed by concrete practical actions and measures. The proposal of the Soviet Union for the reduction by 10 per cent of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations and the utilization of part of the funds so saved for the provision of assistance to developing countries, sets on a practical footing one of the most important ideas of the Declaration on the indissoluble link between international security, disarmament and economic development. The realization of this initiative of the Soviet Union which strengthens mutual understanding and trust among States, would provide real additional assistance to the developing countries and would undoubtedly open up new prospects for further steps to call a halt to the arms race and to solve the problem of disarmament. Therefore, our delegation wholeheartedly supports that proposal.

We must point out that in recent years certain progress has been achieved in limiting the arms race, primarily nuclear and strategic weapons. Bacteriological weapons have been prohibited. The Mongolian People's Republic considers it necessary to call a halt to all forms of nuclear testing in all environments by all States and also to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

The position of the Mongolian People's Republic is well known and is that we have consistently favoured the idea of a properly prepared world disarmament conference being convened without unjustified delay. We attach particular importance to the implementation of the decision of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations, with the simultaneous permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, on the basis of the development of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, is directing its efforts towards the practical implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Mongolia has actively supported the new initiatives which have promoted détente and the development of peaceful co-operation among States. As a member of the Conference of the Committee on
Disarmament, Mongolia has been taking part in the preparation of concrete measures to resolve the problem of limiting the arms race and of disarmament.

My country is constantly expanding its foreign policy, its scientific, technological and cultural links between States and favours the strengthening of the spirit of mutual understanding and trust among nations. The visit of the First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Tsedenbal, to India and Iran this year has promoted not only an improvement in bilateral relations with those countries, but have also served the interests of Asian peace and security.
In the spirit of the Declaration, my country supports the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence and for the complete elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations, and in so far as we have been able we have been providing them with material and moral support and assistance.

Our delegation notes with satisfaction the important steps taken to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the achievement of universality of the United Nations. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the United Nations was an event of great importance which will enhance the effectiveness of its activities as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

There is also no doubt about the positive role the United Nations has played in the cessation of the military conflict in the Middle East.

At the same time we consider it to be an abnormal situation that the People's Republic of Bangladesh, which has been recognized by more than 100 countries, is still not a Member of the United Nations although it has stated its desire to become one.

The activities of the opponents of the improvement of the international atmosphere, who are militantly opposing positive proposals and initiatives and sowing the seeds of hostility and mistrust among peoples and trying to transform the United Nations into a platform for out-and-out anti-Sovietism are deserving of condemnation. One does not need to be a prophet in order to foresee where the world would finally end up as a result of such a policy of resisting the positive changes that have been occurring in international life and attempts to complicate and make more difficult the solving of vital problems for mankind, such as the elimination of hotbeds of tension and military conflict, the creation of regional systems of collective security, the limitation of the arms race, disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and so on.

In our day we are witnessing the constant growth of the role of the social and public forces in favour of the strengthening of peace and international security. That is clearly shown by the historic World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces held in Moscow, which expressed the aspirations of hundreds of millions of
people of all continents for the strengthening of international peace and security, mutual understanding and co-operation.

We believe that businesslike co-operation with the numerous non-governmental organizations and movements on the basis of the common goal of strengthening international security will promote and enhance the effectiveness of the work of our Organization.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will continue to do everything in its power to support the work of the United Nations designed to deepen the positive changes that are occurring in the world today and the strengthening of international peace and security.

That, briefly, is the position of the Mongolian People's Republic on the subject under discussion.

Mr. AL-WAFRI (Syrian Arab Republic): Once again we have before us the question of strengthening international security, and once again we are trying through constructive discussion and useful exchanges of views to find ways and means that can bring us closer to our goal.

Looking back over the last few years we see that, while genuine changes and significant developments have occurred in international relations in the field of improving the political climate in several regions of the world and promoting co-operation and coexistence trends among certain States, the world witnessed with deep disappointment the absence of such developments in other regions and the failure of the policy of détente either to prevent aggressive wars or to realize the lofty objectives set forth in the Charter.

We do not, of course, under-estimate the positive progress made by the policy of détente, particularly with regard to European security, and reducing the possibility of confrontation between the major Powers, which undoubtedly contributed effectively to the protection of mankind from its disastrous consequences. But in practice the beneficial results of that policy have not yet been extended to areas where peoples are still suffering from colonial domination, foreign occupation and racist régimes. One cannot overlook the fact that there is a widespread feeling in the world today that the value of détente and its impact on world peace and security is indeed in question.
Défense should not in any way be interpreted as a means by which the aggressive forces can exploit the trend of improvement in international relations to intensify their positions or, as the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers this year pointed out, to shift tension from one area to another. However, if défense were limited to certain regions while other regions are still suffering under the colonial yoke, racist régimes and foreign occupation, then any effort in the field of strengthening international security would be futile and hopeless.

No one is unaware of the escalation of danger to world peace and security in many parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East and Africa. As we members of this Committee now deal with a question of implementation we should not ignore the fact that continued non-implementation of the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions and decisions -- in particular those relating to the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of the non-acquisition of territories by force -- constitutes a direct threat to world peace and security and hampers the positive process of défense.

It is quite clear that the process of improving international relations cannot be promoted actively unless all States bear their responsibilities under the Charter and unless efforts are mobilized for establishing international relations on the basis of law and justice rather than of force and faits accomplis created by force and aggression.

My delegation would like again to draw the attention of the world community to the explosive situation in the Middle East, which constitutes a real threat to world peace and security as a result of Israel's continued refusal to withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories and its denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Everybody knows that Israel cannot carry on its aggressive and expansionist policy without the assistance of the imperialist Powers.
No one can argue the fact that Zionist aggression, which since 1948 has created a state of terror and belligerence in the Middle East and led to four wars, would certainly involve the whole world in a total war that would be more brutal and more savage than any that mankind has ever known. That could have happened last month when Mr. Nixon, during Israel's aggressive and expansionist war against Syria and Egypt, threatened to send his forces to Israel not only, of course, to protect it but also to support its aggression and to strengthen its hand in the occupied Arab territories. For this purpose Mr. Nixon placed American military forces on a world-wide "precautionary alert" and started to pour huge amounts of arms into Israel through the Portuguese Azores base which was put at his disposal by the Portuguese Government in order to get in return his military support in the colonial wars that Portugal is waging against the African peoples. Mr. Nixon, who is, of course, not unaware of the dangerous results of this policy, responded readily to Portuguese pressure because of the strategic importance of the Azores to any future United States airlift to Israel and has asked Congress to kill an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which would make a law of the 1961 Executive Order forbidding the use of United States arms in Portuguese Africa, as was reported in the Washington Post on 14 November.

It is quite clear that this situation, which was created by the United States and is contrary to the trend of détente, could certainly develop into a world war in which the first region outside of the Middle East that would suffer would be Europe. That should make certain European countries which continue to support the dangerous aggressive policy of Israel and its protector, the United States, understand that they and the security of their continent will not, in any way, be safe as long as the Israeli aggression continues to exist in the Middle East.

These developments have exposed the aggressive nature of the imperialist foreign presence, which, indeed, constitutes a direct threat to the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, as well as to the peoples that are fighting to liberate their national soil from the colonial yoke, racist régimes and foreign occupation. Unless the imperialist foreign presence is eliminated in all its manifestations, there can be no talk about the positive and effective impact of détente on international peace and security.
As the United Nations is about to achieve universality and as implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security depends totally on the implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, it should be given a greater role in international relations and its effectiveness in dealing with world political and economic problems must be enhanced.

We believe that the strengthening of the capability of the United Nations and the full implementation of its resolutions and decisions by all States would consolidate international co-operation and promote law and order throughout the world.

Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): During the present session a number of delegations have referred often to a number of events that have taken place lately and that have contributed towards the improvement of the international atmosphere and increasing the prospect of the achievement of world peace.

These factors of détente, which have been noted primarily in Europe and have been felt in the relations among the relatively more developed Powers, are positive elements and have been greeted throughout the world. The extension of international détente is the product of the policies of peace of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as the growth and consolidation of socialism all over the world, and the tenacious struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonialism.

However, we cannot overlook the obvious duality of the world of today. No one can be unaware of the fact that together with the positive elements to which I have referred, there exist situations that contradict them and which continue to develop despite détente, that grave conflicts break out, and while understanding and co-operation would appear to prevail in some regions of the world, in others colonialism, aggression and the policies of interference and hegemony of imperialism continue to hold sway.

The strengthening of international security inevitably needs the creation of a cogent programme to wipe out colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, stop imperialist aggression, and adopt effective measures to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the nations of the third world. That goal
presupposes a very close relationship between the socialist and non-aligned
nations and the joint action which they must undertake with the national
liberation movements and popular forces all over the world. The cause of peace
and liberation is one and the same, and therefore the basic interests of peoples
must coincide and be one. The security of one State or group cannot be considered
complete and definitive while others are still subject to becoming victims of
aggression or to being oppressed by foreign pressures or exposed to their threats.

The most outstanding example of the internationalist revolutionary fighter
of this era, Mr. Che Guevara, stated the following in 1965 at the second seminar
of Afro-Asian solidarity in Algieria:

"There are no frontiers in this struggle to the death. We cannot
watch in complacency what happens in any part of the world. Victory over
imperialism by any nation is our victory, and the defeat of any nation is
our defeat and the defeat of all. The exercise of international
proletarianism is not only the duty of those people who want to ensure
a better future; it is also an inevitable fact. If the imperialist enemy --
North American or otherwise -- continues his acts against the developing
and under-developed peoples and against the socialist nations, elementary
logic dictates the need for the under-developed nations and the socialist
countries to ally themselves. If there were no other factor to unite them,
the common enemy would provide the cement".

That internationalist view of solidarity is the underlying element of the
foreign policy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.
It is for this reason that my country fulfils its responsibilities within the revolutionary struggle and endeavours to strengthen the combative union of all anti-imperialist Powers. Infused with the same idea, we strengthen those efforts to paralyse the aggressive hand of the warmongers, to encourage international co-operation and increase the possibilities of peace. In our search for an over-all peace and effective international security, we must, however, consider the realities of the present-day world in all its multifarious complexity.

The Fourth Congress of the Heads of States and Government of the Non-Aligned Nations that met in Algiers, in September of this year, took up the message that was issued by Commander Guevara eight years earlier. The participants at that time, speaking for the majority of the Members of this Organization, approved a programme which duly defined the present international situation and defined a coherent strategy which will allow that movement to converge with the efforts of the socialist countries and the other forces involved in encouraging and strengthening peace and international justice. When speaking to the present situation, the Summit Conference of Algiers approved the following definition:

"While considerable progress has been made towards East-West détente, the fact that peoples are in direct confrontation with colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, alien domination and foreign occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism, remains an indisputable reality of our age.

"Peace is far from being assured in all parts of the world, as evidenced by the situation prevailing in Indo-China despite the Paris Agreements, and the cessation of American bombardments in Cambodia, in the Middle East where the situation continues to deteriorate, in Africa where there is a renewed outbreak of colonial wars of extermination and of aggression of all kinds against the independent States, and in Latin America, where colonial situations still remain and where there is an increase in imperialist plots against the sovereignty and security of States."
"As long as colonial wars, apartheid, imperialist aggression, alien domination and foreign occupation and power politics, economic exploitation and plunder prevail, peace will prove limited in principle and scope."

In fact, imperialism, colonialism, racism, economic exploitation and foreign aggression, are still so many of the factors that we inevitably face in international life and they have a burdensome effect on the future of mankind.

The Paris agreements have not as yet produced the fruits expected from their ripening. United States imperialism continues in its interference in the domestic affairs of the Indo-Chinese people; it upholds the Thiệu clique, it supports it in its constant violations of the peace agreements, it is still introducing military equipment and weapons, and financial assistance as well as logistic help in the southern part of Viet-Nam, in order to continue the war, to perpetuate its interference and to assure for itself the conversion of southern Viet-Nam into a Yankee colony. In Cambodia it still upholds the tottering Lon Nol régime, standing as it does only in Phnom Penh defended by American bayonets. In Laos it tries to undermine the agreements arrived at and to perpetuate its interference there.

The international community can no longer passively watch the events taking place in Indo-China. The international community must rise as one with the peoples of the region that have risen and shown the greatest heroism in their successful resistance against North American aggression.

The non-aligned nations already pointed to the road when they recognized the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Viet-Nam and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as full fledged members.

The United Nations must immediately put an end to the discrimination against both these Governments and against the peoples that these Governments legitimately and exclusively represent. To this end, the United Nations must give full recognition in all international events over which it holds sway to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, and should restore to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia their legitimate rights in this Organization.
Recent events in the Middle East again show that peace and security in that region cannot be achieved until the root causes of the grave conflict taking place there for over a quarter of a century are eradicated. There can be no solution to these problems until the Israeli forces withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories that they took during the 1967 aggression and until the Palestine people have been allowed to exercise fully their national rights.

The survival of colonialism and racism in Africa is still a challenge to which the international community must make an effective response. A short while ago we celebrated the proclamation of the birth of the State of Guinea-Bissau, but foreign interference continues to hold sway in Angola, Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, Namibia and other Territories. The racist minorities in South Africa and Zimbabwe still maintain their hateful régimes. The colonial and foreign enclaves in Africa constitute a constant source of provocation and aggression against the independent States of that continent and they threaten international peace and security. Aggression against the Republic of Guinea is a flagrant proof of this. They have gone as far as even threatening the life of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, an eminent son of Africa and a consistent fighter for the emancipation of the third world. But such proofs are also found in the attacks perpetrated against the United Republic of Tanzania, the People’s Republic of the Congo, Zambia and Senegal.

Concerted action to put an end to colonialism and racism in Africa and to co-operate effectively with the movements of liberation are imperative requirements if we are to strengthen international peace and security. A concrete step which the United Nations could take would be to admit the new State of Guinea-Bissau as a member. The recent decision on the part of FAO to that end is a very valid example which our Organization should immediately follow.
May I now refer to the situation in Latin America, more particularly with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Historically speaking, that continent was the main reservoir of exploitation by United States imperialism. From it the Yankee monopolies extracted their raw materials which allowed them to build their power and set themselves up as a nation with world-wide influence. The Latin American continent was considered by the imperialists as their backyard.
To exploitation they added the use of our countries as bases for their political and military adventures, intended to impose the North American will all over the world. But it is for this reason that the struggle for the full emancipation of Latin America has always had a decisive universal meaning. It has been of enormous interest to all those peoples which were struggling for their own independence elsewhere in the world. It has been a decisive factor in any consistent strategy to achieve peace and security in the world.

An international system of peaceful co-existence or co-operation among nations cannot be set up whilst in Latin America we still suffer the policies of interference, colonialism and hegemony of Yankee imperialism. Let me read the conclusion of the Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries arrived at in Algiers in September of this year, when it speaks of Latin America:

"The Conference stresses the necessity of putting an end to colonial domination where it still survives in Latin America. It reaffirms the complete solidarity of the non-aligned nations with the peoples of the region still subjected to colonialism and demands that their inalienable right to national independence be recognized. It supports the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence and supports the resolutions on Puerto Rico adopted by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization.

"It requests that the United States Goverment refrain from doing anything likely to affect directly or indirectly the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to independence.

"The Conference demands that the military bases of the United States of America on Cuban, Panamanian and Puerto Rican territories be restored to the countries which are their rightful owners.

"It supports the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for the affirmation of their sovereignty, the restoration of their natural resources and implementation of the structural changes essential for their development, and condemns the imperialistic aggressions and pressures to which these countries are subjected."
"The Conference considers that the struggle for the liberation of Latin America is an important factor in the struggle of its peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and is a contribution towards achieving and strengthening peace and international security.

"The Conference hails the Government and people of Chile, who in their struggle to consolidate their independence and build a new society are facing the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism. It expresses its solidarity with Chile in its efforts to achieve the economic and social transformations already started, to avoid civil war and preserve its national unity.

"It hails the Government and people of Peru in their struggle to safeguard their national sovereignty, win back the wealth of their country and change its economic, social and political structures.

"It hails the victory of the Argentine people in their struggle for true independence and social progress.

"It supports the Government and people of Panama in their efforts to recover their sovereignty over the Canal Zone."

Today, we see the unfolding of a reactionary offensive against the independence of the Latin American people. United States imperialism stubbornly tries to divert the course of a positive achievement, such as the one defined in the joint declaration of the non-aligned nations, and to achieve that end it resorts to the most shameful means and uses the most despicable elements in the political spectrum.

The fascist coup carried out in Chile against the Government of Popular Unity shows the methods to which imperialism is ready to stoop. Chile, which yesterday stood as a symbol of liberation and hope to all the peoples of the third world, has today, because of the actions of the fascists inspired by the Pentagon, become the scene of one of the most cruel and brutal oppressions against the popular movements that Latin America recalls in this century. The fascists revolted and obeyed their orders from Washington. They are at the service of the American monopolies. They obey the orders of imperialism to wrest from the Chilean people what they legitimately had regained.
The fascist coup of 11 September was planned in Washington and its aim was to stifle the movement of emancipation started by the Government of Popular Unity, and to convert Chile once again into an appendage of the Yankee monopolies. The military coup was merely another chapter in the process of interference that began by cutting off credits and loans to President Allende, the financial and trade blockade imposed by the Yankees and the pressures and conspiracies of the transnational monopolies.

The fascist coup is an open challenge to the solemn commitment expressed to Chile by the non-aligned nations. It is also a defiance held in the face of the peoples of the third world which wish to consolidate their national independence and which saw in the Government of Popular Unity of Chile, and in President Allende's leadership, a shining example and an invaluable encouragement.

The brutal repression unleashed by the fascists, their nameless crimes against the Chilean peoples and workers, their brutal contempt for all civilized norms, all bespeak a permanent insult to mankind.

The Chilean people today are carrying out a broad struggle beset by obstacles that may call for sacrifices, but savagery will not break their desire for resistance. The Chilean people's struggle will be decisive to all the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia. The international community, the progressive peoples and nations, are in duty bound to give these Chilean anti-fascist fighters their full moral, political and material support. The struggle being waged by the workers and the students in Chile today is a struggle that affects all of us, and none of us has the right to stand aloof from it.

Cuba calls upon all independent and progressive States in the world, all those interested in preserving peace and encouraging independence and justice in the world to show massive solidarity towards the Chilean peoples and thus bring closer the time when fascism will be eradicated from that country and when Chile can once again tread the path of the third world. Solidarity towards Chile is today the first duty for all those who truly wish to consolidate their own independence and to strengthen international security by achieving true peace.
Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) (interpretation from French): The sound initiative of the Soviet Union led to the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which appears in resolution 2734 (XXV), of 15 December 1970. The Assembly subsequently adopted resolutions 2830 (XXVI) and 2993 (XXVII) concerning the implementation of that first Declaration.

My own delegation sees in that Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security a blueprint that should lead to the practical implementation of the collective responsibility of States in matters dealing with international security, since it includes directives and practical measures concerning the major problems confronting the United Nations.

The strengthening of international security is therefore of interest and concern to all Members of the United Nations, large or small. But they are of particular importance to the developing nations. Furthermore, this question commands the particular attention of the countries and the peoples which have suffered from the destructive and painful effects of aggression, foreign occupation, racial discrimination and apartheid, from violations of human rights and denial of the rights of peoples to self-determination.

To this must be added the arms race, which leads to the use of force in international relations, outside the framework of the Charter.
The discussions that have been held on the matter before us at previous sessions of the General Assembly awakened political awareness of the role and of the effectiveness of the United Nations. Bearing in mind the events that took place, we should I think re-examine the question in order to assess and gauge the respect for, and the degree of implementation by, the members of the international community of the principles of the Charter, the Declaration and the resolutions regarding the subject before us.

In the course of the debate on this question during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, my delegation stated what is still timely and, therefore, I quote it:

"Egypt has always endeavoured to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. We do so out of a profound belief that by carrying out our commitments, together with many like-minded countries, we would, all of us, gradually succeed in bringing about more universal respect for the precepts of the Charter and thus thwart the persistent attempts of the few whose interest it is to see the United Nations ineffective and maimed because they no longer like the restrictions and constraints that the Charter places on the use of force." (1901st meeting, page 23-25)

With regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Secretary-General received the Egyptian reply in document A/6831/Add.3 dated 22 October 1971. However, I still believe it necessary to stress some points that are of particular importance in that reply: Egypt has condemned all manifestations of the illegal resort to armed force; we have stated that it is indispensable that the Security Council should resort to the measures adopted, including the implementation of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, when its resolutions are flouted and when international peace and security are endangered; the withdrawal of the forces of aggression is a sine qua non condition for the re-establishment of peace -- thus foreign forces must withdraw from Arab occupied territories, from Namibia, from Angola and from Mozambique, out of a respect for the universal principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force; oppressed peoples must be allowed to exercise their inalienable
right to self-determination -- for example, the people of Namibia and the Palestinian people have been denied their right to self-determination, and the exercise of that right is closely linked to the strengthening of international security; the question of international security is also linked to respect for human rights, which is an indispensable element for ensuring world peace. It is set forth in Article 55 of the Charter that the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is a prerequisite to the creation of the indispensable conditions of stability in order to ensure peaceful and friendly relations among nations; and disarmament is also linked to international security. Thus Egypt has always called for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Egypt has advocated also that the enormous sums saved by disarmament measures should be channelled into economic and social development schemes. It is for this reason that we have supported the Soviet proposal on the reduction of military budgets -- item 102 of the agenda.

Furthermore, to strengthen international security, Member States must act pursuant to: first, increased co-operation among States on an equal footing and in full and absolute respect for their sovereignty; and second, close co-operation among them to reduce the economic and social gap between the developed and the developing nations in order to ensure international economic security.

Concerning the Middle East, Egypt has agreed to all the United Nations resolutions governing the settlement of disputes. We have repeatedly stated that we are perfectly ready to fulfil all our obligations resulting from those United Nations resolutions.

Perhaps the reference to the expression "international security" has been unduly exaggerated at times. But those who have used these words to achieve illegitimate aims contrary to the Charter tend to deform what the international community understands as security.

Thus, under the pretext of a lack of security or a danger to security, Israel invaded the territories of neighbouring Arab States and annexed their territories in order to ensure what Israel's leaders have termed "security". It is under that pretext that Israel continues to occupy the territories of
three Arab States and to deny the legitimate rights to the Palestinian people, thus threatening the security of neighbouring Arab States, and to commit acts of state terrorism that are common knowledge.

It is by means of these acts of state terrorism that Israel thought it was implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is in that spirit that Israel has constantly violated the Charter of the United Nations and constantly violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Arab States, and thus threatens the security of international civil aviation.

By a series of acts of state piracy and state terrorism Israel tries to achieve a goal, which is the acceptance on the part of the Arab States of the fait accompli of foreign occupation, the annexation to Israel of occupied Arab territories and the stifling of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, these acts by Israel reflect the way it considers international security and its own security. But to describe the Israeli claims of insecurity, Mr. Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate, stated in 1971:

"Israel constantly argues that it enjoys no security to the point of depriving its neighbours of any semblance of security."

To be more precise allow me to cite Mr. Fulbright in English.

(Spoke in English)

"One begins to believe the sphere of influence of psychology that make a nation to claim that it has no security at all until it has robbed its neighbours from all semblance of security."

(Continued in French)

The Israeli occupation by its armed forces since 5 June 1967 of territories belonging to three States Members of this Organization threatens the security of the Arab States and sentences the coastal States of the Mediterranean and other countries to suffer the consequences of Israeli aggression. That dangerous situation imposed upon the community of nations by Israel has created a growing tension which makes security of the Mediterranean basin both fragile and tenuous and threatens world security also. This is a direct consequence of the insistence of Israel
on continuing its occupation of Arab territories in order to annex them, and where Egypt and other States have been denied by Israel the inalienable right to self-defence and the right to free their territories from foreign occupation.
Mr. HOLLAT (Hungary): The most important proof of the work we do here within the framework of the United Nations is in the practice of international relations in the shaping of relations between States and peoples. If our resolutions reflect correctly the true interests of Member States, the just aspirations of peoples, then they will stand the test of practice and time. And what is more, they can become levers to further progress, paving the way for the lasting settlement of the questions yet to be solved.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is of the opinion that it was the collective wisdom of Member States that manifested itself when the General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session, adopted a resolution embodying the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That Declaration was initiated by the Soviet Union, but was a result of joint efforts and an expression of the common desire and will of all peoples to live in peace and security. Faithful to the spirit of the Charter, the promoters of these efforts wished to use every possible means, both bilaterally and multilaterally, to develop international co-operation, to put out the flames of war and to eliminate potential conflicts and their causes.

We think that the systematic review of the principles and intentions contained in the Declaration gives a good opportunity to the Governments of all Member States and to all of us here collectively for examining the state of international security. At the same time, we can also make a joint analysis of the new circumstances effecting international security and propose the new measures deemed necessary to be worked out by Member States.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, relying on wide international experience, holds the view that since the adoption of the Declaration, essential changes that are favourable have occurred in the world, and many causes have contributed to the strengthening of international security. In spite of a few armed conflicts and wars of aggression that have an upsetting and serious effect — such as the continuance of Israeli aggression in the Middle East — we have reached the stage of a relative easing of international tension. Our use of the expression "relative easing" here is intentional for, in line with many speakers who have taken the floor before me, we also take the view that the easing of international tension has not yet spread over the whole world and has
not yet made itself felt beneficially in every area and in every topical issue. But as the wise old saying goes, "Rome was not built in a day".

At the same time, again on the basis of Hungary's own experience, we cannot accept as solid the arguments of those who fundamentally negate the positive changes that have taken place in international relations and who reject the growing détente. We have even heard unfounded statements to the effect that the situation now is worse than before. But analysis of the facts indicates that détente is a real process, built on the objective necessity of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. To strengthen this process and make it irreversible is the duty and interest of every country. That is why we cannot agree with those who talk about a sort of "big Power détente" and seek some dishonest ulterior motive behind the process of détente.

In this connexion, we also wish to refer here to the Hungarian Government's reply to the Secretary-General, stating in paragraph 1:

"An essential element of the new favourable changes manifests itself in a number of effective measures taken to improve the mutual relations of two permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic holds the view that the rapprochement between the two greatest thermonuclear Powers on the matters of the international arms race is encouraging with regard to the possibility of averting the danger of thermonuclear war and serves the interests of all countries in the world.

"The results produced so far by the bilateral negotiations on the limitation of strategic offensive arms promise further successes. The agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the prevention of nuclear war is another auspicious sign in the process of the strengthening of international security.

"It is a foreign policy aim of the Hungarian People's Republic to turn the favourable results of the Soviet-United States talks into common property of international life." (A/9129, p. 26)
Understandably, as a European socialist country, the Hungarian People's Republic is especially preoccupied with the conditions in Europe. In order that peace and security should really prevail in the world, in our humble submission, everyone should strive for intimate good relations, first with immediate neighbours and then with more distant ones. Socialist Hungary has inherited the memories of many painful and tragic dissensions, the consequences of mutual distrust and misunderstandings. For this reason we are doubly glad to have today good relations with all neighbouring countries. We have found ways of mutually profitable and effective co-operation. We and our socialist neighbours are united by identical principles and purposes.

We were guided by our sense of responsibility for the security of the European continent when, for years past, we have done the best we could through our active foreign policy to lay the foundations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The first stage of the European Conference, which took place in Helsinki, the capital of the kindred people of Finland, we think was successful. We hope that the second stage, still in progress, will also fulfil the hopes of the European and other States. The basis can thus be created for the institutionalization of a really lasting peace and security in Europe. It is with reasonable confidence that we participate in the very complicated and highly intricate series of negotiations, exploring the possibilities of reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe. We take part in all these discussions, with the responsibility and the intention to put détente on a firm basis, to extend co-operation to other areas which are still lacking in confidence.

Our preoccupation with European affairs and the special interests we take in them do not, however, detract from our concern about relations with countries in other regions of the world. We know full well that détente and co-operation cannot rest on the interests of a single continent, and still less can they be enduring, if such interests are contradictory to the just aspirations of other peoples.
Therefore, also in matters of promoting security in Europe, we have always kept in view the interests of the people of other continents as well as the general interests of international security. The Hungarian People's Republic, which has a population of 10 million people, maintains diplomatic relations with almost 100 countries, while its trade relations cover practically the whole world. A fine example of the fostering of these relations is the visits of friendship made by the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Pál Losonczi, recently to three African States, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone, and his successful talks with their leaders.

The state of international security is to a great extent dependent on the situation of the developing countries and on our efforts to accelerate their industrial development, to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and to eradicate racial discrimination and the practices of neo-colonialism.

It is our belief that the strengthening of international security today depends, on the one hand, on whether we shall be able to get the new positive phenomena observed in international relations to prevail in those areas where they are still ineffective and, on the other hand, on whether we shall be able to counteract the tension-creating manoeuvres of the still surviving and acting cold war circles, and thus to make irreversible the processes which have already been started. Those two tasks are inseparable.

Everybody knows that the situation in Indo-China is still very far from normal, and the long-suffering peoples of the area cannot yet enjoy the blessings of peace and security. On the basis of the confidence of the interested parties and on their invitation, the Hungarian People's Republic took part in the Viet-Nam Conference in Paris and undertook to act as a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam. We are convinced that our participation in the Commission's work is, and will also be in the future, of great help to the forces of peace. We consider it our duty to promote full respect for the spirit of the Paris agreements and thus to contribute to the strengthening of security in that region as well.
The Hungarian people have for a long time been on terms of close friendship with the progressive Arab forces, with those Arab countries that fight for the complete and definitive elimination of the consequences of foreign aggression. We sympathize with their just struggle. We have supported and will continue to support them. We believe that Member States almost without exception agree with us in declaring that the States of that area as well as the United Nations collectively must definitely make use of the present historical moment to arrive at a just, peaceful and durable settlement of the Middle East problems, to put an end to Israeli aggression with all its consequences. The possibility of a secure existence must be created for all States and peoples of the area, including the Palestinian people, and such a settlement can be based only on the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other General Assembly resolutions.

In spite of the Middle East war that took place since then, and even in connexion with it, the General Assembly at its current session has taken several significant steps towards the strengthening of international security. The admission of the two German States has not only heightened the universality of the world Organization, but has considerably improved international relations as well. A very important proposal pointing ahead is the Soviet draft resolution envisaging a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. Growing efforts are made to accelerate progress towards general and complete disarmament. There is some progress also in achieving a more precise definition of aggression. The colonialist and neo-colonialist régimes become increasingly isolated.

In this situation the United Nations has better chances of success, but greater responsibilities at the same time. By means of the joint efforts of all Member States, we must attain further results in the strengthening of international security, in the elimination of hot-beds of war, in the promotion of peaceful co-operation among the peoples. We can thereby considerably strengthen the role of the United Nations and its authority in the consolidation of international peace and security. That is what the world Organization has the primary duty to promote as its main aim laid down in its Charter and what the peoples of the world expect it to achieve.
The CHAIRMAN: We have now concluded the list of speakers for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

Mr. NORBURY (United States of America): Once again we have been forced in the meeting rooms of the United Nations to listen to the infamous Cuban lie that the United States planned and brought about the recent change of Government in Chile. And, as always, the Cuban representative has not offered one word of proof for that allegation. The reasons for this are clear: there is no proof. It is simply an instance of the old device of constantly repeating a lie to the point where the truth is forgotten or blotted out of the mind. We all well know the fascist origin of this device, to use an adjective which our Cuban colleague is so fond of employing. I am confident, however, that the members of this Committee are far too experienced to be deceived by this kind of false argumentation.

Mr. LOPEZ da FONSECA (Portugal): The accusations made by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic were already refuted in the General Assembly on 22 November by the Portuguese delegation. I should like to refer members of the Committee to what was said at that time. I have no intention of taking up the time of the Committee with facts that have already been made precise and clear.

Mr. SAVIR (Israel): My delegation is not interested in altercation. My delegation is reluctant to become a party to a burdening of the discussion on means and ways of the implementation of the Declaration on Strengthening International Peace and Security with issues that have been dealt with elsewhere, especially in the Special Political Committee under their proper headings.

However, some delegations that have spoken today have thought it proper to ignore the spirit of this debate and have used the item as a platform to embark on precisely the kind of virulent and polemical attack against a Member State, which in view of the importance of the matter under consideration, one might have hoped would have been avoided. These unfounded allegations levelled by the representatives of Syria and Egypt create more heat than light, and my delegation cannot escape the conclusion that that was their precise purpose.
The participation of Syria in this discussion as an upholder of peace and security is an aspect of the debate that does not commend itself unquestionably. Syria has been notorious for the malign, calculated role in the armed aggression against Israel ever since 1948 and again on 6 October 1973. Syria's declared policy defies accommodation and compromises settlement, and I cannot refrain in this debate, in which so much has been said on moral and psychological détente, from drawing attention to the fact that Syria has refused an exchange of prisoners, the repatriation of the wounded, visits to prisoners by the Red Cross and even transmission of their names as set out in our communication to the Secretary-General of the United Nations of 26 November 1973.

Syria has a long way to go before it can qualify not only as an arbiter in questions of international security and peace but as an adherent of accepted norms of humanitarian behaviour.

As to the charge of Israeli aggression -- a reference, it must be assumed, to the 6 October war -- I feel I can dispense with correcting the record as regards that odious, contemptuous subterfuge since that is a version that does not command any credence, and I am sure the representatives who have spoken do not expect it to.

There is an inherent contradiction in the Egyptian view that Egypt can never, whatever the circumstances, be an aggressor and its claim of upholding United Nations resolutions and the provisions of the Charter.

As to the reference of the representative of Egypt to the acquisition of Arab territories and "foreign occupation", my delegation wishes to recall that the situation created by the 1967 war is not due to any diabolical preconceived design of Israel but was the only alternative to Israel's extinction, solemnly predicted, and the outcome of the only recourse open to Israel to resist it and assure its survival.

That was put to us very clearly. It was the anticlimax to the screaming of the Arab radios that the final hour had come. It was President Nasser who at the end of May 1967 stated, "We intend to open a general assault on Israel. This will be a total war. Our basic aim is the destruction of Israel."

In Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the Council called emphatically for the establishment of a just and lasting peace which it realized would
constitute "the fulfilment of the Charter principles". It was in that context that the Security Council made the reference to withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, as part and parcel of the over-all peace settlement, to borders to be agreed on by the parties to the negotiations. As to the situation in those territories, that was elaborately dealt with in the statement of the representative of Israel, Ambassador Doron, in the Special Committee on 19 November 1973. I shall therefore not amplify on that matter. I may, however, be allowed to quote from the conclusions contained therein.

"We in Israel are hoping for peace and in this expectation we have throughout this period abstained -- as pointed out by the Foreign Minister of Israel in his speech in the General Assembly on 5 October 1973 -- from changing the political status of the administered territories and have not changed any options for a negotiated peace."

Israel sees as the greatest contribution our region as a whole can make to the strengthening of international peace and security the creation of a climate of co-operation through dialogue and negotiation, in broad accord with the emergence of a novel atmosphere, to which reference has been made in this debate. It is its wish that the people around it would awake from the hallucinations of collective hatred to a healthy appreciation of the normal blessings of life. It is its wish to let its neighbours share in the bounty of constructive work which it so arduously pursues.

I shall say no more at this juncture in deference to the business of the Committee.

Mr. ZAHNAN (Egypt) (interpretation from French): The statement of the representative of Israel has prompted me to speak in exercise of my right of reply.

Hypocrisy, the distortion of fact and the unleashing of Nazi sentiments of hatred on the part of the delegation of Israel are nothing new. I think at any cost the representative of Israel should have avoided flooding this Committee with deceptions and distortions of fact.

He has said that some delegations -- and certainly he was referring to my own -- have taken advantage of the discussion on this agenda item to attack
Israel. That statement is ridiculous. As a matter of fact, the item on our agenda is precisely, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", and it was within that context that we referred to the aggression of Israel which not only threatened the security of Arab countries but also threatened the security of European countries and the countries of the world at large.

It is quite clear to everyone that Israel is occupying the territories of three Members of this Organization. Those countries are not occupying Israel. Egypt is not occupying Israeli territory. No one has denied the existence of Israel, but the existence of Israel should not take place in Egypt. Israel should not exist in Syria or Jordan, and it is in that respect that international security is threatened. It is because of that occupation of Arab territory that international peace and security are in jeopardy.

Not content with usurping the territorial sovereignty of the Arab countries and controlling the population of the annexed territories, Israel has been carrying out the pillaging of natural resources in those territories.

I do not want to prolong the discussion here, but everyone is well aware of the pillaging of the natural resources of Egypt in Sinai -- the usurpation of Egyptian petroleum deposits there, on Egyptian territory.

Within the context of the agenda item, the Egyptian delegation is entitled to point out that Israel should not benefit from its aggression, which once again threatens international security -- and is the subject of our discussion -- since the neo-Nazi policy of Israel forces the Arab countries to devote the resources they so badly need to defence and to expenditure on armament in order to liberate the territory occupied by the foreign invader -- that is, Israel.
Furthermore, the Egyptian delegation has to point out the difficulties encountered by Egypt and other countries and peoples in the area in making the best use of their resources. The aggressive expansionist policy of Israel makes it impossible for those countries to do this. So, I would add, it is thus that the economic security of the Arab and other States is jeopardized.

The provisions of the United Nations Charter, international conventions, including the Fourth Geneva Convention, resolutions of the Security Council, of the General Assembly and other resolutions adopted by international organizations, such as the World Health Organization -- Israel just turns a deaf ear to all of them. This Israeli attitude of deriding the intelligence of the international community in defiance of its international obligations, this irresponsible Israeli attitude is the primary cause of jeopardizing world security. Surely, it is time for the leaders of Israel to understand that this aggressive policy of occupying the territory of neighbouring countries, this policy of usurpation which it is pursuing, is threatening détente. This Israeli policy is leading only to confrontation and is jeopardizing any initiative and every effort that may lead to the restoration of international peace and security in the Middle East, in the Mediterranean and in the world at large. It is really time for the leaders of Israel to change their conduct and their attitude and also their spirit. That may contribute to the security of us all and of all the peoples living in the Middle East region.

Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of the United States said he was tired of the accusations levelled against his country concerning its interference in the affairs of other countries and particularly because of the fascist coup in Chile. I merely wish to point out, for the record, that what we have stated at this meeting coincides with a declaration
that I read out in full and that was subscribed to by more than 70 non-aligned nations that, before the 11 September coup d'état, the manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction against the popular Government of Chile had already been denounced. I do not believe that it is necessary to ask the members of this Committee whether they recall it, since the international press, including the United States press, carried reports of the pressures and the North American manoeuvres that led to the cutting off of credits and loans to the popular Government through the banks that are controlled by United States capital; nor do I believe it necessary to remind members of this Committee of the illegal activities of transnational United States corporations, such asITT, Kennecott, Anaconda and others, that openly conspired against the popular Government in Chile; or of the exploitation by those transnational companies, or the interference of imperialism in the affairs of the nations of the third world, or of the pressures exerted against their sovereignty and independence, of imperialist subversion of the peoples of the third world. It is of this that our peoples have been tired, and for a long time.

Mr. AL-MARSI (Syrian Arab Republic): As usual, we do not expect from the Zionist representative in the United Nations anything other than the distortion of facts and the fabrication of lies. Does he think that the continuation of Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people will serve the cause of international peace and security? The problem of the exchange of prisoners of war is not the whole of the question in the Middle East. The key question in the area is the continued aggression and expansionist policy which has been pursued by the Israeli Government since 1948 and its refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

If his Government truly believes in peace, why does it not withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories and why does it not recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people? It is our right under the Charter to fight to liberate our national land. It is our duty under
the Charter to support the struggle of the Palestinian people in keeping with our traditional policy of supporting all national liberation movements in the world, whose right to fight for their independence and sovereignty is recognized by the United Nations itself.

In conclusion, I would remind the Zionist representative that playing with fire is not safe for ever and it will burn Israel, as it will the whole world, one day.

Mr. KOCH SAN (Khmer Republic) (interpretation from French): In the light of the statement of the representative of Cuba I wish to inform the Committee that the Constitution of the Khmer Republic has existed since the popular referendum was held in April 1973. Marshall Lon Nol was elected President of the Republic in a popular election that was universal and direct.

The Khmer armed forces daily and constantly 

invaders from our territory.
Mr. SAVIR (Israel): It is not we who started this debate. We do not intend to engage in repetitious argument. The statements that we have just heard have highlighted the predicament in which my country finds itself and particularly the mortal threat to its security in the exercise of its birthright to live in peace and to devote all its energies to the redemption of its land and its people, and to share with our neighbours the benefits that may arise from our modest efforts. It is Israel that has, ever since its inception, stretched out its hand for peace and peaceful intercourse; and it is those to whom this hand has been extended who have derisively rebuffed it.

Israel does not relinquish its hope for peace. It is the very essence of Israel's life.

Mr. ZAHRAN (Egypt) (interpretation from French): I do not intend to get into verbal exchanges or rhetorical argument with the representative of Israel. We have heard him attempting to distort once again the term "security". We shall take note of this and we hope the representatives here will take note, too, of the Israeli concept of security. It would appear now that Israel's security means the occupation of the territory of neighbouring countries, which is contrary to the United Nations Charter and which compels the countries which are victims of such aggression to defend themselves and to liberate their territories by all the forces at their command.

I have already replied to the charges of the representative of Israel. I do not want to do so again.
Mr. SAVIR (Israel): The interpretation by the representative of Egypt of what I have said is not only incorrect; it is the symptom of a dangerous mentality and it is, inter alia, to dispel exactly this mentality that we at all times have been pressing for negotiations.

Mr. ZAHRAN (Egypt) (interpretation from French): It is, I think, obvious to all that the dangerous mentality is the mentality of the leaders of Israel that still carry out aggression and still occupy Arab territories. We are forced to defend ourselves and we are forced by Israeli aggression to repel that aggression beyond our borders.

That conception of Israel again and still threatens international security -- and I repeat, threatens international security -- and I want the representative of Israel to understand exactly what I am saying.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no more speakers for this afternoon. May I then just inform members of the Committee that the list of speakers for Monday would indicate that Monday will be fully occupied by statements relating to the issue we are now discussing. I believe that there are signs that a draft resolution may be introduced in the course of Monday morning, or at least in the course of Monday, and that we might then be able to vote upon such a draft resolution by Tuesday. That means that it will not be possible to take up on Monday agenda items 30 and 31 relating to questions of outer space. We shall begin the discussions on outer space questions at the earliest Tuesday afternoon, and I hope I am right in saying at the latest Wednesday morning.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.