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Chairman: Mr. Otto R. BORCH (Denmark).

AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General (A/9038, A/9057 and Corr.1, A/9078, A/9083, A/9122, A/9129, A/C.1/1037, 1040, 1041)

1. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in 1970 at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)], and the resolutions adopted in this connexion at the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly have all confirmed the obligation of States strictly to observe the Charter of the United Nations in all their international actions—and the more that is done the more will international security be strengthened.

2. Without losing sight of the outstanding complicated international problems and without wishing to underestimate the urgency of finding solutions to those problems, I wish to state that the development of the international situation since the adoption of the Declaration gives every ground to speak of success in the process of détente. There has been a turning away from the cold war towards peaceful coexistence.

3. This has been confirmed, in spite of certain differences in detail, in the major statements made during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly. Prospects for creating a lasting peace have become more favourable.

4. By no means the least important reflection of the real changes which have been promoting the enhancement of international security has been the conclusion of a number of international treaties which in their turn have exerted a favourable influence on this incipient development.

5. In this regard we have in mind particularly the Paris Agreement on the ending of the war and the re-establishment of peace in Viet-Nam, and also the well-known Agreements concluded between the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany.

6. The nucleus of the aforementioned Agreements, in the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—that is to say, operative paragraphs 1 and 2—is the renunciation of the use of force, mutual respect for the territorial *status quo*, and the inviolability of existing frontiers.

7. So that these Agreements can play their role as an instrument of strengthening international security, of the greatest significance is strict observance of the well-tryed principle, *pacta sunt servanda*. Any lack of respect for or violation of these Treaties, including the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin, which is of such great importance for improving the European atmosphere, and also the Agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the West Berlin Senate, endangers the developing peaceful relations between States with different social systems and thwarts the ambition of the peoples of the world to see a strengthening and continuing of the process of international détente. Such lack of respect or violation would play into the hands of the most reactionary imperialist forces which are still manning the trenches of the cold war and dreaming of a return to it.

8. In paragraph 25 of the Declaration, Member States express their conviction that regional co-operation in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations Charter can contribute to the strengthening of international peace. The results of the first stage of the Conference on European Security and Co-operation have justified that assumption. Now one of the high-priority tasks is successfully to conclude that Conference at the highest level, if possible in the course of this very year. With that purpose in mind the German Democratic Republic is taking an active part in the talks currently going on at Geneva.

9. This session of the General Assembly has already shown a growing awareness of the need to supplement the process of political détente with measures of military détente. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic entirely agrees with the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in the general debate at the 2126th plenary meeting, that the problem of problems is that of the continuing arms race. Effective disarmament measures would lend stability and give a secure foundation to the results achieved in fulfilling the aspirations of peoples to international security and relations of peaceful coexistence. In the present circumstances it is dangerous to attempt to replace security by competitive efforts in the development and production of armaments systems of ever-more destructive force. There are realistic ways and means of calling a halt to the so-called armaments round-about.

10. The proposal of the Soviet Union for the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [A/9191] deserves pride of place. The convening of a world disarmament conference would also be an important step in the same direction. The implementation of these and other proposals would be an outstanding way of meeting the demands of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

11. The Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security are based on the principle of the indivisibility and universality of all measures to ensure peace. Therefore the delegation of the German Democratic Republic shares the view of the majority of representatives here that the strengthening of international security and political détente should not be confined to individual regions but should be extended to the whole world.

12. The process of détente in Europe should not, in the view of our delegation, be viewed solely from the narrow standpoint of the needs of our continent, for it is undoubtedly having a favourable influence on the whole international situation. In this context it would be mistaken mechanically to translate the process occurring in Europe in terms of other regions of the world; but obviously there is some valuable, common, general experience which is useful and applicable also to the aspirations of others to greater security and to broader international co-operation in other areas. That is to say, even the complex questions in relations among States can be solved on the basis of the principles of the Charter, given the necessary good will to find a constructive approach.

13. My delegation is convinced that Europe too needs détente in other parts of the world for the sake of the durable and stable development of peaceful co-existence. Détente in other parts of the world should include the definitive elimination of colonial and racist oppression, primarily in Africa. Colonialism is not only an anachronism in our day: it is a factor of tension, oppression, exploitation, aggression and inhumanity. Its elimination is the demand of humanity, and is essential for the achievement of universal peace and international security. The implementation of resolution 3016 (XXVIII) on the halting of Portuguese aggression against Guinea-Bissau, and also of other United Nations decisions on the permanent elimination of colonial domination, is fully in keeping with the interests of the strengthening of international security.

14. A positive result of the struggle of peoples for the strengthening of international security was the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on the re-establishment of peace in Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nameese people, in its selfless struggle, with the support of the socialist States and other peace-loving forces throughout the world, has achieved an agreement wherein the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination is enunciated—a principle enshrined in the Charter. Observance of this principle by all parties is of the greatest significance for the maintenance of security in the Asian area. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that those forces which, up to the last minute had done everything they could to thwart the conclusion of the

Viet-Nam Agreement, are now undermining its implementation and constantly violating its provisions, attempting by force of armed intervention to extend their administration to the liberated territories which are under the administration of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

15. Strict observance of the agreement for the re-establishment of peace in Viet-Nam, furthermore, presupposes equal treatment by the United Nations of all parties to that Agreement. Now, since the Saigon authorities are not entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of South Viet-Nam, our Organization should normalize its relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

16. The peace-loving peoples and States have welcomed with great satisfaction the improvement of the situation in the Indian subcontinent. The immediate admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations would be a further contribution to the strengthening of international security in the Indian subcontinent and throughout Asia. The creation of a system of collective security in Asia would serve to strengthen the security of peoples and States in general.

17. In the face of the positive improvements in international relations we do not, however, forget that this progress was achieved in an arduous struggle for peace, international security and détente and that these achievements must be resolutely defended. The most aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism are still striving, wherever they feel it is possible to do so, to turn back the wheel of history, to impede progressive developments and to continue their oppression of other peoples. They are attempting to preserve the existing hotbeds of tension and to create new ones. Events in Chile and in the Middle East have so amply demonstrated this.

18. However, there is every ground for believing that in these circumstances of the strengthening of international security it will be easier to avert situations which are fraught with conflict. The decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations on the peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East problems on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts and the dispatch to the Middle East of the United Nations Emergency Forces is a demonstration of this and has our full support.

19. Israel should understand the futility of its repeated attempts to hinder a political settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the United Nations Charter, disregarding and violating decisions of the United Nations. By this conduct Israel is even now in a situation of isolation vis-à-vis the majority of States. The conflict in the Middle East should be eliminated as soon as possible, as indeed should all other hotbeds of military danger, in the interests of universal peace and the ensuring of the legitimate interests of the peoples concerned on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. The continuing process of international détente is providing further opportunities for the United Nations to promote the strengthening of international security and, in

this way, enhancing the authority of the Organization in international relations.

21. In this context we should take into account even more the encouraging fact that in recent years a considerable activation of public forces has been at work struggling to strengthen peace and we consider that close co-operation with these forces would be advantageous for the United Nations.

22. In this regard I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the documents of the World Peace Congress held recently in Moscow. The proposals in these documents are designed to give a further boost to the work of the United Nations.

23. Relations of peaceful coexistence, in our view, mean much more than the mere absence of war. We understand the term to mean also equal and comprehensive international co-operation in various areas in a spirit of peace and progress.

24. My delegation believes that it would be appropriate in connexion precisely with this item of our agenda to generalize the progress which has been achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in outline to determine the major tasks which should be performed in the interests of the further improvement of the international situation. We should call upon States not to permit actions which might hinder the further development and deepening of the positive trends in international relations and to do everything they can to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

25. My delegation would like to express the hope that these ideas will find some reflection in the relevant decisions of the First Committee and the General Assembly.

26. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): Last year's developments as a whole have given evidence that the peace-loving peoples are aware of the significance of problems connected with the strengthening of international peace and security, which is on our agenda today. These questions were discussed by the leading representatives of the countries of the socialist community at the Crimea meeting, held in July 1973; by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers last September; and last, but not least, by the World Peace Congress, held in Moscow in October, which also included them on its agenda. It is indeed natural that these questions should have become a perennial item of the agenda of the General Assembly, whose fundamental purpose is to maintain and strengthen international security.

27. Deliberations on the questions pertaining to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security not only have provided the peace-loving nations with an opportunity to examine the balance-sheet of their efforts aimed at strengthening peace and security, but they have enabled them to express their views on the tasks immediately facing them, to draw inspiration from the example of others and to judge rightly, in a critical manner, those who are not willing to contribute to

this aim but, on the contrary, through their activities, weaken or directly threaten international security and universal peace.

28. In reviewing the development during the past year, the overwhelming majority of delegations in the course of the general debate in the Assembly viewed as a most outstanding phenomenon the continuing process of international détente, accented its importance for the strengthening of international peace and security and indicated ways and means of proceeding further in order to turn this process into a permanent and irreversible phenomenon in all regions of the world: to make it a universal reality.

29. This is also the approach shared by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the people of which have in the past become the victim of two dreadful world wars and therefore are vitally interested in the maintenance of international security and world peace. The Czechoslovak efforts have been manifested on both the bilateral and the multilateral level. On the bilateral level, foundations have been laid and a path has been established to normalize relations with the Federal Republic of Germany by discussion of questions pertaining to the relations between the two States. Relations with other countries have also been developed in various fields: for instance, relations in the political field and in the fields of trade and culture.

30. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with other socialist States and peace-loving nations, has contributed to bringing about the fundamental changes which have recently occurred in international relations and which are characterized by remarkable success in the struggle of the peoples aimed at strengthening peace and averting a world nuclear conflagration.

31. The positive achievements scored in the efforts towards peace have been clearly manifested in the concluding of the Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet-Nam signed in Paris in January 1973. We regard this as a great victory for the heroic Viet-Nameese people and are aware at the same time of the fact that all peace-loving nations must continue their support for the Viet-Nameese people in its efforts to strengthen the results achieved and embodied in the Paris Agreement and must assist as well in protecting the fragile peace, for it is in accordance with the wishes of all peace-loving mankind that peace should prevail in the whole region of Indo-China.

32. Positive achievements have been scored on the European continent on both the bilateral and the multilateral levels. We believe that the very example of Europe should show that, if there is a genuine will on both sides to attain positive results, benefiting the interests of both parties to an agreement as well as the interests of peace and security on that continent, it may consequently contribute to the occurrence of an event of such historic importance as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, convened at Helsinki in July. We should like to stress in that connexion that this positive development has been assisted by a number of circumstances which may become a source of inspiration for the future. Regular consultations have been conducted between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe on various levels. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been conducting such consultations

regularly with almost all the European countries on the level of the respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs. These consultations bring a better understanding of the positions taken by the individual countries on the major issues related to the maintenance of security as well as to the promotion of conditions for co-operation in the various fields of peaceful life. There are, of course, mutual consultations and contacts also among other European countries. Many a time they have resulted in bilateral agreements which strengthen the positive development and put it on a legal basis. Last but not least, we should not fail to mention important contacts at the highest level, which play an important role especially in the relations among the States permanent members of the Security Council. This is attested to also by the provisions of the Agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the Prevention of Nuclear War [see A/9293], an agreement which, as was stated in the Czechoslovak reply to the note by the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2993 (XXVII) [see A/9129], we as an important contribution to the strengthening of the foundations of international security and also as a concrete contribution of exceptionally great importance for the strengthening of the security of Czechoslovakia.

33. All Members of the United Nations should, in assessing the continuing process of the strengthening of international security, take into consideration the real significance of the improvement achieved in relations among certain States permanent members of the Security Council, described justly as *détente*. We need to do this all the more because on various occasions we have heard malicious remarks aimed at degrading the *détente*. The best example may be drawn from the recent events in the Middle East, provoked by the expansionist policy of Israel. Without any doubt the over-all improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America has helped to avert a dangerous confrontation in this region and assisted the urgent negotiations on a cease-fire and its subsequent adoption. This situation required quick action, particularly on the part of those countries which could effectively assist in finding a way out of the situation because of their relations with the parties at war. It is for that reason that we regard the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America that led to the adoption of Security Council resolution 338 (1973), calling for a cessation of firing, and other resolutions as a timely and clear-sighted step.

34. Let us consider the logic of facts and not the logic of emotions and prejudices; then we must admit that the developments following the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East have in this very sense provided the positive meaning of the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Without these changes, without great efforts aimed at improving relations between those two Powers, it would have been much more difficult to achieve so speedy a cessation of hostilities, to localize the conflict, to prevent its growing into a dangerous major confrontation.

35. Therefore we should unequivocally welcome the improvement of relations among countries with differing social structures, which has recently been occurring, as a

great contribution towards the strengthening of international security.

36. The importance and significance of mutual contacts and negotiations is constantly growing, as proved also by the developments on the Indian subcontinent and by the talks held between the leading representatives of India and Pakistan. The People's Republic of China is, after all, also making efforts to develop its relations with the Western States, including the United States of America. The over-all developments have thus proved that the main trend in present international relations lies in the turn from the policy of cold war and military confrontation to the policy of international *détente* and the strengthening of the security of peoples by way of talks and negotiations.

37. It is in the interests of peace and international security to follow closely also the activities of those forces which are trying to impede the process of international *détente*, endeavouring to place obstacles in its path and even to stir up new conflicts and launch new aggressions.

38. A clear example of the existence of such hotbeds threatening the peace and security of the peoples may be found particularly in the situation existing in the south of Africa as well as in the aforementioned region of the Middle East. These are the regions where especially aggressive pressure on the part of the reactionary forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism aimed against peace has been concentrated, endangering world peace and the security of the peoples.

39. South African, Southern Rhodesian and Portuguese colonialists have taken actions which might be rightly called open aggression against the African people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, as well as against the neighbouring independent African States.

40. We should wish to stress that such actions, which constitute a serious threat to world peace and are contradictory to the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, are also directed against the principles affirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and that the peace-loving nations have to draw appropriate conclusions from this state of affairs.

41. While assessing the situation pertaining to the strengthening of international security, we should like briefly to note the role played by the permanent members of the Security Council. Those who created the Charter of the United Nations, being aware of the reality existing in the post-war world, recognized the significance and role of certain Powers in world developments before, during and after the war, and gave expression to that role in the Charter by recognizing those Powers as permanent members of the Security Council and by conferring upon them the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

42. This status of the permanent members of the Security Council remains the same and cannot be substituted by anything else. The objective reality existing in the world cannot be changed by any wish, however well-meant. In

assessing international events in the period between the end of the war and today, we can see that it would be hard to imagine a solution of any of the more important questions in the world without the participation of some of the permanent members of the Security Council.

43. It is true, of course, that some members of the Security Council are avoiding the fulfilment of their responsibilities with respect to their role as the guarantors of world peace and security in their capacity as permanent members of the Security Council. They misuse their so-called right of veto against the interests of peoples and international security. As pointed out, for instance, by the Syrian Arab Republic in its reply to the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2993 (XXVII), those Powers do not or do not wish to take the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security as conferred upon them by the Charter. Some do not participate in seeking just positions and solutions but misuse the work of United Nations bodies to slander others, a course which, to their way of thinking, will win them admiration and sympathy. In actual fact, however, the position of those countries proves that they are not interested in seeking genuine peace: on the contrary, as everyone is aware, their approach plays into the hands of those forces for which the idea of a just peace and security is strange. They have thus proved what little respect they have for the Charter and for the responsibilities conferred upon them by the Charter with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security.

44. We are of the opinion that the United Nations should indeed exert more effort to implement the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in real life. Many opportunities to achieve this exist, and among them is the opportunity to implement the adopted decisions more consistently, to respect them and to assert them in real life.

45. What we have in mind in this connexion is, for instance, the acceleration of all preparatory work relating to achieving further progress in questions pertaining to disarmament. The speedy and consistent implementation by the Security Council of General Assembly resolution 2936 (XXVII) on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, as recommended in paragraph 2 of that resolution, would be of considerable importance in contributing to international security. We believe that we should stress time and again the principles contributing to the strengthening of peace and security and should seek new ways to assert those principles in real life.

46. It is our belief that the present situation requires those efforts. The global nature of a number of questions is a feature that is becoming more and more obvious, since even today a number of problems and questions exist which cannot be solved by any State that is alone and isolated. Among those problems questions pertaining to the strengthening of international peace and security are of primary importance, no matter from what point of view we consider them. We cannot, of course, be under the illusion that the nature and character of imperialism will change, but the world is now living through a period characterized by tremendous change and particularly by a shift in the

balance of forces on the international scene, which has changed for the benefit of the forces of peace and progress. There is no doubt that out of the enormous number of factors shaping the over-all picture of world politics, those which seek to contribute to the further lessening of international tension and the strengthening of international security are gaining more and more influence. This process could not, of course, take place without the active contribution and influence of the peace-loving peoples, since the laws of history have always been asserted through the consistent and everyday constructive activity of the peoples of the whole international community.

47. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The implementation of the principles and provisions contained in the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is the subject of continuing interest to my country and finds its reflection in practical activities in the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic.

48. Poland's aspiration to advance and accelerate the positive processes in international life found an eloquent confirmation in the statement of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, at the First National Conference of the Party, on 22 October 1973, when he said:

"Security and lasting peace are the aims of our foreign policy. This is an invariable aspiration of our nation, which has suffered so much during its recent history. The struggle for a peaceful perspective of the world stems from our communist ideology and belongs among its fundamental premises. The progress of the process of détente and, along with it, of the development of international economic co-operation constitutes one of the basic premises of our socio-economic programme . . . We have subordinated our international activities to these fundamental goals . . . with a view to enabling People's Poland to make an ever greater contribution to the consolidation of peaceful co-existence."

49. The balance sheet of the changes that have taken place in the international situation over the past year, as well as the record of accomplishment of the policy of the strengthening of peace and security in the world, offer good grounds for realistic optimism. It is this optimism that helps us overcome the objective difficulties and the subjective barriers which undeniably exist and stand in the way of full and early realization of the Declaration's provisions.

50. Since the review of the status of implementation of the Declaration at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, some eventful changes have taken place in the world which are of major significance for the further course of the international situation.

51. There has been a breakthrough in the stalemated efforts seeking to put out the hotbeds of war and conflict in the world. The agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet-Nam, as well as the improving prospects for a durable political solution of the Middle East conflict, bear this out. We have also witnessed further substantive progress in the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence, the normalization of relations between States, and the consolidation of the foundations of

international understanding and co-operation. Perhaps the most significant example of this trend can be found in the development of mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as well as in the advanced process of détente in Europe.

52. The progressive and anti-imperialist forces and movements have seen further consolidation of their ranks. Indeed, the present evolution of the international situation spells for them much better and more favourable prospects of advancing the cause of political independence, accelerated economic development, and the elimination of foreign domination. Perhaps the clearest indication of the extent of the consolidation of those forces can be seen in the results of the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers early in September 1973, as well as in the outcome of the World Peace Congress held in Moscow towards the end of last October. That Congress has provided a significant stimulus for the consolidation of the tendency towards détente in the world at large, with respect both to the activities of governments and the activities of non-governmental organizations and political movements. I need hardly add that Poland made a substantial contribution to the success of the Moscow Congress.

53. People's Poland welcomes with profound satisfaction the trend towards détente in international relations, a trend conducive to the full realization of my country's ambitious social and economic domestic programmes. With such a stake in détente, and guided by the desire to contribute to the further consolidation of world peace and security, in full accord with the general line of its foreign policy and in close collaboration with its allies, Poland has been actively sharing in various initiatives and efforts, whether bilateral, regional or global. I would recall in this connexion that Poland is deeply involved in many initiatives, particularly with regard to the European continent, designed to reinforce peaceful coexistence and to lay down the foundations of a system of collective security. We are firmly dedicated to promoting the development of broad, all-round and mutually beneficial international co-operation. My country is working to help consolidate peace in Viet-Nam and to extinguish the hotbeds of war and bring about a political solution to the Middle East conflict.

54. All factors of the current international situation are interrelated. There is also an interdependence and interaction between the situation in various regions. Under the present conditions of the expanding détente, negotiations and the consolidation of peaceful coexistence, this interrelation is a positive factor facilitating the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in all respects. Thus, the termination of the war in Viet-Nam has opened up the way towards accelerated improvement of the East-West relations. The European détente is conducive to the easing of tension, normalization of relations and the resolution of controversial problems in other parts of the world. The political détente prepares the ground for a complementary military détente. Progress in disarmament, consolidation of peace and a sense of international security in turn create more favourable conditions for the economic growth and the development of world-wide co-operation, on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefits.

55. On the other hand, the consolidation of détente into a lasting and irreversible trend requires that it should not be limited solely to certain aspects of relations between some big Powers, or between the States of a given region. It must in fact embrace and permeate the entire fabric of international relations and must become the foundation stone of those relations, in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

56. Important as it is for the maintenance of peace on a global scale, détente is equally indispensable for the peaceful resolution of dangerous regional conflicts whose negative influence often far exceeds their regional scope. In fact, the putting out of the hotbeds of war and the settlement of conflicts is a major prerequisite of consolidation and strengthening of the international security.

57. The quadripartite Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet-Nam was an event of major significance. The termination of the war that weighed heavily upon international relations and the recognition of the sovereign rights of the Viet-Nameese people to determine its own way of life and its national status is a great victory for both that heroic nation and for peace at large. It has been 10 months since the Viet-Nam Agreement was signed in Paris. Yet, the situation in the south of the country is still fraught with tension, with the Saigon administration disregarding the cease-fire agreement. In our view, the key to peace in South Viet-Nam and to enabling the people of that country freely to exercise their right of self-determination is the unconditional implementation of the provisions of the Paris Agreement by all parties concerned.

58. Poland which in accordance with its steadfast policy of strengthening world peace accepted the invitation to participate in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, trusts that the Paris Agreement will be fully implemented with due respect for the sovereign rights of the people of Viet-Nam. We would also wish to express our fervent hope that peace will be soon restored all over Indo-China.

59. The flare-up of war in the Middle East earlier in October was the predictable outcome of the six-year-long occupation by Israel of lands of three Arab nations and the expansionist policy of that State. The direct cause of the war has been the fact that the ruling circles of Israel, in blatant disregard of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, as well as of the generally recognized norms of international law and of world public opinion, have been stubbornly blocking any and all initiatives and attempts at peaceful solution of the conflict.

60. The joint Soviet Union-United States position, reflecting the significance of their peaceful co-operation in promoting détente, became the foundation of an understanding which led to the cease-fire and which, it is hoped, may become the basis of a political solution in that area.

61. Poland, like other States of the socialist community, is vitally interested in an urgent political solution of the Middle East problems, in keeping with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Providing for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab territories under their occupation and guaranteeing the security and integrity of all States

in that area, including the settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people, such a solution is in the best interest of all concerned. It is also in the best interest of world peace.

62. The Government of the Polish People's Republic, guided by the desire to contribute to such a political settlement and to promote the strengthening of peace and international security, and responding to the request made by the Secretary-General on the basis of the Security Council resolution 340 (1973), took a decision to make a Polish army unit available for duty with the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and, as a matter of fact, has already dispatched a contingent to that area.

63. It is generally recognized that the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America plays the key role in advancing the cause of détente. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and the Interim Agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms, and the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War [see A/9293] represent a system of international commitments that by far exceed the framework of Soviet-American bilateral relations. Understandably, they represent the starting point for the rebuilding of the structure of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

64. The rate of change towards that goal is particularly impressive in Europe. The expanding détente on that continent is fostered in the main by the progress of normalization in central Europe which, as we all know, is of over-riding importance for peace in that sensitive region. What we have in fact been witnessing in Europe has been the creation of a set of norms of international law which fully and finally settle problems that for years had been defying solution, while representing an ever present and active source of dangerous international tension. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations earlier during the present session was yet a further step towards the consolidation of the peaceful intercourse of all States of Europe.

65. Another tangible expression of the positive transformations on the European continent has been the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose first, successful phase was held at Helsinki early last July and whose second phase is currently in progress at Geneva.

66. Actively participating in that singularly important Conference, the Polish Government attaches special significance to the elaboration by the Conference of new principles to govern the relations between European States, relations founded on the recognition of territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing frontiers, renunciation of force or the threat of its use, and non-interference in internal affairs. To our mind, that is the indispensable and solid foundation upon which to construct a durable system of collective security in Europe and from which to proceed to expand all-round co-operation.

67. Naturally, looking toward a general normalization of relations between European nations, Poland takes due care to foster its bilateral relations as well. We attach consid-

erable importance to expanding, on an equal basis, our commercial and economic relations as well as scientific, technological and cultural contacts. The expansion of those relations promotes political co-operation and is a composite element of the material infrastructure of peaceful coexistence.

68. Surely, there are issues in the present-day world whose solution can be contemplated only on the basis of close co-operation of all States of the region. That is true first of all of the economic infrastructure and of man's natural environment. Proceeding from such considerations and seeking to contribute, together with other Baltic States, to the establishment of an area of peaceful co-operation, Poland was instrumental in the conclusion of an international convention on the protection of the natural resources of the Baltic Sea. There is no need, I think, to argue the political significance of this initiative or its environmental implications.

69. Political détente, if I may say so, is the natural environment in which to strive for progress in the field of disarmament, and that is perfectly true whether we mean bilateral, regional or global disarmament measures. The immediate objective at hand would be, therefore, to complement and consolidate the political détente with a détente in the military field.

70. Poland has put on record its high assessment of the agreements concluded within the scope of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks as well as their influence upon the course of disarmament negotiations in general. We strongly believe that they create realistic prospects of progress, especially with regard to the limitation of nuclear arms.

71. We have always attached great importance to the regional measures of disarmament in Europe, more specifically in central Europe. It is our strong belief that tangible progress in the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments, and associated measures in central Europe, will represent an important, indeed major, contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Poland is determined to contribute actively to the successful outcome of those negotiations, just as we are contributing to the disarmament debates and solutions in the United Nations and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

72. It is our view that the ultimate objective that we all must seek is general and complete disarmament. The idea of the convening of a world disarmament conference, which Poland warmly supports, would be an important milestone toward that end.

73. It is basically erroneous to suggest that the political and military détente between East and West might result in the transfer to other regions of certain aspects of confrontation between the two opposing political and military groupings. Indeed, we believe that the course of events will be quite the contrary. We believe that the East-West détente will help create conditions in which the developed countries of the East and the West will become more intimately involved in various forms of co-operation and exchange with the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is

by no means far-fetched to say that détente and disarmament will work to accelerate the expansion of all-round economic, as well as scientific and technological, co-operation which will yield immediate and appreciable benefits to the developing countries. The latest initiative of the Soviet Union is in fact eloquent proof of the vast potential in this regard. I refer, of course, to the proposal for the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. Let me also recall, in this connexion, that in paragraph 19 the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security itself states: "there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries, so that any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them".

74. Bearing in mind, as a starting point, the accomplishment and results of détente to date, the many positive changes in the international situation, and the over-all tendency to further consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, we are of the opinion that the international community should seek the following objectives: first, to consolidate the positive changes in international relations, to reinforce the détente and to render it an irreversible fact of international life embracing all continents of the globe; secondly, to ensure general acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence as the stable basis of relations among States, regardless of their social or economic systems. The practical implementation of this principle, sanctioned in the Charter of the United Nations, will make it possible to mould international relations in a way that would ensure mutual security and facilitate all-round co-operation; thirdly, to eliminate the existing hotbeds of war and sources of international conflicts, first of all in the Middle East; fourthly, to supplement the political détente with a military détente through various measures of disarmament, by checking the arms race and through the effective reduction of military arsenals, particularly with regard to nuclear weapons; fifthly, to ensure full implementation of United Nations decisions on the liquidation of colonialism and all manifestations of neo-colonialism, destructive activities of foreign economic interests, and all forms of racial discrimination including *apartheid*.

75. The achievement of these objectives would bring us closer to the full implementation of the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The Polish delegation believes that these objectives should be embodied in the resolution which this Committee will adopt under the item now being discussed.

76. Before concluding I should like to place special emphasis on one additional consideration. As we all know, many of the positive changes in the world today relate first of all to the European scene, where détente and co-operation are most advanced. These changes without any doubt exert a positive influence upon universal peace and security, thus reaching beyond the regional interests of Europe or, for that matter, beyond the East-West framework.

77. In the view of my delegation those European processes, fully conforming with the Charter of the United Nations, offer examples that might be followed or utilized in other regions. Indeed, the idea of the universalization of Europe's positive experience in efforts to build a regional system of collective security is an important challenge to the international community at large.

78. The Polish delegation also submits that at this propitious moment in international affairs the United Nations can become a useful and suitable forum for such universalization, a forum for promotion, development and consolidation of the détente, and for rendering it a lasting and irreversible factor of international life. It goes without saying that the United Nations itself would thus benefit by enhancing its role and effectiveness in the efforts to strengthen international security and promote all-round international co-operation.

79. Poland has taken and will continue to take an active part in the efforts to strengthen world peace and security. We are also contributing an ever greater share to the common task of promoting peaceful coexistence. My country has actively participated and will continue to participate in efforts aimed at the construction of an effective system of collective security in Europe and in the promotion of détente and international co-operation. We believe that this is in the interest of the successful implementation of the dynamic programme of social and economic development of our country, as well as in the best interest of peace and international security and in the vital interest of the entire international community.

80. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

81. Mr. BARROMI (Israel): It is well known that Israel and Poland do not see eye to eye on questions relating to the Middle East, so I do not feel it necessary to comment on the Polish representative's highly questionable account of the situation in the Middle East and of Israel's role—an account, by the way, which sounded very similar to the views put forward earlier in the meeting by the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

82. However, the representative of Poland misquoted the text of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). I would advise the Polish delegation to engage in a new and thorough reading of that resolution in order to have a better view of what are the steps which may lead to the strengthening of international peace and security.

83. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) are very well known to my delegation, and I need hardly say that I require no advice from the delegation of Israel.