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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Mon-interference in internal affairs of States

Report of the Secretary-General

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^{*} A/32/150.

I. INTRODUCTION

- 1. At its 98th plenary meeting, on 14 December 1976, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/91 entitled "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States", in which it requested the Secretary-General to invite all Member States to express their views on ways by which greater respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States could be assured, and to report to the Assembly at its thirty-second session.
- 2. Pursuant to that request, the Secretary-General, on 8 February 1977, addressed a note to the Governments of States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies, transmitting the text of resolution 31/91 and asking for the information requested in that resolution.
- 3. As at 31 August 1977, replies containing such information had been received from 16 States. The substantive parts of these communications are reproduced in section II below.
- 4. A list of documents relating to this agenda item which have been circulated since the adoption of resolution 31/91 is given in the annex.

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

BARBADOS

/Original: English/
/19 July 1977/

Barbados is of the view that universal adherence to the United Nations Charter and to the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, approved by the General Assembly in resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, provide the most reasonable foundation for securing greater respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Barbados supports both these instruments and feels that the United Nations should be strengthened and provided with the means to deal effectively with any situations which threaten international peace.

Barbados is aware of and concerned at the fact that the world is plagued by territorial disputes which often lead to interference in the internal affairs and the denial of self-determination of States. In the Caribbean region itself, there are instances of the above which tend to produce instability in this region.

The Government of Barbados feels that the implementation of General Assembly resolution 31/91 of 14 December 1976 would assist in alleviating tensions in the region.

The codification of an international standard of conduct for international co-operation needs to be completed and agreed to by all nations to reduce and eliminate this potential source of interference in the internal affairs of States.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

<u>/O</u>riginal: Russia<u>n</u>/ <u>/</u>24 August 197<u>7</u>/

 \sqrt{S} ee the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (A/32/165). \sqrt{I}

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

/Original: English/ /27 June 1977/

/See the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (A/32/165).

GREECE

<u>/</u>Original: French//
<u>/</u>22 July 197<u>7</u>/

The Greek Government is convinced that the principle of non-interference in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, in accordance with the Charter, is a mainstay of international society and that strict compliance with that principle is a necessary condition for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Intervention may take a variety of forms, both direct and indirect. The Greek Government believes, however, that armed intervention in the affairs of another sovereign State is synonymous with aggression and, as such, constitutes an extremely grave danger to international security and peace. It must therefore be strictly avoided and, when it occurs, severely condemned.

As regards the means of ensuring respect for the principle of non-interference, it is obvious that in the absence of political will on the part of certain States to abide by that principle, the competent United Nations organs must take all measures within their power to ensure its enforcement. It is clear that such measures are particularly necessary in the case of armed intervention since this involves a violation not only of the principle of non-interference but also of the principle of the non-use of force.

Greece therefore considers that United Nations organs should have no hesitation in using all the means authorized under the Charter, including the measures mentioned in Chapter VII for the defence of international peace and security. Greece similarly supports all efforts aimed at strengthening the effective implementation of United Nations resolutions, and particularly Security Council resolutions, dealing with cases of violations of this principle. In this way non-interference in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States can be most effectively ensured.

GUYANA

<u>/</u>Original: Englis<u>h</u>/ <u>/</u>12 July 1977/

The Government of Guyana suggests:

(a) The adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States incorporating principles which aim at ensuring respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States taking note inter alia of resolution 31/91 adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1976;

(b) The preparation and distribution by the United Nations of a booklet reproducing all existing legal texts, with commentaries, on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States; in this regard, a United Nations agency, e.g., the Office of Public Information may organize a special programme regarding the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

HINGARY

<u>/</u>Original: Englis<u>h</u>//
/30 August 1977/

/See the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (A/32/165).

MADAGASCAR

 $\sqrt{0}$ riginal: French $\sqrt{8}$ June 1977 $\sqrt{7}$

There has been latterly an extraordinary recrudescence of acts of flagrant violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

No area of the globe has been spared from this scourge. It should be noted in particular that interference by the imperialist countries has most frequently been focused on the internal affairs of progressive States.

Such violations are perpetrated against the latter countries in order to protect, by force or by a variety of acts of sabotage, political, social, economic and imperialist interests.

While it is true that efforts to curb violations of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States must begin first at the national level, through the permanent and ideological education of the people and the strengthening of national security, it is equally true that specific measures must be taken at the level of the international community in order to prevent the violation of this principle, particularly in view of its international import.

A. At the international level

The most appropriate means of safeguarding this principle should take the form of stronger action by the United Nations than in the past. It could take the form, for example, of immediate action by the Organization whenever the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of a country is threatened by the interference of invading countries. To that end an ad hoc fact-finding commission should be able to meet without delay to determine the facts of the matter and report to the Security Council, which would take adequate measures to condemn, and even punish the act of violation.

Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice should possibly be extended to cover this particular kind of case.

Finally, in view of the alarming incidence of acts involving mercenaries, it is desirable to adopt, at both the international and national levels, firm measures for the prosecution and severe punishment of mercenaries, who are often a convenient "screen" for interference.

B. At the national level

It is primarily at this level that prompt measures to prevent and avert all acts or attempted acts of violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States must be strengthened.

Malagasy law makes provision for adequate measures to prevent any subversive manoeuvres aimed at disrupting the internal or external security of the State. Under the Penal Code the following, inter alia, are defined as crimes and offences against State security:

- (a) any attempt by any means whatsoever to impair the integrity of Malagasy territory or remove from the authority of Madagascar any part of the territories over which such authority is exercised (article 80);
- (b) any dealings with agents of a foreign Power aimed at damaging the military or diplomatic situation of Madagascar (article 80);
- (c) any overflight of Malagasy territory in a foreign aircraft which is not authorized by a diplomatic agreement or a permit issued by the Malagasy authorities (article 82);
- (d) the act of raising armed forces, or causing them to be raised, recruiting or enlisting soldiers, or causing them to be recruited, or providing or obtaining weapons or munitions for such soldiers without instructions or authorization from the constituted authorities (article 92);
- (e) the counterfeiting or debasement of Malagasy currency or of foreign currency for the purpose of introducing it into Malagasy territory (articles 132 and 133).

In short, the Malagasy Government agrees that it is quite difficult, at least in the current international political context, to propose new solutions to the problems that are of concern to all the countries of the world, namely the interference of countries seeking domination in the internal affairs of States. However, a concerted effort at the national and international levels would surely afford a reliable means of ensuring the protection of and respect for the sovereign and inalienable right of every State to determine freely, and without any form of foreign interference, its political, social and economic system and its relations with other States and international organizations.

NETHERLANDS

/Original: English/ /Il July 1977/

The Government of the Metherlands wishes strictly to adhere to the provision of the Charter of the United Nations, paragraphs 4 and 7 of Article 2 of which are of particular relevance in this connexion.

The Government further draws attention to the fact that the Kingdom of the Netherlands has contributed to the realization of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (resolution 2625 (XXV)) and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (resolution 2734 (XXV)). Both of these Declarations affirm the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Government of the Netherlands attaches particular value to both these Declarations, because they not only express in a manner acceptable to the whole community of States a number of fundamental principles of international law, but they also show that each of these principles has to be considered in the context of the other principles. Special reference should be made in this connexion to operative paragraph 2 of the Declaration on Principles of Internal Law, which explicity states that "in their interpretation and application the above principles are interrelated and each principle should be construed in the context of the other principles".

The Government of the Netherlands fears that a separate discussion on the application of one of the principles laid down in the Declarations carries in it the danger that the cohesion with the other principles will be disregarded.

This danger is especially present in the case of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. On several occasions in the past this principle has been excessively emphasized by Governments in their attempts to reject the justifiable concern of the international community about the application of other fundamental principles such as the right of self-determination and the respect for human rights.

The hesitation of the Government of the Netherlands about the desirability of a separate discussion on the principle of non-intervention is increased by the wording of resolution 31/91, which by its vague and unspecific character gives rise to many different interpretations, which in turn could decrease the value of the formulations used in the Declaration mentioned.

PHILIPPINES

 $\sqrt{0}$ riginal: English $\sqrt{3}$ August 197 $\sqrt{7}$

The Philippine Government believes that any political interference in the internal affairs of States can be avoided and prevented by:

- (a) Ensuring the stability and security of the nation and the region from external interference by strengthening the economic and social stability of each individual country and region;
- (b) Securing recognition of the inalienable right of every State or region, whether large or small, to preserve its national identity and lead a national existence free from outside interference;
- (c) Sharing in the responsibility of respecting all nations on the basis of mutually advantageous relationships, in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations.

The Philippines has always been an advocate of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. As a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), she has been one of the driving forces behind the strict enforcement of the said principle as manifested in the ASEAN Declaration; Declaration of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, Declaration of ASEAN Concord; and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Moreover, the Philippines has demonstrated willingness to establish relations with other countries and regions of the world on the basis of mutual respect for each State's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

ROMANIA

<u>/O</u>riginal: French/ <u>/2</u>6 August 197<u>7</u>/

/See the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (A/32/165).

SEYCHELLES

<u>/Original: English/</u> <u>/28 March 1977/</u>

The Government of Seychelles is grievously concerned that interference in the internal affairs of independent countries should continue and considers that in future an injured State should report the circumstances to the appropriate organ of the General Assembly, which should then appoint an impartial enquiry so that the State, organization or persons responsible for such conduct may be subjected to international condemnation.

SURINAM

/Original: English/ /12 July 1977/

States should identify clearly between their own national interests and those of other States. They should not place their national interests above the national interests of other States and, pursuant to the principle of non-intervention, refrain from actions which could amount to an illegal interference in the internal affairs of other States or to a violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States. Nor should their actions be instrumental to such interference or violation.

Each State has the right to determine freely its own political goals and policies as well as its economic development strategy within the limits as indicated above.

Each State has the right to exercise absolute sovereignty over its renewable and non-renewable natural and economic resources and to use them for its own development and for the benefit of its own people.

States should therefore, in the view of the Surinam Government, not interfere in the internal political affairs or economic development strategy of other States, either overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly.

The Government of Surinam takes the view that observance of the following principles is of major importance in order to comply with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

(a) Home countries of transnational corporations should not use the corporations as instruments to bring any kind of pressure to bear upon the political affairs or the economic system or strategy of their host countries. Nor should these corporations be permitted to carry out any activities which could disturb the internal peace and destabilize the Government of their host countries. Likewise home countries should disregard requests for assistance from transnational

corporations which might lead to interference with the internal affairs of their host countries. They should refrain from assisting or even encouraging transnational corporations to meddle with internal affairs of their host countries. Their promotion of the interests of transnational corporations in host countries should not go beyond normal diplomatic representation.

(b) The actions of so called mercenaries are overtly and violently interfering in the internal affairs of States and thus violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries they choose to invade. Given the lawlessness and the criminal nature of their activities the Surinam Government is of the opinion that States should prohibit the recruitment of mercenaries in their territory. They should not allow the training of mercenaries within their territory nor their equipment or any other form of material support by their nationals. They should furthermore prohibit the use or transfer of funds in their territory for the purpose of aiding mercenaries and close their territory for passage through it by mercenaries in whatever disguise they may be travelling.

In presenting the above-mentioned views, the Surinam Government would like to state its conviction that strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States should be considered a major requisite for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Consequently, the Surinam Government expresses its hope that States will refrain from any form of interference in the internal affairs of States.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

<u>/Original:</u> Russian/ <u>/2</u> August 197<u>7</u>/

/See the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (A/32/165)./

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

<u>√</u>Original: English√ /19 July 1977√

The United States strongly supports the principle in the United Nations Charter regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We welcome the opportunity to reaffirm our commitment now in view of the continuing disregard of this principle in certain parts of the world. It is essential to the maintenance of international peace and to the achievement of self-determination that States strictly observe the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of another State.

The United States favours effective measures to strengthen the commitment of the international community to this principle. We concur in the view that resolution 31/91 generally offers useful guidelines for the proper conduct of international relations. However, we believe that the non-interference principle can best be achieved by universal adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and to the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

VENEZUELA

<u>/</u>Original: Spanish//
/25 April 197<u>7</u>/

There are many bilateral documents signed by Venezuela in which we have expressed our support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and the desire to strengthen and enhance its role, and stated the need to promote friendship and ties of co-operation and mutual understanding, as a solid basis for the strengthening of international security. We have also reaffirmed our conviction that if peace is to be strengthened and become more durable it must be based on a new international economic order which guarantees fairer and more equitable terms of trade and relations that foster the harmonious development of peoples, and on the effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)), both of which have been fully supported by the Government of Venezuela in various international forums.

I should like to quote the paragraph on this subject which is included in all the joint statements agreed upon by Venezuela and various countries in their bilateral relations:

"They reaffirm the support of their countries for the principles of non-interference, territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes and sovereign equality of all States and emphasize that these principles must govern the relations between States."

YUGOSLAVIA

/Original: English/ /15 July 1977/

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has always strictly observed the principles of non-interference and non-intervention, wishes to emphasize that Yugoslavia has been constantly attaching the greatest attention to the phenomenon of foreign interference and intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples and countries, considering it to be one of the most dangerous sources threatening the sovereignty, integrity and free development of peoples and countries.

Interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States and the use of force are occurring with ever greater frequency in contemporary international relations, despite the Charter of the United Nations and other international documents that make it incumbent on the Members of the world Organization to refrain from such acts.

The non-aligned and other developing countries are most often subjected to direct acts of subversion and interference in their internal affairs, aimed at destabilizing the internal situation in the said countries, including the overthrow of legal governments, and at preventing the pursuit of an independent foreign policy and independent development. Therefore, all countries are particularly interested in seeing the policy of force and foreign interference eliminated from international relations. Yugoslavia, as well as other non-aligned countries, considers that the world Organization should exert further and more intensive efforts with a view to eliminating intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States from international relations. In this sense, the non-aligned countries have manifested, and are showing, a maximum of readiness to lend full support to the world Organization in its efforts toward that end. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in 1973, the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima in 1975, and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in 1976, devoted special attention to this burning question of contemporary international relations and made a specific contribution by drawing attention to new forms of interference and to ways by which they can be eliminated.

The Fifth Conference held in Colombo devoted a separate chapter to this question in its Political Declaration, in which it emphasized, among other things, that measures calculated to cause disruption and destabilization were threatening internal security and creating political confusion and economic chaos, and that the non-aligned countries should act more resolutely against threats of foreign pressure and domination, subversion and interference in their internal affairs. In this connexion, it is necessary to point out that the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 11 April 1977, called on all members of the Non-Aligned Movement to respond to the invitation of the Secretary-General to express their views on ways by which greater respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States can be assured.

Foreign interference may assume most varied forms - political, economic, military, ideological as well as propaganda aspects. The policy of interference is being carried out - along a wide range of direct and indirect, crude and subtle methods - through State organs, transnational corporations, semi-private and private institutions, political groupings or media of mass information. Recourse to terrorism and recruitment of mercenaries are the newest forms of interference in internal affairs. They are aimed, first and foremost, at thwarting the struggle for national liberation and at preventing the consolidation of the independence of newly-liberated countries, particularly newly-liberated African countries, as well as at obstructing the fight against racial discrimination and apartheid.

Acts of State terrorism against peoples fighting for their liberation, self-determination and independence as well as toleration by States of remnants of fascist or mercenary terrorist groups pose a most serious threat to international security and the internal stability of countries. Such brutal interference by foreign factors is not directed against individual African and other developing countries alone, but against the Non-Aligned Movement as a whole, with a view to weakening its action capability and its role in international relations as an independent, world and non-bloc factor.

What causes the greatest concern, in this respect, is the fact that the protagonists of interventionism and interference in internal affairs are endeavouring to legalize this dangerous practice by invoking, inter alia, "higher", "historical or special" or bloc interests in various regions.

The phenomenon of interference in the internal affairs of other States has its root in the policy of force, in attempts to divide the world into spheres of interest and blocs, in attempts at preserving existing privileged positions and continuing the exploitation of the natural resources of other countries, with a view to preventing the emancipation of peoples and their socio-economic and political development. The use of force and various forms of interference in the affairs of other countries, particularly those determined to pursue a genuinely independent internal and foreign policy, are an unavoidable concomitant of such attempts.

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that in order to eliminate the phenomenon of interference in the internal affairs of other countries it is indispensable to take the following measures:

- (a) Ensure the observance by Governments of the provisions of the resolution of the General Assembly;
- (b) Exert maximum efforts in order to identify and eliminate the causes that give rise to the phenomenon of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, such as the policy of force and spheres of interest; bloc division; exploitation of the natural resources of other countries and peoples through the violation of their sovereignty over such resources; colonialism; imperialism; policy of hegemony; and other forms of coercion and inequality in relations among peoples and States;
- (c) Define with the greatest precision, in an appropriate form, the inadmissibility of any interference in the affairs of other countries, regardless of its source and whatever the pretext;
- (d) Exert even greater efforts for the democratization of international relations and establishment of the new international order, universalization of détente, strict respect for the decisions of the United Nations and strengthening of the world Organization as a universal instrument of international co-operation;
- (e) Keep constantly on the agenda of the General Assembly the question of interference in internal affairs, draw attention to concrete acts of interference

in the internal affairs of individual countries, take energetic measures with a view to lending moral and material support to countries victims of such acts in their resistance to them, and request the Secretary-General to submit regular reports on the implementation of General Assembly resolutions relating to these questions;

- (f) Further elaborate existing instruments of international law, such as the Convention Prohibiting the Recruitment of Mercenaries, relating to problems of interference in the internal affairs of other countries:
- (g) Prevent, in various countries, terrorist activities directed against third States;
- (h) Resolve more effective key international problems, especially of foci of crises in various parts of the world.

ANNEX

List of documents issued since the consideration of the item by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session

A/31/431-S/12255	Letter dated 13 December 1976 from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
A/31/438	Letter dated 14 December 1976 from the German Democratic Republic and Guinea-Bissau
A/32/68	Letter dated 21 April 1977 from Cuba and Democratic Yemen
A/32/69	Letter dated 21 April 1977 from Cuba and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
A/32/70	Letter dated 22 April 1977 from Cuba and Mozambique
A/32/71	Letter dated 22 April 1977 from Angola and Cuba
A/32/74	Letter dated 25 April 1977 from India
A/32/75	Letter dated 22 April 1977 from Cuba and Somalia
A/32/77	Letter dated 29 April 1977 from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Panama
A/32/78	Letter dated 5 May 1977 from Oman
A/32/89	Letter dated 27 April 1977 from Cuba and Ethiopia
A/32/93	Letter dated 25 May 1977 from Democratic Yemen and Hungary
A/32/117	Letter dated 17 June 1977 from Panama
A/32/128	Letter dated 27 June 1977 from Cman
A/32/140	Letter dated 18 July 1977 from the German Democratic Republic and Romania
A/32/153	Letter dated 22 July 1977 from Czechoslovakia and Romania
A/32/154	Letter dated 22 July 1977 from Democratic Yemen, Somalia, the Sudan and Yemen
A/32/157	Note verbale dated 2 August 1977 from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics