



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/32/165 & Add. 1, 2

2 September 1977

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ARABIC/ENGLISH/  
FRENCH/RUSSIAN

Thirty-second session  
Item 50 of the provisional agenda\*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING  
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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 31/92, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", in which it took note of the report of the Secretary-General to the Assembly at its thirty-first session (A/31/185 and Add.1) and requested him to submit to the Assembly at its thirty-second session a report on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.
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 the resolution and asking for relevant information and suggestions regarding the implementation of the Declaration.
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 31/92 is given in the annex.

## II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

### BARBADOS

/Original: English/

/19 July 1977/

General Assembly resolutions 2734 (XXV) and 31/92 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security are supported in principle by Barbados. Barbados adheres to the principles of the United Nations Charter and would welcome any agreement which would establish firm guidelines for more effective peace-keeping operations to deal with situations which endanger international peace and security. The Security Council should take steps to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for in the Charter.

Barbados considers that the achievement of universality of membership in the United Nations and of regional co-operation will help to promote international peace and strengthen international security. On the other hand, international economic inequality and colonial domination continue to pose a threat to international peace and security. Efforts should therefore be taken to achieve the former objectives and eradicate the latter impediments.

Barbados whole-heartedly supports moves towards disarmament. But in recommending urgent measures to stop the arms race and promote disarmament, the dismantling of foreign military bases, the creation of zones of peace and co-operation and the achievement of general and complete disarmament and strengthening the role of the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, in order to eliminate the causes of international tensions and ensure international peace, security and co-operation, Barbados believes that consideration must be given to the fact that some small States are forced to permit the presence on their territories of military bases because these are viewed as providing the means of economic and financial support.

To eradicate the need for some countries to permit such military establishments on their territories international assistance should be made available to such small States not only to cushion the adverse economic and financial consequences flowing from the withdrawal of foreign forces, but also to improve the bargaining position of the country in its negotiations with the foreign power.

### BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

/Original: Russian/

/24 August 1977/

In recent years, as a result of the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community and the persistent struggle for peace waged by the broad masses of the people on all continents, it

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has been possible for international relations to take a positive turn in their development, a turn away from the "cold war" and towards détente and the affirmation, in the practice of international life, of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

The Peace Programme adopted at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its integral extension, the Programme for Further Struggle for Peace and International Co-operation and for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples, put forward at the twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, play an enormous role in the development and deepening of the policy of détente. The Leninist policy of peace and international co-operation followed by the Soviet Union is embodied in the new Constitution of the USSR.

Today it is important to strengthen what has been achieved and to move forward unswervingly by establishing both the material and the political conditions in which it would be impossible for events to take a regressive course. This requires, first of all, a concentration of efforts on solving the most difficult and pressing problem of our times, namely the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament. This year saw the signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, which was prepared on the initiative of the Soviet Union. An important step would be the implementation of the measures set forth in the Memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, which was introduced by the USSR delegation for consideration by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, as proposed by the Soviet Union, and the adoption of the proposal of the States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty that all participants in the European Conference should bind themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other would serve the fundamental interests of the strengthening of international security.

The elimination of existing hotbeds of tension is of great importance in the struggle for peace. The Byelorussian SSR therefore strongly supports the elimination of the results of Israeli aggression in the Middle East and the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem and other international conflicts. The Byelorussian SSR supports the unconditional cessation of the policies of apartheid and racism in southern Africa, and the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Significant successes have been achieved in the struggle for peace and international security. However, the forces of reaction and aggression have not abandoned their attempts to exacerbate the international situation once again, to complicate relations between States and to intensify the arms race. Attempts are continually being made during disarmament negotiations to obtain unilateral military advantages and thus threaten the security of other States. Actions designed to interfere in the internal affairs of States and to revive the vestiges of the "cold war" are also jeopardizing the strengthening of mutual trust and co-operation among peoples.

The Byelorussian SSR consistently supports the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and considers that the efforts of all States should be directed towards the solution of current international problems, the development of equitable co-operation among States, and the achievement of the main goal of the United Nations, namely the maintenance of international peace and security.

## EGYPT

[Original: Arabic]

[20 June 1977]

It is necessary, in the view of the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, to distinguish at the outset between the basic concepts. On this basis, it recalls the difference, in degree as well as in kind, between the concept of "peace" and that of "security", and considers that security constitutes a more advanced stage than mere "peace", and that it can be brought about only through the existence of structural and moral elements which, in their comprehensiveness, comprise many economic, political, social and legal aspects.

Although the Egyptian Government does not belittle the importance of working towards the establishment of "international peace", through the prohibition of recourse to the use of force in international relations or, as a first preliminary stage, of the threat to use it, it believes that the provision of the wholesome climate and the mutual confidence necessary for the duration of this peace on the long run are the two fundamental elements which should be borne in mind and for the sake of which action should be carried out at all times. This is the practical interpretation of the concept of "international security".

In order to provide the wholesome climate in international relations, the Arab Republic of Egypt attaches its hopes to the accomplishment of the following steps:

I. Liquidation of the remaining forms of colonialism and foreign occupation of others' territories

1. In this regard, the Arab Republic of Egypt stresses the importance of putting an end to the illegal situation currently in existence in the Middle East area; namely, the continued occupation by Israel of the Arab territories which it forcibly took over in 1967, and Israel's refusal to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people despite the clarity of the principles and purposes of the Charter, the numerous resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the text of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as concerns the necessity of respecting the territorial integrity of States, the inadmissibility of the occupation of territories by force, that the territories and lands of States shall not be the object of occupation and aggression, and the recognition of the legitimate inalienable rights of the Palestine people.

2. The Arab Republic of Egypt also refers to the dangerous situation in southern Africa, the continuation by the Government of Pretoria of its colonialist,

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racist policy in Namibia and the continuance of the white minority Government in Rhodesia which constitutes a dangerous challenge that has untoward consequences not only for peace and security in Africa but also for international peace and security.

## II. Relaxation of international tension

1. Despite international efforts towards this objective, the continuation of the policies of force and hegemony and what ensues in the form of occupation, minority rule, intervention in the domestic affairs in unveiled ways such as the dispatch of mercenaries or in concealed ones such as the exercise of various pressures and other things; all this has a direct effect in weakening this trend. The Arab Republic of Egypt stresses the importance of General Assembly resolution 31/91, of 14 December 1976, entitled "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States", and considers this definite resolution which the non-aligned States took the initiative in submitting, as a new development for the subject of the strengthening of international security, since, with this resolution, the General Assembly began to deal with specific facets of international security, and in connexion of which the Assembly showed a clear position and set forth specific demands. It is logical that this trend be continued with regard to the other facets, the totality of which constitute "the world security".

2. The relaxation of international tension cannot result only from détente between the two super-Powers or between the advanced States alone; its effects should extend to all States politically, on the basis of the principles of justice, equality and the efficacy of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and economically, through the establishment of a just new economic order that would directly and constructively contribute to the relaxation of international tension.

3. The area of disarmament is one of the principal areas of the relaxation of international tension. Heretofore, it is noted, despite whatever validity there might be for classical theory of deterrence, that the accumulation of arms increases itself by itself, and that the eventualities of the spread of nuclear weapons specifically, increase as soon as a new member joins the nuclear club. In the light of the current realities, it is natural that the regional balances play their role in accelerating this horrible race. The direct danger which precedes the danger of the annihilation of the human race by the use of nuclear weapons in any future emergency circumstances, is that the costs of nuclear armament do take, at present, a hefty part of the balance of potentialities which are necessary to face up to the problems of hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance in the world. The Arab Republic of Egypt highly hopes that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1978, would lead to results commensurate with the hopes of the peoples of the world in warding off, even gradually, the danger of annihilation and in securing the ambition of these peoples toward development and prosperity. Egypt is also of the opinion that the establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in the world is one of the practical approaches that could serve in this direction.

### III. Strengthening the role of the United Nations and ensuring confidence in its potentialities

1. While Egypt follows a policy of strengthening the role of the Security Council in the field of maintaining international peace and security, it calls for the respect and implementation of its resolutions, and emphasizes the necessity of adherence by all States, big and small, to the resolutions of the Council which, if carried out, would ensure efficacy for the work of the Council and tranquillity and stability for the international society.

2. Egypt stresses its keenness on the role of the General Assembly in maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the stipulations of the Charter of the Organization.

3. Egypt attaches great importance to the current revision works for the reviewal and rationalization of the performance of the United Nations, the organization of its political, economic and social sectors, whether relating to the Charter of the Organization, the role of the Organization in peace-keeping operations, or to the reorganization of the economic and social sectors, and the evaluation of the International Development Strategy. Egypt certainly believes that these works of revision demonstrate further faith in a strong and rational role in the future for the United Nations in such a way that suits the new international circumstances.

### IV. Ensuring and strengthening the channels of human communication

In this connexion, Egypt concentrates on the two dimensions of time and place of this human communication as well as on the qualitative and quantitative dimensions. This can be brought about through action in the following areas:

1. The establishment of an efficient international system which carries into effect a sufficient flow of information between States and peoples without prejudice to national traditions or security regulations. In this light, Egypt draws attention to the importance of achieving some progress in the field of the regulation of the information freedom through the United Nations, a field in which work has stumbled down since a long time.

2. The undertaking by States to respect the historical heritage, works of art and the national character of the cultures of other States, on the strength of the belief in the importance of get-together through diversity, co-operation and exchange, based on the relative advantages.

3. Strengthening the role and potential of the specialized international organizations concerned with matters of education, communication, information, culture and tourism, and viewing them in the light of the importance of the role they play at present and the potential role they may play in the future in providing opportunities for acquaintance-making on the international level and creating the climate and instruments for international and human understanding.

## FINLAND

/Original: English/

/15 August 1977/

In the view of the Finnish Government important results have been achieved in the establishment of peaceful patterns of international co-operation which is an integral part of the strengthening of international security. More than a mere symbol of détente, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has promoted such co-operation.

On the eve of the Belgrade follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), the Government of Finland finds it important that the process initiated by the Final Act of the Conference signed in Helsinki should be continued and deepened. For her part, Finland has proceeded to the implementation of all provisions of the Final Act.

In the view of the Government of Finland, the provisions and the Final Act of CSCE are consonant with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Besides its significance for political, economic, social and cultural co-operation at the regional level, CSCE should also be seen as a contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security on a global scale. The Government of Finland is convinced that CSCE has already had a positive impact beyond the limits of Europe.

Proceeding from the close connexion between disarmament and the strengthening of international security, the Finnish Government considers disarmament interlinked with détente. The process of the relaxation of international tensions has brought about new possibilities for progress in disarmament efforts. Conversely, the successful continuation of détente is hardly conceivable in the long run without substantial advance in arms control and disarmament.

In view of these fundamental considerations, the Government of Finland has deemed it expedient to increase, within its limited resources, its contribution to arms control and disarmament endeavours. Considering the proliferation of nuclear weapons a grave threat to international security Finland continues to view the non-proliferation treaty as the best available instrument for averting the dangers of the spread of these weapons. To this end, Finland has made proposals for the strengthening of nuclear safeguards on a comprehensive basis. As another viable approach to check the spread of nuclear weapons the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones has been the subject of a comprehensive study on the initiative of Finland (A/10027/Add.1). The Government of Finland expresses the hope that the study will facilitate the establishment of such zones.

Finland has continued to submit to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament the results of a research project it carries out for the creation of a national capability for the control of chemical weapons. It also participates in the work of the ad hoc group of seismological experts within the Conference.

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Having signed and ratified all existing multilateral arms control agreements open to Finland, Finland gave her support for the adoption by the General Assembly of the Convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques. Finland signed the Convention in Geneva on 18 May 1977 and expresses the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Convention. The recently held review conference of the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof was, in the view of the Government of Finland, a successful event. It is to be hoped that the results of the review conference will add to the momentum of the ongoing arms control negotiations.

Evidently, the United Nations has a central role in preserving and strengthening international security. All measures aimed at furthering its capabilities to this effect warrant the support of Member States. The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could in an important way enhance international security by promoting the goal of general and complete disarmament under international control. The most important multilateral disarmament negotiation body proper, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, continues to work on a number of important arms control and disarmament issues. The limitation of strategic arms is presently under intensive negotiation and talks continue on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. While recognizing the inherent complexity of the issues involved, the Government of Finland deplores the lack of progress in these negotiations. Progress in the ongoing arms control and disarmament negotiations before the special session of the General Assembly would markedly add to the chances of a successful outcome of the session.

In proportion to its population and other resources Finland has given a considerable contribution to the establishment and operation of the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations. This support has stemmed from the basic belief of Finland in the vital peace-keeping role of the Organization. Finland continues to be prepared for such contributions and supports efforts to strengthen the political and financial basis of the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The Government of Finland regards economic interaction as an essential component of the basis of relations between States. The development of such a material foundation of relations should be encouraged and facilitated. Clearly, the perception of common interests between States is conducive to increased security. Advantageous to all participants, equitable economic co-operation underpins this unity of interests and also contributes to the stability of international relations.

The Government of Finland wholly endorses the idea of an interconnexion between development and disarmament. The continuance of the arms race is in conflict with the security interests of Member States, and it equally jeopardizes the attainment of the goals of development that the Member States are committed to. Ultimately, international security is conditional on an economic restructuring of the world. The goal of a restructured world such as envisaged by the resolution on the establishment of a New International Economic Order will be seriously threatened if the diversion of the world's scarce resources to military ends continues.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

/Original: English/  
/27 June 1977/

Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session on 16 December 1970 considerable positive changes have occurred in the international situation. Noticeable progress has been achieved in the efforts aimed at lasting peace and social progress. The German Democratic Republic has contributed to reach this goal and, also in the future, it will actively co-operate in consolidating and expanding what has been accomplished.

To further consolidate international security in the sense of the United Nations Declaration it is necessary to prohibit aggression and the use of force in inter-State relations, to observe the principles of State sovereignty, respect for the territorial integrity of other States and non-intervention in their internal affairs, and to support the peoples in the realization of their right to national and social self-determination. It is imperative to adopt measures for the limitation of armaments and for disarmament in order to stabilize political détente and make it irreversible in the end.

The large number of bilateral and multilateral treaties concluded between States provide a basis for international security. To make these arrangements effective is certainly dependent on the readiness of all parties concerned to observe committing international obligations and thus to create conditions of trust for concluding even wider-ranging international agreements.

The policy of peaceful coexistence and détente works its way through all difficulties. We cannot overlook, however, increased activities by those imperialist circles who now as before consider war as a means of enforcing their selfish interests, who amplify the arms race and are out to push mankind back into the "Cold War". All forces which, irrespective of ideological differences, subscribe to peaceful coexistence among States and peoples, must decisively oppose those circles.

In the resolution on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session, the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are welcomed and the States which participated in the CSCE are invited to implement the Final Act as a whole.

The German Democratic Republic works responsibly and unswervingly for the implementation of the principles and recommendations of the Final Act. This applies to its bilateral relations as well as to measures in the field of

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multilateral relations. The GDR considers the extension of contractual relations and the regular holding of political consultations among the States participating in the Conference to be of special importance for the implementation of the Helsinki results. The holding of all-European congresses in the fields of energy, transport and the environment would be beneficial to all peoples on the Continent.

There is no doubt that the Final Act is a long-term programme for the development of inter-State relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Especially the Belgrade meeting should be seen in this context. Therefore the meeting should not only analyse what has been done up to now but elaborate concrete recommendations and proposals relating to questions of future co-operation. To strengthen security and develop co-operation requires a constructive and creative atmosphere at the Belgrade meeting.

In actively contributing to a further improvement of the situation on the European continent the German Democratic Republic never loses sight of the objective, proclaimed by the United Nations, to extend the process of détente all over the world. Therefore, it supports the proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force, a proposal to which the majority of the States Members of the United Nations responded positively. This initiative is fresh proof of the policy of peace the Soviet Union has continuously pursued since the Great Socialist October Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which is celebrated all over the world this year. The implementation of the Soviet proposal would decisively contribute to make renunciation of force an unbreakable law governing the activities of States.

Efforts aimed at consolidating political détente and extending it all over the world can be successful, in the long run, only with a halting of the arms race. In the Bucharest Declaration of November 1976 the States participating in the Warsaw Treaty said:

"The most acute and urgent goal of mankind remains the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, first of nuclear disarmament, the removal of the danger of a world war. Without it, it is impossible to make the positive trends in the evolution of international relations truly irreversible, a real security in the world cannot be ensured."

(A/31/431-S/12255, annex I, p. 4)

The Declaration proceeds from the final goal, that is general and complete disarmament. It contains guidelines for further international negotiations and, at the same time, shows ways of how to solve selective problems in a short time.

In this context the German Democratic Republic wishes to draw attention to the proposal addressed to the States signatories to the Helsinki Final Act to agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. This would contribute to strengthening security in Europe and in the other regions of the world. A commitment not to increase the membership of the Warsaw Treaty and of NATO would also have a positive impact on the shaping of international relations.

The complete and general cessation of nuclear weapon tests and the guarantee

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of non-proliferation of nuclear arms by all nuclear weapon States would be important steps towards nuclear disarmament. To increase the number of nuclear weapon States would have the fatal effect of increasing the danger of nuclear war and of complicating negotiations in this field which are difficult enough. Transnational corporations must not be allowed to subordinate fundamental security interests of peoples to their profit-seeking motives.

The German Democratic Republic takes part in the elaboration of agreements relating to the abolition of other weapons of mass destruction and to the prevention of their development and production. This is valid especially for chemical weapons the prohibition of which must not be delayed by means of unjustified demands for controls.

To go farther than selective arrangements relating to limited fields, a general prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons is necessary. The initiative of the Soviet Union to conclude such a treaty has given new dimensions to the efforts against the arms race. Its materialization would create favourable conditions for the whole range of negotiations on disarmament and would have preventive effect on potential developments in weapons technology.

The German Democratic Republic also supports all endeavours to include conventional weapons in the process of arms limitation and disarmament and to strengthen international security by associated measures. The German Democratic Republic attaches great attention to the Vienna talks which, regrettably, make no progress because the Western party insists on the idea to achieve unilateral advantages at the expense of the socialist States participating in the talks.

Disarmament negotiations at all levels can only be successful when they are based on the principle of equal security for all parties and on mutual consideration of legitimate security interests. As many other States do, the German Democratic Republic advocates a new stage in the efforts for arms limitation and disarmament. The convening of a World Disarmament Conference would stimulate this project most effectively. Its preparation should be a major concern for the United Nations special session devoted to the problems of disarmament.

To strengthen international security demands to eliminate existing international conflicts and to prevent the emergence of new hotbeds of tension, the German Democratic Republic is in favour of a peace settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. Pursuant to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security effect must be given to the principle that the acquisition of territories by means of aggression is inadmissible.

Prerequisites for the settlement of the Middle East conflict are the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the right to self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish a State of their own, and safeguards for the right of all States in the region to independent existence, development and

security. The German Democratic Republic supports the project relating to the settlement of the Middle East conflict submitted by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 1/ and it reiterates its support for the early resumption of the Geneva Middle East peace conference with equal participation of the PLO.

A smouldering focus of conflict exists in the south of Africa. The illegal racist régimes are stepping up terrorism to oppress the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe who are fighting for their fundamental rights, and are committing acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. The Vorster régime misuses Namibia as a military deployment area. The United Nations Security Council clearly established and condemned this fact in connexion with the aggression against Angola. Not all States, however, are willing to draw the necessary conclusions. What matters is to apply against the Republic of South Africa coercive measures of the United Nations Security Council according to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and impose a comprehensive embargo on arms supply. Granting independence to Namibia and Zimbabwe must not be delayed any longer. Our solidarity is with the African States and the national liberation movements opposing imperialist manoeuvres to maintain old relations of domination under a neo-colonialist cover.

In his message to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on 21 March 1977, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic declared:

"Recently, increasing attempts have been made to employ neo-colonialist methods against the struggle of the national liberation movements. The peoples in southern Africa, however, have not only the indisputable right to national independence and freedom but are also entitled to choose without external interference the kind of social and economic order in which they want to live." (A/AC.115/L.462, p. 13)

Nobody may be allowed to disregard the principles of the United Nations Charter, to create new hotbeds of conflict in Africa or to back their emergence because of protecting interests of transnational corporations.

Based on the Charter and its implementation, the role of the United Nations Organization has grown in the struggle for consolidating peace. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its point of view that the Charter and its generally recognized substantive and procedural principles must remain untouched to provide the solid basis for the activities of the Organization. This is the best guarantee for an even more effective work of the United Nations in strengthening international peace and security.

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1/ Speech delivered at the 16th Congress of Soviet trade unions in March 1977 (Pravda, 22 March 1977).

HUNGARY

/Original: English/

/30 August 1977/

In its foreign policy activity the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic makes consistent efforts to contribute actively to the strengthening of international peace and security, the elimination of the use of force in international relations, and the broadening and deepening of international co-operation.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is developing its bilateral relations as well as its activity in international organizations in the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, for it believes that high-level exchanges of visits and meetings serve to promote the strengthening of international security through the development of relations and co-operation among States.

As a result of the efforts of socialist and other peace-loving States, the principles of peaceful coexistence and of mutually advantageous co-operation based on equality are prevailing with increasing insistence in international relations.

The Hungarian Government continues to support fully the Programme of Peace, adopted by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which seeks to strengthen peace and security, to guarantee the freedom and independence of peoples and to broaden many-sided co-operation among countries.

The strengthening of international security is a world-wide task, in the realization of which all States and all continents shall take their part. The Hungarian People's Republic as a socialist State of Europe highly appreciates the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and stands for the full implementation of the principles and recommendations embodied in the Final Act of that Conference. For its part, the Hungarian Government has taken and will take practical measures to that end. It believes that the meeting of representatives appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the participating States, which is to begin at Belgrade on 4 October 1977, will create appropriate possibility for the States signatory of the Final Act of Helsinki to review in a constructive spirit the results achieved and the experiences gained in the implementation of the recommendations of the Final Act and to consider further action.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that in international relations there is a need for new, mutually advantageous agreements, treaties and other measures which may be instrumental in strengthening international security, maintaining the process of détente and making it irreversible, and extending political détente also to the military field.

In the strengthening of international peace and security, in promoting the solution of the immense problems facing the peoples of the world, and in particular the developing countries, the Hungarian Government attaches primary importance to

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the limitation of the arms race both in its quantitative and qualitative aspects, to the taking of effective disarmament measures. It was in this spirit that it participated in the elaboration of, and was among the first to sign, the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques.

It is likewise in this spirit that the Hungarian Government supports the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to prohibit the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, to ban and destroy chemical weapons and to ban nuclear weapon tests with the participation of all nuclear Powers. While supporting effective disarmament measures in general, it devotes special attention to nuclear disarmament, to reducing the danger of a nuclear war. The Hungarian Government was guided by this motivation in proposing, together with the other States Members of the Warsaw Treaty, that the States signatory of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should agree to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons against one another.

The Hungarian Government is of the view that the successful outcome of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, leading to the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, would give fresh impetus to negotiations on disarmament.

However, progress in the strengthening of international security, and in bringing about positive changes in international relations, is hindered by circles interested in stepping up the arms race, in manufacturing new types of weapons and in swelling military budgets. Progress in disarmament is likewise hindered by attempts to achieve unilateral advantages in the course of disarmament negotiations.

The strengthening of international security presupposes the strengthening of mutual confidence and co-operation among States. This is controverted by steps seeking to intervene in the internal affairs of other States and to revive cold-war vestiges. It is the conviction of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic that full respect by all States for the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs is bound to make a great contribution to the strengthening of international security, to the reduction of international tension and to peaceful coexistence, whereas its violation is a source of danger to the cause of peace.

From the foregoing it naturally becomes clear that the Hungarian Government is in agreement with, and in full support of, the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The Hungarian Government considers that the liquidation of the hotbeds of international crisis, and the early and just settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means have great importance to the strengthening of international peace and security. Its position concerning the settlement of the Middle East crisis and the question of Cyprus, as well as of other international conflicts, is known and unaltered. The Hungarian Government invariably supports the just struggle of African peoples for the achievement of their freedom and independence and for the liquidation of racism.

In the opinion of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly will be another contribution to the realization of the aspirations set forth in the Declaration. The Hungarian Government will also in the future take every opportunity to make maximum contribution, commensurate with its possibilities, to the strengthening of international security and to the success of efforts on behalf of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation based on mutual advantages.

IRAQ

/Original: English/

/19 August 1977/

The Iraqi Government supports and backs the resolutions passed by the General Assembly regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, including the most recent resolution, 31/92, which we voted in favour of. The Iraqi Government not only supports the principles and provisions which are included in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, but also expresses its commitment to their implementation.

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MALTA

/Original: English/

/16 May 1977/

The position of the Government of Malta in relation to the strengthening of international security, to the observance of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, and to the questions of non-armament and disarmament, has clearly been outlined in several interventions made at the United Nations and elsewhere.

In particular, attention is drawn to the following extracts from the latest statements made by Malta's delegation at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly:

(a) "We remain attached to the goal of global disarmament, but we feel that the evident lack of progress indicates that we should concentrate more on pragmatic action, on concerted political approaches, in different regions of the world, designed to remove mistrust and eliminate pockets of tension and so gradually to reduce the perceived need for military confrontation by opposing forces /A/31/PV.30, para. 177/."

(b) "It is essential for us now to determine future priorities. One priority is to concentrate more effort on concrete measures and, temporarily at least, to postpone further concentration on the elaboration of theory. A second priority is to determine areas of co-operation where concerted political action is likely to produce effective results. A third priority is to set up appropriate machinery to give effect to decisions, as otherwise the best blue-prints for action will remain dead letters /AC.1/31/PV.54, p. 47/."

(c) "... determined attempts should be made simultaneously to diminish and to eliminate the danger of outright conflict ... by removing the most obvious elements that can bring about a flash-point. The same political climate that suggests reduction of forces on land should equally stimulate reduction of naval forces at sea /Ibid., p. 57/."

(d) "... we live in an age when no two nations, however powerful, can build the structure of peace on their own. The super-Powers must realize this and should encourage political concertation between all the interested States of a particular region. Division does not promote success; it only produces a stalemate. When interests converge, unity is attainable /Ibid., p. 77/."

The Maltese Government faithfully applies these norms and actively strives to put them into practice.

To this end, and on the basis of the latent aspirations for peaceful social and economic progress, Malta has launched several regional and global initiatives:

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- (a) Quadripartite meetings of the countries in the central Mediterranean in which other neighbouring countries are showing an interest
- (b) Furthering the Euro-Arab dialogue
- (c) A determined leadership role in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to secure the extension of détente to the Mediterranean region and to seek the support of the super-Powers for policies which promote peace and unity in the region
- (d) Agreement between the Mediterranean States to the establishment of a centre in Malta to combat oil-pollution in the Mediterranean
- (e) Termination of military bases in Malta by 1979
- (f) An unswerving dedication to the principles of non-alignment
- (g) At the global level, the historic initiative to declare the sea-bed and oceanic floor beyond national jurisdiction as the common heritage of mankind
- (h) The offer to host the proposed International Sea-Bed Authority.

MONGOLIA

[Original: Russian]

[22 August 1977]

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the discussion at the annual session of the General Assembly of the United Nations of the question of implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security since the twenty-fifth session convincingly confirms the supreme significance of that important document which placed an obligation on States Members of the United Nations to exert continuous efforts, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, towards the strengthening of international peace and security.

In their foreign policy, the countries of the socialist community are unswervingly guided by the provisions of the Declaration and they are active in putting forward constructive proposals designed to deepen détente by reinforcing it with specific measures in the field of disarmament and amplifying the principles of peaceful coexistence by international co-operation, on a basis of equality and mutual benefit in the economic, scientific, technical, and other spheres of creative activity.

The single-minded efforts of the socialist countries and of all peace-loving and progressive forces have led to significant positive changes in the international arena since the adoption of the Declaration. The threat of a new world war has been considerably reduced. The victorious conclusion of the national

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liberation struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea has put an end to the largest neo-colonialist venture of the imperialist forces since the Second World War. This has created a favourable situation for a decisive improvement in the international climate both in Asia and in the world as a whole. Major successes have also been achieved in the anti-colonial struggle of the African peoples. These successes are embodied in such peace-loving and progressive States as the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The joint Act adopted by the participants in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe laid the foundations for the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and co-operation on a basis of equality. The effective implementation of the agreements reached at Helsinki will undoubtedly have a favourable influence on the course of events in other parts of the world.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that, on account of the situation which has now developed in Asia, the implementation of consistent measures designed to strengthen peace on that continent is of decisive significance for universal security. Such measures are urgent mainly because on that continent, where armed conflicts have virtually not ceased throughout the whole period since the end of the Second World War, dangerous hotbeds of tension and conflict still exist. The dangerously explosive situation in the Middle East, which is being further intensified by the openly expansionist claims of ruling circles in Israel and the manifest connivance in those aggressive claims between the United States and Zionist forces is causing growing alarm in the world community. The evolution of events in that region once again confirms the need for the speedy achievement of a comprehensive political settlement of the problem which would provide for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the safeguarding of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the creation of their own State, and respect for the right of all States in the region to an independent existence. It has become vital to resume the work of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation from the outset of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A positive solution to the Korean problem has an important place in the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The presence of United States troops in South Korea is a major obstacle to the peaceful democratic unification of Korea. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX) must be implemented in such a way that any foreign presence in the Korean peninsula is eliminated once and for all.

The Mongolian People's Republic, which regards the recent official dissolution of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization as further evidence of the historical verdict of our age, is in favour of the elimination of all military bases and of any foreign military presence directed against the peace and security, the national independence and the social progress of the peoples of the continent.

In our view, it is vital at the present time to intensify the efforts of the Asian States, on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis, to promote the further

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normalization of the situation on the continent, a speedy settlement of outstanding problems and the transformation of Asia into a continent of lasting peace and co-operation.

Relations between the Asian countries must be based on the principles of the non-use of force in relations between States, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and the development of co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, and the inalienable right of peoples to dispose freely of their own natural resources. The United Nations can play a constructive role in co-ordinating the efforts of the Asian States to bring about a renewal of the spirit of the historic Bandung Conference and the incorporation of its principles into relations between the States of that continent.

The proposal of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which has found wide support in the international community, is of great significance for the strengthening peace and universal security. The conclusion of such a treaty would, in our view, make a significant contribution to the strengthening of mutual trust among States and thus to the creation of a solid basis for peaceful co-operation among States and to the protection and strengthening of the sovereignty and independence of, in the first place, the small countries which in the past were subjected to the shameless arbitrary rule of the imperialist States.

Détente and the arms race are two diametrically opposed processes which cannot go together. The arms race which is still being whipped up by the military industrial complexes in the United States and other Western countries threatens to undermine the foundations of international détente, the bases of universal peace and security. Moreover, it can also render ineffective the disarmament measures already agreed upon. Such a situation urgently calls for concerted and renewed efforts on the part of all States to seek effective ways and means of solving the problems relating to the cessation of the arms race and disarmament. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the World Disarmament Conference, the convening of which will be considered at that special session of the General Assembly, can, in our view, contribute towards that end.

The strategic arms limitation talks between the USSR and the United States are of decisive significance in further reducing the threat of a nuclear war. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that talks concerning the elaboration of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons can be successfully concluded provided that both sides base themselves on the Vladivostok agreement, that is to say on the principles of equality and identical security for both sides.

The decision of the United States Administration to expand the production of such new types of weapons of mass destruction as the "cruise missile" and the neutron bomb is contrary to the spirit of those historically significant talks, to the will of the world community and to the exigencies of the time. The United Nations must realize the full danger to peace and to the welfare of mankind which

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that new type of weapon in the arms race represents. Starting with the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, it must take practical steps to work out an international treaty prohibiting the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction on the basis of the draft already submitted by the Soviet Union. The Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that the conclusion by all participants in the Helsinki Conference of a treaty whereby they would agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, as proposed by the States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, would be an important precautionary and auxiliary measure to reduce the threat of war.

The Mongolian People's Republic considers that the increasingly frequent intrigues of the imperialist and racist forces, which even go as far as armed provocation against the independence and sovereignty of the African States which are in the forefront of the movement for national liberation and social progress, represent a threat to peace and security not only in Africa, but throughout the world. Such a danger is inherent, inter alia, in the unceasing acts of aggression by the imperialist forces and racist régimes against the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Republic of Angola and other sovereign African States. In this connexion, the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the General Assembly must support the decisions adopted by the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations which have condemned the aggressive encroachments on the territory of those States.

Co-operation between States in the field of international trade and economic relations on a basis of equality and mutual advantage constitutes a reliable material basis for the safeguarding of peace and universal security. The United Nations must therefore pay particular attention to the question of the establishment on a world scale of a new international economic order free from discrimination, exploitation and diktat. In its support for the just struggle of the developing countries in that field, the United Nations must, in our opinion, actively help to imbue international economic relations with all that is valuable and progressive in the mutual relations among the socialist States and in co-operation between those States and other countries.

We are convinced that the United Nations, as an instrument for peace and international co-operation, must still further enhance the effectiveness of its activities in order to make a real contribution to the efforts of peace-loving forces to combat the attempts of aggressive and reactionary circles to paralyse the positive evolution in international life, to push the world back to the time of the "cold war", to intensify the arms race, and to use détente for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of States.

The Mongolian People's Republic will continue its efforts directed towards the consistent implementation of the purposes and principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

NETHERLANDS<sup>2/</sup>

[Original: English]

[11 March 1977]

Our countries wish to repeat their reservations on the annual repetition of the discussions under the agenda item "Implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of International Security". These yearly discussions have gradually undermined the unanimity which gave force and value to the original Declaration. The Declaration was the product of extensive negotiations in which a delicate balance was achieved. We consider that the Declaration is sufficient in itself and these subsequent debates, which are often repetitions of debates held elsewhere in the General Assembly, have not contributed to the implementation of the aims of the Declaration."

POLAND

[Original: English]

[4 August 1977]

1. Reaffirming the greatest importance it constantly attaches to the strengthening of international security, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to reiterate that its endeavours in this field are invariably guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, recommendations of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, contained in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) and provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

It is the view of this Government that despite the existing conflicts and negative phenomena, efforts to achieve détente and constructive solutions to difficult international problems have confirmed themselves over the recent time as the basic trend of development of the international situation. Like many other Governments and nations, the Government of Poland regards the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence of States with different economic and social systems as the only rational road of development of international relations in the modern-time world. Therefore, it notes with profound satisfaction further progress of this policy.

It is the belief of this Government that ensuring the irreversibility of

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<sup>2/</sup> Reply submitted on behalf of the nine Member States which are members of the European Communities. The statement was first made as an explanation of vote in the First Committee on 10 December 1976 by the Netherlands representative of the nine Member States.

détente and consolidating its positive accomplishments should continue to be in the focus of attention of all Governments. For this is the prerequisite of effectiveness of all efforts oriented towards the strengthening of peace and international security, as well as towards the solution of other major problems confronting the world of today.

2. Constant strivings to strengthen peace and security and expand equitable international co-operation in Europe have been an important field of endeavours pursued by the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

This is seen in its consistent efforts to fully implement the principles and provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). In pursuance of the respective Sejm and Government decisions, decisive steps have been taken to put these principles and provisions into practice both on the unilateral, bilateral and multilateral planes.

Seeking to achieve the complete fulfilment of all CSCE Final Act provisions, Poland puts particular emphasis on the enhancement and consistent implementation by all the signatories of the Final Act of the Declaration on Principles contained therein, as an essential basis to build upon security and broad collaboration in Europe.

Acting on the grounds of these principles, Poland has scored a considerable record of positive achievements in the development of collaboration with States - signatories of the Final Act, as much in the field of political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations as in the area of human contacts. This co-operation has become an important material factor of the process of normalization of international relations and of consolidating the peaceful coexistence of States with different socio-economic systems.

Parallely, further efforts have been made with a view to expanding and strengthening the international, juridical and political foundations of détente and peaceful coexistence. The bilateral treaties and declarations on co-operation and development of friendly relations, concluded by Poland with other States, have played a prominent part in this endeavour, for not only do they create and fortify the political structure of security and international co-operation but likewise open up wide possibilities for further collaboration between States.

In the bilateral efforts towards strengthening security on the European continent, the Government of the Polish People's Republic attaches special importance to progress of the process of normalizing relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, seeing in them one of the basic determinants of the situation in Europe as a whole. Voicing its support for this process making still greater headway, the Government of the Polish People's Republic remains confident that an equally consistent action to strengthen the foundations of peace and security in Europe will be further pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany and for this purpose it will effectively isolate such political orientations which are bent to disrupt the process of normalization of mutual relations.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to confirm once again that the treaties and agreements, concluded by Poland and the other socialist States with the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, represent an extremely important contribution to the strengthening of European détente. Their strict observance and fulfilment continue to serve that objective and constitute an essential factor of European security.

3. Together with its allies, Poland is ready to take further efforts towards consolidating the conditions of peace and security in Europe.

An explicit expression of this common commitment has been the Declaration, entitled "For New Horizons in International Détente, for Building Security and Developing Co-operation in Europe", adopted in November 1976 at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

The proposal contained in the Declaration to the effect that the signatory States of the Final Act of CSCE sign a treaty pledging themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons one against the other, constitutes one of the most far-sighted and significant initiatives on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the world at large. Its implementation would strengthen mutual confidence and diminish the danger of war, especially a nuclear war, without infringing upon the interests of any State. The proposal which has drawn broad support of the public opinion, calls for an urgent and serious consideration among the States concerned.

Of great importance for the normalization of relations in Europe and for their further growth would be taking measures as proposed by States participating in the Warsaw Treaty to overcome the division of the world into opposing military blocs and prevent the widening of the existing or the creation of new closed military and political groupings and alliances.

Along with other socialist States, Poland also believes the expansion of multilateral collaboration among all European States and peoples would be of paramount importance for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. Hence, Poland's resolute support for and involvement in efforts aimed at holding, in accordance with a proposal by the USSR, all-European conferences on environmental protection, transportation and energy. Poland further believes that in order to fully normalize and intensify economic co-operation in Europe, it is indispensable to conclude an agreement on principles guiding their mutual relations between the CMEA and the EEC and their respective member States.

4. An important role in the strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe should be played by the meeting of representatives of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, scheduled for Belgrade in 1977. In the belief of the Government of Poland, the meeting should serve the exchange of positive experiences arising from the implementation of the CSCE Final Act, further improvement of relations and expansion of multilateral collaboration. The common goal of the participants of the meeting should be a businesslike and constructive exchange of opinions with a view to consolidating the process of

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détente, seeking the best ways and means for a full implementation of the programme outlined in the Final Act and continuing the multilateral process to strengthen peace, security and develop co-operation in Europe, as initiated in Helsinki. The latter is in the interest of all States participating in CSCE, in the interest of Europe and the world.

5. Strengthening détente in Europe calls for its being supplemented by détente in the military sphere, the lessening of the existing military confrontation, notably in Central Europe, and reducing military potentials stockpiled in the region.

Hence the special importance the Government of the Polish People's Republic attaches to the ongoing negotiations in Vienna on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The fact that they have not as yet led to anticipated results gives rise to serious concern of the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

Poland and other socialist States have been making every effort to ensure progress of these negotiations. They have shown their readiness to arrive at a compromise settlement on substantial reductions of armed forces and armaments in that region of Europe, on the basis of reciprocity and undiminished security of any State. In addition to their proposals on general solutions, they put forward other initiatives concerning partial measures, including the extremely important one of not increasing the numerical strength of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in Central Europe, while negotiations and work continue on a reduction agreement.

The Government of Poland views the Vienna negotiations as one of the most important planes of strengthening European security. At the same time, it profoundly trusts that they will lead to the lowering of the level of accumulated troops and armaments in Central Europe, without detriment to the existing balance and relationship of forces which is a historically formed foundation of peace in Europe and has an enormous importance for the security of the rest of the world.

6. Whilst striving to strengthen conditions of peace and security in Europe, the Government of the Polish People's Republic is guided by its deep conviction that it is thus serving the cause of peace and security on a global scale.

At the same time, the Government of Poland lends its support to efforts by other States to widen détente and strengthen peace and security on other continents. A prominent part in these efforts is played by the group of non-aligned States. The Polish Government has welcomed the results of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which represent a significant contribution to the strengthening of world security and development of equitable international relations.

Among proposals for the strengthening of security on a global scale the draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, submitted by the Government of the USSR, is of particular importance. The Government of the Polish

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People's Republic is deeply convinced that its conclusion would be in keeping with the interests of all States and the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

Such a treaty would contribute to enhancing the principle of non-use of force as the basic and inviolable rule of international intercourse. Its adoption in the form proposed by the Soviet Government would be tantamount to giving the principle of non-use of force a content in keeping with the requirements of the times, especially by emphasizing its relationship with the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as much as with the obligation of diminishing military confrontation and undertaking specific steps in the field of disarmament. Originating as it does from the advancing process of détente, such a treaty would form a significant instrument of extending détente on to all continents and thereby consolidating the process on a universal scale. It would also signify an increased safeguard of security for all States, big and small alike, and consolidate the climate of peace and mutual trust. It would facilitate settlement of both current and possible future conflict situations on non-military basis, by peaceful means.

Voicing its full support for the proposed treaty, the Government of Poland confirms its readiness to pursue work with other States and without delay towards preparing the text of such a treaty.

7. Along with actions to prevent an outbreak of new armed conflicts, it is necessary to continue further determined efforts to extinguish the existing centres of war with a view to achieving peaceful and just settlement of the present tensions and conflicts.

An urgent need continues for a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. The basic element of such a settlement should be the principle of inadmissibility of territorial annexations by means of war, the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to self-determination and creation of its own State and securing to all States in the region a right to independent existence and security.

Poland believes that it is necessary to resume promptly the Geneva Conference, with the participation on equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization from the very beginning of the Conference.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic trusts that the participation of the Polish Army Contingent in the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East serves well the cause of preventing an outbreak of a new armed conflict and finding its lasting and just settlement.

Poland lends its resolute support to all efforts designed to achieve just political solutions of other crisis situations fraught in themselves with seedbeds of armed conflicts.

8. In the belief of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the strengthening of peace and international security calls for a broad programme of action in various fields. Among them the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the determined fight against all manifestations of racism and apartheid occupy a place of specific importance.

Further efforts are required to establish a new economic order in the world, taking due account of the interests of all States.

It is also of great significance to educate the young generations in the spirit of peace and respect for other nations.

The Government of Poland spares no efforts to solve those of mankind's greatest problems which are of basic importance for the strengthening of peace and international security.

9. The most urgent goals in efforts towards strengthening international security still include effective steps to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. It is such matters that the Government of the Polish People's Republic regards as of utmost importance, by its participation in multilateral international negotiations and contribution to working out of relevant agreements.

The Government of Poland follows with attention the course of the talks between the USSR and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic arms and consistently lends its support to the principles worked out at Vladivostok, as a just basis for further agreements. An agreement on this issue which would exclude the possibility of unilateral advantages and limit the further strategic arms race, based on the newest technology, is in the interest both of the participants in the dialogue and all other States. Indeed, it would be an essential factor of stability of international security and an impulse to further advance the process of détente in the world. It would likewise open up new possibilities for military détente and would enhance disarmament negotiations in many fields.

It is with profound satisfaction that the Polish Government has welcomed the agreement and approval by the United Nations General Assembly of the Convention on the Prohibition of Environmental Modification Techniques for Military and other Hostile Purposes. Having signed this Convention as one of its first signatories, the Government of Poland has restated the importance it attaches thereto. This Convention as well as other work, which continues on the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction or their new systems, represent an extremely valuable and optimistic trend of disarmament efforts. It should lead not only to limiting the possibilities of diverting the constant advances in science to military purposes, but likewise to ensuring that research and development facilities in various States be applied solely for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of the present and future generations.

Poland attaches serious importance to the decision of convening a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament. The position of the Government of Poland on that latter matter was stated in its reply submitted in April 1977, in pursuance of resolution 31/189. It hereby wishes to

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reaffirm its confidence that convening of the special session would be an important and constructive stage of world-wide efforts to limit the arms race, achieve disarmament and convene a world disarmament conference.

A question which arouses grave concern on the part of the Government of Poland is the growing danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons. It holds the view that further resolute efforts are required for the universal adherence to and enhancement of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in order to ensure effective safeguards to utilize nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes and to prevent possibilities of acquisition of nuclear weapons by new States, which would indeed produce grave consequences for the cause of peace and international security.

It is this grave concern that determines the Polish Government's full commitment to efforts for the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, improving the system of safeguards of IAEA and securing that the international transfer of nuclear materials, installations and technologies would serve exclusively peaceful purposes. At the same time, the Polish Government firmly expresses itself in favour of a broad development of international collaboration in the field of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and making advantages therefrom available to all States.

10. The Government of the Polish People's Republic declares its readiness to contribute further and consistently to the strengthening of international security. In this regard it attaches great importance to the functioning of the United Nations. In its unreserved desire to continue its strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Polish Government will further act to use the United Nations machinery as an effective instrument to strengthen peace and international security. With this objective in view, it reiterates its readiness to work jointly with all Member States of the Organization.

## ROMANIA

/Original: French/

/26 August 1977/

The Permanent Representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the United Nations refers to the Secretary-General's notes concerning General Assembly resolutions 31/91 and 31/92 and has the honour to transmit herewith extracts from the statement made on 28 March 1977 by Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the joint session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development and the central Party and State machinery.

Extracts from the statement made on 28 March 1977 by Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the joint session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development and the central Party and State machinery

While focusing all our activities on the economic and social development of the country and the successful building of socialism in Romania, the Party and the State are at the same time concerned with the continuous implementation, in the realm of foreign policy of the directives of the Eleventh Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the achievement of a constant increase in our contribution to the solution of international problems, and the promotion of co-operation and peace among nations.

The course of events during this period is a further confirmation of the accuracy of the judgements and conclusions of the Eleventh Congress as regards the great changes taking place in the international arena and the basic direction of the foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Large-scale revolutionary transformations, both national and social, have continued to take place throughout the world and profound changes have occurred in the world balance of forces in favour of the cause of progress and peace. The characteristic feature of these changes is the ever more powerful affirmation of the will and determination of the peoples to put an end for ever to the imperialist policy of domination and oppression, force and diktat, to go forward in complete freedom, fully masters of their destiny and their national wealth, and to promote a new policy of equality and respect among nations, of multilateral co-operation in an atmosphere of trust and security. The socialist countries have made further important strides in their economic and social development. The power of socialism in the world and its influence on present-day social development has grown still further. More and more peoples, particularly in the developing countries which have freed themselves from colonial domination in the post-war period, are expressing a desire and a determination to embark on the road to socialism, in one form or another. The process of the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism has continued. The struggle against neo-colonialism and for the final

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abolition of racist and apartheid policies has been intensified. The newly independent States which have embarked on the path of independent economic and social development are stepping up their efforts to consolidate national independence. At the same time, they are exerting an increasingly powerful influence on the course of international affairs. As a result of these changes, imperialism's sphere of action and influence has shrunk and the economic, political, social and national contradictions of the world capitalist system have become more acute. In the developed capitalist countries, there is a powerful growth in the influence of left-wing forces, democratic forces, which declare themselves to be in favour of progressive innovations in the life of society. At the same time, we are witnessing a redeployment of forces and a clarification of the political positions of certain States which are interested in furthering their own policies and securing for themselves a preponderant role in the international arena. Simultaneously, we are witnessing a marked upsurge in the activities of the transnational corporations which are trying to increase their profits at the expense of the sovereignty and national interests of the peoples, thereby giving rise to powerful demonstrations of opposition to the policy and activities of the transnational corporations, the great international monopolies, even within the developed capitalist countries. The crises embracing all spheres of the economic and social life of a system based on exploitation highlight with ever greater intensity, the fact that the old relationships based on inequality, oppression and diktat born of imperialism and colonialism are outdated historically speaking, and are inevitably doomed to disappear, and that nothing and nobody will succeed in preventing the victory of the new economic order, the building of a more just and a better world on our planet.

The struggle of the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces has taken on a new intensity throughout the world. The role of the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals, and of other social groups, women, young people and the broad popular masses, is growing all the time in the affirmation of a new policy based on respect for national independence and sovereignty and on the right of every people freely to decide its own future without any outside interference.

Following these revolutionary transformations, a new positive trend towards détente, trust and co-operation among nations is gaining ground throughout the world. Certainly, it should never be forgotten that the furtherance of détente and co-operation requires constant and persevering efforts, that there are still reactionary forces in the world which do not support this positive development and are still capable of endangering international peace and security.

A dialectical materialist analysis of the great changes taking place in the world today shows that modern development as a whole is creating conditions favourable to the establishment of new international relations, a policy of perfect equality, respect and co-operation among nations. The solution of the great problems facing mankind, in a democratic spirit and in the interests of all States, therefore demands ever closer unity and an intensification of the struggle of the peoples and progressive forces everywhere.

It is only natural that we should place in the forefront the achievement of security and peace in Europe in the spirit of the documents adopted at Helsinki, which constitute a whole. We saw that European Conference and the adoption by

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consensus of the Final Act as an historic moment in the life of our continent, one which opened up broad prospects for the establishment of an atmosphere of trust, security and co-operation among all States.

During the 20 months which have elapsed since then, some progress has been made in giving practical expression to the commitments undertaken at Helsinki, but it has been far too limited.

We consider that priority should be given to the development of broad and unimpeded co-operation in all fields between all the States of the continent, in conditions of perfect equality and mutual advantage.

In order to encourage bilateral and multilateral relations on problems of common interest, it would be useful to organize a meeting to be attended by all European States, devoted to economic co-operation and the exchange of technology and of information on the results of scientific and technical research and other subjects. To this end, Romania supports the Soviet Union's proposals concerning the organization of European meetings on transport, energy, environmental protection and other subjects of mutual interest.

It should not be forgotten that in Europe, besides the economically advanced countries, there are still some developing countries. This fact makes it essential to develop co-operation which would allow all States full access to modern technology and to the achievements of the modern technical and scientific revolution.

It is likewise necessary to expand co-operation among European States in the cultural and artistic fields, as well as in regard to other problems of a humanitarian nature. In our opinion, it is particularly essential to organize meetings on ways of improving the working and living conditions of the working masses, including those who are obliged to leave their countries to seek employment. Unfortunately, certain circles in the West are trying to confine humanitarian problems to a few aspects - and not always those which are of real importance - thereby distorting the spirit of the Helsinki documents.

It is also impossible to overlook the fact that, in a number of countries, reactionary, neo-Fascist circles are resuming their activities in an attempt to poison the international political atmosphere, to sow discord among the peoples and to undermine the implementation of the Helsinki documents. The painful lessons of history, the errors of the past which placed such a heavy toll on the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world must not be forgotten. For that reason, governments, politicians and democratic public opinion must not look idly and indulgently on these phenomena, but must combat and firmly reject them. In view of the fact that many discussions are taking place in certain countries on the fringes of humanitarian problems, I should also like to mention on this occasion that, in the spirit of the concept of revolutionary humanism, Romania has long since radically solved the vital and fundamental problems of the whole nation. In Romania, the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated for good, adequate working conditions have been provided for all its citizens, the old policy of national discord has been abolished, and all workers, regardless of nationality,

have been ensured perfect equality of rights, the possibility of fully enjoying the achievements of socialism, of leading a free and dignified life, of actively and effectively participating in running society, and of consciously building their own future, their own history. As far as certain problems such as genuine family reunification are concerned, Romania dealt with such requests in the highly humanistic spirit which is a feature of our society, long before the European Conference in Helsinki and the adoption of the Final Act. In the future, too, Romania will take steps to solve problems of this nature in the context of its traditional humanist policy. At the same time, we cannot fail to note and to disapprove of the fact that, behind the so-called concern for humanitarian problems, there is sustained activity in certain countries to encourage Romanian citizens of various nationalities to leave their homeland and to emigrate. It must be clearly understood that the emigration problem is by no means a humanitarian problem; it constitutes an important political problem for every people and for inter-State relations. We therefore regard the activities being conducted abroad to encourage the emigration of Romanian citizens as indicative of an unfriendly attitude towards Romania. Encouragement to citizens of other nationalities to leave Romania is, in the final analysis, also aimed at disrupting certain sectors of our economy and at creating difficulties for the Romanian State. For that reason, the Romanian Government resolutely rejects such activities, which it regards as constituting serious interference in the internal affairs of Romania. We allow no one to interfere in this way.

It is obvious that such activities have absolutely nothing to do with humanitarian principles. Is it humanitarian to lure people with the promise of better material conditions in economically more developed countries and persuade them to leave their homeland, their relations, their friends and the environment in which they were born, grew up, were educated and moulded as human beings? On the contrary, such practices are profoundly inhumane in character. They deal a blow to the dignity of man and to his possibility of achieving self-realization and taking his full place in the social context within which he has grown up. They uproot people socially and nationally. In fact, they constitute a nihilist concept and can have serious repercussions on the moral and psychological state of the people concerned.

Romania makes a clear distinction between the problem of family reunification - on which it has always taken an understanding attitude in justifiable cases - and the problem of emigration, towards which its attitude is one of total disapproval. The implementation of the humanitarian principles set forth in the Helsinki documents makes it essential to put an end to activities designed to encourage emigration, to solicit the citizens of another State, and to incite people to leave their native land. In my opinion, it is to this that the attention and efforts of democratic and progressive forces and of those Governments and peoples which are fighting for the establishment of a new climate of understanding, friendship, mutual respect and fruitful co-operation on our continent should be directed.

Romania considers that it would also be useful to hold meetings for the purpose of adopting measures to combat certain phenomena which could be harmful to the healthy development of the peoples, and particularly the young, such as the use of narcotic drugs, pornography, propagation of violence and hatred of other people,



racism, anything that can lead to moral pollution and the degradation of the human being and to discord among peoples. At the same time, it is necessary to take action to encourage the exchange of spiritual values between nations and, to this end, to proceed with the organization of cultural and artistic events, such as festivals and competitions for folk-singing and dancing, drama, music, films, and so on, and seminars and other gatherings of artists and scientists, all of which lead to better understanding and mutual esteem among peoples, to closer contact between the citizens of European countries, and to wider access for the population of that continent to the treasures of human civilization.

Experience shows that it is impossible to speak of real security and peace in Europe as long as the arms race continues on our continent. For that reason, it is imperative to go forward resolutely towards military disengagement in Europe. In our view, it would be particularly useful if all the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference were to undertake firm commitments regarding the elimination of military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, the reduction of their national armed forces and the adoption of any other measures likely to bring about a strengthening of trust on the continent. Along these lines, Romania considers that, as a first step, all the countries which took part in the European Conference, including Canada and the United States of America, could proceed to reduce their military budgets and forces by 5 to 10 per cent. The adoption of such measures would be proof of the determination of the European countries to do everything to create a climate in which no country, no people, could become the victim of aggression or outside interference.

The conclusion of a pan-European pact signed by all the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference and including a commitment to renounce the threat or use of force, as well as an undertaking by those States which possess nuclear weapons not to use them in any form against other States or groups of States, would be of particular importance for the achievement of security in Europe. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones of peace would likewise be a valuable contribution to the cause of European security.

We also consider it necessary for the countries of Europe to reach agreement on the adoption of a joint position with a view to increasing their contribution to the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic and political order. In our opinion, it would be of great significance if this problem could be considered within the framework of the Belgrade meeting, and if positive agreements and solutions could be reached and a programme of action drawn up for all European countries dealing with this matter which is fundamental to the cause of international peace and co-operation.

From the rostrum of this joint session of the supreme organs of our Party and State, I should like to make a solemn appeal to governments, parliaments, parties, progressive political and social forces and to the peoples of our continent to make new persevering efforts, in a spirit of broad co-operation and understanding, in order to achieve further progress towards the implementation of the commitments undertaken at Helsinki and of the principles of the joint document, and the adoption of further strong and effective measures towards closer inter-European

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co-operation, military disengagement on our continent and the creation of a climate of perfect security in which all nations can develop freely and co-operate with a view to ensuring lasting peace. Let us make every endeavour to guarantee peace and security to our peoples, to future generations and to the whole world.

SEYCHELLES

/Original: English/

/19 July 1977/

The Seychelles Government fully supports resolution 31/92 but has no suggestions or information to submit at this stage.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

/Original: Arabic/

/11 April 1977/

1. The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security must be effected under the guidance of the Charter of the United Nations, its basic principles, under the effective control of the United Nations and on a world-wide basis.
2. For the achievement of this ideal end, the main reasons which prevent the completion of implementing this Declaration must be eliminated; which reasons lie in the existence of focuses of international tension that are attributable to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, settling colonialism, Zionism, racism and other forms of foreign domination which exercise pressure and force or threaten therewith as a means for obstructing the political, economic and social liberation of the United Nations, thus denying them their natural right to freedom, dignity and self-determination such as the case of the people of Palestine.
3. The establishment of the new international order, in its political and economic areas, can positively contribute to the consolidation of international peace and security, especially when based on justice and equality and when it aims at correcting the unequal and unbalanced relations which exist at the present time between the member States, so as to ensure the full and efficient investment by States of their natural resources and riches.
4. General and complete disarmament, especially the nuclear weapon, under active international supervision, is the effective guarantee for world peace and security. Within this framework, the international society should pay special attention to the special session, the convening of which, in 1978, was called for by the General Assembly, in order to examine the subjects of disarmament and to set out the crucial guidance and effective solutions before the world conference which is expected to be held thereafter for follow-up and implementation.

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5. Until this is achieved, there must be, as a preliminary step, a complete and immediate cessation of any nuclear tests. There must also be a cease, in an unequivocal way, of the threat or use of the nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction in addition to those weapons which are in existence, pending the putting into effect of the international convention relative to the ban of nuclear tests.

6. The close interrelation between the strengthening of international security in Europe and its strengthening in other tense areas in the world such as that of the Mediterranean and the Middle East should be stressed. Within this framework, the States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should be urged to fully implement the document on the Mediterranean Sea contained in the final statement of Helsinki. The States of the third world should consult among themselves with a view to arriving at a joint stand that reflects the ambitions of the third world in the Belgrade Conference, scheduled for 1977, to review the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe; with due regard to the fundamental interrelation between the implementation of this document and the prerequisite of eliminating all the focuses of tension and the consequences of aggression in the area.

The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic estimates that such bases and principles can contribute to paving the way for the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

/Original: Russian/

/2 August 1977/

Recently, as a result of the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and of other peace-loving States, the principles of peaceful coexistence and equitable co-operation have become more firmly established in international relations. A growing number of States are embracing the policy of international détente.

The Soviet Union is constantly striving for the quantitative and qualitative limitation of the arms race and for disarmament in mutually acceptable and fair conditions. In May 1977, the Soviet Union took yet another initiative in this area by signing the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques. In addition, important proposals facilitating the achievement of an understanding have been put forward by the Soviet Union on a number of other pressing disarmament problems. It would be in the interest of the strengthening of international peace and security if practical measures could now be speedily taken to draft and conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Together with the other States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet Union has proposed that the countries which signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other.

The Soviet Union consistently endeavours to promote a rapid and peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis, the problem of Cyprus and other international conflicts, making specific observations and proposals to this end. It supports the African peoples, who have intensified their just struggle for freedom and independence, against racism and apartheid.

While positive trends are apparent in the evolution of the international situation, it should be noted, however, that obstacles to the reorganization of international relations on a positive basis are being created by circles which are interested in the intensification of the arms race, the expansion of military expenditure and the development of new types of weapons. Attempts are continually being made during disarmament negotiations to obtain unilateral military advantages and thus threaten the security of other States. Actions designed to interfere in the internal affairs of States and to revive the vestiges of the "cold war" are also jeopardizing the strengthening of mutual trust and co-operation among peoples.

The interests of the strengthening of peace and the guaranteeing of international security require that all States should without delay adopt measures to solve urgent international problems and to develop equitable co-operation among States. A detailed and constructive discussion at the forthcoming thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will undoubtedly promote the attainment of this goal.

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YUGOSLAVIA

/Original: English/

/15 July 1977/

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in supporting resolution 31/92 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, as one of its sponsors, expresses its readiness to co-operate most closely, as heretofore, with all the other Member States in efforts to strengthen international security, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and other generally-accepted documents of the United Nations, which have become a component of the universal platform of democratization of international relations. In this connexion, it draws attention to the undiminished urgency to ensure a comprehensive and consistent implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly on the strengthening of international security.

Yugoslavia emphasizes the particular significance of the fact that the General Assembly has invited, in this resolution, the States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to implement fully and urgently all the provisions of the Final Act, including those relating to the Mediterranean, and to consider favourably the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation in the interests of peace and security, and has also emphasized the need for strengthening the role of the United Nations in order to preserve and strengthen peace and promote development through equitable co-operation.

1. Examining the international situation, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia points to the appraisal of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in April 1977, that certain positive trends in international relations have continued, that the struggle against all forms of foreign domination and exploitation has been intensified and that an ever growing number of countries have been exerting efforts toward positive changes in international political and economic relations. At the same time, many crises, in various regions, remain unresolved or have been even aggravated and some new tensions have been created in various parts of the world, while the solving of some most topical long-term problems stagnates or slow progress is being made toward resolving them.

Détente is still limited in scope and geographical extent and its positive impact has not yet been felt in wider areas of non-aligned and developing countries. New and broad efforts and concrete steps and results are necessary, so that the relaxation of tensions may englobe the totality of international relations and all the regions. As rightly emphasized in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, a relaxation of international tensions cannot be secured through the policy of balance of power, spheres of influence, rivalry between Power blocs, military alliances and the arms race.

In the opinion of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the present situation, the most important tasks in strengthening

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international peace and security are the elimination of focal points of crises, disarmament measures, democratization of international relations and establishment of the new international economic order. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is gravely concerned over the absence of substantive progress toward eliminating focal points of crises.

2. The crisis in the Middle East is fraught with the danger of further aggravation owing to Israel's refusal to comply with the decisions of the United Nations on withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories to the line of 5 June 1967 and its refusal to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and establishment of its own State, which would ensure the peaceful, independent and secure existence of all the peoples and States in the region. The failure to solve this crisis poses a serious threat to the situation in the region and more broadly in the world. Therefore, the Yugoslav Government considers that it is necessary to take urgent measures for convening the Geneva Conference where the Middle East crisis would be solved in a comprehensive manner with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization in its capacity of only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

3. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations, the Cyprus crisis is continuing and is causing distrust and tension in relations among the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Yugoslav Government feels that it is high time to solve the problems of Cyprus in accordance with the principles embodied in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and other decisions of the United Nations, on the basis of strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus in the international community. In this respect, Yugoslavia attaches particular significance to the current negotiations between the two Cypriot communities which should be constantly encouraged by the international community.

4. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia insists on the strict implementation of the decisions taken by the United Nations against racist régimes in the south of Africa and is lending support to the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the fight for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination. With regard to this, of great importance are the Conference on Support to the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, as well as the forthcoming World Conference against Apartheid in Lagos, the recent decisions of the Security Council on these questions and the establishment of the Support and Solidarity Fund for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Yugoslavia draws attention to the danger to peace and security in Africa, and more widely, arising out of foreign pressures, interference, direct aggression and bloc confrontations in Africa, which should be opposed energetically by the international community. In this sense, Yugoslavia supports the relevant decisions of the Organization of African Unity.

5. The Mediterranean, as a region, constitutes one of the most sensitive areas owing to unsolved crises and the growing concentration of naval forces of the great Powers, which has the effect of aggravating an already dangerous situation.

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Therefore, it is understandable that, first, the Mediterranean countries and, then, the other European countries as well had declared themselves in favour of considering the problems of the Mediterranean at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki, agreeing that there is a close interdependence between the problems of security in Europe and those in the Mediterranean.

Together with the other Mediterranean non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia insists on the conversion of this region into a zone of peace and equitable co-operation among Mediterranean countries. The implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki concerning the Mediterranean implies the support of the international community for regional initiatives, so as to create conditions - through all-round Mediterranean and broader co-operation - for overcoming the present situation and laying down a new foundation of Mediterranean security, as a result of the activity and involvement of the Mediterranean countries themselves.

6. As emphasized by the non-aligned countries at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government in Colombo, the problem of international economic relations is one of the most dramatic issues for peace and international security. In view of this, Yugoslavia, together with non-aligned and developing countries, is striving for a solution of the complex problems of international economic relations that will be conducive to a more rapid bridging of the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, because general economic and social progress, as well as peace and co-operation in the world, depend on this. Therefore, Yugoslavia is actively engaged in efforts for changing radically the existing unjust system of international economic relations and establishing the new international economic order, for effecting deeper structural changes in the world economy in favour of the developing countries. In this respect, it has already made its contribution, together with other non-aligned and developing countries, to the dialogue at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris which - although it has produced, as it is known, certain positive results - has not found adequate solutions to some of the most important problems of developing countries. Without a satisfactory answer to the question of more equitable redistribution of world income, it is impossible to ensure a stable, over-all development of the world economy, and this is liable to lead to further major economic disruptions accompanied by conflicts and tensions of wider proportions in international relations.

7. The ever more intensive arms race is one of the main sources threatening peace, security and the results achieved in the field of relaxation of tensions so far. The efforts exerted by the international community with a view to slowing down the arms race and the steps made toward disarmament have not produced the expected results. For this reason, the non-aligned countries have taken the initiative for convening a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in order to get the United Nations actively involved in the solution of this key problem of international relations. The Yugoslav Government considers that all efforts exerted in the field of disarmament on bilateral, regional and multilateral levels should be organically linked within the framework of the movement toward the final objective - achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

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The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that the special session, as the most representative gathering of the international community devoted to disarmament, should adopt a programme of measures which will be realistic enough to be generally acceptable and sufficiently oriented toward the future so as to pave the way for further negotiations on disarmament.

8. Problems of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes have become topical in the period since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The Yugoslav Government is concerned over the tendencies that nuclear energy should become a lasting monopoly of the narrowest circle of most developed countries, thus depriving other countries of the right to scientific and technological progress, to higher levels of material development, to the training of their cadres and advancement of science in all fields, including the field of nuclear technology.

In addition to its economic significance, the problem of the use of nuclear technology is of first-rate importance from the point of security as well. The maintenance of the monopoly of the narrowest circle of developed countries with regard to the development of nuclear technology and the depriving of other countries of the right to use this source of energy have the effect of undermining the very foundations of international relations, bringing into question the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons itself.

Yugoslavia attaches particular importance to the achievement of equitable co-operation in this field, which would contribute towards identifying some of the aspects of this problem, toward the adoption of a more active stand in international organizations against monopoly and a more rapid transfer of techniques and technology under the most favourable conditions, thus rendering possible a maximum utilization of one's own scientific, material and financial possibilities, raw materials and industrial capacities as well as joint development of necessary nuclear techniques and technology. The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi, considered it essential that there should be greater international co-operation in this area with a view to securing the application of nuclear energy for meeting the developmental needs of developing countries and invited the developed countries to show greater understanding and readiness to co-operate and to lend assistance to developing countries with regard to the development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

9. The Yugoslav Government considers that the strengthening of the United Nations and strict application of the principles of the Charter, as well as the implementation of the decisions of the world Organization, are among the most essential conditions for strengthening international peace and security. Within this context, of particular importance is the implementation of the provisions of such documents as the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Definition of Aggression, Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and other instruments of international co-operation.



In conclusion, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that international peace and security can be strengthened and broadened on the basis of the following principles:

(a) Building of peace on the basis of equal security for all peoples, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and right of peoples to free economic and social development, cessation of all forms of interference in internal affairs regardless of motives and pretexts;

(b) Continuation of positive processes founded on the integral application of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, universalization of genuine détente and its extension to all regions and spheres of international relations, and solution of major international problems with the participation of all countries on terms of equality, which is not only their right but also an indispensable condition for the preservation of peace and security in the world;

(c) Elimination of all forms of dependence and exploitation imposed by the forces of imperialism, colonialism, foreign domination and hegemony;

(d) Liquidation of colonialism, racism and apartheid, respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination, finding of lasting and just solutions to crises and focal points of crises, in accordance with the legitimate interests of peoples;

(e) Elimination of the use and threat of force and policy from a position of strength, overcoming of bloc division and prevention of all attempts at dividing the world into spheres of interests;

(f) Cessation of the arms race and acceleration of the process of general and complete disarmament, primarily nuclear, withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantlement of alien military bases in foreign territories;

(g) Establishment of the New International Economic Order founded on respect for the legitimate interests of all countries, bearing particularly in mind the need for accelerated economic development and assistance to developing countries based on the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States;

(h) Respect for human rights, in their complexity of political, economic and cultural rights, both individual rights and rights deriving from the fact of belonging to ethnic groups and other minorities;

(i) Strengthening of the United Nations as a universal instrument of equitable international co-operation, as against the dangerous practice of bypassing the United Nations in the solving of international issues;

(j) The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that it is necessary to ensure continuity at the sessions of the General Assembly,

with a view to reviewing the state of implementation of resolutions and proposing further adequate measures for strengthening international security;

(k) The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also believes that it would be useful to examine the suggestion that the First Committee of the General Assembly should devote its work, in the future, primarily to questions of disarmament and strengthening of international security.

ANNEX

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

- A/31/431- Letter dated 13 December 1976 from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German  
S/12255 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 Oman
- 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