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Chairman: Mr. da COSTA LOBO (Portugal)
(Vice-Chairman)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. HALASZ (Hungary): The subject now before us concerns one of the most important problems and one that has a significant bearing on the fate of every Member State. The strengthening of international security provides the basis on which the peoples of the world are able to engage in building a better life and finding solutions for the pressing concerns besetting them. Stronger international security leaves wider scope for seeking solutions, with relatively greater ease and with a smaller toll in human lives, to those international and regional problems that are of particular complexity and are fraught with tensions. This is the essence of today's international relations.

My Government is pleased to note that the past year has seen further positive developments in international relations. The process of détente, peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation among States with different social systems has become broader. Hungary is making consistent efforts to contribute to the consolidation of international peace and security and to the solution of problems by peaceful means. We are convinced that, in international relations, there is a possibility of arriving at new and mutually advantageous agreements and treaties and of taking such other measures as may be instrumental in strengthening security, making the process of détente irreversible, and extending political détente to the military field. However, we wish to draw attention to the fact that certain quarters are intensifying their attacks on the policy of détente and co-operation, intending to destroy the results achieved and to prevent further progress. We are confident that it will be possible to repel such attempts.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was an event of outstanding importance in the history of that continent. Under its impact, favourable conditions have been created, not only in Europe but also in other

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parts of the world, for continuing efforts to strengthen peace and security and to develop relations and mutually beneficial co-operation among countries. The participants in that Conference endorsed the policy of peaceful coexistence and committed themselves to the further lessening of tension and the settlement of international problems by peaceful means. The principles laid down in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference cover all important aspects of security and co-operation in Europe and are in full harmony with the fundamental interests of all countries concerned. Strict enforcement of these principles and full implementation of the recommendations contained in that document are therefore indispensable for the future of Europe.

Hungary stands for the full implementation of the Final Act. We are pleased to inform this Committee that the Hungarian Government has taken and continues to take practical steps to this end and expects the Governments of the other participating countries to do the same. The efforts being made to single out certain provisions of that document, while leaving others one-sidedly out of consideration, are regarded by my Government as incompatible with the spirit of the Final Act.

Hungary is interested in the development of bilateral and multilateral forms of co-operation in Europe. We are of the opinion that the expansion of long-term economic co-operation free from discrimination is bound to bring direct benefits to the participants and can also favourably influence their political relations and other contacts. Therefore, we would think it useful for the States concerned to proceed, in the spirit of the Final Act, to the earliest possible reduction and abolition of the discriminatory economic measures still applied against other States.

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My country is also taking initiatives in the development of many-sided co-operation. We welcome the favourable stand taken by the Economic Commission for Europe concerning the Soviet Union's proposal for co-operation in matters of environmental protection, transport and energy. We hold it necessary for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community to enter into institutionalized relations, in respect of which the Council has already taken the appropriate initiative.

In accord with the principles adopted in Helsinki, Hungary is a sincere advocate of co-operation in the fields of science, culture and education, in the development of human contacts, and the taking of any reasonable measures likely to promote the deepening of confidence among peoples and nations.

We are in agreement with the widely held view that political détente should be reinforced by military détente. Consistent implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference creates favourable conditions for measures to achieve this aim, including progress in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. My country, which has a special status as participant in the Vienna talks, endeavours to help search for ways leading to mutually acceptable arrangements and it supports the proposals of the socialist States that take part in the negotiations with full powers. Those proposals are based on the principle of equal security and are fully in keeping with the essential requirement that the arrangements to be reached should not prejudice the security of any one of the States concerned.

We firmly believe that the progress of the talks would be enhanced if the NATO countries, instead of seeking unilateral advantages, were striving for mutually acceptable solutions with as much activity and dedication as the participating socialist countries.

Hungary fully adheres to the principle, laid down in a number of bilateral and multilateral instruments and gaining ever-growing acceptance, that the renunciation of the use and threat of force with regard to the settlement of controversial international issues should be made a law in international life. Accordingly, we support the proposal of the Soviet Union that action should be taken to conclude a universally comprehensive treaty on the prohibition of the

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use of force in international relations. The relevant draft treaty, which has been submitted to this Committee for consideration, has aroused great interest, and we hope that a general accord will be reached in accepting it. The conclusion of such a treaty would be an important requisite of détente, because it would effectively promote respect for the independence and sovereignty of States and the consolidation of peace and security.

My delegation is pleased to note the fact, which it thinks to be a decisive element of peace and security in the world, that the two great Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have improved their relations, have concluded agreements and are conducting negotiations at present. All this serves to create favourable chances of reducing the danger of nuclear war and to strengthen the peace and security of all mankind.

We deem it equally important to work out effective measures of disarmament and to carry them out on a universal scale. In this regard we attach extremely great importance to the new proposal put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries and approved by their latest conference in Bucharest. These countries propose that all States that have signed the Final Act of Helsinki conclude a treaty prohibiting the first use of nuclear weapons against one another. This proposal seeks to avert the threat of nuclear war in a new context, and it is our sincere hope that this initiative will receive a favourable response.

The call by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to hold a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament questions, as a first stage on the road to a world disarmament conference, reaffirms the readiness of those States to hold constructive talks on reducing and liquidating nuclear armaments, on banning the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, on banning and destroying chemical weapons, on dismantling military bases on foreign territories and withdrawing foreign troops from the territories of other States, on establishing peace zones in various regions and on reducing military budgets.

The period of time which has elapsed since the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has confirmed the constructive nature of the results of that Conference, results which my Government values highly while favouring

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the idea that the principles guiding relations between States, as defined in the Final Act of Helsinki, be extended to other areas of the world.

Let me state in conclusion that Hungary is firmly resolved to continue doing its utmost to contribute to the strengthening of peace and security and the development of peaceful coexistence and fruitful co-operation in the world. At the same time we reaffirm our pledge of solidarity with the progressive and democratic forces as well as with the peoples fighting for political and economic independence.

Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The discussion of the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" at various sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations has enabled us to reveal the importance of this orientation in the activities of the United Nations, which is specified in the Charter as being one of the Organization's main purposes, namely to prevent a new world war and by the joint efforts of States to remove the sources of international conflicts, to put an end to the arms race and to bring about co-operation among peoples; in other words, to create conditions which make for lasting peace and security on earth.

During this discussion we are getting a much clearer idea of the interrelationship among international problems of the present day, their interdependence, and we are identifying various ways of working on solutions to these problems. Attempts are being made to find a new approach to untie the complicated knots of international tension. Once again the importance of the role of the United Nations is being reaffirmed in solving international problems, in developing co-operation and mutual understanding among States and in consolidating security and bringing about durable peace on earth.

The current session of the General Assembly has been marked by the adoption of important decisions leading to the strengthening of international peace and security. Firstly, our delegation would like to refer to the great significance of the discussion of an item put forward at the initiative of the Soviet Union on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The discussion and the results of the vote have shown the interest of a significant majority of countries in drawing up such a treaty. During the discussion the fundamental political outlines of that document have been noted, elements which could be elaborated upon in due course by the United Nations. The discussion of this important item, as you know, will be continued, taking into account the opinions and proposals of Member States. By taking this decision the General Assembly has started on the practical implementation of this proposal on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. This decision, inter alia, testifies to the fact that

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the United Nations is successfully continuing its activities in the main direction as laid down in the Charter, namely, strengthening international peace and security.

The discussion recently concluded in the First Committee on the various problems relating to disarmament has shown that the vast majority of States are becoming more and more concerned in putting a halt to the arms race and in reducing stocks of weapons. It is true that the cessation of the arms race and the implementation of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and removing the threat of war is the most acute and urgent problem. Serious attention, therefore, was given at this session to the memorandum on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, presented by the Soviet Union, which shows the flexibility and the realistic nature of the position taken by the Soviet Union and its readiness to adopt both major radical disarmament measures and partial measures undertaken on a genuinely just and reciprocal basis.

In this connexion, we should like to point out that the General Assembly approved the convention which was drawn up by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament the prohibition of military and any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques. Accession to the Convention by States will undoubtedly promote the closing of another channel which could lead to the proliferation of the arms race in this field.

We are gratified to note that the positive results of the discussion of disarmament problems and the non-use of force at this session have shown that progress is being made in the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The activities of the United Nations have been beneficially affected by the considerable changes which have recently occurred in international relations. The process of détente in international affairs is gaining strength and the peaceful coexistence of States, whatever their social structure, has been reaffirmed.

More than a year has passed now since the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. There can be no doubt that the principles and the agreements which were reached in Helsinki represent a broad and firm basis for the strengthening of international security and peace.

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The implementation of these principles and these agreements will make it possible for Europe -- and not only Europe -- to be made a continent of peace, security and co-operation.

The time that has elapsed since the adoption of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference bears out the reality of the implementation of its provisions. International meetings have taken place at various levels among statesmen and political leaders which have considered a number of the most urgent problems related to the implementation of provisions of the Final Act. A number of important political documents have been signed and agreements have been concluded on the development of economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations.

However, the forces of reaction, militarism and revanchism are making numerous efforts to undermine the process of consolidating peace and the process of international détente. It is precisely those forces that are fostering the arms race, provoking intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and trying to call into question the sovereignty of States and the inviolability of the respective boundaries. Under their influence attempts have been made to distort the letter and the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and to misinterpret its provisions. All this will require additional efforts to be made so that international détente can become irreversible in character, for peace and security in Europe, as throughout the world, is indivisible. The policy of détente is equally necessary for all States, as they have no reasonable alternative.

The socialist countries participating in the Helsinki Conference frequently stated their resolve faithfully to observe and to implement all the provisions contained in the Final Act of that Conference, which constitutes a single whole. This has been shown by the outcome of the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Bucharest. The States parties to this Treaty proposed that all States that signed the Final Act should accept the treaty whereby they would undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other and also appealed to all States not to undertake any actions which could lead to expanding existing or

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creating new closed groupings and military political alliances. In particular, it was proposed at the same time to suspend the application of article 9 of the Warsaw Treaty and article 10 of the North Atlantic Pact which made it possible to increase the membership of those groups by accepting new States.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared their readiness to consider any other proposals designed gradually to reduce military confrontation in Europe and to diminish the danger of the accidental occurrence of conflicts. The adoption of these proposals, in the opinion of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, would be of tremendous importance for strengthening international peace and security and would help to promote the aims of the United Nations Declaration on International Security, the implementation of which we are now discussing in this Committee.

One of the major tasks before us is bringing about security in Asia on the basis of the joint efforts of States.

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The historic victories won by the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have made an important contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Asia for the consolidation of their national independence and democracy and for social progress. Active efforts are being made to bring about the reunification of the Korean people. Peace-loving peoples are resolutely supporting the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful democratic unification of Korea without any intervention from outside and the demands that all foreign troops withdraw from southern Korea.

The activation of peace-loving forces in this region also helped to make possible the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries which was held in another Asian country, Sri Lanka. Now patient efforts had to be made to create in Asia the sort of system of collective security which will be in complete accord with the peculiarities and requirements of that continent.

The strengthening of international security requires the liquidation of the existing sources of military conflicts. The explosive situation still prevails in the Near East and its deleterious effect is being felt in Africa, Asia and in Europe. The meeting point as it were of these three continents, the Near East, is an arena for Israeli aggression which is supported by its imperialist patrons. Israel continues stubbornly to avoid the adoption of effective steps to bring about a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

At the same time, it is abundantly clear that partial agreement on a separate basis cannot lead to any positive changes in the Near mid-East settlement. Such half-steps merely create illusions. Only the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people, including its rights to create its own State, and international guarantees for the security and inviolability of the boundaries of all States in the Middle East and their right to independent existence and development can lead to any normalization of the situation in the Middle East.

We favour an immediate and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The Geneva Peace Conference under present conditions is the most appropriate international machinery to achieve this end. Naturally, it goes without saying

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that from the very outset its work should involve all those parties immediately concerned on an equal footing including the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It is our opinion that further efforts will have to be made to reach a settlement of the Cyprus problem. All foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Territory of Cyprus and the internal problems of the country should be solved by the Cypriots themselves taking due account of the interests both of the Greek and the Turkish communities. The sovereignty, the independence and territorial integrity in the Republic of Cyprus must be guaranteed.

In southern Africa the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have encountered a new upsurge in the national liberation movement. The cruel repression of these régimes have been unable and will not be able to put down the struggles of the indigenous population against the racist oppressors and murderers. As has been frequently pointed out in United Nations decisions, the maintenance of the apartheid régime in South Africa as well as of the racist régime in Rhodesia represented a potential threat to peace and international security. But the vestiges of colonialism in southern Africa are soon to come to an end. The victory of Angola, a new Member of the United Nations, in its bitter struggle with neo-colonialism and its adherents, which was won by the support of peace-loving peoples of the entire world, has given an impetus to the further development of the struggle against the régimes of Smith and Vorster. The anti-imperialist forces in Africa have felt themselves more secure. They have received and will continue to receive the complete support of the socialist and other peace-loving countries, guided by the decisions of the United Nations, which contain an urgent appeal to give moral and material assistance to all peoples in their struggle with colonial and foreign domination, for freedom and independence. At the same time, this would represent a concrete contribution to creating necessary conditions for the subsequent strengthening of international security in southern Africa and the removal of this continuing source of international tension.

Now a new stage has been reached in the development of international relations throughout the world. The cold war, the demands that boundaries be reviewed, the policy of brinkmanship and rejection of socialism, these and

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certain other aspects of the activities of imperialism in the post-war period are beginning to give way to the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social structures and to the process of détente which may be observed in the main features of international politics.

Of course the process of détente is encountering a number of difficulties. The forces of reaction in militarism are trying to create conflicts, inflating the arms race, and striving to resurrect the old manoeuvres of imperialist policies. Under the pretext of defending lofty moral principles, they would like to lay down the law to peoples as to what internal order should be established in any particular country which parties may or may not participate in Governments. The voices of such moralists were heard at the present session of the General Assembly as well but we might remind them that no one has ever achieved any success on this slippery path. Peoples are protecting their right to independent development and will not permit any intervention in their internal affairs.

The countries of the socialist community are honestly and consistently fulfilling the Declaration of the United Nations on the Strengthening of International Security. The proposals presented by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries at the present thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations have borne out the unchanging nature of the peaceful policy of the countries of socialism. We would appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to be equally active in promoting further steps to strengthen international security.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call the representative of Sri Lanka to introduce the draft resolution on the item under discussion.

Mr. SENANAYAKE (Sri Lanka): The development of the world since the end of the Second World War three decades ago has been characterized by the emergence of more and more developing countries. It is a characteristic of these countries that although they may be numerically superior and populationwise more numerous than the developed countries of the world, they are yet susceptible to numerous pressures in various forms from the developed countries. If there is a

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variety in the nature and manner of the application of these pressures, they all have yet one thing in common: they are no respecters of ideology, of political philosophy, be it on the side of the user of this pressure or on the side of the unfortunate victim.

These pressures are a form of interference in the internal affairs of States, for they seek to obtain by manipulation of forces within a State what cannot be obtained by negotiation with, or what will not come about by evolution in, the State concerned. The developing countries, and particularly the non-aligned countries, have long recognized this feature and are not only drawing attention to it but also have been strongly vocal in their critical condemnation of it. The Bandung Declaration, which goes back to 1955, is perhaps the first occasion when a large body of developing countries drew attention to and deplored this unfortunate practice. Since then summits of non-aligned countries meeting successively in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, and Colombo have all been emphatic that interference of any sort in the internal affairs of States is totally unacceptable.

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The most unfortunate feature of this practice of interference is that it tends to destabilize the economies of countries. The erratic meanderings of the international money market in recent years have amply demonstrated the extent to which economic disequilibrium can effect even the most highly developed countries in the world. How much worse could be the impact of economic destabilization on developing countries whose resources are scarce, which depend largely, if not entirely, on commodity exports to earn the money sorely needed for their development, and whose economic survival is already beset with problems over which they have little or no control?

It is against this background that I introduce draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41 on behalf of the co-sponsors. At the time the draft was submitted, these were: Algeria, Bangladesh, Egypt, Guyana, India, Yugoslavia, Zambia and, of course, Sri Lanka. Since then, the following countries have expressed their willingness to be co-sponsors: Bhutan, United Republic of Tanzania, Sudan and Madagascar.

It is our belief that this draft resolution will serve to highlight the unfortunate situation brought about by these practices and also to bring home to all States the necessity and desirability of acting in such a manner as will not affect the political, social and economical equilibrium of the vast number of countries in the world which are struggling to create for themselves the stability needed for sustained and steady growth, which is the only way they can provide for their peoples the means of a secure existence.

The CHAIRMAN: Note is taken that Bhutan, the United Republic of Tanzania, Sudan and Madagascar have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41.

Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): During the general debate on disarmament, the Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, Dr. Carlos Romulo, made a point in a statement he made to this Committee on 3 November 1976 which, in the view of my delegation, is pertinent to the issue we are now discussing. Dr. Romulo said:

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"Disarmament cannot be conceived of outside the context of an international security system, a system of international law and order which is a viable alternative to national arms and armies. Nations cannot and will not disarm in a vacuum devoid of alternatives and proven methods of and machinery for keeping the peace, settling disputes and, incidentally, guaranteeing disarmament".

"Thus, before we can conceive of real disarmament, we must look to our international institutions and in particular to this world Organization and assess the state of international security arrangements and peace-keeping capability. What we see is far from encouraging. We see a world Organization whose membership fails to enforce even the unanimous decisions it takes, which cannot agree on elementary procedures for further peace-keeping and which is reluctant to consider improvements in the capability of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security." (A/C.1/31/PV.22, pp. 29-30, 31)

The Charter of our Organization recognizes the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of world peace. Article 24 states:

"In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

Article 39 is even more explicit:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Article 41 gives the Security Council authority to decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and Article 42 goes on to say:

"Should the Security Council consider what measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate ... it may take such action by air, sea, or

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land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

As Article 2, paragraph 1, of our Charter stipulates:

"The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."

Flowing from this principle, it is both reasonable and logical to infer that the founding fathers envisaged that the powers conferred on the permanent Members under the Charter would be used in trust for, and for the benefit of, the Organization as a whole.

What has in fact happened is that these powers have been transformed into privileges and have not always been employed to further the interests of the Organization, but to uphold national positions. In the view of my delegation, the fault does not lie in the institution of the veto itself, but in the use to which it has been put. This Organization can assume its proper role as a guarantor of international peace and security only when all its Members recognize their obligations under the Charter and make the effort required of them to discharge those obligations to the common good of the world community as a whole.

My delegation has often stated in this Committee and in the plenary Assembly that one major cause of weakness in the collective security arrangement fashioned by this Organization is the readiness of the permanent members of the Security Council to exercise the right of veto, often without regard to the facts and circumstances of a given situation. In place of responsibility, justice and dispassionate consideration of facts and circumstances, we often see a privilege exercised to uphold and sustain self-interest, thus undermining the purposes and objectives of our Organization. When there is fear of losing national self-esteem and influence, the veto is employed to vindicate national pride and honour, to advance positions in the stale politics of the cold war, and to settle scores with small and weak States which courageously refuse to bow to the dictates of the big Powers.

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It is obvious that under such conditions the peace-keeping machinery of our Organization cannot be expected to function properly and provide a credible authority to the balance of terror which the super-Powers are now offering the world as a guarantee for security. If our Organization has often been found wanting in its peace-keeping role, it is not because of any intrinsic weakness in its peace-keeping machinery, but because of our own failings and, even more important, our unwillingness to part with the outmoded concept of balance of power, with its equally outdated instrument of spheres of influence. If the world is to be saved from self-destruction, then there is a need to translate the vision of the founding Members of this Organization into today's reality. There is a need to move away from the "cold war" of the immediate post-war period, and enter a new era in which global interdependence and co-operation are not mere rhetoric employed in the conduct of our international relations, but a practice of our international life.

It is regrettable that, as the world community moves away from armed interference in the internal affairs of States, there should be introduced a new weapon of interference perhaps more dangerous than the barrel and the bullet on account of its subtlety. I refer to subversion by some States against other States. Subversion by States against other States constitutes interference and cannot be justified under any circumstances. Under international law States are enjoined to refrain from all such acts. This obligation is enshrined in the Charter of our Organization and is reiterated in many of its resolutions and declarations, in particular, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The principle of non-interference is likewise a fundamental principle in the Charter of many regional organizations including that of the Organization of African Unity. The non-aligned movement has, since its inception, also sought to uphold and promote its strict observance. Yet the fact remains that interference in the internal affairs of States has become, and continues to be, a common occurrence and a serious threat to world peace. It is even more regrettable when developing countries often become the victims of such interference. Such interference undermines their political

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stability and frustrates their efforts at restructuring their countries to eliminate distortions inherited from the colonial past and alien domination.

It is almost 18 months since the Helsinki Final Act was signed, but nothing has happened which would encourage developing countries to entertain hopes of a bright future. We believe that for full impact and effectiveness, détente as a means of promoting peace must not be localized or made to operate only in Europe; it must be extended to all regions of the world and to aid in the settlement of all international issues, especially the lingering problems of colonialism, racism and under-development. World peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism and the total liberation of peoples everywhere. Universal freedom should be seen as a collateral of world peace and security. Wherever there is possibility of conflict arising out of discrimination and the denial of human rights, peace in the world is threatened. Hence, it follows that if the true interest of all peoples is to be pursued, there must be an end to all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man and one nation by another.

Unfortunately, those who profess to be ardent defenders and champions of democracy and détente do not, by their policies and actions, seem to share this view. Through active collaboration with South Africa in defence, trade and nuclear technology, they are encouraging the apartheid régime to persist in its illegal occupation of Namibia and to pursue the obnoxious policy of apartheid -- a policy which has been described by our Organization as "a crime against humanity". Recent massacres of defenceless Africans, including women and schoolchildren, in African townships in South Africa, and the murder of the indigenous people of Namibia by agents of South Africa, are the latest instalment in the long list of crimes committed by the apartheid régime against Africa and the entire human race. But paralysed by the self-centred use of the veto by the so-called Western democracies, our Organization sits hamstrung and unable to express its sense of horror and outrage against these brutalities. Meanwhile, the situation deteriorates and threatens to engulf the African continent in a racial conflagration. Détente has brought peace to Europe but it has facilitated the transfer of rivalry to regions in the developing world. It seems it is

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Africa's turn to suffer the ravages of atavistic vendettas that once plagued the European continent.

Détente must not make of Europe an oasis of peace in a world still plagued by despair, injustice and inequality. It must lead to a broadening of vision and an awakening of sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of people in other parts of the world. The implication here is that in order to construct a new world order characterized by relaxation of tension among the major Powers, as détente seeks to achieve, every effort must be deployed for the removal of humiliating privations and injustices from the entire human society. The world cannot long survive the curious atmosphere of peace in one part and tension in another.

In the view of my delegation détente must promote the right of each country to evolve a system of its own choice and thus provide a prop for global détente. Global détente should have as one of its essential elements, a rejection of the notion that there are only two political and economic ideologies in the world. In the words of President Kennedy, one vital function of détente is that "the world must be made safe for diversity".

Finally, as a function of the interdependence we seek among nations, détente, like non-alignment, must perform as the moral conscience of the world by assuring increased democratization in the relations among the nations, between the rich and the poor, between the strong and the weak, the developed and the developing. It is only this, and this alone that over the long haul can assure a durable peace and security for all mankind.

The CHAIRMAN: Before giving the floor to the next speaker, I would like to announce that Cameroon, Jordan and Kuwait became co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41.

Mr. NEAGU (Romania): Profound and revolutionary transformations both national and social have taken place and continue to take place throughout the world; profound changes have occurred and continue to occur in the international balance of forces. Today we are witnessing the determination of peoples to put an end forever to the former imperialist policy of domination and oppression, diktat and

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interference in the affairs of other peoples, and the will of these people to promote new relations between States, based on equality and equity, on the right of each nation to be the absolute master of its national worth and its destiny and to organize its life in accordance with its own will, without any outside interference.

(Mr. Neagu, Romania)

The Socialist Republic of Romania took part in the initiation and elaboration of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and, as a result, has worked to ensure that the principles set forth in that document are carried out in international life.

While it is basically preoccupied with its own economic and social development, Romania at the same time devotes special attention to international affairs. It is conducting an active policy of international co-operation, détente and understanding among all nations, thus making its contribution to the consolidation of international security. This policy is illustrated by the fact that Romania currently maintains diplomatic and consular relations with 126 States and economic relations with more than 130 States.

In the speech delivered on the occasion of the recent official visit to Romania of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated:

"Participating actively in international life, Romania is firmly determined to contribute its share towards the constructive solution of the major problems facing the contemporary world and towards the promotion of new principles in relations between States, based on equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and renunciation of the threat or use of force in inter-State relations."

Romania urges that these principles should be generally observed in international life, for only they can ensure a new policy of equality and a stable and just peace throughout the world.

The treaties of friendship, declarations, joint communiqués and other political and legal instruments drawn up on the occasion of the meetings of President Nicolae Ceausescu with heads of State from Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and North America show that Romania is eager to establish a solid basis of principle for peace and security throughout the world. These instruments, which so far number 51, go beyond the framework of bilateral relations and assume the validity of general agreements. Through these instruments Romania has reaffirmed its attachment to the purposes and principles

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of the Charter of the United Nations by carrying out a codification and progressive development of the principles and norms of international law in the light of new international realities.

After the successful conclusion of the Helsinki Conference, Romania has shown its determination to make a substantial contribution to the implementation of the principles and commitments embodied in the documents signed, which constitute a whole.

We deem it necessary that all States which participated in the Conference should intensify their efforts to expand economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation among the European countries and, especially, to initiate concrete measures of military disengagement and disarmament.

Along these lines, Romania has worked for the initiation of good-neighbourly relations and close co-operation between the Balkan countries. The Balkan Meeting on Economic Co-operation held at Athens constituted an important stage in the development of relations between the countries of this region, and we hope that it will help to stimulate and intensify co-operation between the Balkan countries in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other fields. The transformation of the Balkans into a non-nuclear zone of peace and co-operation is not only in the interests of the peoples of this geographical area, but also serves the cause of peace and co-operation in Europe and the whole world. We also hope that a political settlement will be found as soon as possible for the situation in Cyprus on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and integrity of Cyprus and a guarantee of peaceful coexistence between the two Cypriot communities. The Mediterranean must be transformed into an area of peace and co-operation.

We consider that one of the most urgent tasks today is to eliminate all centres of tension and conflict and to solve disputes between States through political negotiations. It is high time for the settlement of the Middle East conflict and the establishment of a just and durable peace in the area. Romania considers that, in order to resolve this conflict, measures have to be taken to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war, the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people in

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accordance with their interests and their legitimate aspirations, including the establishment of their own independent State, and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States in the Middle East area. To this end, it is essential to resume the work of the Geneva Conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Considering that one of the basic problems of our time on which détente, peace and international co-operation directly depend is the elimination of under-development, Romania is striving for the initiation of a new international economic order. The elimination, as soon as possible, of the great differences in the levels of development of States must constitute a major objective of the whole international community.

The establishment of a new international order also requires the granting of effective support to the struggle of the oppressed peoples against colonial domination and for the achievement and consolidation of full national independence.

Romania firmly supports the fight against colonialism, the liberation struggle of the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia, the fight of the people of South Africa against the racist policy of apartheid, and the struggle of all the peoples of the world to secure the complete liquidation of all forms of colonialism, domination and oppression of other peoples.

The position of Romania on this question was set forth in detail in the document entitled "The position of Romania concerning the initiation of a new international economic order" submitted to the United Nations General Assembly at its sixth special session.

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In view of the particularly disturbing situation created by the arms race, Romania feels that one of the most urgent problems of the contemporary world is to achieve general disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament. It is more than ever necessary that we should pass beyond the phase of general discussion on disarmament to the adoption of specific and practical measures for the halting of the arms race, the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of those already existing and the banning of all atomic armaments. The general position of Romania on this question was set forth in the document entitled "The position of Romania concerning the problems of disarmament, and primarily of nuclear disarmament, and the initiation of a lasting peace in the world", presented at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

A really constructive solution of the complex problems facing the world today requires the active participation on equal terms of each country -- whatever its size or social system -- to international life. In this respect, an especially important role devolves upon the small and medium-sized States, the developing countries and the non-aligned nations which are directly interested in the liquidation of the former imperialist policy of domination and exploitation and the promotion of new, genuine democratic international relations. In this respect, an increasingly important role must be placed by the United Nations and the other international bodies which offer the suitable framework for debate with the participation of all interested countries. The position of Romania in this respect was set forth in detail in the document entitled "The position of Romania concerning the improvement and democratization of the activity of the United Nations, the strengthening of its role in the achievement of co-operation between all States, regardless of their social existence, and the building of a better and more just world and a durable peace", presented to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

In concluding, my delegation considers that, in order to ensure the implementation of the main provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the United Nations and the other international bodies must work responsibly and efficiently for the consolidation of the trend towards détente, for the solution of disputes through negotiations, and for the establishment of a policy of peaceful co-operation between sovereign and equal

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States. I want to assure you that Romania will spare no efforts for the implementation of these principles, for the establishment of a new economic and political order in the world, for the general progress of all peoples for building a better and more just world.

The CHAIRMAN: Before giving the floor to the next speaker I would like to announce that Ghana and the Syrian Arab Republic have become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41.

Mr. KABINGA (Zambia): The question of the strengthening of international security is as important as it is difficult. When we talk of this issue we are assuming a number of things: (1) that the world knows, understands and desires security; (2) that security exists in some form or another and hence what is really required is strengthening it; (3) that man has the capacity and sufficient willingness to create the necessary conditions for the strengthening of international security. Controversy still continues on what constitutes international security. The geographical, ideological, economic, social, cultural and historical diversities of the Member States of the United Nations are some of the factors which make difficult unanimous agreement on what international security means to people. To some of the Member States represented here, priority is placed on such issues as nuclear disarmament and some of its related topics that this Committee has been discussing during the past few weeks; yet to others problems of economic development and their related issues of a more just economic order are matters of greater importance. To some other countries decolonization and all other aspects of outmoded imperialism are undoubtedly matters of top priority.

In spite of these differences in priority Zambia believes: (a) that all these problems are ultimately interrelated; (b) that there are at least certain hopes and expectations which are shared by all people the world over. We believe that two of the most fundamental requirements of man which have been causes of war lie in the economic and political spheres. Every man needs as the barest minimum, food, clothing and shelter. But man is a social animal. He will not

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just be satisfied with these basic needs. In political terms, he wants and indeed has always been eager to determine his own destiny or at least he wants to feel that he is in command of his own destiny. Within the framework of his nation, he wants to feel that he is secure in his co-existence with his fellow countrymen and that his country is safe from external interference or domination. We realize however that the advance of the technological revolution and the consequent exposure of hitherto remote feudal States or republics to new ideas have laid to an end or to a process of ending the isolation of many countries from other influences. In this sense, we can talk of the independence of countries only in a relative sense. This is an era of growing interdependence. But in spite of this qualification to the degree of independence it still remains a fact that man wants to feel and indeed to be free.

Be this as it may, it is my delegation's strong view that international security can only be assured if the international community and the United Nations in particular addresses itself to the fundamental causes and not just to the effects of insecurity of conflicts in the world today. Material deprivation of the majority of mankind and domination by other peoples and countries are two of the existing causes of insecurity in the world.

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Having said this, I wish to emphasize Zambia's keen desire to contribute to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We have thus welcomed the various agreements or partial advances that have been made in the field of disarmament; we have welcomed the link that was so expressly made clear in the Declaration between international security, disarmament, decolonization and development. We also have noted with satisfaction the defeat of imperialism in Southeast Asia and of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and Asia.

In spite of all these and other achievements made in the last few years, we still believe that international security is not yet assured for the following reasons: (1) most of United Nations discussions on security matters do focus on such issues as reductions in armaments or in financial military expenditures which only deal with the effects rather than the causes of conflicts in Europe or elsewhere; (2) fundamental issues which relate to the economic-social needs of people the world over have been excessively subordinated to superficial needs of nation-states; (3) because of the wrong priorities cited above, domination of foreign countries and peoples has continued to threaten even the limited international security that might exist.

My delegation feels therefore that a lasting solution to problems of economic dependence and foreign domination such as crude international or regional imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism or racism will go a long way towards the achievement of meaningful international peace and security. A man who had no job was once asked by a friend: "Are you unemployed?" His reply was that he was not unemployed, but that he was between jobs. Maybe the world is not experiencing another hot world war, but it would appear to us that the world is certainly between two hot wars unless all countries, or at least the majority of countries, can address themselves to some of the major causes not only of hot wars but of the lack of meaningful peace in the world today.

Zambia is a developing country in the southern part of Africa. As a developing country, our main task has been and continues to be first to satisfy the basic needs of our people which, as I said earlier, are food, clothing and shelter. We have no

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means to go to the moon, but we know that our country and indeed many countries of the third world have played a role in the accomplishment of this task because some of the material resources and ancillary services that go into these adventures can surely be traced to the exploitation of the third world by an unfair international economic order.

We therefore reaffirm our country's commitment to the realization of a just international economic order and as my Foreign Minister, Dr. Siteke Mwale, stated in the general debate:

"Isolated, half-hearted and marginal measures applied thus far by industrialized countries are clearly inadequate to the gigantic task now before us, namely, to achieve a new and viable world order based on equity, justice and equality of economic opportunity among all countries -- developed and developing, big and small. The costs of establishing such a world order are much less than the costs of the arms race, and the stakes for its achievement much higher." (A/31/PV.21, p. 56)

The liberation struggle in southern Africa has been with us since the day of our independence barely 12 years ago. We have been and are still part of that struggle on a day-to-day basis and in the long term. To us the conflict is not something we just read about or discuss at the United Nations or elsewhere. Through our geographical position and direct involvement, we have over the years been able to know the complex situation which has made our part of Africa a serious security situation, not only for the countries of the region but also for Africa and the world as a whole. We know which countries have in concrete terms been committed to the task of ending foreign domination and internal reaction in southern Africa. We also know those who have been preaching peace in southern Africa while assisting the Smith and Vorster régimes in one way or another. It is not my intention to bore the First Committee with the nature of both the problem and struggle that is reaching a climax in southern Africa. I can only state what my President, Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, said recently in addressing a number of diplomatic representatives at the opening of the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka on 26 August this year:

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"Will their Excellencies, those whose countries are exploiting the wealth of Namibia, please feel with us, remember that SWAPO is going to win the struggle. And if you cannot be moved by principles, at least get moved by the fact that SWAPO will take over. And what you are exploiting there by supporting South Africa thereby will be taken over by SWAPO. So if you cannot be moved by principles, please tell your Governments to get moved by fear that SWAPO will take over control very soon. You cannot stop it." Surely, this point is as valid for Namibia as it is for Zimbabwe and South Africa. We are convinced that the liberation forces of those countries will triumph and this will be yet another step toward the realization of international peace and security.

Let me end by reaffirming Zambia's commitment to the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and also to the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo. We believe that international security would be better assured if the United Nations addressed itself more fairly to the problems of the third world, among which are decolonization, development, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the elimination of all other forms of foreign domination.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.