



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 55th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BOATEN (Ghana)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 37, 50 AND 127 (continued)

CONCLUSION OF A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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DEEPENING AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND PREVENTION OF THE DANGER
OF NUCLEAR WAR (A/32/242; A/C.1/32/L.1, L.2)

Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia): The present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is taking place in an atmosphere that has confirmed many expectations and apprehensions. The absence of generally acceptable responses to pressing international issues, threats, hints at a possible weakening of the process of relaxation of international tensions and even attempts at reviving the cold war characterized international relations on the eve of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

As in previous years, in conditions of international crises the non-aligned and developing countries have this time also reacted at the very outset of the session to such a state of uncertainty with increased activity and assumed an active posture towards the most crucial problems which constitute today a source of wider threat to international peace and security. These are, at the same time, the main issues figuring on the agenda of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at the beginning of the session, has identified the priority problems on the solution of which the further evolution of international relations depends and which have been for many years the source of instability and of a state of affairs contrary to the interests of the international community.

International economic problems were discussed at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries, which appraised the results of the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly and laid down guidelines for the future activity of the Group of 77 developing countries at the current session.

The situation in areas of crisis in the Middle East, as well as the situation in southern Africa and in Cyprus, were examined at the meeting of all the Ministers of non-aligned countries held on 30 September this year. Those activities of the non-aligned and developing countries influenced them in their efforts to take positions with regard to all issues of importance for international peace and security which, provided they are adopted, will constitute a step forward towards the solution of these problems.

At the very beginning of this session we also witnessed a favourable shift in relations between the great Powers, relations that had before the session gone through a critical phase of uncertainty and even aggravation in a number of fields and areas of international relations, causing concern to all of us.

This is all the more important as the interdependence and interrelationship of developments in all the fields of international relations have reached such a level that no Power or Powers, no matter how strong and big, can be self-sufficient, nor can they solve international problems alone without incurring the danger of harming the interests of one or other group of countries and thereby creating new problems and difficulties. In their positive and active attitude towards the most important international factors in relation to the United Nations, we see proof of their desire to overcome tendencies

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

to withdraw into themselves, as that would inevitably result in a lack of understanding of the problems, preoccupations and priorities of others and in a neglect of criteria for appraising the values of the moral, ideological and political aspirations of other countries and peoples.

Our present problems of international security cannot be solved either by attempts to consolidate the division of the world into military-political blocs or by further limiting to a narrow circle of countries the right to take a direct part in the solving of problems, as that inevitably results in an intensification of the arms race, in a militarization of policy and, in the final analysis, in attempts, by acting from a position of strength and by reinforcing a strategic presence in various regions, to impose "solutions" that are devoid of any prospect.

Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia attaches the greatest importance to the constant strengthening of the role of the United Nations in dealing with and solving international political and economic problems.

The tendency towards the "withdrawing" of the most important problems from the system of the United Nations or the conducting, in the name and under the auspices of the United Nations, of actions by narrow groups of countries is fraught with the real danger of weakening the influence of the world Organization with regard to the solving of international issues. In that way, apparent and short-term advantages are created for a number of countries, but much greater harm is inflicted on the international community as a whole. If we wish to build a new world in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic decisions of the world Organization, then we must oppose the withdrawing of problems from the United Nations and the attempts to impose one-sided solutions on the international community, allegedly in the name of efficiency, expediency, practical considerations and the like. What we need actually is the reverse - efforts by all Member States to render the system of the United Nations more effective.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The policy of international détente and universal strengthening of security can be pursued only if all countries participate in this process actively, if it is based on the principles of active and peaceful coexistence and if it becomes universal with regard both to substance and to the area covered by it.

Détente in its present form - regardless of the importance of its impact on the atmosphere of international relations and the way in which it objectively diminishes the danger of wars of global proportions - cannot be a substitute for the active and all-round inclusion of all subjects in international relations in the solving of accumulated political and economic problems, each one of which in its own way affects the situation in the world and the state of peace and security. In that connexion, it is necessary to single out some of the most difficult problems.

The existing crises are not being solved and one cannot expect any important progress towards settling them as long as the parties directly involved - especially those which the international community has found to be the main cause of crises - fail to comply with the basic demands and principles adopted within the framework of the United Nations. The crisis in the Middle East, far from being solved, is causing new difficulties and problems threatening to transform the whole region of the Eastern Mediterranean into a battleground of new conflicts and devastation. The international community is following the present initiatives with the greatest interest. We shall appraise their value in the light of their contribution to the realization of the justified expectations and demands of the peoples and States of that region to live in peace. It is certain, however, that peace cannot be achieved by denying the right of any people to develop independently within the borders of its national State. A few days ago, by adopting the resolution sponsored by the non-aligned countries, the General Assembly confirmed by an impressive number of positive votes all the main elements that will make it possible to accelerate the process of solving the Middle East crisis.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

By its unanimous adoption of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), the world Organization has determined the framework, contents and methods for solving the Cyprus crisis. The solution of the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean will contribute to the strengthening of security in general and will create more favourable conditions for the realization of the interest of the peoples and countries of this region in seeing the Mediterranean transformed into a zone of peace. It will further contribute to the promotion of co-operation and security in Europe in accordance with the decisions embodied in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, the current Belgrade Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe being devoted to that end.

In southern Africa, the racist régimes of Vorster and Smith continue to compete in intensifying the brutality of their racist policies, which are condemned to inevitable elimination. The liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia is assuming new proportions and ever newer forms. There is no doubt that it will finally prevail. In addition to the liberation struggle we have also witnessed other initiatives in southern Africa which have failed to produce results so far. Those initiatives will have better prospects for success if the proposed solutions are more in tune with the interests of the peoples of those three countries and are less designed to perpetuate foreign positions and influence in the whole region. Consequently, it is understandable that the peoples and liberation movements of those countries, as well as their representatives, are viewing those developments with caution and misgiving.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The decision of the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against the racist régime of South Africa, although of a limited scope, represents nevertheless an encouraging measure and ranks among the most important decisions taken in the course of the current session of the General Assembly. It is to be expected that the Security Council will also take other measures and apply the sanctions provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, if the racist régime does not rapidly change its present policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and if South Africa does not abandon its illegal occupation of the international territory of Namibia.

In some parts of the world, there is a revival of nazism and fascism; terrorist groups of various hues are making their appearance; attempts are being made to legalize State terrorism; tendencies to assimilate national minorities are being intensified, and human rights are being denied under various pretexts. For the realization of human rights, we do not need any new institutions, but, first and foremost, the active involvement of all the States Members of the United Nations in the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and other basic documents and decisions of the United Nations concerning human rights. The failure to protect these rights in some regions causes serious concern and leads to a deterioration of relations between States.

The Yugoslav delegation views with concern the extremely unfavourable development of international economic relations. The breaking off of negotiations within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva and the situation with regard to the consideration of the main economic problems at this year's session of the General Assembly show that the developed countries are not prepared to implement even the obligations they had assumed in Paris. What causes particular concern is the fact that the developed countries seem to have retreated from some of their positions and are attempting to impart to the concept of the new international economic order a completely new content, different from the one endorsed by the General Assembly at its sixth and seventh special sessions.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The Yugoslav delegation is deeply concerned over such an attitude of the developed countries and warns that all are greatly mistaken who believe that international stability and security can be ensured under conditions of refusal to accept new realities in the world, where international economic problems have become substantive problems of the over-all system of security, which cannot be consolidated on the basis of perpetuation of the privileged positions of the developed world vis-à-vis developing countries.

The non-aligned and developing countries have shown a maximum of understanding and co-operativeness. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are limits beyond which they cannot go, even if they have to suffer temporary hardships. We hope, however, that it will still be possible to reach an agreement on the machinery for further negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

The Yugoslav delegation has sponsored the draft resolution relating to the consideration of the item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". This draft resolution sheds light upon the most important contemporary problems concerning international security as formulated in that Declaration. This highly important document, adopted by consensus in the General Assembly of the United Nations seven years ago, has become the basis for the active involvement of the international community in the solving of security problems. My delegation believes that it would be useful to proceed to a review of the implementation of the Declaration and that the Governments of Member States should submit their views on the progress made with regard to the implementation of the Declaration in the period under review, primarily from the standpoint of the increased role of the United Nations in safeguarding and consolidating international peace and security. Agreement on this could perhaps be achieved at the next session.

Mr. CIANO (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): With regard to General Assembly resolution 31/9 on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, I have the honour to state that the Government of Cuba unreservedly supports that document. The achievement of such a treaty will be a valuable contribution on the part of the entire international community to ensuring the sovereign equality and the territorial integrity of States, non-interference in domestic affairs and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

The overwhelming majority of countries have also given their support to the drafting of such a treaty. However, there is still a desire on the part of some countries to oppose such a treaty, on the grounds that it is unnecessary since all it does is reiterate the obligations deriving from the Charter and because it relates to only a few of the provisions of the Charter, which would leave the remaining provisions unimplemented. Those who take this view seem to want to forget that implementation of the basic principles contained in the Charter is a general practice fully in keeping with its Articles 11 and 13 and that there are a series of treaties intended to guarantee and implement other principles enshrined in the Charter.

The international situation continues to develop in favour of the peace-loving nations. A world where respect for the rights of others prevails seems to be closer today than it was yesterday. Nevertheless, there still are powerful militaristic circles interested in continuing a headlong arms race, maintaining an out-dated cold war policy and thwarting the efforts of peoples struggling to achieve their emancipation and true independence.

Cuba, which some years ago freely chose the road to independence and socialism, has therefore had to withstand virtually every form of aggression, including new methods specifically devised to be used against the physical integrity of our leaders. Even today, after almost 18 years, Cuba is still undergoing a tight economic blockade which would bespeak a state of war, as well as having to tolerate a military base maintained against the will of both our people and our Government.

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(Mr. Ciano, Cuba)

We have seen that same force being used against our brothers in Latin America in many different ways. Quite recently it acted in its most disguised form to help to overthrow a democratic and popular Government and to replace it by a bloody fascist dictatorship which has been repudiated by all mankind and is a source of concern even to those who helped to bring it about.

(Mr. Ciano, Cuba)

The Government of the Republic of Cuba shares the view expressed by other speakers and Governments that a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations would, as I said, be a significant and serious contribution to what has always been one of the main aspirations and desires of mankind, namely peace.

There should be a guarantee that the treaty will be applied to all countries equally, whether they be great or small, powerful or weak, developed or developing. Also it should cover not only the prohibition of the use or the threat of armed force but also other ways of using force, such as economic blockades for example, and efforts to overthrow Governments.

It is essential that the treaty should not limit the inalienable right of colonial peoples to struggle for their freedom and independence, using whatever means are necessary to achieve those goals, nor hinder the right of peoples to struggle to defend themselves against oppressors or aggressors and also to accept the generous contributions of other nations to help them in their struggles.

My delegation feels that one of the best ways of implementing the willingness of Governments to achieve a just and lasting peace in the world would be precisely by giving support and practical assistance to the drafting of a treaty that will prohibit the use of force in international relations.

Consistent with this view, my delegation is happy to reiterate its readiness to co-operate in a practical and constructive fashion in the achievement of that task.

Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Today the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to explain its views on the question of progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Since our delegation has already set forth its position in detail on two other items, namely, the "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" and the "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations", I shall touch on certain problems which are directly related to the other questions under discussion.

(Mrs. Ider, Mongolia)

The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on this item was reflected in its answer of 22 August 1977 to the Note of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The discussion of this question at General Assembly sessions has, in our view, created an opportunity to focus attention and the efforts of the United Nations on the major areas of contemporary international life and to determine, in the light of recent events, the priority tasks in the deepening and consolidation of international détente and to discuss measures in the field of limiting the arms race and disarmament.

The countries of the socialist community have been unwaveringly guided in their foreign policy actions by the provisions of the Declaration and have been taking constructive steps towards the strengthening of peace and international security. A convincing example of that approach was the new initiative of the Soviet Union put forward for the consideration of this session of the General Assembly on the question of the "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war".

We note with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of delegations, which have spoken on this question actively supported that important proposal. There is no doubt that the adoption by the General Assembly of an appropriate declaration on this item would be an important contribution by the United Nations to the further development of the positive tendencies at work in the world and the combining of the efforts of all States to solve the vital problems of the strengthening of international peace and security.

Our delegation believes it to be important for the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/32/L.2, which deals with various aspects of the problem of the prevention and total elimination of the danger of nuclear war, because that problem is an inevitable constituent of the deepening of international détente.

Although the First Committee considered in detail the question of limiting the nuclear arms race in the course of the debate on disarmament, it was unfortunately unable, because of lack of time, to go into

(Mr. Jder, Mongolia)

detail in considering the draft resolution. In the circumstances it would be desirable, as has been stated by other delegations, not to take a vote on that draft resolution.

The question of the prevention of nuclear war certainly will be the subject of broad debate in the discussion of disarmament both at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and no doubt in the course of preparations for it. We believe in the circumstances that it would be a good idea to revert to this question in the context of the appropriate discussion.

The major task today, in our view, is to take further steps towards the deepening of the process of détente and to take effective measures to call a halt to the arms race and to bring about disarmament. That is a task which is becoming ever more urgent in circumstances where the opponents of détente and disarmament are stepping up their attempts to undermine the process of détente and to initiate a new round in the arms race. There is no doubt that, in the search for effective ways and means of solving those problems, what is necessary is the concerted efforts of all States of the world, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. That is an end which, in our view, can and must be served by the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and one that should become an important stage on the road towards the holding of a world disarmament conference. The Mongolian delegation would like to note with satisfaction that at the present session of the General Assembly the First Committee has discussed and adopted a number of positive decisions on disarmament questions. The important thing is for those decisions to be put into effect.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches particular importance to extending the effects of détente to all parts of the world. I should like here to stress primarily the problem of the security of Asian States, not only because Mongolia is situated in that continent but because Asia, which for three decades has repeatedly been the scene of bloody wars, still contains hotbeds of conflict fraught with danger to international peace.

(Mrs. Ider, Mongolia)

Among these problems, one of particular acuteness is that of a Middle East settlement. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in this matter is well known. We believe that only a comprehensive political settlement of this problem which would take into account the interests of all parties involved in the conflict, including the lawful national interests of the Arab people of Palestine, can lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

With regard to strengthening peace and security in Asia, a positive solution to the Korean problem is important. We are of the view that a peaceful solution to this problem can be ensured by implementation of resolution 3390 B (XXX) of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement.

The Mongolian People's Republic favours a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of total respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The recent official dissolution of the aggressive SEATO bloc has once again demonstrated the fact that the imperialist policy of blocs is doomed to failure, and also the growing desire of the peoples of Asia for understanding and co-operation. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the establishment in Asia of conditions which would guarantee the national independence and territorial integrity of every State and would make it possible to banish wars and armed conflicts, so as to enable the peoples of Asia to become actively involved in the solution of vital social and economic problems.

(Mrs. Ider, Mongolia)

In spite of the fact that there are real difficulties ahead, we believe that with goodwill and a desire for mutual understanding and constructive co-operation, it is possible to create these conditions on the basis of the joint efforts of all States of the continent. In this regard, we believe that it is important for all those States, without exception, to be guided in their mutual relations by the principles proclaimed at the historic Bandung Conference. In this matter we believe the United Nations could play a constructive role.

An urgent task in the strengthening of international peace and security is the total elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The situation in southern Africa, where racist régimes, with the support of their protectors, are attempting in vain to perpetuate their outrageous system of apartheid and racial discrimination, is fraught with serious danger to international peace and security. This is made even worse by acts of aggression committed by those régimes against neighbouring States and by the intention of the Republic of South Africa to acquire nuclear weapons. In the circumstances, we must bend every effort fully to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and all other decisions of the United Nations in this field.

In conclusion, our delegation would like to express the hope that a businesslike and constructive discussion at this session of the General Assembly regarding progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will further encourage States to work together in solving the most vital international problems.

Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): In the statement I am about to make I should like to address myself to the three items now before this Committee, namely item 37 on "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations", item 50 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", and item 127 on "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war". We believe that these items are closely interrelated. In many ways, détente is a common name for them all. Therefore, the decision to have a joint debate on these items is well founded. It is also, we believe, Mr. Chairman, the most efficient way of conducting our proceedings which, under your leadership, has characterized this Committee so far.

In his statement in the general debate in the plenary session, the Foreign Minister of Finland, Mr. Paavo Väyrynen, defined détente, disarmament and development as the main trends in the present international situation. He continued to say: "Each depends on the other: none can progress in isolation". (A/32/PV.10, p. 2) The interdependence of the various facets of the security of nations should, therefore, constantly be kept in mind. This is imperative if we want to discuss the main purpose of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, in its proper context.

This Committee has already successfully completed its consideration of the items related to disarmament. That discussion was marked by a pronounced spirit of compromise and consensus. It is the hope of my delegation that the same spirit will prevail now that we are concluding the consideration of the three remaining items on the agenda of the First Committee.

The Finnish Government's efforts on behalf of détente, particularly within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, are well known. That is why my Government has welcomed the

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

initiative of the Soviet Union to include the item "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. To our mind it is indeed natural that this Organization should deal with the major trends in international politics. In our view, the adoption of a declaration on détente, formulated in a generally acceptable way, would be yet another reflection of a conviction which we believe is widely shared - that is the conviction that there is today no reasonable alternative to the policy of détente.

Affixed to the Soviet proposal was also a resolution on the prevention of nuclear war. As far as that resolution is concerned, the position of the Finnish delegation on the substance of the problem which that resolution is addressing is well known to this Committee.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

Through the years we have given our support to the various agreements intended to deal with these problems. The most important of those is the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the prevention of nuclear war, concluded in 1973. To those agreements in recent years there have been added an agreement between France and the Soviet Union and one between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on the prevention of an outbreak of accidental nuclear war. All these, we believe, have as their common aim the reduction of the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war. The efforts of the Finnish delegation on behalf of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which are well known to this Committee, also address the same problem, although from a different aspect. Therefore we feel that at the appropriate time this problem should be addressed again in all its ramifications because of the importance of the substance of the problem to us all. In our view, a declaration on détente should in effect be considered an effort to give world-wide recognition and reaffirmation to a concept that has deeply changed international relations, particularly on the European continent, but we feel that it should not be restricted to the European continent. Indeed, détente should not be a privilege of the few but should belong to everyone, because its ultimate aim is peace and security with economic and social justice everywhere and for all.

In the view of my Government, important results have been achieved in the establishment of peaceful patterns of international co-operation. We consider it important that the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe be continued and further developed. This is what is taking place at this very moment in Belgrade. The reaffirmation of this task in this forum is all the more appropriate as, in our view, the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference are fully consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

Apart from its significance for political, economic, social and cultural co-operation at the regional level, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should also be seen as a contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security at a global level. We believe that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has already had a positive impact beyond the limits of Europe and we welcome in this spirit every effort to strengthen this progress.

As I have said, the Government of Finland wholly endorses the idea of an interconnexion between détente, development and disarmament. In that respect, the continuance of the arms race is in conflict with the security interests of States; it also jeopardizes the attainment of the goals of development that the States Members of the United Nations are committed to. Ultimately, détente and international security are predicated upon an economic and social restructuring of the world as envisaged in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the establishment of a new international economic order, which have the support of the Finnish Government. This is amply evidenced by the high priority that has been given and that no doubt in the years to come will be given in international relations to matters concerning economic and social development.

As a country whose foreign relations are based on a policy of neutrality and a sincere desire to maintain friendly relations with all other nations, Finland has a vested interest in the process of détente leading to the establishment of a more rational and peaceful world order. The security of our people does not rely on membership in military alliances. We seek to ensure our security through membership in the United Nations and the collective security system its membership provides for, through our commitment to international treaties and through an active pursuit of peaceful solutions to international disputes.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

It is natural that different emphasis is put on different aspects of détente in different parts of the world. Therefore, when discussing this matter in this world forum, we should try to avoid emphasizing these differences, while of course taking them into account, and instead move on the basis of consensus. This is the point of departure from which my delegation has endeavoured to make its contribution to the formulation of a draft declaration on détente that would in a balanced way incorporate the elements that the various countries and groups view as constituent parts of détente. Therefore we are gratified that, mainly thanks to the untiring and patient efforts of Mr. Hoveyda of Iran, combined with his unflinching flair for what is politically feasible and what is not, a draft declaration has been produced which, in our view, fulfils these criteria.

Therefore my delegation wishes to commend the draft declaration. Although the declaration would not, legally speaking, add to the obligations that States have already accepted under the Charter of the United Nations or other universal principles and declarations aimed at enhancing world peace and security, such a declaration by the most prestigious and the most representative political body at this particular time would undeniably have intrinsic political value and therefore would be in the interests of all of us here and of peace in the world.

Mr. MARTYNYENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The strengthening of international security has always been and remains the most important task of the United Nations and the main area of its activities, as laid down by the Charter. The annual discussion of this question has made it possible to take stock of the situation in the world and to note the interdependence of the measures taken by the United Nations in various areas of international co-operation. Every year since the adoption in 1970 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security we have noted the growing development of the process of the strengthening of international security. Indeed during these years the world has turned its back on the cold war and turned towards détente and has perceptibly further removed the threat of nuclear war and opened the way for mutually advantageous equal co-operation.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Declaration stressed the need for constant efforts on the part of the United Nations to strengthen international peace and security. Since the time that document was adopted seven years have gone by and in a certain measure we are now in a position to take stock of the situation and to assess the results. We notice that over the course of that period concrete progress has been achieved in the implementation of a number of the Declaration's provisions. In that time the membership of the United Nations has grown from 127 to 149 Member States, and that, in its turn, has substantially expanded the sphere of the application of the United Nations principles and led to an enhancement of its authority and influence in the world. All this is in keeping with the goal contained in the Declaration of achieving universalization of the United Nations in order to enhance its effectiveness in ensuring peace.

As representatives will recall, work was also concluded on the definition of aggression. That is a major victory of the forces of peace and, without any doubt, will promote the strengthening of international security. Considerable progress has also been made in implementing another goal of the Declaration, that of achieving the earliest possible elimination of colonialism and all forms of foreign domination.

Many countries are now represented at the United Nations which at the time the Declaration was being worked on still had ahead of them the task of winning their independence. Of course, the successes of the national liberation movement in its struggles for self-determination and independence have made it possible to lower tension in international relations and to establish normal relations among States. Hotbeds of tension and military conflict have been eliminated in various parts of the world. The cessation of the war in South-East Asia, the strengthening of co-operation among European States on the basis of the provisions of bilateral agreements and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe represent without doubt a contribution to the strengthening of international security.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Our task now is to ensure implementation of the requirements of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in their full scope: to eliminate the remaining sources of international tension in the Middle East and in southern Africa, to call a halt to the arms race and to proceed to the work of disarmament, as required by the Declaration.

However, an unrestrained arms race is still going on. Furthermore, attempts are being made to create new types of weapons of mass destruction. This is irrefutable proof of the fact that among the major and urgent international problems for which the nations of the world are awaiting a solution an important place belongs to the curbing of the arms race, putting a stop to increasing military arsenals and starting to limit them and, finally, proceeding to the work of disarmament itself, including complete and general disarmament.

Since the day of its founding in 1917, as a result of the great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet State has unswervingly, tirelessly and consistently struggled for disarmament. We are convinced of the need to ensure continuous and unremitting progress towards the goal of complete and general disarmament without any interruption, so that every year and every month can yield new practical steps in one field or another in curbing the arms race, reducing the military arsenals of States and lessening the threat of nuclear war. In that regard the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic intends to work for the success of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and to use it as an important stage on the road towards a world disarmament conference.

In discussing the problem of the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, representatives of many countries have pointed out that the favourable influence on the development of relations among States on the European continent of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is an important criterion of implementation of the United Nations Declaration and serves as an example for other continents. The last two years have made it clear that peace in Europe has become more stable and durable and that contacts and communications between countries are measurably richer and

broader. In consistently putting into effect the principles and understandings of the Final Act of the Conference on Europe, socialist countries have now put forward at the Belgrade Conference new initiatives designed to develop equal political, economic and cultural co-operation among all signatories.

I should like once again to remind the Committee that an important proposal was submitted in November of last year at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of States Members of the Warsaw Treaty to the effect that all signatories of the Final Act should assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, and should conclude an appropriate treaty. The implementation of that proposal - and the treaty would embrace a large group of Member States of the United Nations - would play an important role in the further improvement of the whole international political climate.

As a member of the Special Committee of the United Nations on the Implementation of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Special Committee of the United Nations against Apartheid, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic devotes a great deal of attention to the situation in the Middle East and to that in southern Africa. Statements at this session of the General Assembly by our delegation have repeatedly stressed that, in order to implement the Declaration, we need to eliminate the burdensome and explosive conflict in the Middle East. Indeed, the situation in that part of the world, because of the aggressive, expansionist policy of the ruling circles of Israel, which are trampling underfoot the rights of neighbouring peoples and adopting a policy of annexation of the Arab territories which they have seized, remains a constant source of tension in international relations. Such a situation is fraught with the danger of the outbreak of another military conflagration. We should like to see the early convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and believe that the key issue at that Conference is the ensuring of equal participation in it by all parties directly involved in the conflict, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination,

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

including their right to establish their own State, is undeniable, and it is becoming ever more widely recognized in the world. And that, incidentally, has been most strikingly demonstrated at this current session of the General Assembly.

Of great importance now in the matter of strengthening international security is the struggle for the final elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. Southern Africa remains a source of tension in that continent. Reports that South Africa is preparing to acquire nuclear weapons should be an alarm signal. The emergence of nuclear weapons in the hands of the racist régime of Pretoria would create the most direct threat to the security of the African States, would lead to the steepest escalation of tension in southern Africa and would intensify the nuclear threat to the whole of mankind. It is precisely for that reason that we need the most urgent and effective efforts on the part of all States, and also of the United Nations, to prevent the acquisition by South Africa of nuclear weapons and to prevent the danger of the spread of such weapons.

The establishment by the Security Council of an embargo on arms supplies to South Africa is a step in the right direction. However, it should be followed by other effective measures to exert pressure on the South African Republic, primarily economic sanctions.

The Cyprus conflict still awaits a solution. An essential constituent of any settlement should be withdrawal from the island of foreign troops and bases, and making it possible for the two national communities themselves to solve the problems of their internal arrangements in their State without outside interference.

A situation of tension still prevails in the Korean peninsula. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic categorically supports the aspirations of the people of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country and calls for the implementation of the resolution of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly providing for the withdrawal from South Korea of foreign troops and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations command.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

At the last session of the General Assembly a resolution was adopted on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We agree that the strengthening of international security is incompatible with imperialist attempts to impose their own régimes on other peoples and to dictate what laws they should live by. This year again the Assembly could stress the incompatibility of attempts at interference in the internal affairs of peoples with the strengthening of international security.

The Ukrainian delegation would like particularly to stress that the adoption of the United Nations declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente, which was produced by a representative group of States, would be an important step towards strengthening international peace and security. This step taken on the initiative of the Soviet Union could more than any other action recently undertaken be a catalyst for positive changes in the world to ensure the total implementation of the goals of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which constitutes the main concern of the United Nations and the fundamental task facing our Organization.

The Committee is now also discussing the question of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The enshrining of this principle, the converting of this principle into an immutable law of relations among States, would be an important step towards the total elimination of the use of all forms of weapons and the permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons. In the discussion of the draft treaty introduced by the Soviet Union, representatives of many States even at the last session of the General Assembly expressed additional views and proposals with regard to its wording. Thus proposals were made for including in the draft treaty provisions affecting the right of colonial peoples to struggle for their freedom. Certain delegations touched on the question of machinery which would ensure the effectiveness of a prohibition on the use of force in international relations and of working on measures and means for ensuring strict compliance with the provisions of the treaty. Many stressed that the treaty should securely cover all loop-holes allowing the use of force in violation of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

A number of concrete points were also contained in the answers of States to the questionnaire of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Thus, since the draft treaty on the non-use of force was introduced, the necessary preparatory work has, in our view, in fact already been done, and the immediate task before us is to turn to concrete work leading to the adoption of a text on a world treaty. This is a task which should, I believe, be entrusted to a special committee created for the purpose which could take into account all the constructive proposals made on this subject.

Those are some of the views of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Sri Lanka, who wishes to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.45.

Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): I seem to be fast becoming a professional introducer of draft resolutions.

Today I am introducing the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.45 on behalf of its sponsors. The draft resolution is on the subject of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. In addition to the sponsors whose names appear in document A/C.1/32/L.45, Ethiopia and Madagascar have joined us as sponsors and I thank them for their support.

This item on non-interference in the internal affairs of States is a direct lineal descendant of the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security".

At its twenty-fifth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2754 (XXV) on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is pertinent for me to draw attention to two operative paragraphs of that Declaration which touch specifically on the question of intervention in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Amerasinghe, Sri Lanka)

Operative paragraph 2 is relatively long and I shall cite only its most relevant provisions. It calls upon

"... all States to adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the Charter, including the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State...".

The words "threat or use of force" do not necessarily mean physical force. There are other subtle ways that can be used which are tantamount to force or have the same effect as physical force. The same operative paragraph of that Declaration refers to "the duty of States not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State".

The other operative paragraph to which I should like to refer is operative paragraph 4, which

"Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country."

The Declaration refers to an important provision of the Charter - Article 2, paragraph 4 - which requires that

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State...".

Representatives will notice that this draft resolution stands in the name of non-aligned countries. The non-aligned movement has always treated non-interference in the internal affairs of States as a cardinal element in its policy and philosophy. It realized from the very start that the independence of States, their exercise of the right to self-determination and the freedom which they secured from their colonial masters could not be real unless it also prevented any forms of interference that would subvert newly-established Governments or influence them in an improper manner and cause them concern.

RG/10/mds

A/C.1/32/PV.55
39-40

(Mr. Amerasinghe, Sri Lanka)

There are many ways in which countries can interfere in the internal affairs of States. They can, as I said, employ dissident groups in a country to subvert its Government or they can adopt forceful economic measures to compel countries to change their policies and to toe the line with them.

(Mr. Amerasinghe, Sri Lanka)

Everybody is entitled to use proper means to influence the policies of countries, but what we object to are improper methods. It was because of growing concern over recent developments directed against the stability of Governments of countries that we took the initiative and introduced this special, separate item under the general heading, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security".

Last year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/91 on that subject. In that resolution there are two principal paragraphs to which I should like to draw attention, as they are specifically mentioned in the draft resolution now before the Committee. Operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 31/91 adopted last year

"Denounces any form of interference overt or covert, direct or indirect, including recruiting and sending mercenaries, by one State or group of States and any act of military, political, economic or other form of intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States, regardless of the character of their mutual relations or their social and economic systems". (A/31/39)

Operative paragraph 4 of the same resolution adopted last year

"... condemns all forms of overt, subtle and highly sophisticated techniques of coercion, subversion and defamation aimed at disrupting the political, social or economic order of other States or destabilizing the Governments seeking to free their economies from external control or manipulation".

The reference to defamation is very significant, because there are ways whereby the reputation, prestige and standing of leaders in countries are undermined or attacked to discredit them and induce the people of those countries to replace them by others who will be more amenable to the dictates of those who seek from outside to interfere in the internal affairs of those States.

The present draft resolution before this Committee contains three principal operative paragraphs and so that members of this Committee may have a clear understanding of our intention and purpose in introducing this resolution, I feel it is necessary to explain the differences in nuance between the various paragraphs.

Operative paragraph 1

"Urges all States to abide by the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 of resolution 31/91, which denounce any form of interference in the internal or external affairs of other States and condemn all forms and techniques of coercion, subversion and defamation aimed at disrupting the political, social or economic order of other States".

Operative paragraph 2 is complementary to that; it is the reciprocal duty of "... all States, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to undertake necessary measures in order to prevent any hostile act or activity taking place within their territory and directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of another State".

I cannot think of anyone here who could object or take exception to either of those principles.

Next I come to operative paragraph 3, which

"Considers that a Declaration on Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of States would be an important contribution to the further elaboration of the principles for strengthening equitable co-operation and friendly relations among States, based on sovereign equality and mutual respect".

One cannot have sovereign equality and mutual respect unless one refrains from any attempts at subverting the established order in a State or undermining the authority of any State.

Why we consider a declaration to be necessary in spite of all those that we have is so that the forms of interference and intervention to which we take exception and which we consider to be a threat to the stability, independence and sovereignty of a State, may be clearly identified in a declaration so that no State could have any doubt as to what measures would be considered objectionable. Also, a declaration could contain a specific and clear indication of the measures that States might take and the means they might adopt to prevent any form of interference in the external or internal affairs of other States from being organized within their own territories or being undertaken or connived at by them.

I wish to assure members of this Committee that this is an entirely new initiative on our part and it is not connected with any efforts that have been made previously. There may be a tendency to link this with other moves and initiatives that have been taken previously, but I assure all members of the Committee that it is an initiative taken purely at the instance of the non-aligned movement because of the increasing alarm those countries feel over developments that have taken place in recent years in regard to what is now known as "destabilization", another of those infernal words that have crept into the international lexicon.

I should also like to inform the members of this Committee that the non-aligned summit meeting held in Colombo in August last year attached so much importance to this question that for the first time in the non-aligned summit declaration a special chapter was devoted to this item.

Finally, operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution

"Requests the Secretary-General to invite all Member States once again to express their views on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session."

We are not rushing into a declaration ourselves, which we could very well have done. We wish to ascertain the views of all Member States so that we may adopt a declaration that will be generally or even universally acceptable. I hope that any delegations that have had any doubts or mental reservations about the substance or purpose of this draft resolution will have satisfied those doubts and reservations and will be able to support it. I hope that the draft resolution will receive the full support of this Committee.

Mr. HARMON (Liberia): The Liberian delegation is pleased to support the draft resolution on international security submitted by the delegation of Iran.

EF/an

A/C.1/32/PV.55
44-45

(Mr. Harmon, Liberia)

We wish to congratulate Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda of Iran, whose laborious consultations have made this splendid document possible. However, we must also pay homage to the Soviet Union, which initiated the concept of this declaration. Much has been said about its reiteration of principles already inscribed in the Charter. My delegation therefore has no misgivings as to its importance on that score.

Having complimented our Soviet friends and before proceeding with my statement, I should like here to make an intervention in the form of an appeal to the Soviet delegation. The task of the prevention and complete elimination of the danger of nuclear war is an integral part of the process of international détente.

(Mr. Harmon, Liberia)

It will be recalled that the delegation of the Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution on this question in Document A/C.1/32/L.2. That document deals with the various aspects of the problem of preventing the danger of nuclear war. It is therefore the opinion of the Liberian delegation that there is no doubt as to the importance of these questions. Although the questions of limiting the nuclear-arms race have been considered in sufficient detail in this Committee during the debate on disarmament, we have, however, not been able to consider the draft resolution in question thoroughly because of its importance, due to the limited time at our disposal.

Consequently, and in these circumstances, we believe that it would be desirable, as has been pointed out by some of my other colleagues, not to put that particular draft resolution to a vote. The questions of preventing nuclear war will undoubtedly be a subject at the upcoming broad debate on the question of disarmament at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, during its preparation and in the course of other relevant discussions.

We are living in a world of deviations and departures from basic principles. To paraphrase a famous great American senator, the vigilance of repetition and reminders are the eternal price of lasting peace.

Similarly, in the re-enunciation of first principles we prefer the medium of the solemn declaration to resolutions which are easily broken or forgotten - for a declaration is a first cousin to the Charter itself.

It is not true, of course, that the draft is merely a Xerox duplication of the Charter. There is the resolve to strengthen the United Nations as a primary instrument in the peace-keeping and peace-making process. The founding fathers - and Liberia is a founding State - who drafted the Charter under the guns of a Second World War, the result of power struggle instead of international co-operation, would never have dreamt that such an admonition would some day become necessary.

(Mr. Harmon, Liberia)

For us every by-passing of the United Nations on issues affecting the entire international community entails a new risk of new confrontations, and even war. That is why we cannot go along with certain current thinking that the peace of the world rests largely with the two major Powers which have become the bankers, so to speak, with whom the détente is deposited and where it was minted.

My delegation is happy - as I am sure we all are - to hear the two super-Powers report some progress in their quest of closer and better coexistence. But when it is repeatedly stated that their détente should be extended to other political sectors, I would recall, as a matter of fact, that the concept of détente was first formulated by the non-aligned nations in Bandung, evolution-wise. The doctrine of détente is the child of the philosophy of non-alignment. And the only alignment inherent in the philosophy is with the indivisible nature of the United Nations.

Now, we are compelled to recognize as a matter of realism the inordinate potentials of the two major Powers, and this was recognized in the Charter when the nations accorded them and others special powers - a permanent position on the Security Council. Much of the peace of the world therefore rests on their shoulders, they having the right of veto. But if they would use their enormous power jointly through the Council that would be the most effective way to strengthen the United Nations and establish world peace in our one world.

Similarly, we would respectfully express some reservation in according nuclear disarmament the highest priority in the strengthening of peace and security. This idea is basically a corollary of the super-Power hegemony, and in any case hovers somewhere on the horizon of a very remote eventuality.

May I point out that on our African continent, on at least four battlefronts, African lives are now being claimed by perfectly respectable non-nuclear conventional weapons. Tell a dying African on one of those battle-fields that the General Assembly is working to exempt him some day from a nuclear bomb, as a matter of the highest priority, and he will point to his bullet hole and say, like Shakespeare: "It is not as wide as a church gate or as deep as a well, but t'will do".

(Mr. Harmon, Liberia)

I submit that in any declaration for bolstering peace, a number one priority might be accorded to the African continent, if not as a basic principle, certainly as an area of implementation.

May I point out that Africa is the only continent today on which war, spreading war, is a daily growing threat to world peace and security. In Asia there is no war. None in the two Americas. In the Middle East it is a threat, but even this threat enjoys a high priority.

In Europe, cradle of war and frontier of the big bombs, it is now a war of words in Belgrade.

Only on the African continent are the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse now riding and taking in ever more ground daily. We Africans have a feeling and a fear that certain big Powers are advocating détente as a private relationship so that they might fight their wars elsewhere, and Africa is now becoming their sector of war - not the cold war, for which we might settle, but war of a much higher temperature.

We have heard words of caution about bringing in foreign armies into Africa. But for us Africans the murderous brigades of Ian Smith and the interventionist armies of Vorster are also foreign armies - foreign in colour, foreign in their anti-Africanism, foreign in their racist ideology, and mostly foreign as clients of other foreign Powers. They are the enemies of all Africa, and when they are removed Africa can become truly the first continent of peace. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has no intention, except perhaps under threat some day, of becoming a military organization.

(Mr. Harmon, Liberia)

Would not a war-free continent on the face of this globe be a strong pillar for the strengthening of peace and security? That is my question.

Our support for the draft declaration is neither sentimental nor academic. We support it because it enunciates doctrines which have a special significance for us Africans. Its reference to the sovereign equality of States reminds us that in the apartheid axis we are not regarded as equals. When the draft declaration talks of human rights we are painfully conscious of the more than 20 million Africans in southern Africa who are stripped of it in the crudest violation of human rights possible - the practice of State racism. When it mentions democracy by majority rule we think of the two recent elections in the apartheid axis in which the minority exercised their vote for no reason other than the fact of their privileged minority status.

Therefore, when the draft declaration promulgates just and balanced economic relations among States, we in Africa, as a developing continent, applaud it and would begin by eliminating the wicked exploitation of millions of our workers as cheap labour for foreign enterprises with all the political consequences that follow.

On that point, it has been said that political détente should be followed by military détente. We do not have to go to the three volumes of Karl Marx and the 51 volumes of Lenin to realize that neither political nor military peace is possible without an economic détente.

If we begin with the moral concept of a more just economic order we may find many of the political and military problems that now plague us more amenable in our search for ways of strengthening international peace and security.

Finally, I would recall that in the development of a higher and more dedicated concept of peace in our very shaky world, Liberia's President, Dr. William R. Tolbert, Jr., has always taken a firm stand for any development that would arouse a world consciousness for a greater effort in bringing our world to a day when the Charter will have been largely fulfilled and implemented. We are convinced that this draft declaration will go a long way to achieving that end and we call on all Governments and peoples to make it a landmark in the quest of the human race for a better and more civilized world order.

Mr. GARBA (Niger) (interpretation from French): It would be a truism to try to stress here the deep meaning to a country like mine of the idea of the non-use of force in international relations.

That concept has always guided Niger in its relations with the other members of the international community. Advocating a policy of good neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence among all peoples, the new Niger has never hesitated to make its contribution, modest as it might be, to the search for peace and the consolidation of détente. That is because it refuses to believe in the victory of arms in conflicts between sovereign States. Such a victory, as history has proved, can only create a climate of frustration which must engender hatred among peoples, thus preparing the ground for the self-destruction of both victors and vanquished.

It is therefore highly desirable that détente should be in keeping with full respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. At all events, that has been a constant concern of the Government of Niger, which its Head of State, Lieutenant-Colonel Seyni Kountche, reaffirmed recently in an interview given to Décembre II and Europe-Outre-Mer when, speaking of African problems, he said:

"... the first thing to have acknowledged by everyone on the continent is that each State member of the Organization of African Unity must respect its neighbour State within its own frontiers, regardless of the régime and form of society it has chosen."

Such an affirmation reflects the desire for stability on the African continent and the deep sense of reality of its author, because no one can deny that frontier problems are one of the main weaknesses of new States which exploit the nostalgia for times that have gone for ever in order to poison relations and maintain tensions favourable to covert interests.

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

It is up to our States to adopt whatever dispositions are necessary, refraining from encouraging this duping of peoples, and respecting the undertakings they have entered into before God and history, namely, their commitment to the consolidation of their independence and the quest for unity. Africa must put an end to its internal bickerings and regain that unity in action which on many occasions already has ensured its victory over colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

Niger, for its part, is convinced of the coming of a majority régime in Rhodesia and in South Africa. It is an irreversible process. Africa, which, although many would forget it, made enormous sacrifices to help Europe deliver itself from the nightmares of fascism and nazism, will pay whatever price is necessary to do away with apartheid. The African peoples are convinced that no one can think or act for them. Weakness is not an innate burden of the peoples. It is essentially the result of historical factors and circumstances. It changes sides with the times. We are not afraid of our future: it will be difficult because it is filled with pitfalls, but it will come nevertheless.

This profession of faith is necessary because, in the view of the delegation of Niger, the efforts made by the international community to usher in a peaceful and more just world can be crowned with success only after the elimination of apartheid and the minority régime in Rhodesia.

We have to stress here the close ties that exist between human rights, today dear to the West, and the introduction of an era of justice, peace and security in the world. Indeed, we do not see how a man, as an individual, can exercise his rights when his people are languishing under colonialism and racial domination and see their hopes inundated in a blood-bath more deeply each day by régimes of terror enjoying the active complicity of those very ones who fly to the defence of human rights elsewhere. How can we take such an enterprise seriously without appearing ridiculous and naive when the representatives of the Western great Powers are raising their voices in a verbal war against apartheid but flourish the veto as soon as there is any question of passing to real action. Indeed, only an active participation by these countries in the struggle against apartheid will convince us of their

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

goodwill and impartiality and of the absence of bigotry in the defence of individual freedoms.

In these conditions it seems to us indispensable that the permanent members of the Security Council put an end to their hesitancy so that that body can play fully its role of maintaining peace through the effective implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations on apartheid and the Middle East.

Some hope is permissible because Mr. Young said in substance, in his statement of 6 December in this Committee, that it was important that we should

"acknowledge that it is our actions more than our words which will bring about the better world we all pray for". (A/C.1/32/PV.53, p. 12)

The representative of the United States of America thus believes in actions more than in words.

That is a source of optimism at a time when the African countries have just asked for a meeting of the Security Council to set up the necessary control machinery for the implementation of the resolution establishing a mandatory embargo on arms destined for South Africa.

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

We believe human rights cannot be divorced from the recasting of international economic structures. As far as we are concerned, human rights are not only individual freedoms but also, and above all, the right and ability of the Niger peasant to feed, educate and properly care for his children. It is that ability which is daily ruined by an unjust international economic order, in which the peasant finds it ever more difficult to obtain a regular and stable income. Flexibility in the attitude of the industrialized countries is therefore essential in the negotiations in order to enable that peasant fully and without delay to enjoy democratic freedoms the exercise of which must of necessity mean that his basic needs will be met.

Détente and the non-use of force, as we see, is very close to our hearts. However, for us détente cannot mean withdrawal of all military and other assistance to the brave freedom fighters in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. Any interpretation that might consider as provocative the material and financial support given by African States and others to the blacks of southern Africa would, in our view, lack objectivity. A treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, on the other hand, should help to ensure the implementation of the Charter. Therefore, no State can use the existence of such a treaty as an excuse to avoid compliance with its obligations under the Charter.

Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): I am sorry to have asked to speak at the last moment. But I do so because I wish to join the representative of Liberia in the appeal he addressed to the delegation of the Soviet Union.

On the item entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war", we have two documents before us. One is a draft declaration (A/C.1/32/L.1) and the other is a draft resolution on the prevention of nuclear war (A/C.1/32/L.2). We also have Conference Room Paper 1 of 5 December 1977 which has been prepared under the able direction of

(Mr. Amerasinghe, Sri Lanka)

the representative of Iran, Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude for the efforts he has made in the preparation of this document. It represents the agreed views of a representative cross-section of the membership of this Committee, both non-aligned countries and those outside the non-aligned movement.

My appeal to the delegation of the Soviet Union is to give its earnest consideration to the withdrawal of their draft declaration and draft resolution, and their agreeing not to press them to a vote but, instead, to allow the draft declaration prepared by Mr. Hoveyda, which appears in Conference Room Paper 1, to be put through in the form of a draft resolution.

My reason is that the subject of the declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente is a matter of supreme importance. It is therefore of equally vital importance that it should be adopted by consensus. I am quite confident that this conference room paper, when presented in the form of a draft resolution, will secure adoption by consensus, whereas in regard to the other two documents, there is a possibility that there may be abstentions and reservations. It would, I am sure, be in full conformity with the wishes and intent of the delegation of the Soviet Union, and consistent with its policies, if the principles expressed in the draft declaration prepared under the guidance of Mr. Hoveyda of Iran, in consultation with a wide cross-section of the membership, were to be adopted. I therefore make this earnest appeal to the delegation of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the representative of the Soviet Union wish to reply now?

Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation intends to make a statement this afternoon in which it will refer to the appeal certain delegations have made to it today.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.