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Chairman: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

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AGENDA ITEM 50 (continued)

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

Mr. RAKOTONIAINA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): By their acts and their inventions States mould their collective security. Therefore, their degree of security depends essentially on the ethics of their behaviour in their relations among one another.

On this subject my delegation considers that we have in the United Nations reference material containing principles and standards of behaviour to be followed in international life which could strengthen international security.

There are many of these documents, and I will not tax the Committee's patience by enumerating them. I should like, however, to highlight some of them since my delegation considers that they should be emphasized, given the present international context. In its Article 2 (4) and (7), the Charter defines the principles that consecrate the principle of non-intervention. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) stipulates that all peoples have the right freely to determine their own fate and that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. Faced with the growing threat of armed interventions and other direct and indirect forms of interference threatening the sovereignty and independence of States, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty (General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX) of 21 December 1965), in which it proclaimed the right of every State freely to determine its political status and to pursue its own development.

In order to strengthen world peace and to establish better relations among States, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

with the Charter of the United Nations. To this end, the General Assembly recalled the obligation of States to refrain from intervening in the affairs of other States as a basic condition of international peace and security.

Along the same lines, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970) forbids States from having recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

With regard to international economic relations, one can refer to the fundamental principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)) and to the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974). We might also refer to the declaration concerning Permanent sovereignty over natural resources (General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962).

In the main, these documents endorse the right of States freely to dispose of their natural resources, to choose their own economic system, without external interference, pressure or threat.

In reviewing the contents of the documents that my delegation has just enumerated, we realize that the same ideas appear everywhere, in different terms, and express the same concerns. Their provisions have, as it were, a leitmotiv: "freedom of choice for peoples and States", "non-interference in their affairs", "no domination, no exploitation".

We are now in a position to ask to what extent the Members of the international community abide by these principles and standards of behaviour.

If we look quickly at the international situation, we see exactly how they are behaving.

Despite the assurances and declarations of their good intentions, certain Powers - notwithstanding the United Nations Charter - are not discharging their obligations in good faith. On the contrary, we see evidence of machinations that give rise to concern.

(Mr. Rakotonisaina, Madagascar)

Respect for commitments and obligations flowing from the Charter challenges the validity of the concept of the balance of political and military forces which has as its corollary the seeking of spheres of influence and interests. This policy necessarily leads to interventions in the affairs of States. By its very nature, this balance is difficult to maintain; some are always trying to outdo others, and vice versa. Obviously, frictions result which, if aggravated, could lead to real confrontations, which would rapidly undermine the fragile and precarious security based on the balance of forces. No one could benefit, not even the client countries.

The recent history of international relations would show, if there was any need of this, that bi-polarism has only had pernicious effects on the international situation. Unfortunately, it is still the small countries which must bear the brunt of this. By the play of this structure of relations between States, States have been forced into difficult choices, with their sovereignty and independence at stake.

It is absolutely essential that States abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization, particularly the principles set out in Article 2 (2) and (4), which call on States to fulfil their obligations in good faith and to refrain from the threat or use of force.

The tenth special session devoted to disarmament revealed that there is a general feeling that would restore to the United Nations the central role that it should assume, in the field of disarmament at least.

My delegation considers that, carried along by the same momentum, we should seize the opportunity to confer upon the United Nations the fullness of its mandate and of its capacity whenever international peace is threatened. Indeed, as long as the Security Council is unable to discharge the responsibility that it assumes under the Charter, no State can feel secure in view of the attempts at interference in the internal affairs of small countries.

The focal points of crisis and tension which still persist in certain regions are not always created by the peoples concerned. If we look closely, we see that they are hatched and maintained deliberately by external forces which seek to preserve their economic and strategic interests there. Faced with the indignation of peoples, the imperialist and capitalist Powers have put forward

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

bogus solutions or palliatives aimed at temporarily allaying our concerns. In order to counter and stifle the real aspirations of the peoples, they are subjected to direct or indirect interference.

It is high time for objective solutions to be found for all the situations prevailing in southern Africa, in Cyprus, in the Middle East and in Korea.

Everything seems to indicate that certain Western Powers are trying to maintain their economic and strategic interests at the expense of humanitarian considerations and the interests of the inhabitants directly concerned.

In southern Africa, the military and industrial interests craftily and energetically oppose decolonization and the abolition of apartheid because of their idea that the independence of these territories would mean, for them, the end of western control over that part of the African continent.

That denial of the rights of peoples and nations took a still more insidious form at the expense of the independent African States. By the practice of neo-colonial policy and power, there is no longer any hesitation in interfering in the internal affairs of certain countries by various forms of intervention. These are characterized by the destabilization of existing régimes, economic sabotage pursuing the same goal and colonial reconquest to maintain capitalist monopolies.

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

The lack of progress in establishing the New International Economic Order is explained by the obstinacy of the imperialists in wishing to maintain unequal development. To perpetuate their control and their monopoly over the resources and the different machinery set up for the economic advancement of the third world, they refuse to accept any concession, any compromise. The proposal to patch up the former system is based on the defence of capital interests, tied to a vision of the world dominated by capital and by the interests of certain Powers.

The picture we have just briefly drawn of the international situation is hardly encouraging. When we look at the facts, we see that the principles and standards of behaviour incorporated in the Charter and in United Nations resolutions are being refuted. One might also conclude that political security is inseparable from economic security. Forming part of international security in the full sense of the term, the two elements, by their interaction, inevitably influence international security.

Finally, the lesson which can be drawn from this is that we must put into practice the democratization of international relations, that is to say, by taking into consideration the interests of all countries, and not only those of certain Powers or certain groups of countries.

Past generations seem despite themselves to have been committed to an environment of violence and war, with all the insecurity and uncertainty which that implies. But we think that those of today have a sacred duty to prepare a better future for the young people who will come after them, by trying to eradicate from their minds and habits the use of arms, and by preparing them to promote the ideals of peace, co-operation and understanding. This may appear to be a difficult ideal to achieve, but we are duty bound to begin forthwith to put that ideal into practice.

It is with this in mind that my delegation has decided to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58. We should also like to pay tribute here to the delegation of the People's Republic of Poland for its initiative, which we consider to be most timely.

Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian):

When we review today's international situation, we can note both positive and negative trends. On the one hand, despite all obstacles, we find the trend to détente still continuing. On the other hand, the forces of imperialism and reaction are stepping up the arms race, trying to jeopardize the basis of the peaceful coexistence policy and trying to subjugate independent peoples. They want to turn the world back to the time of the cold war. The influence of those forces has increased in the policies of the NATO States, and this is borne out, inter alia, by the programme adopted at the NATO Conference in Washington, to step up armaments quantitatively and qualitatively. The direct henchmen of the enemies of détente are those modern interests of great Powers who, pursuing their hegemonistic and expansionist goals, are trying to hatch a plot with imperialist reaction against the progressive forces and the forces of peace throughout the world.

It has become more difficult to defend and expand what has already been achieved in the process of détente. Therefore we must expend greater efforts to strengthen the security of all States.

This was taken as a basis by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow. In their readiness to do everything in their power to exclude war from the life of peoples, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty joined in an urgent appeal to States and peoples of the world unswervingly to advocate a policy of peace and détente, and to renounce the use or the threat of use of force in international relations. They call for an uncompromising condemnation of aggressive wars, and a peaceful settlement of controversial questions. All peace-loving forces and those in a position to negotiate among themselves should act together so as to exclude completely wars between States and to exclude war from the life of mankind, to stop the arms race and eliminate the vestiges of the cold war.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

The socialist States hold out a hand to all who cherish the security of peoples, asking them to take part in joint action with them. It does not matter here whether our partners are acting according to ideological motives or from a knowledge of the real demands of our time. An organization such as the United Nations, which includes in its membership almost all States of the world and which, according to the purposes and principles of its Charter, covers such a wide range of activity, can and should take into account the irrefutable fact that the strengthening of international security touches on key questions falling within all areas of inter-State relations.

Here we see three dominating trends which influence and condition each other. First, purposeful promotion of effective measures against the arms race and for the furtherance of disarmament; secondly, strengthening and broadening of the international legal basis of peaceful coexistence, and thus at the same time the strengthening of trust between States and the fostering of development of all-round relations on the basis of sovereign equality and the right to self-determination of peoples; thirdly, the elimination of existing focal points of conflict and the prevention of further conflicts.

At the tenth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, States which took part in that session unanimously noted the indissoluble link between security and disarmament. Thus, the discussion of the item on our agenda on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is obviously closely linked to problems of disarmament which have been examined in recent weeks. Substantive social and political changes throughout the world, as well as the scientific and technological revolution, define the content of such ideas as national and international security. Certain circles obviously have to start thinking differently now. National security should no longer be understood as the ability to implement in certain conditions and by military means imperialist, economic and hegemonistic interests with regard to other States and peoples. As the history of past decades shows, such aggression and military adventures turn against the very perpetrators themselves.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

Allow me, in this connexion, to say a few words about the so-called "deterrent doctrine". That doctrine has never had anything to do with defence. In combination with slander about the supposed military threat from the socialist countries, it has always served as a pretext for the arms race and for the unsuccessful attempts to attain military supremacy for the purpose of threatening and blackmailing other States. Categorical deviation from this doctrine and refusal to accept it are among the most important results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. In a situation where a thermonuclear war could truly turn against its initiators, at a time when the stepping up of existing weapons arsenals is increasing the danger of such a war and when local military adventures inevitably require great sacrifices but do not resolve any problems we fully understand the interest of all States in starting to move now towards détente. Thus the legitimate need of each State for national security is included in the over-all implementation of the right of all peoples to live in conditions of peace.

At a recent meeting, the States Parties to the Warsaw Pact soberly pointed out that the continuation of the arms race at an increased rhythm and on an ever broader scale posed a threat to international peace and security, to international détente, to the independence of peoples and to their economic and social development. From that they draw the only possible conclusion, namely, that it is necessary to achieve the earliest possible breakthrough in the talks on halting the arms race and on disarmament. The strategy of peace set forth in the instrument signed in Moscow encompasses a whole range of actions; it contains many partial steps, linked at the same time with far-reaching goals.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

In view of the discussions we have had in this Committee on the disarmament issue, I wish to point out that the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty see as their primary task the initiation of negotiations on halting the production of nuclear weapons in all their forms and gradually reducing the stockpiles of those weapons until they are fully eliminated. In tandem with this, we must reach agreement on the permanent banning of the use of nuclear weapons, and the renunciation by States of the use in force in their mutual relations.

A prerequisite for that is co-operation among the nuclear Powers. The Moscow meeting called upon the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and the People's Republic of China to start negotiations as soon as possible for the purpose of removing nuclear weapons of all types from the arsenals of States and converting nuclear energy to exclusively peaceful uses. Those States can and must exercise great responsibility, as indeed is mentioned in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. This includes that Far Eastern nuclear Power which, in pursuit of hegemonistic interests, is trying to evade that responsibility, resorting to thinly-veiled arguments.

From the global as well as the regional point of view, détente in Europe is of particular value. The Helsinki Final Act gives honourable mention to the daily attempts at implementing this policy. Much has changed for the better. However because of the mounting resistance of the opponents of détente, it has not been possible to achieve all that otherwise might have been achieved by strict adherence to agreements. We refer, first and foremost, to progress in the field of military détente.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

The States Parties to the Warsaw Pact are sparing no effort to make progress in the Vienna Talks on mutual and balanced force reductions; they are also ready to do all in their power to ensure that the issues of military détente and the promotion of disarmament in Europe, within the framework of overall European security, will be discussed with the participation of all signatories to the Helsinki Final Act.

Security and trust between States require a strengthening of the international legal basis for peaceful coexistence. The elaboration and adoption of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is more necessary than ever. In particular, a ban on the use of all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, would enhance security guarantees for all States, would inspire trust and would be a step of enormous importance. As recent debates in the Sixth Committee have shown, the opponents of such a treaty cannot refute the view, which has been strengthened by experience, that clarifying the general prohibition of the use of force as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations by a binding treaty would have a significant influence on States' behaviour. Perhaps certain interests want to have a free hand to resort to the threat or use of force against peoples. Our delegation holds that the elaboration of such a Treaty here would be a great and immediate step forward.

One of the most essential prerequisites for stable peaceful relations among States is strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others. The German Democratic Republic welcomes measures to end all forms of interference or attempted interference on the spurious pretext of defence of human rights.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

The framework for international co-operation in the field of human rights has been stipulated by the United Nations Charter and relevant treaties. We believe that support and encouragement of fascist and racist policies, acts of oppression, gross and mass violations of human rights, as well as spreading anti-humane militarist, neo-fascist and neo-Nazi views, run counter to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, against the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki and other international instruments.

The question of war and peace is obviously taking a greater place in the spiritual life of our time. The threat to mankind of a thermo-nuclear war is reaching peoples' consciences more and more. At the same time one is ever more aware that peoples are in a position to guarantee their peaceful future. To promote that process is a duty defined in the purposes of the United Nations Charter. Each Government bears the responsibility for spreading ideas of peace and preventing war propaganda. The initiative of the People's Republic of Poland with regard to a declaration on educating people in a spirit of peace fully answers that demand. The German Democratic Republic heartily supports it.

As was convincingly set forth in his statement of 4 December of this year, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Comrade Kulaga, said that the declaration, if adopted, would be an important contribution to the United Nations and to the cause of strengthening mutual trust among nations and would thus promote disarmament and strengthen international security.

In order to strengthen the basis for peaceful relations, equitable international co-operation is essential. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States elaborated at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly must be implemented so as to put an end to the imperialist practice of neo-colonialism and the use or threat of military force for reaffirming the goals of monopolistic interests. It is no accident, it would seem, that the main resistance to the new economic order comes from those very interests which are opposed to effective measures in the field of disarmament.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

In the interests of peoples affected here and of the global stabilization of peace, it is necessary to eliminate smouldering pockets of conflict. That can happen only on the basis of the principles of the United Nations. Then the attempts to adduce legal claims as a result of Israeli aggression and implement them against the will of the peoples concerned would be doomed to failure. Deals such as those of Camp David only exacerbate problems instead of resolving them. The principles for a Middle East settlement have been established by the United Nations. Unswerving adherence to them could bring about the establishment of a lasting peace for all peoples and States in the Middle East as soon as possible.

Developments in Africa merit our great attention. In the West we hear cynical remarks about the so-called power vacuum - as if there were no sovereign States in Africa, or national liberation movements also recognized by the United Nations. Africa is still seen as a subject for subjugation and exploitation. Therefore, the imperialist and reactionary forces are fanning conflicts among States, stepping up internecine war and trying by their neo-colonialist methods to arrogate to themselves the human and natural resources of those peoples. They do not flinch from using gunboat diplomacy. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) wishes to expand its influence to the African continent itself. Under a false banner military bases are established. In these circumstances there is a grave responsibility for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to resist those efforts. In this respect it deserves the full support of the United Nations.

Among the attempts of the imperialists to gain influence and power in Africa a particularly important role is played by the racist régimes in southern Africa. Therefore extreme delicacy is shown when we talk about measures against the policies of apartheid or measures to defend the national independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The growing co-operation with the racist régimes, is a hindrance to the much needed resolution of the problems of southern Africa, and will lead only to further conflicts.

The Special Committee against Apartheid quite rightly reaffirmed, in its report recently submitted to us, that South Africa's policy is a threat to international security. I refer to document A/33/22. The necessary answer would be to impose sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

Serious concern is caused by the great-Power hegemonistic attack against the Vietnamese people which is suffering greatly. The continuing presence of foreign forces in South Korea and news from Nicaragua are of great concern.

Our delegation favours the draft resolution on agenda item 50 which is based on the goals of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is balanced, succinct and sums up the position. We think that the main task should be spelt out here. That draft resolution should, we feel, include the following: clear-cut demands to stop the arms race, to promote disarmament, according to the priorities of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as making sure that the use or threat of force is excluded from international relations; measures for deepening and expanding détente in which the relevant declaration of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly should be taken into account; effective measures to eliminate colonialism and racism, as well as to stop the supply of armaments to South Africa; measures to implement the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, in particular implementing the right to manage one's own natural resources; and the commitment to promote the spreading of ideas of peace and mutual understanding among peoples.

Mr. GREKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR notes with satisfaction that the work of the General Assembly of the United Nations includes every year the examination of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security. We are looking at it in close connexion with the United Nations decisions taken on this question as well as the declaration on deepening and strengthening international détente.

The question of strengthening international peace and security is one of the most important problems of our international life. According to the United Nations Charter the strengthening of international peace and security is one of the most important trends of activity within the United Nations. It has proclaimed the purpose "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

The general political discussion in plenary meetings of the General Assembly at this session, as well as the debates on disarmament in the First Committee, convincingly show that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations see the struggle for deepening détente, peace and disarmament, and the speedy elimination of pockets of international tension as a primary task of the international community.

The enormous contribution to strengthening international peace and security is being made and is still being made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. All-round strengthening of peace and international security and the elimination of the threat of war from inter-State relations is the most important goal of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. As was stated by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Ilyich Brezhnev, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union

"is oriented to ensuring peace and security for our country and for all peoples, removing the threat of war, containing the arms race, and deepening and expanding co-operation which would be of benefit to all States. That is how the initiatives of the Soviet Union in the international arena are oriented and will be in future. We are determined in future to pursue the policy of détente and to make sure that it is expanded to all regions of the world."

(Mr. Grekov, Byelorussian SSR)

That is an unflinching policy: there are no fluctuations in it. It is being relentlessly translated into life. That policy is enshrined in the Constitution of the USSR, which, in article 28, states that

"The USSR steadfastly pursues a Leninist policy of peace and stands for strengthening of the security of nations and broad international co-operation."

Implementing the programme elaborated at the twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for freedom and independence of peoples, which is an organic continuation of the programme of peace adopted at the twenty-fourth Congress of that body, the Soviet Union came forward with a whole range of initiatives and proposals on disarmament problems which were put forward in speeches made by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev, and introduced in the Soviet Union for examination at the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament and at this session of the General Assembly as well.

At the present time the socialist community is a decisive factor for international security. The energetic and harmonized activities of the countries of the socialist community in world affairs are serving the lofty humane goals of strengthening peace and security of peoples, saving mankind from the arms race, forced by imperialism and the threat of thermonuclear war, strengthening and further deepening international détente, and reaffirming the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual advantageous co-operation between States with different social structures.

Allegiance to the cause of peace and international security is shown by the socialist countries and was shown once more at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in Moscow on 22 and 23 November 1978. In the declaration adopted at that meeting we see a real way to ensure general security by implementing measures to stop the arms race and concrete disarmament measures, to strengthen trust between States, and to eliminate completely colonialism, racism and apartheid. Those who took part in the meeting emphasized that the main danger for the cause of peace and international security, for international détente, and for the independence of

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peoples and their economic and social development is the continuing and ever-growing arms race - the fact that its scale has been increased.

We are obviously concerned by the fact that the further stepping-up of the arms race, its expanded scale and the further sophistication of armaments systems could have dangerous consequences for peoples. In these conditions the most important task in international policy is to make sure that there is a speedy decisive turning point in these talks on halting the arms race and disarmament. This would be in the vital interests of all mankind.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that it is high time to get down to negotiations on stopping the production of nuclear weapons of all types and gradually reducing the stockpiles until they are fully eliminated. In parallel with this we must make sure that there is a ban for all time on the use of nuclear weapons, and all States must renounce the use of force in relations between them.

As for the countries of the socialist community, they are in favour of agreeing to start negotiations without any further delays on these questions with the participation of all Powers, not only nuclear Powers. The Byelorussian delegation hopes that the appeal of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to start such negotiations will be responded to by other States and that a specific date will be given for starting such talks - the sooner the better.

The socialist States believe, and many developing countries and other countries believe, that it would be extremely important to conclude as soon as possible the Soviet-American talks on a SALT II agreement so that we can move towards, concluding further agreements in which the other nuclear States would be involved.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, as well as many other delegations, favours the speedy conclusion of the negotiations going on now on questions such as limiting and stopping the arms race, a general and complete ban on nuclear weapon tests, a ban on chemical weaponry, a ban on new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, particularly the neutron weapon, and other questions also.

(Mr. Grekov, Byeloruss

SR)

My delegation is convinced that an important step to strengthen international peace and security both inside and outside Europe would be the successful conclusion of talks on mutual and balanced force reductions. We think that new proposals made by the socialist countries on 8 June this year give us every ground for believing that the work on this important question will be successfully concluded.

More and more countries are recognizing that one of the most effective and practical ways to halt the arms race is to cut down military budgets - first and foremost those of States which have large economic and military potential.

The implementation of that measure would set certain limits to the arms race and would be a tangible gain for the cause of disarmament and for the well-being of peoples.

It is well known that in order to resolve successfully the questions of halting the arms race and disarmament, trust in inter-State relations is of great importance. In this connexion my delegation would like once more to emphasize the need to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

One important measure to reinforce peace and all-round security would be to strengthen the international legal security guarantees of the non-nuclear States. Here, the proposal of the USSR on the "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States" and the draft resolution adopted on this question by the First Committee are extremely important.

Another effective means to strengthen peace and general security is the proposal of the USSR on the "non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present". That is supported by many States and was included in a draft resolution adopted by the First Committee.

An important initiative aimed at strengthening international security has been taken by the People's Republic of Poland. I am referring to the "Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace", which was introduced at the present session of the General Assembly. That Declaration

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reaffirms a number of basic international legal principles, and first and foremost the inalienable right of all peoples to live their lives in conditions of peace. The great importance of the Declaration is that it not only reaffirms and proclaims the international legal principles but outlines specific means for implementing them. To this end the Declaration proposes that educational processes and the mass media should help in this task of preparing people for life, in particular in educating young people. We support the proposal that States should eliminate any incitement to racial hatred, national or any other type of discrimination, injustice and propagation of violence and war. The adoption and implementation of such measures are necessary because such shameful manifestations have not yet been eliminated from the life of many capitalist countries.

We perforce must agree that educating people for life in peace would obviously be helped by various forms of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, as is indeed proposed by the Declaration. We see the Declaration as an important means designed to strengthen trust between peoples and nations and to strengthen international security. My delegation fully supports the proposal of the People's Republic of Poland.

The tangible success of the peace-loving Powers and peoples was shown by the holding of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which reaffirmed the profound interest of all mankind in halting the arms race. My delegation, in speaking on agenda item 125 in the First Committee, emphasized that one of the most important tasks of the United Nations is now to promote the practical implementation of the key provisions of the Final Document and to examine fully and from all sides the constructive proposals introduced at the special session by the Soviet Union and a number of other countries.

The implementation of that task, in the view of my delegation, would promote the strengthening of international security. My delegation would like to note that in adopting the Final Document the States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirmed their resolve to make further collective efforts to strengthen peace and international security. Unfortunately, there

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are forces in the world which are acting in the opposite way and are subverting general security. Those are the forces of reaction and aggression which are trying to hamper positive changes in international life. They still try to exacerbate the international situation, to complicate relations between States, to stir up the arms race. This is shown, for example, by the adoption by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Council in May this year of a programme to increase the arms race - and that for many years ahead.

Under present-day conditions it is urgently necessary decisively to counter any steps which might subvert the process of détente and have international development revert to the terms of the cold war. Now, more than ever we need to abide strictly by the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, we need to respect the right of all peoples to live in freedom and independence and we need to step up our efforts to develop peaceful co-operation. The possibilities of this are clearly set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in United Nations resolutions and in other international instruments.

The struggle for the strengthening of peace and security of peoples and the strengthening of détente includes the speedy and just settlement of conflicts and the elimination of all pockets of international tension from the world. As a result of the policy of imperialist forces and forces of reaction, the situation in the Middle East persists.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that in order to find a just solution to the situation in the Middle East there is only one way, and that is the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the creation of their own State, and making sure that all States in the Middle East have guaranteed security.

The socialist countries do not see the strengthening of international peace and security outside the context of the solution of pressing problems such as the complete elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. They are all bound up with each other. The eradication of these shameful manifestations would be an important contribution to the cause of détente and stable peace on this earth.

(Mr. Grekov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Byelorussian SSR is in favour of eliminating the racist colonialist régimes in southern Africa, implementing immediately the rights of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia to self-determination and independence, of eliminating the system of apartheid in South Africa, and halting military and political interference by the imperialist Powers in the affairs of independent African countries.

The Byelorussian SSR favours the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, renouncing any discrimination and removing the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the developing countries by imperialist monopolies.

In consistently advocating strict adherence to the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States, the Byelorussian SSR condemns interference by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of sovereign States and considers that non-intervention in the internal affairs of States is an important condition for strengthening international security and developing normal relations between States.

(Mr. Grekov, Byelorussian SSR)

Taking note of the important role played by the United Nations as an instrument in the cause of maintaining general peace and security and the development of international co-operation, my country favours the further enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations and its role in the strengthening of peace on the basis of strict observance of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which on 1 January 1979 will be commemorating the 60th anniversary of its foundation, has always advocated and still advocates the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. The First Byelorussian Congress of Soviets, which took place at the beginning of February 1919, proclaimed the will of the Byelorussian people to live in peace and friendship with all peoples. In commemorating the great 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, the Byelorussian people, in a fraternal union with the peoples of the Soviet Union and all other peoples of the socialist fraternity, will in future do everything possible to achieve further success in the struggle to strengthen peace and international security.

As was stated by the candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Byelorussian Communist Party, Comrade Masherov, in his speech at the end of May this year in Minsk, at the 8th Congress of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters:

"Loving peace is organically inherent in the minds of the Soviet people, and I may note that it is fighting for peace sincerely. We are sparing no efforts. We are doing everything possible to prevent a new war, so that the cause of peace, the ideals of freedom, democracy and progress might for ever triumph. The Soviet people needs peace as it needs air - peace as the primary need, the condition for a creative and full life. The unflinching will of our party and the Soviet people, our desire for peace and our relentless struggle for the strengthening of peace are being truly implemented by the enormous scope of the creative work of our country and in our multi-faceted international co-operation."

Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): Since the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security was adopted in 1970, the international community has constantly reminded itself of the important principles that should govern relations between States through the various resolutions adopted on the subject. These resolutions all point to policies that would lead to peaceful coexistence if faithfully implemented. In a world where distrust among States has developed to such a degree, the promotion of the measures to strengthen universal peace envisaged by the founding fathers of the United Nations has become of great significance.

Nigeria has been a faithful Member of the United Nations since it assumed the control of its destiny in 1960. We have faithfully followed the decisions, resolutions and declarations of the world community, including the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security. As a founding member of the Organization of African Unity, Nigeria has also played a major role in containing several potential conflicts on the continent of Africa.

The Charter of the United Nations directs that we all "practise tolerance and live together with one another as good neighbours" and that we "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". This is an injunction of the utmost importance for the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations.

The question that immediately comes to mind is why it has not been possible to fulfil this important injunction of the Charter which would have strengthened international peace and security. I referred earlier to the great distrust among States. This distrust was, unfortunately, formalized - and the result is still with us - in the existence of opposing military camps based on opposing ideologies. We are all aware of the effects of the cold war and the propaganda associated with it, leading to the arms race, the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and the fanning of regional disputes, sometimes with a view to carving out spheres of influence. In spite of détente the existence of these opposing alliances continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. It is by now clear that lasting peace - and this point was

(Mr. Adeniji, Nigeria)

emphasized during the special session - cannot be based on armed alliances and the accumulation of weapons. World salvation lies in disarmament and the dissolution of military blocs. It is for this reason that my delegation continues to press for the implementation of the decisions of the special session on disarmament, particularly the Programme of Action designed to lead to the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament. For this reason also, it is my country's conviction that military alliances will not contribute to lasting peace, and Nigeria has adopted a policy of non-alignment whose contribution to stability in international affairs is being increasingly felt.

My delegation believes that an important prerequisite to international peace and security is the willingness of all States to reach just and lasting solutions to international problems. We believe that lack of honest attempts to solve international problems complicates those problems. A case in point is the southern African problem, which continues to constitute a veritable threat to international peace and security.

In Zimbabwe a quarter of a million whites were hoodwinked into declaring independence unilaterally, confident of inaction on the part of the colonial Power should they do so. After thirteen years of independence, a period in which international sanctions were proclaimed against the rebellious colonies, we have found, to our dismay, that lack of honesty on the part of those who could have solved the problem has led to overt and covert violation of sanctions.

As regards Namibia, the United Nations has been deceived every now and again by the self-proclaimed power brokers between the United Nations, which legally has control over the Territory, and South Africa, whose racist régime was divested of this trust territory many years ago. The dishonesty of the apartheid régime has manifested itself repeatedly and has prevented the solution of the Namibian question, which is currently again before the Security Council.

(Mr. Adeniji, Nigeria)

In South Africa itself the racist régime is bolstered by investments from States Members of the United Nations and by military and nuclear collaboration on the part of many countries, as well as licences to manufacture arms with which it subjugates the indigenous peoples of South Africa and terrorizes neighbouring sovereign States. Yet when proposals are made for effective action by the Security Council they are often rejected on some untenable pretext.

The situation in the Middle East is fraught with similar danger to international peace and security. Unless and until the problem is looked into with a view to finding a just and lasting solution there cannot be peace. There should not be two standards with which to measure justice, one for the Palestinian Arabs, for instance, and one for the Israelis. The world community and particularly those that claim greater responsibility for the area must, therefore, look at the problem in that region with the objective of achieving a just solution leading to lasting peace and security for all concerned.

(Mr. Adeniji, Nigeria)

An important factor in the strengthening of international peace and security concerns the economic relations between States. If the world community held two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to the subject in the recent past, it is because it recognizes the potential threat that the existing economic conditions pose to world peace and security. It should be recalled that wars have been fought in the past as a result of economic factors. Wars have been fought with the objective of wresting colonies from rivals and with a view to gaining a foothold and an assured supply of natural resources. While we hope that a situation will never again develop that would lead to war in order to settle economic problems, my delegation believes that greater attention needs to be paid to the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries. Indeed, one wonders if the so-called developing countries have been developing at all.

It might have been a misplaced hope that a target for official development assistance from the developed to the developing countries was fixed. It may also be the case that one does not expect that the developing countries should rely on others to develop their countries for them. Nevertheless, the existence of hunger, ignorance and disease in these developing countries cannot be considered as being compatible with the existence of affluence in other parts of the world. Peace and security demand that the great gap between those two segments of the international community should be bridged. It is the belief of my delegation that in international economic relations we all should be our brothers' keepers.

In the context of the existing distrust and uncertainties among States, as well as the continued violation of the rights of people to self-determination and independence and their right to a decent existence free of economic exploitation, racism and apartheid, the initiative of the Polish delegation entitled "Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace" is most welcome and most timely. This proposal, which seeks to make peace a fundamental desire and a way of life in every society, is one that should win the support of all delegations. The acceptance by the members of every society of the right to life in peace is a contribution to the realization by man of his full potential. Every man has within him the desire to lead a life of peace. If a society accepts violence as a way of life, it is because the members of

(Mr. Adeniji, Nigeria)

that society mistakenly believe that peace can come only in that way rather than believing that violence is a substitute for peace. It would therefore be a contribution to the ideals to which man has been struggling to accept the principle of the right of every person to a life in peace.

The adoption of this principle and its broad dissemination in educational curricula would widen its base. It would not only let leaders know what the right of people is but would also let the people know that they have a right to live in peace. The acceptance of the idea would indeed be laying down an intellectual "infrastructure" for peace, as the Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, rightly termed it when he introduced the draft declaration to the Committee on 4 December.

The Nigerian delegation therefore gives its wholehearted support to the Polish initiative.

Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 2734 (XXV), constitutes a landmark in the efforts of the international community to build a just and durable structure of world peace. The Declaration provides an elaboration and interpretation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and thus facilitates their implementation. These purposes and principles form the basis of relations among States in the current era. Their breach cannot be justified in any circumstances. Unless there is universal respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and for the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs, we feel that there can be no peace and tranquility in the world.

Yet international peace remains precarious because the fundamental rules of international conduct are ignored or violated. During the past year, developments in international relations have taken a marked turn for the worse mainly as a result of the deterioration in relations between the major Powers and the renewed competition for spheres of influence; the continuing escalation of the arms race; the accentuation of various conflicts and disputes, such as those in the Middle East and in Africa; and the increasing incidence of foreign intervention - direct or indirect - in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

In this general climate of tension, the small and weaker States are the most vulnerable to external threats to their security and territorial integrity. Nor are their concerns ameliorated by the apparent predilection of certain major Powers to seek the creation of regional centres of influence and to persist in relying on the concepts of global power politics for the maintenance of world peace. It is becoming clearer every day that in the endeavour to build a viable and effective structure of international peace and security, the principle of sovereign equality can no longer be ignored. In the same way, the interests and concerns of the small and medium-sized States of the world must be taken into account. Therefore, instead of succumbing to short-term formulas based on inequality, or opting for imposed solutions to international problems, the international community and, particularly, the major Powers should commit themselves to construct the system of universal collective security envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

Pakistan believes that the United Nations should make every effort to reverse the recent negative trends in international relations. It can do this by promoting solutions to outstanding disputes, facilitating the objectives of disarmament and effectively counteracting the tendencies to interfere in the internal affairs of States.

Within its modest means, Pakistan continues to pursue the objective of creating a durable structure of world peace and stability, on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the goals and provisions approved in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Pakistan has made every effort to evolve such a structure of peace in the region of South Asia and has advanced several concrete proposals for this purpose. These include the proposal for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia and the idea of mutual and balanced arms reduction by States in the region. In the context of the zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, Pakistan has suggested the establishment of a viable system of security to reassure the littoral States against threats from within the region, together with steps to eliminate the military presence of the great Powers. These are objectives which the General Assembly has approved, in one way or another, at almost every recent session. We continue to hope that our initiatives will meet with a positive response from the States concerned and enable our region to usher in an era of genuine peace, security and co-operation.

Efforts to build peace and security, whether globally or on a regional basis, must be founded on the basic precept that equal security should be provided for each State. An equilibrium in armaments is essential not only between the major Powers but also in the context of those regions where tensions and conflicts exist. To allow the emergence of an imbalance in such regions, whether by acts of commission or omission, is to endanger international peace and security and particularly the security of small and vulnerable States. Similarly any effort by one or

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

more States at domination or hegemony will also accentuate the feelings of insecurity of the small and medium States of the world. The acquisition of armaments of an increasingly sophisticated nature by a State, at a level not commensurate with any possible threat to it, could well be interpreted as being motivated by objectives other than self-defence. If, moreover, such a State were to acquire a nuclear weapons capability as well, the world would be more than justified in being concerned about the possible threat to regional and international peace and security.

A second pre-condition for peace and security, both globally and particularly in various regions, is the solution of outstanding disputes and problems. International conflicts, in almost every instance are the outcome, direct or indirect, of attempts to impose unjust solutions to disputes and differences among States. Thus, the United Nations must make more energetic endeavours, not only to maintain peace and security when this is threatened, but to obtain just and early solutions to the underlying problems and disputes which give rise to these conflicts. In this context, the adherence by States to their obligations under the Charter and to the decisions of the United Nations is particularly essential.

A third condition for a durable structure of world peace is strict observance of the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs. The General Assembly in its resolution 2131 (XX) adopted a Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty. In paragraph 1 of that Declaration, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State."

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

Pakistan considers that normal relations among States are not possible unless they eschew in their mutual relations any attempt to interfere in each others internal affairs. My delegation, therefore, fully subscribes to the provisions of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly during the last two years on "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States". Pakistan therefore shares the views and recommendations reflected in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/33/L.59, submitted by Guyana and a number of other non-aligned countries, and has therefore decided to join in sponsoring this draft resolution.

In the final analysis international instability is the consequence of the prevailing inequity in relations among States. This inequality and discrimination has both political and economic dimensions. It is for this reason that completion of the process of decolonization and the establishment of the New International Economic Order are essential to achieve a viable system of world peace and security.

It is the duty of each and every State to work actively for the establishment of a more democratic world order, both political and economic, based on the principles of the United Nations Charter. A major contribution in this regard must of course be made by the major Powers. Progress towards the objective of a durable and equitable world order will continue to be limited while these Powers persist in their efforts to perpetuate the present unequal system. Détente among the great Powers will be beneficial to world peace and security, but only if it contributes to the process of promoting the security and prosperity of all States and all peoples on an equal basis.

The States of the third world are the main victims of the present inequitable world order; they must therefore be the harbingers of change and make a substantial and steadfast contribution to the achievement of this goal. This struggle for equality and peace is today being waged on many fronts and at various levels - political, economic, social and ethical as well as psychological.

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

In this context the Pakistan delegation welcomes most warmly the initiative taken by the Government of Poland for the adoption of a declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace. My delegation heard with deep interest and attention the statement made to this Committee by the Vice-Foreign Minister of Poland, His Excellency Mr. Kulaga, on Monday when he introduced the draft declaration in document A/C.1/33/L.58. The draft declaration is a document of broad scope, deep insight and far-reaching implications. The Pakistan delegation takes this opportunity to express its whole-hearted support for the draft declaration in document A/C.1/33/L.58. The solemn adoption of this declaration by the General Assembly will, we hope, inspire not only Governments but also peoples and institutions all over the world to begin the inculcation of the spirit of peace in the minds of men and women, and especially of children.

The United Nations should continue to encourage this trend towards building the consciousness of a universal man. This will no doubt take time, for many parts of the world must still go through the stages of political, social and economic development necessary to evolve a genuine consciousness of the universality of the human condition. Yet we must continue in the endeavour to spread the realization that the destinies of all peoples and nations, large or small, rich and poor, are inextricably linked together and that it is only through concerting our policies and positions, in a spirit of mutual understanding, that we can save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

Mr. ARNELLO (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): International security is indispensable if there is to be peace - genuine, sincere and far-reaching peace - and not merely an absence of war.

Without effective international security prompted by a genuine spirit of peace, international relations among States will always be hampered by a lack of trust, if not by unfriendly acts or by acts of aggression of varying kind and significance. Thus also will the lives, development and well-being of peoples be affected by measures taken by each State in an effort to ensure its own security; frequently they will be affected even by the actions of other States.

International security is a universal right: the right of all States and of all peoples to have the certainty of peace, freedom, integrity and sovereignty, as well as respect for their essential rights, including the right to live free from aggression, from threat, from illicit pressure, discrimination and foreign interference. It is a right, but it is also a universal duty - the duty incumbent upon all States not to threaten or destroy the security of another State, or to jeopardize or undermine its rights.

Accordingly, international security continues to be, like peace itself, one of the primary purposes of the United Nations. The strengthening of that security is therefore a duty, an imperative requirement for the United Nations, and an encouragement for representatives of Member States.

International security is essential and decisive for the fulfilment of other purposes of the Organization. It is essential also for the fundamental principles of international order enshrined in the Charter to be fully valid and implemented and not be mere fantasy in a world facing other realities and beset by other anxieties.

To the extent that that security exists - widespread, solid and deeply felt by all - the principle of international co-operation among States can become a reality; thus, with the sincere implementation of that principle, the efforts of so many peoples to achieve higher cultural, social and economic levels will be less arduous and prolonged.

(Mr. Arnello, Chile)

When, however, international security is lacking or is absent, legal order and due process of the law are destroyed and the principles and postulates of the Charter remain devoid of any meaning or vigour, States, on their part, in self-defence and in the defence of the historical heritage of their peoples and the future of their nations, seek to attain security by their own means.

First and foremost among such means is the arms build-up. In this Committee as in the Assembly, where there has been so much debate on these issues, with so many resolutions adopted on these subjects, we have devoted ourselves to the consequences of non-existence - that is to say, to the consequences of the absence of genuine security. The arms build-up, as a universal phenomenon, is the definitive symptom of a disease: insecurity.

Hence the strengthening of international security is a moral imperative for all States Members of the United Nations; it is a duty of the Organization itself. But it must also be reiterated that for security to be strengthened we need to understand all of the causes of insecurity.

The first such factor, in our view, is the loss of faith and confidence in international law as a system of values and rules capable of guiding relations among States and of guaranteeing international security. It is undeniable that such is the present situation and that it is widespread throughout the world. This is all the more evident when States face a problem which subjects them to great pressure, rather than none at all.

Once faith and confidence in the law are destroyed, law ceases to be the standard for international conduct, and States, governed by varying interests, are left with virtually no security, apart from their own individual strength.

(Mr. Arnello, Chile)

The effects of such a situation, which are apparent today in varying forms and intensity, generally touch on all essential principles of international legal order. Principles such as the legal equality of States, respect for their integrity and sovereignty, non-intervention in their internal affairs, respect for treaties, the peaceful settlement of disputes, have in practice gradually been losing their primacy; these principles have been violated both overtly and covertly.

We do not wish on this occasion to cite well-known examples; we could do so at great length. The road travelled by the great Powers in their struggles and rivalries, in their policies or changes of policy; or the chronicle of the oppressions suffered by less powerful States, the interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the subversive acts, revolutions and terrorist violence directed and financed from outside, are too extensive and well known to be dwelt on in this discussion. But there can be no doubt that they also gravely affect international security. We prefer not to cite examples; we prefer not to introduce controversial or inflammatory elements or political discrepancies not conducive to the analysis we wish to make. Moreover, we believe that the United Nations must be the centre for seeking ways to achieve the goal of international co-operation, rather than a forum for a clash of interests or politically inspired ideologies.

(Mr. Arnello, Chile)

Despite its purposes, the Organization has not been free from the generalization of the ill that I have mentioned. Here, too, we see many indications of loss of faith and confidence in the law, and we are able to witness how the essential principles established in the United Nations Charter are rent asunder.

The Organization, reflecting the world reality, both because of its position and the problems with which it deals, frequently is drawn into agreements, acts or resolutions which not only destroy its purpose of contributing to international co-operation among States but often are proof of how the law is subordinated to hegemonistic political interests or to the interests of occasional majorities.

Those and many other considerations that should be advanced on these subjects lead us to indicate, or to name, the second factor to which we have been referring. That factor, which is the result of the loss of faith and confidence in the law -- and let us say so -- is the loss of respect for the rights of other States.

Because of international insecurity States arm themselves. Because of a lack of confidence in the law States tend to lose respect for the rights of others. Both paths lead to increased insecurity; both lead to a rebirth of the old forms of security, on the basis of and by means of the systems already recorded in history -- their own might.

Today, as in the past, the affirmation of one's own might, greater than that of any other possible adversary, has led to hegemonism; and that, in its struggle, tends to divide the world into zones of influence. And in that context the less powerful or smaller States are usually the victims of the immediate consequences: the painful fate of suffering pressures or threats, having to resist constant intervention in their own affairs, when not an aberrant direct interference in them, or to suffer the new concealed forms of aggression committed against them, with the violence of terrorism or the subversion triggered from other States in their ideological wars, as well as with discriminatory, unjust and equally destructive economic actions or sanctions.

Not even this United Nations continues to seem to be today the proper instrument to ensure and guarantee international peace and security. I need not give an account of what has happened in the world for more than 30 years

(Mr. Arnello, Chile)

to prove that. For all that has been done in so many other fields with singular success, and even on this subject in specific cases, cannot hide from our eyes the fact that international security has not been achieved nor is a goal that this Organization has already reached.

On the contrary, the effectiveness of this Organization is appreciably lessened because of extreme politicization at the sessions of its General Assembly. The sessions may bring about many apparent results for those who sustain that politicization; but, ultimately, it neutralizes and destroys the meaning of agreements and resolutions and their possible effects; the instruments are often unused, action is enervated and the moral force of the Organization's universal action thereby declines.

My delegation wished to make those comments so as to focus the attention of representatives and of the Committee on a set of phenomena that are perfectly easy to perceive but which nevertheless persist.

Without prejudice to the work and efforts on this subject which are so valuable and are carried out by so many representatives of many States, to whom my delegation expresses its gratitude, I wish to indicate a fundamental criterion. To strengthen international security today we need no new instruments or new declarations. What is required is a new spirit, a new attitude, and a constant will. The spirit of peace, which furthermore would be the spirit of justice and equity; and the political will of States in their international relations to make the law prevail and faithful compliance with the principles of the Charter. Compliance in good faith and in a spirit of peace and understanding with the principles contained in the Charter, guided by the fundamental declarations of the United Nations which supplement that Charter, and pledging the political will to respect them will also of necessity lead to respect for the rights of other States and ways to find a peaceful solution to their disputes. With such respect for the law and the principles of the Charter, States can find the international security which is lacking today.

We all know that this task is difficult. But no doubt it is in this Organization where it should start and where the first and subsequent steps must be taken. It is here where we must remove anything that will affect the legitimate right of any State, and anything that is in contradiction with the most sincere international co-operation.

Mr. DUMEVI (Ghana): Ghana has, in response to General Assembly resolution 32/153, already expressed its views on the question of non-interference in the affairs of Member States under the broad title "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". Our views are embodied in the Secretary-General's report A/33/216 of 21 September 1978. However, I have asked to be allowed to speak this morning, first, to reaffirm my Government's position on this question and, secondly, to share with delegations which may not have had the opportunity to study that document the thoughts of my Government on the important question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

In our statement conveyed to the Secretary-General on 9 August 1978, we emphasized the great importance which the Government of Ghana attached to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of States. In the view of the Government of Ghana, that principle guarantees every State the fundamental right to order its affairs without any hindrance in accordance with the wishes of its people. As our statement also explained, Ghana has since its independence strictly observed the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, in keeping with the Charter of this Organization and that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Consistent with that policy, the Ghana delegation at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly supported resolution 31/94 of 14 December 1976 because, in our opinion, rigid application of the provisions of that resolution would strengthen cordiality among States. This policy is, and continues to be, at the heart of the conduct of foreign relations by my Government on the important question of non-interference in the affairs of States.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

In its endeavours to promote cordial and friendly relations among States, this Organization formulated in 1970 key principles which should guide its Members in their day-to-day relations with each other. These are ideals conceived in the best tradition of the founders of this Organization whose overriding objective was to create a world in which peace and stability will predominate. These ideals, which together constitute what are known in the annals of this Organization as the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (Resolution 2625 (XXV)), have laid down broad principles: that States should refrain in their international relations, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; settle disputes by peaceful means and in such a manner that international peace and security and justice will not be endangered. Member States are also enjoined in terms of this Declaration not to interfere in the domestic affairs of any other State but to co-operate with one another in accordance with the United Nations Charter; they are further enjoined to recognize the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and the sovereign equality of States and, above all, to accept the obligations which devolve on them as Members of this Organization.

Generally speaking, efforts so far, within and outside the United Nations to strengthen international security are not unimpressive given the fundamental political and security interests of States. The non-aligned movement, of which my country is an active member, for instance, has never failed to use its ministerial and summit meetings as platforms for examining matters affecting international security with a view to issuing guidelines for the promotion of world peace and stability. One such effort, as delegations are aware, culminated in the convening of the special session devoted to disarmament. The momentum generated by that session for tackling disarmament problems have already been well acknowledged in this Committee and therefore does not need further comment.

Though much remains to be accomplished, it is gratifying to note the consistent and gradual accession to independence and statehood, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), of a number of former colonies which are now independent. Delegations will recall the admission of the Solomon Islands

(Mr. Durevi, Ghana)

as the 150th Member of this Organization at the opening of the session in September. While we deliberate in this Committee, the Security Council has either completed the consideration of, or is in the process of considering, the application to membership of this Organization from the Commonwealth of Dominica. The rapid process of independence and the demise of colonialism which it entails would help a great deal to defuse situations which otherwise might be explosive since no country can be thought to remain indefinitely in a colonial status. Furthermore current international efforts at establishing a New International Economic Order to ensure equitable and fair international economic relationship between the developed industrialized countries and the developing poor world could with a given political will augur well for the promotion of international security.

The Helsinki Agreement also readily comes to mind as a remarkable effort within the spirit of the Declaration to usher in peace and meaningful co-operation among States members in Europe, Added to this also one must mention a number of pronouncements on the question of international security and non-interference in the affairs of States by Heads of State and Governments and well-placed officials, all indicating the importance which States attach to the question of promoting friendly relations and co-operation among States in the interest of world peace and stability.

I have listed these efforts merely to demonstrate that the Declaration adopted some eight years ago has provided an important platform for the conduct of international actions aimed at strengthening and consolidating peace and security in the world as well as promoting co-operation on the basis of equality among all States in accordance with the Charter of our Organization.

That said, it is not over-stating the fact, however, that there still exist in spite of these endeavours, hotbeds of tension in several parts of the world. One only needs to remember what is happening in the Middle East, Cyprus and, indeed, southern Africa, to emphasize the point that the problems in these areas are in urgent need of meaningful solutions, namely, the removal of the root causes as the practical approach to ending the conflicts and the removal of the threats posed to international peace and security. The recent high-level initiatives to defuse the situation in the Middle East and start a

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

process towards peace are worthy of note. It is the view of my delegation, however, that additional efforts are urgently needed if we are to realize the objective of a world dominated less by conflict but by the abundance of happiness for mankind.

As a delegation from the continent of Africa, we cannot help but refer to the present situation in southern Africa, in particular Namibia, where the present political stalemate arising from the intransigence of the Pretoria régime's holding of the current sham elections in spite of warnings from the United Nations portends political conflict with serious international repercussions. South Africa's holding of these elections may be seen not only as a direct challenge to the United Nations but as yet another insult by the Pretoria régime to the black race.

Faced with a situation of helplessness, one should not be surprised if SWAPO and the people of Namibia resort to violence to assert their legitimate rights. The repercussions of any such reaction would naturally affect international peace and security. It is our view that it is better to act now to arrest the situation before it degenerates into dangerous proportions which would engulf that part of Africa in serious conflict with dangerous international dimensions.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

But southern Africa is not the only area which threatens to explode with serious international implications; the situations in the Middle East and Cyprus equally pose a serious threat to world stability. It is the view of my delegation therefore that more determined and genuine efforts on the part of the international community are called for to ensure the effective implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of the security of the world.

In this connexion, my delegation considers that the following measures are vital: first, universal adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, especially Article 2 (2) and (4) of the Charter, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; secondly, strengthening of the United Nations to enable it to play an effective role in peace-keeping operations; thirdly, removal of hotbeds of tension wherever they may exist through a gradual reduction in the arms build-up and the promotion of confidence-building measures; fourthly, the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and arrangements for the speedy attainment of independence by colonies; fifthly, elimination of apartheid and racism in all its forms; sixthly, no State shall either directly or indirectly assist or foment interference in the political, social and economic system of another State; seventhly, determined and sincere efforts, with the necessary political will, by the international community to correct the present imbalance in the wealth between developed industrialized countries and the developing poor world. With the deteriorating adverse terms of trade and currency fluctuations, more and more developing countries are finding it difficult to meet the social and economic demands of their people; such a situation may easily degenerate into social unrest with wider international implications, and therefore be a potential threat to world stability.

These proposals may not be exhaustive but they do, in the opinion of my delegation, constitute vital measures which could go a long way towards enabling effective implementation of the Declaration on friendly relations and co-operation among Member States. The Government of Ghana is committed,

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

as before, to contributing as much effort as its resources will permit to international endeavours to realize our objective. In this my Government will not be found wanting.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Sri Lanka to introduce the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/33/L.59 and A/C.1/33/L.60.

Mr. JOSEPH (Sri Lanka): The Sri Lanka delegation is privileged to introduce to this Committee on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.59 entitled "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States", and draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.60, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". It is Sri Lanka's privilege to do so as current chairman of the non-aligned movement, particularly because these two draft resolutions have been the result of serious consideration by all the members of the non-aligned movement represented in this Committee.

It was at the fifth summit meeting of the non-aligned countries in Colombo in 1976 that a separate chapter on non-interference in the internal affairs of States was first included in the documents of the non-aligned movement. The Sri Lanka delegation does not need to stress the fact that the subject-matters of these two draft resolutions are the fundamental principles on which the non-aligned movement is based. Time and again at summit meetings of the non-aligned countries and in various other meetings, they have stressed the utter necessity of achieving international peace and security, but not through the force of arms or through military alliances. It is, therefore, a fundamental concept of the non-aligned movement that international security and peace have to be sought through the United Nations and everything that we can do to strengthen the hand of the United Nations and the enforcement of the provisions of the Charter will have the active and full support of the non-aligned countries.

(Mr. Joseph, Sri Lanka)

It has always been our belief that countries under colonial serfdom should be liberated and that they have a right to determine by themselves the kind of freedom they seek. That necessarily means that no form of interference in their internal affairs could be either entertained or subscribed to.

It was only a few months ago that the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries meeting in Belgrade referred to the manner in which such interference is carried out. They said:

"... by means of State power and through other national and international political and economic and financial organizations and institutions, of an official or private nature especially the transnational corporations and mass media used in a global scale. The modes of foreign interference include direct and indirect aggressive actions, pressures, subversion and organized vilification campaigns, directed especially towards undermining the independent development of the non-aligned countries and destabilizing their Governments, to which end recourse is also made to armed interventions by special forces and mercenaries." (A/33/206, Annex I, para. 25)

The draft resolution on non-interference in the internal affairs of States seeks to carry forward the request of the General Assembly that the Secretary-General should seek the views of Member States on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We are disappointed that the Secretary-General in his report to this session has referred to the fact that only 33 Member States have responded to that invitation. It is our hope that Member States, especially those which have not yet done so, will respond to this invitation by the Secretary-General and that next year we will be in a position to move to consider the shape and form that a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States should take.

On international peace and security, the same meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries

"called upon the entire international community to redouble efforts to halt the aggravation of tensions, that affect adversely, above all the non-aligned and developing countries, their independence and free development." (ibid., para. 33)

It also underlined the determination of the Ministers:

"to co-operate together and strengthen solidarity through joint actions in conformity with the principles of non-alignment and work towards finding ways to establish genuine security for all countries without exception, on the basis of the principle of co-operation founded on equality." (ibid., para. 36)

I have quoted briefly from the most recent meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned movement only to demonstrate how much the movement is concerned with the subject, which is of such vital importance. From the time that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted by the General Assembly the non-aligned countries have been responsible every year for the preparation of draft resolutions on this subject and we look forward to the day when the provisions of the Declaration can be implemented for the benefit of all mankind.

It is our hope that draft resolutions A/C.1/33/L.59 and A/C.1/33/L.60 will find wide acceptance in this Committee. To that end consultations are taking place with all those interested in expressing their views on both draft resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Sri Lanka has introduced to the Committee draft resolutions A/C.1/33/L.59, concerning "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States", and A/C.1/33/L.60, concerning "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security." Members of the Committee will have noted that it is the wish of the sponsors that these draft resolutions gain wide acceptance in the Committee, and to that end consultations are still going on with a number of delegations.

Before we adjourn, I wish to draw the attention of members of the Committee to the fact that during this morning's meeting a draft resolution was distributed bearing the symbol A/C.1/33/L.61, concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and bearing the subtitle "The situation in Nicaragua".

The following are new co-sponsors of various draft resolutions: Mauritius, of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58; Mauritius and Morocco, of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.59; Mauritius, of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.60; and Algeria and Viet Nam, of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61.

I would remind Members of the Committee that at this afternoon's meeting we shall have the pleasure of listening to fifteen speakers and therefore we may have to meet considerably beyond the normal time this evening.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.