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Chairman: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 50 (continued)

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

Mr. PALMA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Eight years ago the Assembly adopted a Declaration intended to reaffirm the purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization and to define the areas in which more concrete action by States was required to implement its provisions.

Nevertheless, the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security have not been observed broadly enough or with the necessary will to make them fully effective and to base upon them a renewed united effort among all States.

In this respect it is regrettable to note that the practices that are most openly in conflict with the purposes and principles of the Charter - so vitally summarized in operative paragraph 2 of the Declaration - continue to be in current use and to create situations that should give rise to grave concern. Power politics, attacks against the territorial integrity and political independence of States, attempts to solve international disputes by force, overt and covert acts of intervention in the internal affairs of States, failure to comply with international commitments, economic and financial pressures, and difficulties concerning agreement on effective co-operation procedures provide some proof that as far as the strengthening of international security is concerned a great deal still remains to be done.

For all these reasons, it is altogether proper that questions related to the Declaration should be aired in this Committee so that no doubt may remain about the predominant will to give effect to the postulates of the Declaration.

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

Our world, which is coming ever closer to the objective of universality in international relations, has not, despite a measure of ideo-political tolerance, found the means to agree on its inevitable and necessary interdependence.

Therefore, we cannot fail to take into account certain links which are becoming increasingly evident as we continue our review. There should be no doubt that the strengthening of international security goes hand in hand with the elimination of colonialism and the possibility of giving an impetus to the process of development and of initiating disarmament.

While each of these important objectives is itself of unquestionable value, it is equally clear that they complement and supplement each other. If, as is clear from the Final Document of the special session devoted to disarmament, an increase in armaments has not brought about an increase in security, there is nothing to prevent us from exploring the possibilities of increasing security by means of the limitation and progressive reduction of armaments. At the same time, a reduced military expenditure would release resources, not only in financial terms but also in other important sectors, which should not be difficult to allocate to the overriding aims of development. This in turn cannot but benefit from better prospects of co-operation among States, facilitated by the lower level of recognized risk which progress in this field should make possible.

We are not unaware that this suggestion may appear to be utopian, and yet what more reasonable or even rational alternative exists, when over-abundance of arms, mistrust and power have clearly proved to be ineffective?

We therefore believe that building international security is the everyday task of all peoples. It is a matter of making progress a little at a time and of being ever watchful for opportunities to consolidate it by using the procedures established under the Charter, of which we should never lose sight.

Accordingly, the elements contained in the draft resolution once again submitted by the Group of the non-aligned and developing countries, give each State an opportunity to consider its own conduct in regard to strengthening international security.

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

If we were to list some of these factors in order of importance our preference would, after the reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, in regard to which one cannot insist too much, go to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and to the increasingly urgent need to establish the New International Economic Order.

We have had an opportunity to speak about the special session during our consideration of agenda item 125. Suffice it to reiterate that we consider it to be a far-reaching event which has generated a momentum that must not be lost but, on the contrary, should be reflected in specific achievements which we hope will not be delayed, since otherwise we shall frustrate not only the efforts made but also the expectation of our peoples.

As regards the establishment of a New International Economic Order, we consider it regrettable that, for one reason or another, agreement on positions, even on questions of procedure, are constantly encountering serious difficulties. The development problem is a structural one, and it is the structure which has to be changed, with the co-operation of all, because it is in this change for the better that there is hope for the great majority of our peoples who today face daily the insecurity inherent in underdevelopment.

This Committee is also considering a draft resolution on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. As is known, this is a problem which is of serious concern to a large number of countries, and we are sure that it will receive support from the international community.

The delegation of Poland has brought us an initiative, which we have been pleased to co-sponsor, regarding the preparation of societies for life in peace. In the simplest terms, the key aim of this proposal, we believe, is based on the certainty that sooner or later we reap that which we sow. Even though we believe that societies in themselves are prepared to live in peace, there is nothing to prevent the lofty ideals which sustain them from being properly promoted. Support for this idea, in the opinion of our delegation, involves the praiseworthy conviction that peace and war, co-operation and suspicion, are not things which simply happen but are the result of a series of decisions. To promote those worthy of being furthered is the task of us all, and the

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

innermost feelings of each people has much to do with it. Recent history shows the dismal results of attempt to condition entire societies for war. Hence, there is nothing to prevent us from devoting a little action and thought to peace. Perhaps a great deal more may depend on it than we can at present imagine.

Our country, which has a proven, peaceful, diplomatic and pluralistic vocation, has at all times reiterated its commitment to work, from its political, conceptual, moral and non-aligned position, towards democracy in international relations.

We are at one with those who struggle for the liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, and we are in favour of the prevalence of justice in the international field, which must be derived from the setting in motion of the process of general and complete disarmament and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

Our region, which is not excluded from tensions and serious differences, no more than any other region, nevertheless expects an improvement in legal and political initiatives such as the military denuclearization of Latin America and others intended to strengthen international security, disarmament and co-operation, and among these it is worthwhile mentioning the renewed efforts designed to implement the purposes of the Ayacucho Declaration regarding arms limitation. Likewise, the furtherance and consolidation of integration agreements, such as the Andean Group, augur well for the progressive development of these important methods of regional agreement and action.

It is our hope that, as we draw near to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we can take a fresh look at its contents and review with an open mind the opportunities it gives us to make our contribution to this common endeavour, the benefits of which will also accrue to all. We hope that as we approach the third millenium of our era a new era of enlightenment and peace, in which the creative possibilities of our race may live up to their capabilities, will also draw near.

Mr. RIVAS (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): One of the more positive features of the special session devoted to disarmament was the similarity of points of view of a large number of delegations on the need to change the thinking of peoples regarding the problems of war and international security. The threat to peace is to be found in the attitudes, fears and aspirations of human beings and not exclusively in the arsenals which the peoples of the earth continue to stockpile to the detriment of well being and social development. The disarmament of minds is the indispensable condition to ensure that the spectre of war and total extermination does not continue to cast a shadow on the horizon of contemporary man. Without decisive action on the minds of men, efforts made so far represent nothing, as so far they have done nothing to lessen the risks of war by cuts in military budgets and arms reduction aimed at achieving progress towards the distant goal of general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

We all know that in today's complex world, where conflicts of interest of persons, groups and nations are the salient feature, everything seems to lead to violence and confrontation as a means of solving problems. Such a reaction is not inevitably a congenital feature of man, as claimed by the exegetes of biological determinism. Human behaviour is largely learnt and moulded by social and cultural factors, within the obvious limitations imposed by nature. That being so, we must sadly conclude that the history of mankind has not been very effective in preparing people for peaceful coexistence and civic solidarity. Internationally, the situation has been more serious for lack of a clear conception enabling the spiritual training of the world's citizens in the values of universal coexistence and the ideal of peace as a way of life and a basis for the enjoyment of all other human rights.

Although the right to live in peace is the indispensable foundation for the guarantee of all the attributes which the international community has recognized in man, that same international community must take appropriate measures so that the sought-after peaceful coexistence will constitute an inescapable obligation of the States Members of the United Nations. From this point of view, education for peace is an endeavour which must have the encouragement of the United Nations and the firm co-operation of all Governments.

The initiative of the Government of Poland, which my delegation has supported from the outset, and of which we are a sponsor - the proposal contained in document A/C.1/33/L.58 - comes at a good time to fill a major vacuum in the literature of international relations. The draft declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace recognizes, first and foremost, the absolute priority of the right to live in peace for the effective guarantee of all other rights; it reiterates the principle which from the outset guided the Organization - that wars begin in the minds of men - and that that must be the starting point in building a world of peace. It also emphasizes the importance of education, in its broadest application, for the development of values and attitudes likely to consolidate peace. These fundamental considerations warrant the interest aroused by the draft declaration and make us optimistic about the impact which it will have on the future action of our States.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

My delegation considers that one of the individual features which most affect the war-like attitude of persons and societies is intolerance in all its forms. Intolerance, as a characteristic of human conduct, is the product of a type of education that limits opportunities for the development of the personality and impedes coexistence. Non-acceptance of pluralism and variety in every aspect of social life lessens and impoverishes people and societies and thus creates conditions propitious for violence and confrontation. In contrast, tolerance opens up horizons of social solidarity and guarantees the solution of conflicts by way of understanding and negotiation. However, tolerance is not a spontaneous feature in the formation of the personality, but rather of value acquired through the educational process, both formal and informal. Hence it is most important that the philosophy of education and the means and instruments to implement it be in accord with the principles of tolerance required by national societies and the international community.

My delegation trusts that the appeal to all States contained in draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58, will yield positive short-term results. That appeal for Governments to implement the principles of the draft declaration recognizes the multiplicity of factors in the educational process, and in information activities and the preparation of teaching methods; it expressly declares the need for due respect for the constitutional rights of the citizens of every State, for family responsibilities and for the contribution of various public and private institutions in the field of education.

Just as education is the responsibility of an entire society in each particular nation, education for peace, guided by the noble principles contained in the draft declaration, must be the fundamental responsibility of the international community. Because we are convinced of this, we believe that, as has already been requested in this debate, the proposal of the delegation of Poland will be approved by an enthusiastic consensus in this Committee.

Mr. MARTYNIENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the question of implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, since these matters affect one of the main orientations in United Nations efforts at ensuring peace.

In present international relations there is no more important and urgent task than the strengthening of peace and security, promoting disarmament and consolidating and deepening the process of détente in international affairs, on the basis of recognition of and respect for the equality of all States.

In this connexion, the Ukrainian SSR fully shares the view expressed by other delegations that implementation of the provisions of the draft declaration would, to a large extent, help to promote the further development of positive processes throughout the world aimed at making international détente a global and all-encompassing phenomenon, and at strengthening universal peace and the security of peoples.

Therefore, it is quite logical that the dynamic development of détente in international affairs has been acknowledged and is being supported at present by peoples and Governments of the overwhelming majority of countries of the world as the only rational course.

Détente has already become the foundation of international relations among a number of States and has affected many aspects of their lives. A policy of peace, the consolidation of friendship, and mutual understanding and co-operation among States are the only natural alternatives to the dangerous and unpromising policy of teetering on the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Now the question is whether mankind, through its joint efforts, will be able to strengthen and develop all the favourable changes which have been achieved in international political affairs and not allow any return of the cold war and the danger of a global catastrophe. It is essential that détente be comprehensive in nature and that it be extended to all continents of the world.

The Declaration adopted on 23 November this year by the member States parties to the Warsaw Pact contains some very important and constructive proposals by the socialist countries in such fields as the development of the process of détente,

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

disarmament, the strengthening of peace and security and the expansion of international co-operation. The socialist countries have appealed to all European States and to all other States and peoples of the world to take a number of collective, specific steps and to join their efforts in discharging one of the main tasks of the present day - strengthening peace - on which depend the lives, labour and future of all people, whatever the social systems they live under, whatever the continents to which they belong, and whatever the level of their economic development. We would appeal to all States to respond to that call and to undertake joint efforts to ensure a durable peace, security and broad international co-operation.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, the United Nations is an important international tool to stimulate joint action by Member States to strengthen international peace and security for peoples of all continents. A significant step in that direction was the adoption by the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, the provisions of which should be firmly and unswervingly observed by all States.

At the present time, one of the most important and urgent tasks which if solved would serve the interests of the entire world is the cessation of the arms race and the transition to genuine disarmament. International détente and all the positive political processes that are related to it can be genuinely stable only if they are backed up by effective steps to bring about military détente and reach new specific results in the field of restricting the arms race and bringing about disarmament. However, if that is to come about it is essential that political will and consistent and joint action be undertaken by all States. There are so many arsenals of death-dealing weapons in the world at present that were they to be used life on the entire planet would be threatened.

Those who oppose détente and disarmament have recently been stepping up their undermining activities. That is shown by the decision adopted in May of this year by States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to increase their military expenditure and supply their armies with new systems of weapons. World public opinion is also deeply alarmed in connexion with the plans being hatched to produce a new variety of nuclear weapons, that is the neutron bomb. If those plans were to be carried out and were other new forms and systems of weapons to appear, not only would that spell the beginning of a new upsurge in the arms race and a consequent increase in the military threat but it would also complicate any practical solution to the problems of disarmament and disrupt international security.

A significant event in international life was the holding of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament. It took stock of the results of the many years of struggle by all peace-loving forces for disarmament and laid down the long-term purposes and priority

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matters in that area. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports the very realistic proposals and practical, constructive steps which were described in the document submitted at the special session by the Soviet Union on practical ways and means of putting an end to the arms race and considers that, if acted on and provided there was the political will on the part of all those participating in the talks, that would, to a large extent, help in bringing about a radical solution to the most important problems of disarmament right up to general and complete disarmament itself.

The cause of disarmament has also been served by a new specific initiative of the Soviet Union at the current session of the General Assembly on the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees for the security of non-nuclear States. The most important thing now is to realize in practice the recommendations of the special session and to turn from words to deeds. An important and necessary impetus in this connexion would be provided by the prompt convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States.

At the same time, recent events have shown that in the international arena very dangerous changes for the cause of peace are occurring and are impeding the further development of the positive trends. In their struggle against détente, influential forces have been activated, trying with the help of slanderous myths about the so-called Soviet threat to return the world to the cold-war period, step up the arms race and destroy the edifice of international co-operation that has been built. Imperialism cannot give up its policy of regarding international processes exclusively through the prism of its own colonialist concepts and notorious spheres of influence.

Dangerous trends for the development of détente can also be seen in the policy of those imperialist circles which encourage and support fascist, racist and other reactionary régimes and at the same time, under the fictitious pretext of protecting human rights, are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist and developing countries.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Renewed activity on the part of those who oppose peace and disarmament can be explained by the fact that the process of détente has now reached such boundaries that if it moves beyond them it might make that process an irreversible one that would bury once and for all the plots of those who are enemies of peace and security of peoples.

The task of strengthening peace and security, and the development of the process of normalization in international relations require joint action on the part of all States Members of the United Nations and all those forces in the present-day world that are vitally concerned with strengthening peace and are prepared to give a resolute rebuttal to those who oppose détente, peace and disarmament.

An important step in mobilizing the efforts of all mankind so as to maintain and strengthen peace and effectively to bring about international co-operation in this area would be the adoption at the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations of a declaration on educating peoples in the spirit of peace. Therefore, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports the draft resolution on this topic which has been submitted by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic and urges that it be unanimously approved.

As has been frequently emphasized by the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, one of the most important steps in strengthening international security is the elimination of existing international conflicts. The Ukrainian SSR shares the deep concern expressed by States Members of the United Nations in connexion with the continued existence of crises and sources of tension in various parts of the world which threaten international peace and security.

When participating in the work of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the Ukrainian SSR followed with great attention and alarm the events that are occurring in the Middle East and the southern part of Africa. We share the view of other delegations to the effect that the situation in the Middle East cannot be settled by partial or separate deals which overlook the main causes of the conflict and are

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concluded behind the back of the Arab peoples and despite their legitimate rights and interests. Those acts of capitulation which would consolidate the fruits of Israeli aggression are aimed at undermining a just and comprehensive settlement and at destroying peace and security.

A genuinely just and durable settlement can be achieved only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the principle that the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine be restored, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own State, and on the basis of guaranteeing the right to a secure existence for all States in that area. For that purpose it is essential that the work of the Geneva Peace Conference be resumed as quickly as possible, involving the participation of all the parties concerned and including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The Ukrainian SSR has consistently favoured the elimination of the system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, the racist régime in Rhodesia and the transfer of authority to the people of Zimbabwe, as embodied in the Patriotic Front, as well as the immediate, unconditional and complete departure of the South African Republic from Namibia and the transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the people of that country in the person of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We are also against any attempts to foist on the people of South Africa neo-colonialist decisions that are alien to them.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Recent events, particularly in Africa and in Asia have evidenced the tremendous importance and the urgency and timeliness of the resolution adopted at the thirty-second session of the United Nations on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The forces of imperialism, colonialism and reaction are continuing to pursue a policy of domination, repression and inequality.

The military provocations which were perpetuated against Angola and other African countries, overt threats against heroic Viet Nam, the attempts to unleash international conflicts and to provoke hostility between countries which have recently become free, has increased international tension and has created new sources of war.

All this quite legitimately causes concern among all peace-loving States. A new and dangerous factor in Africa is the fact that certain Western Powers have now proceeded to collective, aggressive and military and political actions, under the cover of fictitious assertions about the so-called involvement of the socialist countries. In events in Africa and inventions about the Soviet threat, the forces of colonial imperialism and reaction are in fact carrying out direct interference in the internal affairs of that continent. They are trying to form all sorts of military groups. They are co-operating with the racist régimes by the force of arms, and with the help of hirelings and mercenaries they are trying to put down the national liberation movement in the southern part of Africa, and to restore on that continent the colonialist domination which they have lost, or to foist it on them in a new neo-colonialist package.

Such actions are fraught with a threat to détente and to international peace and security, and are incompatible with the most important principle of the Charter of the United Nations and relations among States, namely, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Organization of the United Nations could make its own concrete contribution to the strict and universal observance of the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations as one of the most important prerequisites for the strengthening of international security and in this way could promote the prompt elimination of sources of tension and a peaceful settlement of outstanding disagreements among individual States by means of negotiation. This would simply go to serve the cause of international peace and the development of co-operation and good-neighbourly relations among States.

In the Ukrainian SSR the prohibition of military propaganda has now been made into a law and was included in the recently adopted new constitution. Together with all peace-loving States the Ukrainian SSR will continue to favour the further development of détente and strengthening of international security and the achievement of concrete results in the field of disarmament. It will favour the conversion into law, in relations among States, the principle of the non-use of force; it will favour the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, in favour of social progress, peace and security of all people.

Mr. MESHARRAFA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The item we are now discussing, namely, Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, represents the vital nerve in the process of restructuring international relations and is one of the requirements of the nuclear era. This is a complex matter with many facets which essentially involves political, economic and military factors which are interdependent and interconnected in the process of strengthening international security.

Furthermore, these factors are linked to the need to comply with the spirit and provisions of the Charter as well as the implementation of United Nations decisions reflecting the will of the international community. It is indeed an item which has been discussed by our Committee since the twenty-fourth session. Nevertheless, the international community is suffering from a state of growing anxiety which predominates because of the

(Mr. Hesharafa, Egypt)

complexity of the problems, the increase in armed conflicts in various regions of the world, as well as the further widening of the gap between the poor and the rich societies, the folly of the arms race and the predominance of the use of force and of faits accomplis.

My delegation considers that one of the primary factors which led to the accumulation of problems is to be found in the non-compliance by some among us of the provisions of the Charter and also the need to implement United Nations resolutions, all the more so, since the Security Council resolutions are not implemented although that organ has been expressly mandated by the Charter to maintain international peace and security and we have placed our confidence in it as the organ responsible for safeguarding international security. The Charter in various places has emphasized the interrelationship between security and peace as well as the links between peace and war and the need to establish peace under Article 5 of the Charter, according to which a State, if it continued to violate articles of the Charter the United Nations may be deprived of membership in the United Nations upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter VII provides for measures to maintain international peace and security or to restore peace. Although the Charter contains provisions and principles regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, we note that we are speaking of Charter amendments to remedy failure to comply with its provisions. What we fail to understand is whether it is a matter of gaps in the Charter or failure to apply the Charter. Is there any failure in international relations which has led some of us to fail to comply with Charter provisions and implement United Nations resolutions? If we consider the political aspect of our international relations we note that among the most alarming developments is the existence of unbalanced relations among States - and this in certain cases. It goes to the extremes of domination and polarization. For example, a group of non-aligned countries is the subject of all kinds of pressures and threats, attempts to interfere into their internal affairs in order to gain new spheres of influence. Likewise, when

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

States attempt to consolidate their independence, they find that their sovereignty is threatened by overt and covert means. All of this has led to confrontations which have influenced regional security in particular and international security in general.

In this respect we might ask ourselves, where is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, of settlement of disputes by peaceful means and of respect for the sovereignty of every State? All these are principles adopted in resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly at successive sessions and in particular in resolutions 32/152, 32/153 and 32/154 of the thirty-second session.

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

Our experience in international relations has yielded negative results and in some cases those results were bitter indeed. When we think of the need to respect these principles and to apply them we note that to date there is no formula to link a declaration of intent with the actual application of that intent. What we need is actual achievements, actual deeds, not merely declarations, and this is a matter which has to be taken up in the draft resolution submitted under this agenda item. The third world cannot accept that some among us arrogate unto themselves the right to have the final say, to bless or not to bless efforts made to arrive at peaceful solutions to problems with underlying currents of tension, because countries of the third world know where their true interests reside and are capable of achieving their goals free from foreign pressures and influences.

When we speak of the positive aspects which are needed to consolidate international security, we note that the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security because compliance with the principle of non-recourse to the use of force, as stated in Article 2 (4) of the Charter, is not only an essential obligation but also of the utmost importance in regard to respect for other vital principles in international relations such as equality among States, sovereignty of States, territorial integrity, the unity of States, non-interference by other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes. And, furthermore, these questions do not include a continuity in the struggle of peoples to accede to independence and to exercise their legitimate rights as well as their struggle against racist régimes.

In order to establish peace and security on secure foundations, international confidence is needed and we must lay the foundation which will act as a deterrent to those who do not apply those principles. For international confidence and international security to prevail we must find just and lasting solutions to pending problems and, in particular, to the problems of the Middle East, of Zimbabwe and Namibia. We must put an end to racist régimes and apartheid. Furthermore, these are

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

problems which are not difficult to resolve provided there is a genuine political will. One of the pillars of the consolidation of international security is a deepening of détente in such a way that instead of being bilateral it will become world-wide and its effects will extend to political and economic aspects and will give an impetus to the measures adopted to carry out disarmament phases under effective international control.

International détente can be achieved only if we find solutions to the political problems and if we put an end to aspects of inequality and discrimination, as well as all kinds of exploitation, including the polarization process, and renounce interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the third world. To follow a selective approach in the policy of détente in a manner which excludes certain geographical zones, to their detriment, can never lead to stability in international relations on a long-term basis because détente must be extended to all regions.

There is another matter which deserves high priority in connexion with international security. That is to say, we must recognize that peace and prosperity are indivisible and that there is a close link between under-development and lack of political security on the one hand, and between poverty and violence on the other hand. Likewise, there is a specific link between security and disarmament on the one hand and the economic development of countries on the other. Hence, we must strengthen the negotiating process between north and south and ensure the success of the New International Economic Order, which is an integral part of the strengthening of international security.

Those are the essential elements for strengthening international security. As I have already said, these are complex elements which complement one another and are linked to the need to comply with the spirit and the letter of the Charter and the need to implement United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions. We must go beyond the phase of adopting declarations on the strengthening of international security to one of setting the time-table for the implementation of the decisions adopted, in order to achieve our primary objective.

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

Egypt, a founding Member of the United Nations, will always act to strengthen the role of Organization and will not fail to make every effort sincerely to contribute to strengthening international peace and security. In this continuing action we are not acting in a vacuum; we are acting on the basis of a lengthy experience already acquired and in accordance with the responsibilities we assume under the policy of non-alignment, which is one of the essential and important factors of international balance.

MR. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): In speaking on the item entitled "Strengthening of international security", may we first and foremost take a brief retrospective look at the situation regarding international security since the creation of the United Nations. The paramount goal of the Charter, which appears in paragraph 1 of Article 1, is to maintain international peace and security.

However, it must be recognized that during the last 33 years the world has not known peace and various parts of it have in their turn become the theatre of more than 100 colonial and neo-colonial wars. Because of their aggressive nature and motivated by their own selfish interests, imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid have paid no heed to the principles of the Charter and have not hesitated to use the force of arms in order to oppose oppressed peoples exercising their inalienable right to self-determination. At the same time, they have feverishly indulged in the arms race and in war propaganda, and endeavoured to create and to strengthen military alliances and to heighten international tension.

But, aware as they are of their just cause which is based on the new principles of international law contained in the Charter, peoples have given a worthy response to the imperialists, colonialists and racists. With all the means in their power the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, supported by the forces of socialism and peace-loving and justice-loving forces throughout the world, have put up a fierce resistance to the oppressors and war-mongers, have inflicted defeat after defeat on them and have forced them to withdraw from one position to another.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

After the downfall of the colonial system we are now witnessing the crumbling of the neo-colonialist system. As our Foreign Minister said at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 4 October last:

"Nowadays, ... through their multifaceted struggle and with the combined strength of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, the people of the world are more capable than ever before of defending peace and defeating every dark scheme of the warmongers." (A/33/PV.21, p. 27)

"This is the main trend in the development of the world situation, no matter how hard imperialism, in collusion with international reactionaries, tries to hinder the advance of mankind."

"... Life today has further strengthened our confidence in the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving lasting peace on our planet." (ibid., p. 26)

Thus the history of the three decades that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War has clearly brought out the fact that at a time when there is coexistence among different social systems the principles of the Charter designed to ensure international peace and security can be implemented in practice only to the extent that there is success in the struggle by the forces supporting peace, national independence, democracy and social progress against the aggressive forces of imperialism, colonialism, old and new, racism, apartheid, Zionism and reactionary forces. We are gratified that certain replies from Governments to the Secretary-General in regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, published in document A/33/217 and Add.1, also tend to bear out what we have said.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

It is in the context of the historic process to which we have just referred that we must view the Declaration of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, dated 21 December 1965, on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence, and sovereignty, as well as the Declaration of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, dated 16 December 1970, on the strengthening of international security and also the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. All these international legal instruments represent so many milestones marking the various stages in the process of the progressive strengthening of international peace and security which have been achieved through the struggle of the peoples, each stage consolidating the advantages of the previous stage and preparing the way for the next stage.

This, then, is the prevailing tendency, the strengthening of international peace and security, which has been a feature of the past three decades in the post-war period; but the peoples of the world should not underestimate the dark side of the picture. Despite its failures, imperialism has still not given up its policy of force. Far from relenting, it has indeed been stepping up the arms race and it continually unleashes neo-colonialist wars of aggression and continues to maintain tension in the international arena.

In view of the growing successes achieved by the peoples of Africa in general and southern Africa in particular, imperialism and its minions have resorted to the most deceitful and perfidious manoeuvres. They have made constant attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States of Africa in order to pit one country against another and to maintain neo-colonialism there. Furthermore, at the present time we are witnessing a manoeuvre at the global level: the "apostles of human rights" are sowing confusion about the various concepts on this subject in order to use them as pretexts for interfering in the internal affairs of other States.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

This state of affairs should cause peoples to be vigilant. We are pleased that in their replies to the Secretary-General regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security many Governments have also expressed their disquiet on this subject.

Another very serious matter in the international arena is the fact that, in order to realize their expansionist and hegemonistic designs, the international reactionary forces, in closer and closer collusion with imperialism, are actively endeavouring to undermine international peace and security and to violate the independence and sovereignty of other countries. They are feverishly involved in the arms race; they raise a great hullabaloo about the "inevitability of war" and they continue to incite certain countries against others and to help various fascist and reactionary régimes to persecute their peoples. They indulge in diverse manoeuvres among the developing countries in order to undermine the unity of their national liberation movements and that of the movement of the non-aligned countries and to break the links of solidarity which unite those countries with other progressive and revolutionary forces. The international reactionary forces are thus trying to distract the peoples from their goal, which is the struggle for independence, peace, democracy and social progress, and they engage in sowing confusion between friend and enemy, endeavouring to present as an ally the main enemy of mankind, which is still represented by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid.

How perfidious have been the manoeuvres and how arrogant the procedures they have resorted to in attempting to concert their attacks against those countries which, persevering in their policy of independence and non-obedience, have no intention of bowing to their dictates. For this purpose, even the old arsenal of direct and indirect techniques of intervention, pressure, defamation, intimidation and subversion referred to in resolution 31/91 of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly is no longer sufficient for the international reactionaries. They

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

make use of their émigrés and part of the local population that has the same origin as those émigrés in the countries of South East Asia in order to create pretexts for hostile actions against certain countries which they wish to subjugate. Thus their aim is to create instability and even perhaps to organize subversion there for the purpose of furthering their policy of great-Power hegemony and expansion in that area.

My delegation considered it its duty to draw the attention of the Committee to this new technique for intervening in the internal affairs of States which is being used by the international reactionary forces in order to show that those forces constitute a really serious threat to peace and security in South East Asia and in the world, and that the international community should be particularly vigilant in that regard.

Thus the machinations of imperialism and the reactionary forces run counter to international peace and security; but we are firmly convinced that the peoples of the world, united and vigilant, will not allow themselves to be deceived and will be in a position to thwart any manoeuvre on the part of those who are the enemies of international peace and security.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

The Vietnamese people are fully aware that the struggle that they waged in the past, like the one they are waging at the present time, in order to protect their national interests is an integral part of the common struggle being waged by peoples of the world for international peace and security, for friendly co-operation among nations, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

As in the past, our Government continues its foreign policy based on independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship, solidarity and international co-operation.

Viet Nam, a socialist country, invariably pursues a policy of solidarity and co-operation with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries. The recent Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union marks a further stage in the necessary development of those close relations which have for so long existed between our two peoples.

For the Vietnamese people, "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", as our late President Ho Chi Minh stated. The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of friendship will help to preserve our independence and our sovereignty.

Article 1 of the Treaty underlines the essential principles on which relations between the two States are based: independence, sovereignty, equality and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. With these principles, which are entirely in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations and with the non-aligned movement, there can be no doubt that this Treaty represents an important contribution to the cause of preserving peace and security in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the non-aligned movement. Its foreign policy is in keeping with the principles and goals of that movement. Furthermore, we advocate the development of normal relations and multifaceted co-operation with all other countries, regardless of their political régime, according to the principles of peaceful coexistence based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country, on equality and on mutual interests.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

In South-East Asia, which has been suffering for many years now from instability because of numerous imperialist and colonialist acts of aggression, Viet Nam is now prepared to turn a new page in the history of its relations with other countries in that area. As in the past, it will continue in the future to enter into contracts with the countries of that region through treaties and other official agreements and to commit itself scrupulously to respect independence and mutual sovereignty, to eliminate wars and confrontations and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of each of the other countries, to settle disputes on the basis of peaceful negotiations and to step up both bilateral and multilateral co-operation with those countries.

We are very pleased with the relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation which are developing day by day between our country and those of South-East Asia. Striking proof of this can be seen in the recent visits, marked by friendship of Vietnamese leaders to other countries of the region. The joint declarations by our Prime Minister and the Heads of State and Government of other countries of South-East Asia have all conveyed, in a spirit of understanding and mutual trust, the desire of South-East Asia that it should become a zone of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality and both a stable and prosperous area responsive to the interests of each country, of the region and those of international peace and security.

In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the Polish delegation for the initiative it took of submitting to our Committee the very important draft resolution on the preparation of societies for life in peace, which we are very honoured to co-sponsor.

Our delegation hopes that this draft resolution will be fully supported in our Committee.

Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (interpretation from French): At this stage of our work, it would be tempting not to speak on disarmament problems since they are so closely interrelated that one cannot speak of one item without speaking of the others. But as regards the last item on the agenda of our Committee, namely, agenda item 50 on the Implementation of the Declaration of the Strengthening of International Security, my delegation feels that it must explain its position.

Indeed, the People's Republic of Benin, which was the victim of a cowardly and savage aggression committed on Sunday, 16 January 1977 by a horde of mercenaries -

(Mr. Paqui, Benin)

outlaws whose hands are covered with blood - in violation of the right of every people to freely determine its own destiny, of the United Nations Charter and of the relevant United Nations resolutions, attaches particular importance to the discussion of this question.

My delegation believes that one cannot speak of international security and, a fortiori, of its strengthening so long as the international community is not prepared to take measures intended to prevent for ever acts of aggression of the kind that my country and other progressive African States are exposed to because it would seem, from the point of view of international imperialism, that they are wrong to want to determine their own destiny. One cannot speak of international security and, a fortiori, of its strengthening when one knows that in certain countries bent on war, open propaganda is being carried on by the press and radio for the purpose of recruiting and training mercenaries to carry out so-called missions in countries which are constantly invited to disarm, that is, to adhere to the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is tantamount to leaving the way open to outside provocations and accepting the fact of instability. One cannot speak of international security while certain countries continue to maintain arms industries and encourage the manufacture of the most sophisticated weapons, which they test at sites far from the places where they are invented and manufactured.

For us Africans, one cannot speak about international security so long as certain Western Powers, ignoring the profound aspiration of the African people to peace and economic and social development, continue, directly or indirectly, to assist the fascist, racist and aggressive régimes of southern Africa by providing them with the deadliest and most destructive weapons, even providing them with the means to acquire nuclear weapons, as though those Powers were not aware of the philosophy underlying the policy of apartheid or the acts of aggression which these régimes, condemned by the international community, carry out against peaceful black populations in Africa. As long as areas of tension continue to exist in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America, to speak of the strengthening of international security seems to be a myth. Finally, one cannot speak of international security when a minority of mankind lives in opulence while the overwhelming majority suffer from hunger, malnutrition and underdevelopment.

(Mr. Paqui, Benin)

My delegation believes that there cannot be international security without the necessary establishment of an atmosphere of confidence among sovereign States, large or small. That means that détente cannot be the monopoly of certain States: détente must exist for all States, otherwise it will simply be an illusion.

Because of the tragic situation which my country, the People's Republic of Benin, lived through during the aggression of 16 January 1977, my delegation believes that, for Africa, this atmosphere of confidence is based first of all on the efforts which the most highly armed Powers - and in particular the nuclear-weapon States - will make towards general and complete disarmament. Then Western Powers in whose territories there are arms industries should exercise rigorous control over them and closely follow the traffic in armaments, above all when this might endanger the lives of other populations which - and this can never be sufficiently stressed - only aspire to live in peace within the boundaries of their territories. In countries where there is open propaganda for the recruitment and training of international gangsters called mercenaries, those countries should take appropriate measures to eliminate such practices, which constitute a crime against humanity and against the right of man to live. We can no longer wait until acts of aggression are committed before condemning countries which, from near or far, participate in their organization and execution. As the United Nations had an opportunity to do in the case of the imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977 against the people of Benin, what is needed is to go to the roots of the evil. It is only through the measures to be taken by those countries to prevent such crimes that we shall begin to have confidence in them. That means that my Government attaches a high price to the strict and effective application of resolutions regarding the strengthening of international security, and in particular to resolution 31/91 of 14 December 1976.

(Mr. Paqui, Benin)

Speaking more generally of Africa, an atmosphere of confidence between the racist régimes and the other African States must of necessity include renunciation of the abject policy of apartheid, a strict application of majority rule and the implementation of all United Nations resolutions on Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia. That atmosphere between the Western Powers and Africa can only be created when serious and rigorous measures are adopted to put an end to their political, economic and military co-operation with the South African régime and when they exercise effective pressure on it.

To conclude, international security and its strengthening will depend on measures which certain Powers -- the very Powers with an interest in maintaining zones of tension, in recruiting and sending out mercenaries -- will have to take in order to establish an atmosphere of confidence within the international community and when they have shown their political will to recognize this primary truth, namely, that all problems of international security can only find genuine solutions when there is general and complete disarmament and when a New International Economic Order is established for a more just and human world.

Mr. BLOMBERG (Finland): Today, perhaps more than ever before, commitment to co-operation marks the mainstream of international relations. It is true that progress in détente has not always fulfilled the vision of steady and uninterrupted progress towards solving international problems. But the thrust is clear: détente has become the dominant mode of international relations and it has no alternative.

Although the lessening of political tensions has cleared the way for measures in disarmament, substantive progress in curbing and reversing the arms race continues to elude the world community. The inadequate progress in disarmament is indeed to be deplored. Disarmament and détente are two facets of the same pursuit of the international community and, in the long run, one can hardly survive without progress in the other.

(Mr. Blomberg, Finland)

Throughout the years that the strengthening of international security has been discussed in the General Assembly, my delegation has approached the item from the viewpoint of its own security considerations. As a small country pursuing a policy of neutrality, Finland has a vested interest in the promotion of international security and the establishment of a more rational world order. This interest is all the more obvious for a country like Finland that relies for its security not on military might but mainly on political means and good relations with all States.

My delegation has considered with great interest the initiative by Poland for a declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace. We see in the Polish proposal yet another expression of the desire of Poland actively to promote peaceful patterns of international relations.

The draft declaration, as we see it, seeks to cover a wide range of activities of the individual, of peoples and States, as well as the international community as a whole. Keeping in mind the interdependence so characteristic of today's world, and with due regard to the differences in the political and legal systems of States, we consider the wide range perspective indeed a wise approach.

The United Nations Charter is a basic ingredient in the draft declaration. This is only natural, as the maintenance of peace and international security is the crux of the Charter. Another key element in the infrastructure of peace - to borrow the concept used by the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Kulaga in his statement last Monday - is the concern and respect for human rights, civil and political, economic, social and cultural. Wherever international crises occur, they are not only problems of States, of their security and their sovereignty. In the final analysis, they concern the rights of man.

(Mr. Blomberg, Finland)

We believe that the Polish initiative will prove to be a contribution to the implementation of the United Nations Charter and other related international instruments. In this connexion, for us and for all Europeans and other participants, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is another document of crucial importance. The Conference furnished a framework for co-operation in various fields in a region where tensions and conflicts have at times thwarted co-operation between nations.

The declaration of principles guiding relations among participating States, the essence of the Final Act of the Conference, is particularly relevant to the topic now under discussion. The 10 principles of the Final Act range from recognition of the sovereignty of States and refraining from the threat or use of force, to respect for human rights and co-operation among States - to mention some. Those 10 principles have served and will serve as guidelines for relations among States in the European context. The time elapsed since the signing of the Final Act has proved their validity in bilateral as well as multilateral relations. On the basis of these principles, many of the obstacles that until recently remained problematic have been overcome. A growing number of fruitful and mutually beneficial exchanges in the political and economic, as well as the cultural and humanitarian, fields have been witnessed within the framework of the CSCE process. My delegation is confident that European détente, rather than remaining confined to our continent, has extended its beneficial influence to other parts of the world.

Mr. FLITAN (Romania) (interpretation from French): The Romanian delegation wishes to associate itself with the other delegations that have spoken on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and emphasized the great importance of that topic, both for each State individually and for the international community as a whole. Romania's attitude towards the main problems of international security, as contained in the reply sent on 13 July last, now appears as part of the Secretary-General's report (A/33/217).

To have some idea of the direction we should now take to strengthen international security, we believe it necessary to start with a realistic and clear-sighted analysis of mankind today.

Socialist Romania believes that a comprehensive analysis of international relations reveals that we are at present going through a period characterized by a gigantic world-wide confrontation between two diametrically opposed tendencies.

On the one hand, the unshakable will of the broad majority of States, and of all peoples in the world, to do away with the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy of domination and diktat is being confirmed with exceptional force. The great majority of mankind is firmly resolved to develop in full freedom and independence and to implant a new policy in international relations in order to achieve full equality among all nations.

On the other hand, we are disturbed to see that international contradictions and the policy of violence and oppression are becoming more accentuated, and that the efforts to bring about a new division of spheres of influence and domination are being pursued with a perseverance worthy of a better cause.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

In view of the dynamic aspects of this gigantic confrontation, Romania believes that the future definitely belongs to the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and progress, because it is those forces, after all, which predominate and which are now in the ascendant. They are winning ever more important positions; they are becoming increasingly powerful and influential, as can be seen from the scale and intensity of the struggle being waged by peoples to decide their own futures.

In the opinion of Romania, it is essential that these forces act in concert, intensify their co-operation and their efforts, and become increasingly powerful in order to counter and to foil the policies of imperialist circles, bring about a cessation of the arms race, make war impossible and ensure international peace and security and the ultimate advent of a world without weapons.

My country is convinced that only energetic and resolute action on the part of those forces which have a responsible attitude towards the present and towards the future of mankind -- and which are, in fact, the overwhelming majority of mankind -- can put an end to the arms race, consolidate détente and ensure a peaceful existence for mankind.

It is in that conviction that Romania is firmly committed to working tirelessly to ensure the full implementation of the commitments assumed under the Final Act of Helsinki by those States attending the European General Conference so that practical and effective steps can be taken as soon as possible to bring about military disengagement and disarmament on the European continent.

To attain that, we believe that unstinting efforts should be made, in a constructive spirit, in order very carefully to prepare for the meeting of the States that will be participating in the European General Conference to be held in 1980 in Madrid. That conference will have to adopt specific measures in order to promote co-operation among all participating States, and will have to place particular emphasis on solving military problems in Europe, because unless a solution is found to these problems, it will hardly be possible to speak of real security on that continent.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

As it voices its concern for the fate of international peace and security, it is the belief of the Romanian Government that the proposals on disarmament it has put forward are indeed timely. I would recall, in this connexion, the Romanian views concerning the immediate freezing and subsequent reduction of military expenditures, as well as the reduction of armed forces, starting with the most highly armed States; the undertaking by all States of a commitment not to deploy new troops or new weapons on the territories of other countries, coupled with the subsequent reduction and eventual total withdrawal of those at present in existence until all military bases have been dismantled - above all, nuclear bases located on foreign soil; the reduction and cessation of all military manoeuvres, particularly those involving the participation of a number of States, as well as all shows of force close to the boundaries of other States; and the conclusion of a general European treaty on the non-use or threat of force, in which all States attending the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would participate.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

May I take this opportunity to reaffirm once again my country's firm position that the security of all States requires as a prerequisite the attainment of a world equilibrium, not by means of strengthening military blocs or escalating arms but by slowly but surely reducing military activities, manpower and arms in order to create the necessary conditions to do away with military blocs. It is for that reason that the Romanian Government declared its disapproval in connexion with the decisions adopted by the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) at its Washington session this year and expressed the hope that the NATO countries would reconsider their decision so that mankind could successfully stem the arms race.

My country favours and is doing everything it can to bring about the elimination of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as soon as possible, because it is our profound conviction that, far from guaranteeing independence, sovereignty, security and peace, all military blocs do is preserve a state of tension and suspicion, as was recently stressed by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, in the following words: "The quicker military pacts disappear, the quicker the process of détente will become accentuated and the better will become prospects for peace throughout the world."

There is no doubt that these problems cannot be resolved unilaterally. The dismantling of the two blocs will obviously have to take place at the same time. It is equally evident that steps taken to bring that about should take account of the need to maintain a balanced disposition of forces to guarantee that each and every side has the possibility of defending its independence, which necessarily implies the capability to deal with any aggression. But Romania considers that at present there is a sufficient degree of equilibrium and that the means possessed by both the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, as well as other countries, represent a potential far in excess of what is necessary. Existing military means can destroy mankind many times over - and that is an undeniable fact.

The question which Romania, like many other countries, would ask is the following: Do new means of destruction have to be manufactured and do we have to strike a balance by intensifying armaments? Or, should we on the

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

contrary place in the forefront of our considerations efforts to put an end to this escalating competition in order first of all to stabilize the existing situation and then to bring about an equilibrium by gradually reducing armaments and military expenditure? The reply that Romania would give is that the desirability of security for all peoples quite evidently would indicate not the path of intensifying armaments but, rather, reducing them.

Similarly, I should like to emphasize the major importance of the proposal made by Nicolae Ceausescu, when recently celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the Romanian National State, regarding the establishment between the two European military blocs of a zone where neither weapons nor armaments would be deployed and where it would be prohibited to carry out any kind of military manoeuvre or demonstration.

The problems of international peace and security are of concern to mankind as a whole. Therefore Romania believes that any action undertaken by international public opinion and democratic and progressive forces, the intensification of political and diplomatic efforts by Governments and States and, above all, efforts by international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, and of mankind as a whole all have a particularly important part to play. And it is quite natural that that should be so. The policy of constantly and excessively increasing military expenditure has a profoundly negative effect on the economic capacity of all States. Undoubtedly it affects primarily and most seriously those States which are faced with underdevelopment problems, but not them alone. All countries, whatever their level of development or socio-political system, are more or less affected by it. The galloping arms race damages peoples' standard of living, it restricts the development of science, culture and education, tends to widen social disparities and at the same time imperils international peace and security.

The implantation of the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, non-recourse to the use or the threat of force, the guaranteeing of every people's right to develop independently in accordance with its own wishes

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

and aspirations without any outside interference - all these are sine qua non conditions if we are to strengthen and guarantee international security. It is our belief that respect for these principles should be universal, because it is only by ensuring that they are in fact applied in relations among all States and towards each and every State as subject to international law that it will be possible to establish new relationships of peaceful co-operation and equality among States, promote trust and stability in international life, and peace and progress throughout the world.

As representatives are aware, Romania attaches great value to strengthening the role to be played by the United Nations in solving the extremely complex problems that are part of the contemporary world. Thus the Romanian Government actively favours the United Nations being more directly involved in the efforts being made to ensure the absolute triumph of those principles which should govern relations among all States and which should bring about more democracy in international relations.

At the same time it is our belief that the United Nations should do more to contribute to solving disputes by peaceful means and to prevent situations of tension. It can help the States concerned to find peaceful solutions by means of negotiations among the parties, which would benefit each nation and also make for the progress of mankind as a whole.

Extending United Nations activities and those of other international organizations in the field of education and preparing society to live in an atmosphere of peace are of particular importance for international security.

Romania is fully pledged to the building of a new society in the implementation of far-reaching economic and social development programmes that would be designed to provide people with a high degree of prosperity and civilization. It is for that reason that my country is profoundly concerned to see favourable international conditions created so that this major peaceful, constructive work can be carried out. It is for that reason that we actively favour détente, trust and peace, so that we can have a world without weapons and war, where every people can freely develop in full security in accordance with its own national interests.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

In conclusion, I should like to convey our warm congratulations to the Delegation of Poland for having initiated and introduced the draft resolution concerning the declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace. I should like to state that the Romanian delegation fully supports this draft resolution. Similarly, we believe that the draft resolution submitted by a number of non-aligned and developing countries also contains some very precious elements conducive to the consolidation of international security.

The Romanian delegation has therefore already become a co-sponsor of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/33/L.59 and L.60.

Mr. AL-MINEZAH (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): The First Committee of the General Assembly is now at this session discussing the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was first adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Since then, this item has been on our agenda for some time and the interest which has been shown by Member countries in this matter has grown and there can be no shadow of a doubt that this Declaration has now become yet a further objective in the United Nations Charter. As the Declaration makes it quite clear these objectives govern relations among States, whether they be large or small and whatever their level of development or their socio-political or economic systems.

The Declaration reaffirms the principle embodied in the Charter of the United Nations regarding the non-use of force in international relations or the threat to use force against the sovereignty and political independence of any country and also non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

Operative paragraph 4 of the Declaration contains a text which is of binding value and which emphasizes the need for:

"... respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States and the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own destiny freely and without outside interference, coercion or pressure;" (A/C.1/33/L.60, para. 4)

(Mr. Al-Hamzani, Democratic Yemen)

My country is a small one and needs this principle to be respected more than any other perhaps, as well as measures to consolidate universal peace so that humanity can live in a state of prosperity and security and can improve the standard of living of all people as well as their well-being.

A number of delegations have during the discussion emphasized the need to put an end to the arms race and to nuclear tests, as well as the importance of nuclear disarmament, the elimination of stockpiles of weapons, and indeed the stockpiling of any weapons of mass destruction and systems of these weapons since they threaten international peace and security.

It has also been pointed out that efforts being made at present in order to consolidate détente in international relations is a matter of vital importance which will have undoubted repercussions in accelerating the implementation of this Declaration.

Although the Declaration contains some positive texts, international security is in fact threatened in many parts of the world. It is impossible to consolidate this security as long as we have failed to eliminate sources of tension and conflict throughout the world and as long as we have not put an end to acts of aggression which are such a threat to the stability and security of so many countries.

The situation in the Middle East is dangerous since Israel is persisting in its denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and is still occupying Arab territories. In adopting that attitude, which is perfectly in keeping with its expansionist and racist policies, it is also being supported by world imperialism.

The deal which was the result of the Camp David talks is not only directed against the interests of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries but also represents a form of action which jeopardizes the security and stability of the region. It is the first germ of a reactionary alliance in that area which will be utilized to serve world imperialism which seeks to consolidate its domination of the Middle East, to put down national liberation movements, to put an end to those progressive régimes which are to be found there, and to use this as a starting point to threaten the liberty and security of peoples throughout the world.

(Mr. Al-Hangah, Democratic Yemen)

Democratic Yemen attended the recent conference in Baghdad which revealed the aggressive role which has been played by the United States. The conclusions of the Baghdad Conference have also revealed the dangers inherent in the Camp David Agreements which cannot be considered as a satisfactory basis for establishing a just peace in the Middle East.

In Africa, the racist régimes in the southern part of the continent have imposed their domination by force on the peoples of Africa living in that area and have perpetrated acts of repression against African citizens as well as campaigns of terrorism and threats to the stability and integrity of the territories of neighbouring African States by resorting to acts of aggression.

This is why the oppressed peoples have every right to bear arms, to struggle against the racist régimes, to bring about the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia and to put an end to the policy of apartheid and racist discrimination which is practised by the white minority régimes in southern Africa.

In the case of Cyprus we have frequently had occasion to state that foreign forces should be withdrawn from the island because their presence is a violation of the neutrality of Cyprus which is a member of the non-aligned group.

Respect for the independence of Cyprus and its indivisibility as well as its sovereignty and its territorial integrity would solve a major problem which poses a great threat to international peace and security.

Frequently, we have expressed our support to the people of Korea as well as for the efforts which are being made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in their efforts to resolve their problems peacefully. For this reason Democratic Yemen supported the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are striving to exercise their right to independence, national sovereignty and self-determination.

(Mr. Al-Hanzali, Democratic Yemen)

There can be no doubt that since the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted certain positive results have been achieved and we would like, as many delegations have done, to express our satisfaction that the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was in fact held and yielded very positive results. Furthermore we would give our blessing to the initiative taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations which previously adopted texts which might help to further strengthen international security, particularly on the questions of ushering in a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

A few days ago we heard the introductory statement made by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland concerning this point when he presented draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58, and my delegation wishes to congratulate Poland on this initiative. We should like to confirm that we give it our total support as we support the idea of having a declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace.

Mr. SY (Senegal) (interpretation from French): Eight years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security hardly any progress has been made in its implementation. Indeed, the arms race continues at full speed and is being extended to various regions of the world; international tensions persist and many hot-beds of conflict have been kindled.

The main cause for the failure to implement the Declaration on international security resides in the rivalry among the great Powers and the clashes they engage in throughout the world in order to maintain or defend their spheres of influence.

Since 1945 those rivalries have created numerous tensions and international crises which have sometimes brought us to the brink of war.

Furthermore, they have led those countries to embark on constant war preparations and to acquire weapons of mass destruction which are increasingly destructive and devastating. The result is that today the planet is saturated with arms of all kinds and which in no time could erase any trace of life. It follows that the security of peoples decreases

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

daily with each new missile manufactured by the great Powers. Parallel with the growing rivalry of the great Powers, the mechanisms provided for in the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security have been progressively paralysed. The Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has not been able to discharge its role effectively. At the most crucial times, when its action would have been most desired, it always found that one of its permanent members blocked any initiative.

What resulted was an increased tendency to have recourse to force in international relations. As proof of this, there is the large number of armed conflicts which have occurred since the signature of the Charter. Those conflicts which have erupted almost everywhere save in Europe, were in large measure an indirect confrontation between the great Powers. Those Powers have thus transformed entire countries into battlefields for their respective ideologies and have thus found a convenient way of engaging in armed confrontation and testing their weapons.

The rivalry between the great Powers has at present experienced a half-hearted relaxation baptized as *détente*. But the proclaimed will to promote *détente* has never enabled international relations to be fully cleansed of the elements of the cold war. On the contrary, those elements persist because the struggle between the great Powers has never slackened but goes on in an oblique manner.

As long as this rivalry persists, the process of *détente* upon which we have entered will not be the synonym of restored security but of a calm before the storm. It is imperative therefore that the process of *détente* not only be extended to all regions of the world but also be made more thorough so that it will not be yet another expression of armed peace. Indeed, this process of *détente*, however encouraging it may appear, should not lead us to forget that we are still living under the reign of the balance of terror.

The second factor concerning the non-implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is the persistence and

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

aggravation of certain regional conflicts throughout the world. These conflicts, the causes of which are local, have been amplified and aggravated by the intervention of the great Powers. That is true in the case of the Middle East, where certain Powers supported one State which has incessantly violated United Nations resolutions. Thus the peace procedures have been considerably delayed and this has maintained a constant threat to international peace and security.

Those Powers which preach the limitation of trade in conventional weapons, supply without any restraint all kinds of sophisticated weapons to their protégés in the region. On the one hand they declare their intention to work for peace and on the other hand they give the States in the region further means of waging war. One might wonder whether their true objective is really peace in that region.

As regards Africa where a certain number of armed conflicts have broken out recently, the great Powers have equally deployed this same strategy of intervention and aggravation of conflicts. Some of those great Powers have for years, with a generous hand, dispensed economic, financial and military assistance to the abhorrent Pretoria régime. Hence today that régime, which is arming itself to the teeth, and which has embarked on repeated armed aggressions against the territories of neighbouring States, has become a serious threat to the security of the peoples of Africa.

For as long as the apartheid system persists in the southern part of the African continent, international peace and security will be threatened. It is, therefore, the duty of all States to support the liberation movements which seek to eliminate this terrible danger. In other parts of the continent conflicts have been triggered by the great Powers either by massive arms supplies to one of the parties or by direct or indirect military intervention. The result has been that Africa has become the training ground for mercenaries and adventurers of all kinds recruited with the complicity of their countries of origin. These mercenaries at present constitute the core of Ian Smith's army and thus contribute uselessly to prolonging the armed conflict which is tearing Zimbabwe apart.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

The direct or indirect interventions of the great Powers in the internal affairs of African States contribute to transforming the African continent into a new battlefield, thus making the quest for a peaceful settlement even more difficult. The African countries have, nevertheless, proved that left to themselves they can always find a peaceful solution to the various conflicts. The processes of reconciliation which have taken place this year in East Africa and Central Africa are eloquent examples of this.

Therefore, it seems to us important for the strengthening of international security that the great powers cease to try to influence the solution of local conflicts to their own advantage and support the efforts for peace made under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

Likewise, they should cease giving any aid to the racist régimes of southern Africa, which continue to violate United Nations decisions.

The final factor of insecurity is the persistence of poverty, malnutrition and famine in the world. In a world in which 70 per cent of the resources are held by 30 per cent of the population and where the gap between the rich and the poor countries is constantly widening, one cannot for a second believe that security exists. The efforts made so far to proceed to reforms likely to make possible the ushering in of a new and more just international economic order encounter resistance from the affluent countries. Therefore it is time to attack the root causes of insecurity throughout the world which, apart from the rivalry among the great Powers, is due to economic inequality and the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the confidence my country has always placed in the United Nations. We hope that the process of detente will one day reach the Security Council, so as to enable it to play its irreplaceable role in maintaining international peace and security.

Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): On the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, my delegation intends to make a brief but pellucid statement on the goals achieved and the problems still impeding full implementation of that Declaration.

Many delegations have referred here to the need for effectively implementing the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The First Committee has even had an opportunity to debate suggestions regarding the need to adopt in the near future a convention on the security of States.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

During these ten years many countries have made every effort to secure the liquidation of the last vestiges of the cold war, thus opening up an era of international détente. This process of détente is an historical imperative derived from the need to ensure peaceful coexistence among countries with different economic and social systems.

In Europe, the countries of the region have made their contribution, through the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. My delegation welcomes this initiative. We hope that its results will be extended and intensified, covering every region of the world, as demanded by the international community and as stated at the tenth special session of this Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament.

Détente must also be made irreversible and it must now be switched from the political to the military level. In this respect, my delegation supports the declaration proposed by the People's Republic of Poland on the preparation of societies for life in peace. In giving a positive evaluation to certain steps taken to implement the Declaration on International Security, we cannot lose sight of the many hotbeds of tension and conflict -- many of them artificially created -- which are harmful to international security and a danger to world peace.

For several years the General Assembly and the Security Council have been the scene of interminable debates and numerous resolutions with regard to the situation in Cyprus, where foreign interests and occupation have prevented peaceful coexistence between the communities concerned. The Government of Cyprus has reiterated that it is a non-aligned country and more than once has asked for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its soil. My delegation has supported its stand, and once again we pledge our support for the cause of the Cypriot people.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

The heroic people of Viet Nam, in the midst of efforts for the peaceful reconstruction of their country, once again face the crude threat, the horrendous lie and the perfidious aggression of those who seek to create a new focal point of tension damaging to peace in South East Asia. Those who once tried to deceive the peoples by speaking of hegemonism are today unmasked in their claims and ambitions of all kinds by the fact that they are carrying out a policy of aggression and hostility in South East Asia which can only be compared in part with that of United States imperialism in that same region not many years ago. This is totally contrary to the objectives of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and is a barrier to peace among the countries of the region.

In the Middle East, a hotbed of tension is being maintained in the same way, constantly threatening the security of States. The Zionist Government of Israel, with its policy of aggressive and hostile expansion, has every year been the subject of resolutions in which it was condemned by the international community. The territories of several Arab countries are still under the illegal occupation of Israel. This occupation could not be maintained -- and the whole world knows it -- without the assistance given at every level to the Zionist State by the imperialists. Their sole objective is to safeguard their economic interests, even at the risk of jeopardizing the security of the States of the region. The conflict in the Middle East cannot find a just solution unless the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are guaranteed, including their right to establish their own State, and unless the occupied Arab territories are returned.

Another hotbed of tension endangering international security and impeding implementation of the Declaration is the one that persists in the southern part of Africa, where the colonialists and neo-colonialists have made common cause with the abominable apartheid régime, which keeps millions of Africans under the most cruel system of exploitation and domination of our time.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

Throughout these ten years, despite repeated condemnations by the international community, thousands of Africans have lost their lives under the repression of the racist South African régime. Peoples such as those of Zimbabwe and Namibia, still remain under the yoke of a racist colonialist minority which denies them independence and threatens neighbouring sovereign States, which have been attacked on more than one occasion. Mozambique continues to be the target of direct attacks by the Rhodesian fascists. Angola is compelled to remain in a permanent state of alert because of the attacks and claims of the South African racists. The peoples of Botswana and Zambia also live in a state of permanent alert because of the possibility of a traitorous strike. A real contribution to the strengthening of international security would be made by effectively halting the assistance and encouragement that certain Western Powers give to the racist régimes.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

As was said by Commander Fidel Castro:

"Scorn for peoples and for rules and principles must have a limit.

There must be a stop somewhere. There must be a genuine resistance in the universal conscience".

International security will be threatened as long as - together with Zionism, racism and apartheid - a colonialist and neo-colonialist policy persists and as long as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is not implemented.

During the debates of the present session, numerous voices have been raised linking international security to disarmament and development. We are firmly convinced that, far from increasing our security, the arms race undermines it. Likewise, we are convinced that if a part of the resources now being invested in arms were devoted to assistance to developing countries a valuable contribution would be made to international security. The ushering in of a New International Economic Order is an imperative of our times. The sixth special session of the General Assembly called for its establishment and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States completed a cycle, opening up the possibility of a world of peace, security and development. Regrettably, this aspiration bore no fruit, while armaments expenditures exceeded \$400 billion. This is certainly not a secure world. The dangers looming over mankind grow larger in the same measure that we leave the problems I have mentioned unresolved.

When speaking of the strengthening of international security, we are bound to refer to the need to dismantle all foreign military bases, which represent a constant threat to international peace and security. The existence of foreign military bases in various regions of the world are a real obstacle to the attainment of effective disarmament agreements, and their unconditional dismantling is a condition that will brook no delay for the strengthening of international security and world peace.

In this same context, we must condemn the repeated intervention in the internal affairs of other States, which in many cases involve acts of hostility and aggression. These acts run counter to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of peoples, particularly of those which have recently emerged from the opprobious colonial régime.

Our region has recently experienced a situation that represents a threat to peace and security, and still persists. I am referring, of course, to

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

the events which have taken place in Nicaragua. The people of Nicaragua, weary of bearing a dynastic dictatorship for more than 40 years and having recourse to rebellion, which is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, tried to restore its most elementary human rights which have, with the help of an imperialist policy using its "gunboat diplomacy", been trampled underfoot. The Anastasio Somoza régime did not stop at acts of genocide in which tens of thousands of the citizens of that country lost their lives. In his messianic anti-popular policy, he has constantly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua's neighbour, Costa Rica, a country with a known tradition of peace, merely because of the fact that its Government, honouring the sacred right of asylum, gave refuge to thousands of people who fled from the massacre unleashed by the National Guard of Nicaragua. The Presidents of Venezuela and of Colombia for these reasons addressed themselves to the President of the General Assembly, making an appeal to the profound sense of justice of this Organization which is a cornerstone of the Charter of the United Nations. Likewise, the President of Costa Rica dramatically denounced the aggression suffered by his country in his address before the General Assembly.

My delegation, which has on various occasions energetically expressed its condemnation of the crimes committed by the Somoza dictatorship against the Nicaraguan people, is honoured to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61. I believe that all countries seriously concerned with the maintenance of peace and security as well as those that are in favour of the inherent right of peoples to fight for freedom and against oppression will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

I believe that no one is better qualified than the representative of Costa Rica to reveal to the international community the extent to which the Somoza régime has violated the rules of international law and placed our Central America in danger of an armed conflict with unforeseeable consequences. If he would be good enough to do so, I think that the representative of this brother country, which has been the victim of aggression, could give us the exact measure of an aggressive policy which today is a shameful blot on public opinion and on the Charter of our Organization.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

In conclusion, I should like to place on record our willingness to contribute in this and in other bodies to the consolidation and extension of the détente process, to the strengthening of international peace and security, to the reinforcement of the struggle of peoples for their liberation and independence.

It is our profound conviction in the higher destiny of the people of Sandino and, in general, of all Central America whose liberators proclaimed us one people, free and independent. Sooner rather than later, our people will eliminate the shameful stain of the mercenariot and the servile puppets of foreign monopolies.

Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, the First Committee, whose work you are so wisely guiding, must take a decision on four important draft resolutions sponsored by a substantial number of countries. They are as follows: the joint draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58 entitled "Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace", which was the subject of a brilliant introduction by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Eugene Kulaga; the joint draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.59 entitled "Non-interference in the internal affairs of States", the joint draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.60 dealing with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61 dealing with the strengthening of international security in Nicaragua and Central America.

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

The latter will be introduced by the representative of Venezuela, Miss Lopez, with the authority given her by her recognized professional competence and the admirable American calling which is the tradition of the country of the Liberator.

All these draft resolutions are related to agenda item 50, and the delegation of Panama, which has already placed on record its sponsorship of draft resolutions A/C.1/33/L.58 and L.61, wishes at this time to state that it will also sponsor draft resolutions A/C.1/33/L.59 and L.60. The reasons for these draft resolutions, explained by their authors, and the reasons and intent explained by other delegations in the course of the debate, fully warrant approval of those draft resolutions, the purposes of which are in accord with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, contained in resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970. My country contributes to that strengthening with its efforts to achieve universal recognition for a permanent neutrality régime for the Panama Canal.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we must recall, was approved as a necessary supplement to the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-Operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Panama therefore attaches the greatest importance to the principle proclaimed in the Declaration, in accordance with which:

"Where obligations arising under international agreements are in conflict with the obligations of Members of the United Nations under the Charter of the United Nations, the obligations under the Charter shall prevail."

In the light of the foregoing, we must bear in mind the close connexion between the effectiveness of the principle of non-interference and the task of improving the effectiveness of the principle of non-use of force in international relations which has previously been discussed in this Committee.

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

It should be pointed out that in draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.59, which my delegation most enthusiastically supports, operative paragraph 2:

"Expresses the conviction 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".

It is the opinion of the Government of Panama that the Special Committee set up under resolution 32/150 is competent to deal, along with the non-use of force in international relations, with the drafting of a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Examination of that resolution demonstrates the reason for this affirmation.

We believe that the declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, to be formulated in due course by the General Assembly, should be a major contribution to a greater and better elaboration of the principles designed to strengthen equitable co-operation and friendly relations among States, based on sovereign equality and mutual respect.

We therefore believe that the General Assembly should consider the adoption of clear and expeditious procedures which will nullify the effects of any interventionist clause which might authorize the unilateral use of armed force in the territory of another State, or which might have been included in international agreements or conventions agreed to by United Nations Members after the entry into force of the Charter. Article 103 of the Charter is clear. It states:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail."

In view of the fact that the Charter is a treaty now accepted by no less than 150 Member States, its authority in the international field as legislation cannot be disregarded. The provisions have been expressly accepted by most representative members of the community of States in the world.

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

My delegation wishes to refer in particular to draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61 which refers to the crisis in Nicaragua and in the Central American region. The international community and delegations here present have been informed of the declaration addressed to the General Assembly by the Presidents of Costa Rica, Colombia and Venezuela. This is a very grave, an extremely serious situation. Neither the regional Organization nor the world Organization can remain indifferent to it. It is therefore urgent in our case to take appropriate action consistent with the principles of the United Nations. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Panama, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba made a very sober presentation of the problem during the general debate. Likewise, on 29 September last the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cyrus Vance, said:

"In this hemisphere, we must respond to the agony of those caught up in the violence and bloodshed of Nicaragua." (A/33/PV.14, page 56)

He went on:

"Only a democratic solution in Nicaragua - not repression or violence can lead to an enduring stability and to true peace." (ibid.)

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

Of course, durable peace cannot exist in countries where human rights are violated, as indicated in the severe statement made by President Carter on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary celebration of the Declaration on Human Rights.

My delegation considers that the mass extermination of life in Nicaragua must of necessity be of concern to the other Governments and peoples of the region and to the international community. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which maintains that every State has the duty to refrain from resorting to the use or threat of force against the territorial integrity of other States, and which imposes the further duty to respect the sovereignty of other States, has been violated by the Government of Nicaragua through its armed actions infringing the frontiers and sovereignty of the Republic of Costa Rica in the most inexplicable circumstances. To all that are added the human rights violations dramatically recorded in the report and recommendations of the ecumenical delegation which visited Nicaragua, consisting of Wallace Collett, Chairman of the Board of the American Friends Service Committee; Alan McCoy, Chairman of the Conferences of Major Superiors of Men in the United States, a Roman Catholic organization; the Rev. Dwain C. Epps, representative of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States; and Pastor Michael Czerny, representative of the Canadian Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America.

Non-governmental organizations were not alone in reacting to a crisis which, according to informed sources, has cost the lives of no less than 10,000 men, women and children. Regionally, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, after an investigation carried out on Nicaraguan soil, not only has substantiated the claim that acts repugnant to the human conscience were committed - acts attributable to governmental oppression - but has drawn conclusions which constitute an objective condemnation of the régime responsible for those violations.

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

I have before me the English text of the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, an official document of the Organization of American States (OAS), which is identified as document OEA/Ser.L/V/II.45 and document 16/Rev.1, of 17 November 1978. It is entitled "Report on the situation on Human Rights in Nicaragua". So that the Committee may have the facts before it in an objective and authoritative manner that leaves no room for doubt, I shall now read out the conclusions of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights:

"In the light of the foregoing, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, in plenary, has arrived at the conclusion that the Government of Nicaragua has incurred responsibility for the following serious, persistent and generalized violations:

- "(a) The Government of Nicaragua is responsible for serious attempts against the right to life, in violation of international humanitarian norms, in repressing in an excessive and disproportionate manner the insurrections that occurred last September in the main cities of the country. In fact, the bombing of towns by the National Guard was done in an indiscriminate fashion and without prior evacuation of the civilian population, which caused innumerable deaths of persons who were not involved in the conflict, and, in general, a dramatic situation;
- "(b) Likewise, the Government of Nicaragua is responsible for a large number of deaths which occurred after the combats, because of abuses perpetrated by the National Guard during the so-called "Operation Mop-Up" and other actions several days after the cessation of hostilities, in which many persons were executed in a summary and collective fashion for the mere reason of living in neighbourhoods or districts where there had been activity by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN); and young people and defenceless children were killed;

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

- "(c) The Government of Nicaragua has obstructed the work of the Red Cross by not allowing it to carry out its responsibilities during the combats: caring for the wounded, picking up bodies, and its humanitarian mission in general. Moreover, the Government is responsible for the death of two Red Cross corpsmen and the improper use of local ambulances and the emblem of the Red Cross;
- "(d) The Government of Nicaragua is also responsible for the death, serious abuse, arbitrary detention and other violations of the human rights of peasant groups;
- "(e) In the events of last September and even earlier, there were serious violations of the right to personal security, by means of torture and other physical pressures which were inflicted on numerous detainees;
- "(f) A special situation, which deeply concerned the Commission, is the one dealing with minors. Aside from the many youths who are being detained in jails, along with common delinquents, the Commission was able to prove a general repression by the National Guard against any male youth between 14 and 21 years of age;

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

"(g) The physical liberty of the people is seriously affected, as is evidenced by the many arbitrary detentions that occurred early in September, the number of which increased after constitutional guarantees were suspended. This situation, furthermore, is aggravated by the administration of the judicial system which exists in Nicaragua, and by the powers enjoyed by police judges, some of whom are also commanders of the National Guard, who may impose penalties of up to six months in gaol, without any procedure other than listening to the accused, and by the powers of the military courts to judge civilians during periods of emergency. The foregoing shows that there have been violations of the right of protection against arbitrary detention and to due process and, in particular, to the right to an adequate defence.

"(h) The freedom of expression of opinions is severely restricted when in fact information about events occurring in Nicaragua is limited to newspapers, radio and TV stations which are controlled, either directly or indirectly, by the Government. In the case of the written or spoken media independent of or in opposition to the Government, even when there was no censorship, their owners, directors or journalists were subjected to serious attempts or threats to their lives, freedom or security.

"(i) Although there is a formal respect for the freedom of conscience, worship and religion, in practice these cannot be fully enjoyed due to the abuse, in words and deeds, to which priests and ministers of the various Catholic congregations have been subjected.

"(j) At present the right of assembly cannot be exercised. Even before the emergency régime came into effect, the right of association in general and those of political and trade union associations in particular had been seriously limited.

"(k) The right to vote has been hindered by various obstructions of a practical and legal nature which limit and make impossible its free exercise.

(Mr. Illueca, Panama)

"The violations of human rights included in this report have affected all sectors of the Nicaraguan population. Its victims are and have been especially those persons of limited economic resources and young people between the ages of 14 and 21.

"The damage and suffering caused by these violations have awakened in a very forceful way an intense and general feeling among the Nicaraguan people for the establishment of a system which will guarantee the observance of human rights."

I must conclude by appealing, on behalf of the delegation of Panama, for approval of the draft resolutions under consideration by a vote which, because of the justice and ideals of the United Nations, will be an overwhelming majority.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): First of all, I should like to clarify the item under consideration. It is entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". Therefore we have to consider what the Declaration is and how to proceed to implement it.

The Declaration was adopted 25 years after the establishment of the United Nations, after some experience by the world community of the functioning of the United Nations, and the fact that it was adopted by a unanimous vote is very significant on a matter of such tremendous importance to the United Nations. To be accurate there was unanimity except for one vote - I need not mention whose vote that was - and there were no abstentions. Therefore, it was the virtually unanimous will of the international community in 1970 how the United Nations should function.

Now we have here an item which refers to the implementation of that resolution; therefore, we must see to it that in implementing it we follow its lines. That is one aspect.

According to that resolution, the importance of international security in the world centres on the functioning of the United Nations generally. But there is another aspect, equally and perhaps even more important:

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

the relation of international security, as conceived in the Declaration, to disarmament. And that lends greater importance to the item before us, because disarmament in itself is a vital problem on which the survival of humanity depends, bearing in mind the destructive effects of what I call the "scourge of the arms race" which, if it continues unabated, will bring destruction to the world even without a nuclear war.

Therefore, the aspect of international security in today's world is an item more significant than any other in this or any other Assembly where the subject has been discussed - and in particular it is the most important item before this Committee. Hence I propose to look at this problem of international security from both aspects, the general aspect of international security as establishing the function of the United Nations as it was meant to be, and also the aspect of its relation to disarmament.

I said that international security is the most significant item because it goes to the very root of the function of the United Nations. Indeed, the maintenance of international security and peace is the primary and paramount purpose of the United Nations. This is spelled out in Article 1 of the Charter as well as in its Preamble, where it is stated to be the main resolve of the international community in establishing the United Nations. Therefore we have here the main purpose for which the United Nations was established and its paramount concern and duty to carry out its function to that end.

Furthermore it is significant to note that the Charter, from beginning to end, revolves around international security; and the words "maintenance of international peace and security" appear 32 times in the Charter. Nothing else is mentioned so many times in the Charter, or is so important, so vital or so fundamental as international security. Let us see how the Charter intends international security to function and how it functions today or has functioned at any time.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

I must first say that the Charter of the United Nations introduced a new era in international relations. We will call it the post-Second World War era, which was based on the experience of the scourge of war in the Second World War. Therefore, it was felt that in a world of advanced technology, when man has acquired the power to destroy the whole human race upon this globe by nuclear weapons, and the world that has grown interdependent by the number of new nations so that now it is a world of 150 nations instead of the earlier small number of nations, cannot function on the basis of the individual sovereign rights of States, independently of the collectivity of the international community as a single whole upon this globe.

The Charter, therefore, introduced for the first time the prohibition of the threat or use of force; that appears in Article 2, paragraphs 3, 4 and 5. Paragraph 4 calls upon all Members to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations. Paragraph 5 calls for the implementation by enforcement action of that prohibition. Paragraph 3 calls for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

These three are interconnected. You cannot have peaceful settlements of disputes if you allow a free hand for the use of force because the stronger State will use its force to attain its own ends rather than settle its disputes peacefully. In order to make it possible for a peaceful settlement it is necessary to stop the use of force by effectively prohibiting it through enforcement of the resolutions of the Security Council.

This is the Charter and it provides in its Chapter VI for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Following immediately upon that is the prohibition of the use of force in Chapter VII. As I said, Article 2, Chapter VI and Chapter VII compose the whole concept of international security in the world and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

What is international security? International security means that the decisions of the Security Council, which is the organ charged with protecting the security of nations, should be implemented, and if not implemented, to be carried out through the enforcement action provided for in Chapter VII. This is the essence and purport of the Security Council and its decisions must be implemented. But in reality, the Security Council adopts decisions unanimously and yet no concern is shown about their implementation.

This situation has developed more serious in recent years because there were more unanimous decisions of the Security Council than previously when the cold war prevented any Security Council decisions; and therefore it was easy to avoid any question of implementation because there were no decisions of the Security Council. But once there are decisions, their non-implementation creates a grave problem.

Therefore there are now very significant trends towards achieving international security through the implementation of Security Council decisions. Foremost among these trends is the one reflected in the annual reports of the Secretary-General during the last two or three years which emphasize in strong terms the need of securing implementation of the Security Council decisions. I lay stress upon this because clearly the whole problem of international security evolves around the implementation of Security Council decisions in order to ensure a measure of legal order and security in the world. The Secretary-General in his report in 1977 states:

"This bring me to the primary function of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, and to the role and standing of the Security Council. For if we stumble once again into a world conflagration, no matter what its cause, all our other hopes and dreams would be in vain." (A/32/1, p. 5)

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The Secretary-General goes on to say this about the Council's capacity to fulfil the task entrusted to it by the Charter, in the maintenance of international peace and security:

"It is essential that its capacity for this central function should not be lost sight of. The Council is, or was intended to be, the keystone of the structure of international order prescribed in the Charter. The way in which the Council is used, or not used, and the respect, or lack of it, for its decisions is therefore a matter of the highest importance for the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations as an essential instrument of peace." (ibid, p. 6)

The Secretary-General, bearing in mind the situation in the world today, makes the following criticism:

"I know that there are practical political reasons for these shortcomings and that Governments reserve the right to use or to ignore the Security Council if they so desire. I only wish to repeat here that such attitudes are full of risk, for they may bring us to a time when the Council is desperately needed and will be found to be too weak to fulfil its responsibilities. We should not forget the disastrous experience of the League of Nations. That is why I believe that the strengthening of the position and authority of the Security Council and respect for its decisions should be a major and continuing preoccupation of all Governments." (ibid)

This is one part of the current trend because this does not appear in the reports of the Secretary-General in previous years. This year the report of the Secretary-General is more emphatic, it brings examples of small States ignoring the Security Council, fighting among themselves, having no recourse to the Security Council at all, because as the Secretary-General points out, they have no confidence in it, because they know that it is impotent and ineffective; if this trend continues it will be a serious threat to the United Nations as an instrument of peace and to world peace through the United Nations.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The Secretary-General says that this attitude of adopting resolutions without implementing them is contrary to the duties of States, because in his report of this year it is stated that the responsibility of Governments does not cease with the adoption of decisions unanimous or near unanimous by the Security Council. The effectiveness of those decisions through their implementation is what really matters and this is overlooked, bypassed and ignored. Many are the trends showing that the world is no longer apathetic regarding this situation and is calling for international security through the implementation of Security Council decisions.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

That brings me to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That Declaration is a significant instrument and represents a decisive move forward towards a more secure and more orderly world through the required implementation of the Charter. This Declaration spells out distinctly the essential requirements for strengthening international security. 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";

it then

"Urges Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter",

and - I wish to lay stress on this next part of the Declaration -

"Recommends that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter". (resolution 2734 (XXV))

That is really the main thrust of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In continuation it recommends that all States contribute to the efforts to ensure peace and security, through the peaceful settlement of disputes. But that peaceful settlement of disputes cannot be achieved without first attaining international security through the implementation of Security Council decisions.

I wish to commend the draft resolution proposed by the non-aligned countries, among the sponsors of which is Cyprus, which states in the preambular part that there is deep concern

"at the frequent acts of violation of the Charter of the United Nations, breaches of the peace and threats to international peace and security, recourse to the use of force and threats of force, failure to comply with the obligation of States to solve disputes by peaceful means",

and then proceeds in operative paragraph 2:

"Urges all the members of the Security Council, especially its permanent members, to consider and to undertake, as a matter of urgency, all the necessary measures for ensuring respect for the provisions of the Charter of

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

the United Nations and the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations Nations on the maintenance of international peace and security, including particularly those envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter and provided in the Declaration in question, for restoring the confidence of States in the United Nations and in the effectiveness of the Security Council, as the organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." (A/C.1/33/L.60/Rev.1)

The importance, therefore, of international security through the United Nations, in order that the organization could function properly and supply the needed security for the solution of problems, is paramountly established and recognized by all.

I should now like to say a few words with regard to instances where we see the lack of international security in the world. One such instance is the lot of small States which have no army, which conduct themselves fully in accord with the Charter, which depend for security on the Security Council, and rest entirely in the hands of the United Nations. What is their lot? I will quote a very recent instance. That of a peaceful and very constructive Member of the United Nations, Costa Rica. Costa Rica now suffers attacks and invasions from a neighbouring country. There seems to be no remedy, no protection for Costa Rica. This is a serious problem because there is a small country which is suffering because there is no international security in the world. It probably has not yet come to the Security Council for that reason.

But I will go to a much stronger case, the case of Cyprus, which in 1974 was the victim of aggression and invasion. It was not merely a case of simple aggression and invasion but was aggravated because of the fact that it was followed immediately by the genocidal expulsion of the indigenous majority Greek-Cypriot population from the invaded area - namely, more than one third of the whole territory of the island - and by the importation of an alien population from another country to take the usurped homes and properties of the expelled population. All that was taking place in the face of unanimous Security Council decisions that have remained wholly unimplemented.

That is an example, and I believe that that example is one of the causes of the new trends towards international security. Obviously, such situations are in the mind of the Secretary-General when he spells out in his reports that it is necessary ultimately to have international security through the United Nations by the implementation of Security Council decisions.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

There may be other cases, but I have now mentioned two very important ones. One is a most recent example and the other has been a continuing aggression for over four years now without any effective action by the Security Council, in spite of repeated recourse to it, to implement its unanimous decisions calling for the withdrawal of the foreign troops, the return of the refugees and the cessation of intervention.

Having said all that I now turn to the aspect of the relationship of international security to disarmament. This is really the more pertinent aspect but it is so obvious that I need not dwell long upon it. The very fact that international security and the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security come to the First Committee - although the First Committee was to deal exclusively with disarmament questions - shows the close link and the interdependence of international security and disarmament. That link has been further emphasized by the facts of life and also by the fact that one cannot proceed to disarmament without first having a halt in the arms race, and a halt in the arms race cannot take place in a vacuum without the existence of alternative security for nations other than through competition in armaments. That is the reason why the General Assembly decided to study the interrelationship between disarmament and international security. The special session decided further that that study should be continued, completed and presented to the General Assembly as a progress report in 1979 and as a final report in 1980.

All of this shows the importance of international security for the functioning of the United Nations generally, for the peaceful settlement of disputes for peace and security, and also for bringing a halt to the arms race and for progress in disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: This concludes the general debate of the First Committee on agenda item 50, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security".

As members of the Committee are aware, tomorrow will be the last working day of the First Committee. Perhaps I should state my intentions as Chairman in regard to how and in what order we should proceed to take decisions on the draft resolutions and documents submitted under item 50.

We shall, as always, unless there is a decision to the contrary, take the draft resolutions in the order in which they have been submitted. This means that tomorrow we shall first take up for consideration and decision draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.58. Members of the Committee will recall that it is the wish of the proponents of that draft resolution that it be accepted by consensus. Next we shall take up draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.59, and after that draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.60. Last we shall take up draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61.

The representative of Venezuela has an important announcement to make to the Committee in regard to the last-named draft resolution.

Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61, I should like to announce that tomorrow we shall be able to submit a revised text. Discussions are now being held between the co-sponsors and a number of delegations which have expressed deep concern over this item and wish to suggest amendments. By making this announcement we wish to facilitate the work of the First Committee and not to delay the date scheduled for the conclusion of its work.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Venezuela for her announcement, which indeed I hope will facilitate the work of this Committee and the decision on this matter when we come to it tomorrow.

I shall now call on those speakers who wish to exercise the right of reply. Before doing so, I wish to recall that the decisions of the General Assembly provide that a maximum of ten minutes may be taken for the exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. MONTIEL ARGUELLO (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Nicaragua has taken cognizance of draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61. Since that draft has not yet been introduced officially and in view of the statement just made by the representative of Venezuela, I shall not refer to it. I shall only exercise my right of reply to answer the allegations made by the delegations of Cuba and Panama this afternoon.

The representative of Cuba said that in my country there had been tens of thousands of dead. The Government of Nicaragua has confined itself to maintaining public order, which is the duty of every Government. In this undertaking, it is true, we had to deplore losses of human lives, although not in the blatantly exaggerated numbers mentioned by the representative of Cuba. I am bound to say that responsibility for those deaths lies not with the Government but with the troublemakers who, with outside assistance, have tried to alter my country's constitutional régime.

The representative of Panama mentioned a document of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights which has not been accepted by my Government. It has, on the contrary, refuted it. At this time I shall not go into the reasons of my Government's refutation. One is that my Government was denied a sufficient opportunity to defend itself against those allegations, on which the Organization of American States still has to pronounce itself when it has all the facts before it. It is not for this Organization to pronounce itself on that document, far less to use it as a basis for any resolution.

Mr. PIZA ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of Cuba, in his statement, referred to my country as the one most directly affected by the tragedy that the Nicaraguan people are undergoing. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, I should like to state that my understanding was that the rule in regard to limiting the time allowed for the exercise of the right of reply applied only to the second time that right was used, but at any rate I shall try to confine myself to the period of 10 minutes mentioned by you.

Costa Rica has been and continues to be the innocent victim of a situation which it has not sought but which it could not and cannot avoid, for this situation is

(Mr. Piza Escalante, Costa Rica)

only the foreseeable and inevitable outcome of a tragedy which began for our brothers, the people of Nicaragua, 40 years ago when the founder of the dynasty now governing that country was installed by the Marines who had been occupying it since 1928. Our problems with the Somoza dynasty began just about then. They have been with us continually and have culminated in an aggression which has already begun to take its toll of innocent lives.

(Mr. Piza Escalante, Costa Rica)

As we see it, there are three reasons for that aggression. First the development of a growing rebellion of the people of Nicaragua against a régime that made oppression, the manipulation of democratic procedures - which were purely formal - and the destruction of the most sacred values of the Nicaraguan people its rule of conduct. This growing rebellion, which progressively engulfed all sectors of the population and overflowed the boundaries of the country, inevitably provoked an exodus of Nicaraguans to other countries, especially neighbouring countries, mine among them, to seek shelter from insecurity and persecution and the benefit of the political asylum which my country has made a sacred century-old tradition. This cannot or will not be understood by the Nicaraguan régime for which it is normal to claim that the Costa Ricans should ignore this sacred principle of political asylum by refusing admittance to its innocent victims and handing them over to their oppressors. That is why there have been attempts to have us close our borders to the victims of persecution and to hand them over to the Nicaraguan régime, and even threats, in the words of President Somoza, to have them pursued by his National Guard onto Costa Rican soil. His threats have in some cases been carried out and they keep our humble peasants in the area near the Nicaraguan border in a permanent state of fear.

The second reason for our difficulties, which is closely linked to the first, is the strategem - which obviously has been fruitless as well as unjustified - by the Somoza régime of trying, to our detriment, to divert the attention of the Nicaraguan people from their internal tragedy to an international conflict artificially provoked in a vain attempt to obtain some support and thus conceal the sufferings of the noble Nicaraguan people.

The third reason for our troubles - the least avowed but perhaps the most profound - is the pure and simple fact that our presence on the southern side of the Nicaraguan border is a permanent lesson in peace, freedom and democracy that inevitably serves as an example and a point of reference for the Nicaraguan people, which asks with an ever louder voice how it can be possible that within such a short distance a brother people, closely linked by ties of blood, friendship and history, can live in conditions so different and far removed from its own.

(Mr. Piza Escalante, Costa Rica)

The Government of Costa Rica has so far not wished to bring this problem before the United Nations because it has accepted the premise that it should be the regional organization, the Organization of American States (OAS), which should first pronounce itself. We have proceeded in the same way on other occasions. We did so recently in a case which gave rise to a forceful pronouncement adopted by the OAS on 16 October 1978 which, inter alia, declared that body's decision

"To censure and deplore the deliberate penetration of Costa Rican air space and the acts committed by elements of the Nicaraguan air force on 12 and 13 September, bombing and machine-gunning Costa Rican civilians on the territory of Costa Rica".

That decision was adopted by 19 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. Two delegations did not participate in the voting.

We raised the matter once more in that forum in view of new violations of our territory which this time left two dead, calling for an urgent convening of the consultative organ or a consultative meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the same regional organization.

However, we cannot avoid the challenge presented by draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.61, sponsored by the delegations of Colombia, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Panama, Venezuela and Democratic Yemen. We do not seek refuge from that challenge nor do we question the full competence of the United Nations to discuss and decide on problems such as this which effectively pose serious threats to international peace and security, not only as regards my country but also as regards the entire region, because it would appear that the Nicaragua régime, in its folly, is determined to do away internally with its own people internally and to convert the whole region into a holocaust.

Costa Rica is entirely blameless for the internal situation of Nicaragua, nor is it responsible for the fact that the Somoza régime has violated the rights of the Nicaraguan people as well as our territory and sovereignty. We have complied with our international commitments and made every effort to maintain our neutrality, even at the risk of the lives of our own Civil Guards of the President of our Republic and of the Ministers who have constantly visited the border area. In these efforts, we have paid dearly with the blood of Civil Guards and private citizens.

(Mr. Piza Escalante, Costa Rica)

The Nicaraguan Government would have us return the refugees; they wish us to disarm, to interne and even in some cases to deport the rebels who seek asylum in Costa Rica, but we will not return them to be sacrificed by the Somoza régime. That régime does not like our being a living example of freedom and democracy for Nicaraguans.

But our duties of neutrality cannot allow us to ignore or to disguise the tragedy of the Nicaraguan people which goes beyond the limits of internal jurisdiction to become a problem for all mankind. This is why, when the matter is brought before an international organization of which we are a Member, we must speak the truth and warmly support the action called for in the draft resolution.

We are a peaceful, unarmed State. As always, we have recourse to international law and to the international organizations of which we are a member. We would therefore like to know and we have the right to ask if our non-armament, our freedom and our peace can find protection in the international community. We are weak, but not cowardly as we have proved on other occasions, including the memorable one when the entire Costa Rican people went to war in 1856 to assist our Nicaraguan brothers to free themselves from the oppression of Yankee freebooters. We are not cowards, neither are we alone. That means that there is a limit to our patience and that we are reaching that limit.

I do not believe that I need enumerate before this Committee the series of violations of our sovereignty by the régime which governs Nicaragua, although we are prepared to do so. At any rate, we all know what is happening in Nicaragua. All delegations know what Costa Rica is and what the Government of Nicaragua is. Whenever an investigation of this situation has been carried out, we have been proved to be right. We believe that these precedents warrant our requesting the international community to believe us and to support us.

The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Nicaragua has asked to be allowed to speak again in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on him, I must say that it is not customary in the United Nations, and certainly is not my policy as Chairman of this Committee, to encourage or even to have situations where there is repeated exercise of the right of reply.

All members, including those who ask to be allowed to use the right of reply, can well imagine what would happen were statements in exercise of the right of reply to continue one after the other addressing the same subject and the same countries.

I call on the representative of Nicaragua.

Mr. MONTIEL ARGUELLO (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish):

The representative of Costa Rica has replied to the representative of Cuba, but he has not dealt with anything he said. All he did was to use the opportunity to criticize Nicaragua.

Nicaragua has always tried to have good relations with Costa Rica, but that country has become a refuge for persons, not only Nicaraguans but foreigners as well, who are seeking to subvert the constitutional order in Nicaragua. We do not deny the right of asylum, but it imposes obligations on the country of asylum, obligations that Costa Rica does not wish to comply with. Nicaragua has several times charged that guerrilla training camps have been established in Costa Rica. If Costa Rica complies with its international obligations, it would then have good relations with Nicaragua, something we very much wish.

The CHAIRMAN: The following countries have indicated their wish to become sponsors of the following draft resolutions: A/C.1/33/L.58, Bulgaria, the United Republic of Cameroon and Congo; A/C.1/33/L.59, Afghanistan, Barbados, Egypt, Nepal, Qatar, United Republic of Cameroon, Congo and Tunisia; A/C.1/33/L.60, United Republic of Cameroon and Congo; A/C.1/33/L.61, Afghanistan.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.