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Chairman: Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas)

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ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 46 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:

- (a) NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES ;
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION

Mr. ENDREFFY (Hungary): The Government and people of Hungary consider it their historical task of the highest order to build an advanced socialist society. The most important international condition for that pursuit lies in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the expansion and development of international co-operation. Accordingly, my country has a specific national interest in the consolidation of international peace and security. It was in this spirit that in 1970 my Government welcomed the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and this is at the heart of all its actions today, taken both individually and collectively with the countries of the socialist community, to promote the implementation of the principles and tasks set forth in that Declaration.

We believe that the continuing validity and relevance of those principles and tasks are convincingly demonstrated by developments in recent years, all the more so since a great deal more remains to be done to make headway in their implementation. This is an additional reason why we deem it useful for the General Assembly to keep under constant review the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

"The past year has been full of uncertainty, tension and conflict" reads the first sentence of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.(A/34/1, p. 1). I think we all may agree that the same can be said of the current year too. The sentence just quoted is a condensed expression of problems like the persistence of old, and even the emergence of new, focal points of international crisis; desperate efforts to save the last remnants of the colonial system; mass violations of human rights, including the policy of apartheid; the continuation of the arms race, and growing problems of the world

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

economy, to mention but a few. To complete the picture we must add such positive developments as the accession to independence by several countries and their entry to United Nations membership during the last few years; the failure of a great-Power hegemonistic aggression against a long-suffering country; the overthrow of repressive dictatorial régimes in various countries; the continuing expansion of international co-operation in a number of fields, and hopeful prospects opened for the future by an important development in the disarmament effort - the signing of SALT II. It is in view of the positive changes in the international balance of forces that, despite some negative features, my Government continues to regard détente as being the dominant trend in international relations while recognizing that, owing to increasing activity of the reactionary forces, the process of détente is moving forward under a more difficult and more complex set of circumstances.

The Hungarian People's Republic, together with the countries of the socialist community, considers it as an extremely important task to strengthen, broaden and deepen the process of détente. It is with this end in view that my country is shaping its bilateral relations and lending its support to any such initiative, both in the United Nations and in other international bodies. It was not accidental, therefore, that we welcomed and supported the proposal on the drafting of a universal treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, the adoption of the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente and the adoption of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

Hungary, as a European socialist country, has a particular interest in the strengthening of peace and security and in the expansion of co-operation in Europe. We note with satisfaction the significant broadening of political relations among the States signatories of the Final Act and the growth of co-operation in almost all fields since the time of the Helsinki Conference. We value these developments as additional contributions to the consolidation of European security and, thereby, to that of international security. An important event in the implementation of the recommendations of the Final Act of Helsinki took place in Geneva last month, when a convention on the control of air pollution and related co-operation was signed by 32 European States, as well as by the United States and Canada, at a high-level meeting held under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

My Government places great importance in, and is making active preparations for, the Madrid meeting of 1980 which, if properly prepared, is expected to be characterized by a creative and constructive atmosphere and to give equal weight to all sections of the Final Act, thus contributing to the development of security and co-operation in Europe.

We maintain that political détente in Europe should be extended to the military field. A number of practical measures were proposed to this effect in the Declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Body of the member States to the Warsaw Treaty at its Moscow meeting in November 1978 and in the communiqué issued by the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Organization at its Budapest meeting in May 1979. The adoption and implementation of those measures would further the cause of peace and security and would raise co-operation in Europe to a new and higher level.

The consolidation and expansion of détente and the strengthening of international peace and security are inseparably linked to disarmament, the pivotal issue of the present day. I would even say that, in my view, any essential progress in the tackling of other global problems depends largely on the steps to be taken towards disarmament. The tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, properly brought the importance and urgency of effective disarmament measures to the attention of world public opinion and pointed up the close interrelationship of disarmament to international security and to development.

My Government believes that every effort must be made to prevent a new spiralling of the arms race and to move towards the elaboration and implementation of effective disarmament measures. It believes further that in present-day conditions every possibility exists for the equal and undiminished security of States to be established at a lower level of armaments on the basis of a constructive attitude on the part of all parties concerned.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

The Hungarian Government welcomes the signing of the SALT II agreement as a step of great significance. The entry into force of that agreement is expected to have a positive effect on the international atmosphere, to lay the basis for further restraint on, and reduction in, strategic weapons and to exert a favourable influence on the disarmament talks being held in other forums.

The decision of the Soviet Union unilaterally to reduce its armed forces in the German Democratic Republic and its proposal concerning the reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles are significant contributions to the strengthening of international peace and security, particularly as regards its implications for Europe. The importance and timeliness of the proposal are evident: its implementation would reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe. The proposal therefore calls for serious consideration and a constructive approach by the other interested party.

Elimination of the international hotbeds of crisis is an important condition for the lessening of international tension and, consequently, for the strengthening of international peace and security. Unfortunately, little headway has been made in this field, while new centres of tension have sprung up. Most notable among them is the situation in South-East Asia, which, generated by the hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leadership, raises dangers not only for the peace of the region but, in a wider context, also for international peace and security in general. The position of my Government is on record as one of condemnation of the hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leadership and one of support for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

While dealing with the issues relating to Asia, I should like to state that, in accordance with our well-known position, we continue to support the endeavours of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, aimed at the peaceful reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Endreffy, Hungary)

The strengthening of international peace and security in our age is closely linked to increasing the role and efficiency of the United Nations in accordance with its Charter.

Ever since it was established, the United Nations has contributed actively to the maintenance of international peace and security, the deepening of the process of détente, the liquidation of the colonial system, and the shaping of a more human world in greater justice. It is an indisputable fact that the United Nations has become an integral and increasingly important part of the system of international relations and institutions that emerged in the wake of the Second World War.

While it is true that the United Nations has been able neither to prevent nor to solve all the conflicts that have arisen, it has a role to play in averting a world-wide catastrophe. A no less important function is performed by our Organization in coping with a multitude of international political, economic and social problems.

My Government believes that the role and effectiveness of the United Nations should be increased on the basis of respect for the Charter and of the continuing validity of its fundamental provisions, since the responsibilities and principles of our Organization, as much as the provisions for their realization, form a unified, indivisible and balanced whole. Any upset in this interlocked unity would result in reducing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. What is therefore needed is strict observance of the Charter and better utilization of the possibilities inherent in it.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Delegations which have taken the floor before me on this question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States have all underscored the tremendous importance which this item has, especially for developing countries, for it is developing countries which, because of their little over-all strength, are almost invariably the victims of intervention and interference from outside.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

In our Committee's consideration of this item in previous years we have stressed and emphasized this importance; yet the reality of our world today, which no one can deny, is that some States still persist in meddling in the internal affairs of other States. Such callous disregard for the rights and wishes of peoples to shape their own destiny bodes ill for the enhancement of peaceful co-existence among States.

Experience, past as well as present, teaches us that in addition to the domestic effects of political upheavals, economic stagnation, cultural poverty and social degeneration, the effects of interference also transcend national boundaries, often creating distrust and causing unrest and disorder among States, thereby jeopardizing peaceful friendly relations and threatening international peace and security. Therefore, so long as States continue to interfere in the internal affairs of others, global peace will continue to be an elusive goal.

It should not be surprising therefore, that there is immediate concern among developing countries that the General Assembly should adopt a declaration proscribing intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States; at its last session, the Assembly noted that a number of delegations had expressed support for the preparation of such a declaration. We feel that events since the last session of the Assembly have made even more imperative the need for such a declaration. This was the sense of the decision taken in Havana by the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, when they called on all States, in particular the non-aligned States, to work for the early adoption of such a declaration by the General Assembly.

Following this decision, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries, meeting in New York at the commencement of the present session of the Assembly, decided that the non-aligned States should give priority at this session to the elaboration of a declaration on non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

Consistent with the importance attached to the item, with the relevant decision of the Assembly in 1978 and with the decision of our Foreign Ministers to which I have just referred, a working group of the non-aligned States

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

have worked long hours to produce a draft declaration on non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States which I have the honour to present to this Committee. That draft is contained in document A/C.1/34/L.56, and I am introducing it on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Botswana, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Sri Lanka, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, and Guyana.

We have sought in this document to make a comprehensive statement of the rights of States in the ordering of their own internal and external affairs, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the obligation on States to refrain from certain types of action in their relations with other States, actions which constitute interference and intervention. These rights and obligations, deriving from our Charter and from other instruments of international law, are set forth in our document in five broad, general formulations, each of which is developed in detail immediately. They are as follows:

First, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic, social and cultural system are contrary to the Charter.

Secondly, each State has the sovereign and inalienable right freely to determine its own economic system and to develop its international economic relations in accordance with the will of its people and without outside interference, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever.

Thirdly, each State has an obligation to ensure against the occurrence, within its territory, of conduct aimed at subverting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and unity of other States.



(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

Fourthly, each State has the right to develop fully its system of information and mass media as an integrated part of its over-all national progress, and with the aim of realizing its right to inform and to be informed in an objective and integrated manner.

Fifthly, each State has the obligation to observe, promote and respect all human rights and fundamental freedoms and to realize the full dignity and worth of the human person.

It had been the determination of the non-aligned to work to secure the adoption at this current session of the Assembly of the Declaration in question. However, after our working paper became available last week, I carried out consultations on behalf of the non-aligned with a wide cross-section of delegations. Those consultations have been of great value. Delegations have spoken very freely and frankly, albeit on a very preliminary basis in some cases, describing not only what they found satisfactory about our draft, but also the problems that this draft posed for them, and I do sincerely appreciate this responsiveness on their part. What emerged, beyond any doubt, from my consultations was that it would be very difficult to achieve, at this session of the Assembly, the consensus with which we would have desired the Declaration to be adopted.

The Non-Aligned Movement was informed of the results of those consultations; it considered that, the urgency of the case notwithstanding, its importance dictated that we should give ourselves ample pause for the process of detailed discussion and negotiation with other States, which are so necessary for the adoption of a consensus Declaration of this sort. We have therefore decided that this year we would simply present our draft for the consideration and information of the members of the Committee -- this I have just done -- and to present at the same time a draft resolution merely procedural in nature, which, on the basis of the relevant reports of the Secretary-General, previous decisions of the Assembly and the expressions of support by Member States for a Declaration such as the one in question, would take note of the draft presented and have the Assembly set up an open-ended Ad Hoc working group of the First Committee at the start of the thirty-fifth session, with a view to elaborating and finalizing the Declaration.

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

In this way, there will be a good opportunity for consultation among States on the content of the draft, for contact with Governments and for responses to be received, as well as for all necessary negotiations to be carried out prior to the adoption of the Declaration which, we hope, can take place at the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly.

This procedural draft resolution is contained in document A/C.1/34/L.57 and it is being presented on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Botswana, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Guyana, Madagascar, Sri Lanka, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

It is our sincere hope that this procedural draft resolution could be adopted by this Committee by consensus.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I merely wish to make a small amendment to draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.55. I propose the addition, in the second line of the sixth preambular paragraph, after the word "disarmament", of a comma and the word "decolonization". The paragraph will then read:

"Reaffirming again the close link existing between the strengthening of international peace and security, disarmament, decolonization and development, ... " and so on.

The next thing I want to mention is that, because of lack of time yesterday I cut my statement short and referred only to the portions of the draft resolution pertaining to implementation - namely, operative paragraphs 1 and 2 - and made only a passing reference to operative paragraph 14, which refers to what I am going to say now, concerning the request addressed to the Secretary-General to prepare, with the help of a group of government experts, a report for the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the extent of the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and on actions which should be undertaken by the General Assembly in order to secure full compliance with the provisions of the Declaration. This paragraph is also worthy of note as referring to implementation, no less than operative paragraphs 1 and 2, about which I spoke in detail yesterday.

Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation wishes to express its views on three groups of questions in this debate:

First, Yugoslavia considers that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is one of the most important documents that the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted in the course of the last 10 years. In that document, the basic principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are confirmed and the objectives of the world Organization further elaborated in the light of contemporary developments. The Declaration is one of those documents that complement the Charter effectively, lay down a broader basis for the expression of the aspirations, primarily of peoples and countries which have achieved their independence in the process of the anticolonial revolution, of the emancipation of peoples and countries from foreign interference, domination and oppression and through their resistance to the policy of division of the world into blocs and the creation of spheres of interest and domination. The adoption of the Declaration has made it possible to focus attention on problems of security and on the threat of use of force, and of encroachment on the independence of small and medium-sized countries.

If we examine in greater detail the contents of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we shall see that it encompasses all the vital sectors of international relations and lays down long-term objectives and principles for their consideration and for the constant and gradual solution of problems. The Declaration is a specific programme of international co-operation for strengthening the peace and security of States and, as such, is of lasting value. Almost all the main preoccupations and problems with which the international community was faced a decade ago were incorporated into the 27 operative paragraphs of the Declaration. A careful analysis will show that the Declaration renders possible a constant mobilization of efforts in the search for solution of outstanding international problems. Positive results have been achieved by peoples along this road: namely, the firm resolve fully to respect the will of peoples to determine their destinies freely and without foreign

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

interference and domination has been further strengthened; resistance to outdated models of relations based on subjugation, domination and spheres of interest is gaining in ascendancy; notable results have been achieved with regard to the elimination of the policies of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination and in the struggle against exploitation, the division of the world into blocs, hegemonism and all forms of foreign domination.

This period witnessed a close identification of peoples and countries with the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment, when about 40 new States and recognized national liberation movements joined the Non-Aligned Movement.

Today, non-alignment represents the vast majority of mankind. It bases its actions in international relations on clearly-defined objectives and principles which were elaborated during the period between the founding conference in Belgrade in 1961 and the most representative gathering, of non-aligned countries in Havana this year. By their activities the non-aligned countries are striving to contribute effectively to the implementation of the provisions and objectives of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The growing influence of the policy of non-alignment, as an independent non-bloc factor in international relations, and as a basis of the security and independence of the immense majority of sovereign States, contributes considerably to the realization of the Declaration in all of its aspects.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

However, there is still strong opposition to the realization of these aims, regardless of the fact that the processes of solving various problems are becoming ever more pronounced and present. There is still resistance to the final liquidation of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. The struggle of African peoples, which enjoy the full support of the international democratic public opinion, and particularly of all non-aligned countries, has entered a critical phase and further efforts will have to be exerted to free the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia from colonial and racist régimes.

The Palestinian people is still the victim of the expansionism and the aggressive policy of Israel, which is being increasingly isolated in its policy of annexation of Arab territories and usurpation of other peoples' rights.

The question of Cyprus has not yet been solved. The people of Korea, the victim of foreign interference, continues to be divided.

Détente is seriously affected and is stagnating because of its limited bloc character. Foreign intervention, whose victims are primarily the non-aligned countries, is on the increase. An extremely tense situation has been created in the Indochinese peninsula and in the region of South-East Asia. The people of Kampuchea is subjected to prolonged suffering.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/34/L.55, of which my country has the honour to be a sponsor, embodies important ideas and appraisals of the degree of implementation of the Declaration and expresses the views of the vast majority of Member States of the world Organization, views which deserve to be considered very carefully.

The draft resolution contains positive appraisals concerning the progress achieved by African peoples in the struggle against colonialism. It supports the transformation of the Indian Ocean and of the Mediterranean into zones of peace. In this connexion it supports the tendency of promoting co-operation and détente in Europe and welcomes the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Madrid in 1980.

This Committee adopted a few days ago a draft resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in relations between States. This is yet another contribution of the United Nations General Assembly to the identification and elimination of phenomena and forces which stand in the way of a genuine security of States.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The draft resolution on the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" expresses at the same time concern over the continuation of the arms race, the perpetuation of situations of crisis in various parts of the world, the absence of progress in establishing the New International Economic Order, the continuation of great-Power rivalry for the establishment of zones of influence and domination, the continuance of the practice of foreign intervention, occupation of foreign territories by force, interference and pressures on small and under-developed countries, attempts at limiting the sovereign rights of States and peoples in the name of the defence of particular interests, and the like. All that limits and diminishes the positive results achieved with respect to the easing of international tensions and the emancipation of peoples and countries.

The draft resolution calls for the preparation, for the next session of the General Assembly, of a special report on the extent of the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and on actions which should be undertaken in order to secure full compliance with the provisions of the Declaration. We are convinced that it would be in the general interest of all Member States to contribute to the elaboration of this report.

The second problem I should like to take up and on which I shall make a few remarks concerns the proposal to adopt a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States.

The General Assembly by its resolution 33/74 reaffirmed that the adoption of 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.

The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in September this year, devoted special attention to the question of foreign interference and intervention and reaffirmed the dedication of non-aligned countries to the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of States as one of the basic principles of the policy of non-alignment. The Heads of State or Government insisted on the position that any violation of this principle is entirely unacceptable,

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by Member States of the United Nations. They noted with concern that interference in the internal and external affairs of States was becoming one of the basic forms of aggression against non-aligned countries and called upon all States Members of the world Organization to co-operate in the elaboration of a declaration on the inadmissibility of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States and to work for the early adoption of such a declaration by the General Assembly. In line with those stands, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries has prepared a preliminary working draft of the declaration, which was so ably introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, by the Ambassador of Guyana, Mr. Noel Sinclair.

The draft declaration is oriented towards the mobilization of efforts to eliminate impediments standing in the way of the development and promotion of a new system of democratic relations in the world, with a view to eradicating the policies of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, all forms of racism, apartheid, aggression, occupation, domination, interference and hegemonism, as well as the policy of blocs, spheres of interest and exploitation. Furthermore, the draft declaration affirms the right of peoples under colonial and foreign domination to self-determination, freedom and independence, as well as their right to wage a political and armed struggle and, in order to achieve this aim, to seek and obtain assistance and support. It also asserts the right of every people to choose freely its own system of political, economic, social and cultural development, and its right to determine its foreign policy itself and to defend these rights with all the means at its disposal. The draft declaration lays stress on the principle of respect for and enjoyment of human rights, as well as on that of permanent sovereignty over natural resources, and condemns the existence of massive and flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In elaborating these and other principles the draft declaration departs from the results achieved in the evolution and democratization of international relations and, as such, it contributes to the codification of positive results for which, the authors believe, there exists a general interest. I am confident that the next session of the General Assembly will adopt this draft declaration by consensus.

(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

The third question on which I wish to express the views of the Yugoslav delegation is the initiative for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation. As a European, socialist and non-aligned country, Yugoslavia, together with the other non-aligned and neutral countries of Europe, calls for increased participation and contribution by European countries in the settlement of global problems, such as decolonization, disarmament, development, focal points of crisis and the like. The initiative for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation provides all the European countries with a historical opportunity to contribute, through practical actions, to the bridging of the economic and political gap existing between the developing countries and the developed world and also to contribute to the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly concerning the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

Apart from what I have already said about the need to solve focal points of crisis in the Mediterranean, Yugoslavia considers that the efforts to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation should be exerted within the framework of efforts aimed at relaxation of tensions and confrontation, reduction of armaments, promotion of comprehensive co-operation and good-neighbourly relations, settlement of outstanding disputes by peaceful means, development of regional co-operation in the fields of economy, science, culture, sports, protection of the environment, communications and so on. I wish to mention that some results have been achieved at the regional level, such as the adoption of the Barcelona Convention on the protection of the waters of the Mediterranean against pollution. This year my country was host to a very useful sports manifestation - the Mediterranean Sports Games - which gathered together sportsmen from almost all Mediterranean countries and thus contributed to the promotion of friendship and understanding among sportsmen and young people of that region.



(Mr. Mujezinovic, Yugoslavia)

We are convinced that it is in the interests of all Mediterranean countries to make use of the forthcoming meetings connected with the convening of the Madrid Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, for the further elaboration of activities and measures of co-operation, as advocated by all non-aligned and neutral countries in Europe, in order to affirm further the idea of converting the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

The holding of a joint meeting of Mediterranean non-aligned countries and other Mediterranean countries participants in the Conference, with a view to initiating joint projects of co-operation and making the necessary preparations for the Madrid Conference, should be of special significance for the success of that Conference. The holding of that meeting is a reflection of the common awareness of the reality that there can be no stable and lasting peace in Europe without the settlement of outstanding problems in the region of the Mediterranean that seriously burden the situation in the Mediterranean. My country attaches the greatest significance to the exertion of joint efforts by all Mediterranean countries to solve outstanding problems; to liquidate situations of occupation, domination and aggression; and to achieve respect for the right of peoples to national independence and territorial integrity. Without the elimination of focal points of crisis in the region of the Mediterranean, the present efforts and the achievement of results in transforming this area into a zone of peace and co-operation will continue to encounter obstacles and difficulties. However, this should not discourage us in our efforts to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

Finally, the delegation of Yugoslavia has sponsored the draft resolution on the development and strengthening of the principle of good-neighbourliness between States, contained in document A/C.1/34/L.54. We consider it very useful to have the principle of good-neighbourliness further examined and developed because my country attaches great importance to the promotion of good and friendly relations with its neighbours. Good-neighbourliness contributes significantly to the promotion of world peace and the security of all peoples and States. My country will co-operate in the further consideration of this important principle.

Mr. BUKETI BUYAKI MATULOMBELE (Zaire) (interpretation from French):

When during the first Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the United Nations a year earlier, the General Assembly on 16 December 1970 adopted resolution 2734 (XXV), containing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we were justified in believing that the international community has just awakened to the danger that threatened mankind as a whole, a danger basically caused by excessive armament and by the frenzied nuclear and conventional arms race.

That Declaration drew its inspiration from another Declaration which was adopted by the General Assembly at the same session - I am referring to resolution 2625 (XXV) on the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. That Declaration responded to the overriding desire of the peoples of the world to live in peace.

Operative paragraph 1 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security solemnly:

"... reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever;"

Unfortunately, we must observe, at the end of the first Disarmament Decade and nine years after the adoption of that Declaration, that the world has not progressed. On the contrary, distressing signs of insecurity, are seen on all sides, spreading desolation and famine throughout the world.

We have remained at the stage of pious wishes for 10 years, even overlooking the fact that the aims and principles of the Charter define international security as a basic element of peace that cannot be isolated and which, conditions the harmonization and promotion of the manifold relations among States is conditional.

The sombre picture of the international situation reflects a troubled and hesitant world where violence has become entrenched. The détente which characterized East-West relations in the 1970s has not been extended throughout the world; curiously enough, the cold war has been transported towards the territories of the third world, the victims of local conflicts and threats of upheavals.

(Mr. Buketi Buyaki Matulombe,  
Zaire)

The deep causes that have hindered the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security can be ascertained and identified when we analyse the provisions of that Declaration itself. My delegation will limit itself to mentioning a few of the provisions that we feel are the most important.

First, operative paragraphs 9 to 16 of the Declaration invites all States Members of the United Nations to do all in their power to strengthen the authority, role and effectiveness of the Security Council.

Yet, we note to our great disappointment that during the last two years the permanent members of the Council have, despite their privileges, somewhat abused the use of their veto right, thus placing the organ responsible under the Charter for maintaining international peace and security in the impossible position of being unable to fulfil its role. This finding does not promise a serene future for international relations, and it seriously weakens the credibility of our Organization, which should be the guarantor of peace and the protector of peoples in the exercise of their fundamental rights.

Instead of serving the cause of peace and international security, the veto right in the hands of the permanent members of the Security Council has become a weapon in the service of their policies, ideologies and world strategies, to the detriment of the legitimate rights and interests of the majority of the States of the world.

Secondly, resolution 1514 (XV), mentioned in paragraph 18 of the Declaration, tends more and more to be given different interpretations according to the situation to which it is being applied. The rapid elimination of colonialism and any other form of foreign domination envisaged in that paragraph unfortunately has not yet been achieved.

Thirdly, paragraph 19 of the Declaration affirms:

"... that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries ...".

(Mr. Buketi Buyaki Matulombe,  
Zaire)

Here also we must deplore the increase in military expenditures and the absence of any political will to encourage the achievement of a new world order, one that would be more equitable because it would be more just. Like the first Disarmament Decade which ended with disturbingly excessive armament, the second Decade appears to be characterized at its close by the existence of an ever-increasing gap between the wealthy countries and the poor countries, despite the persistent appeal made in accordance with paragraph 21 of the Declaration, which states that the elimination as soon as possible of the economic gap between the rich and the poor "is closely and essentially co-related to the strengthening of the security of all nations and the establishment of lasting international peace;". We believe that response to this appeal has not gotten beyond the stage of good intentions; for the international community has not forgotten its disappointment with the results of the fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the North-South dialogue and the negotiations in the Committee of the Whole established under resolution 32/174.

Fourthly, paragraphs 22 and 23 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security resolutely condemn racial discrimination, oppression, tyranny and, in particular, apartheid. With regard to apartheid, the Declaration equated that hateful policy with crimes against humanity and legitimized the struggle of oppressed peoples for respect for their fundamental freedoms and human rights. We must once again here denounce the fact that, while in the name of the egotistical interests of one party or another, we proclaim the principles of the Charter, we spurn those principles when our interests are threatened, as though there were a hierarchy of the peoples of the world, with some having greater rights than others. Apartheid is not only a grave threat to international peace and security, but it is the denial of all the principles of the Charter and must be fought by all means.

Finally, the twenty-seventh and last paragraph of the Declaration requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of that resolution. Each year this provision is suggested to us, and the report submitted by the Secretary-General is limited to making known the views of States on their conception of measures needed to strengthen international security. The delegation of Zaire believes that this procedure does not fully respond to the objectives of the declaration. While we recognize the value of this collation of information received, it would be more helpful to decide at each session on specific measures that should guide our acts, after a global examination of the international situation of the past year, and to denounce those States which have, in one way or another, violated the principles contained in the Declaration.

That is, very briefly, an outline of the main provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1970. But that Declaration, together with so many others, has remained merely a series of pious wishes. We seem to take great pleasure in the adoption of new resolutions and new declarations, as though the content of the previous ones was so incomplete that they could not be implemented unless new declarations were adopted.

Each year, one or more resolutions devoted to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security are adopted without the slightest progress being achieved. But all those resolutions, furthermore, are identical with one another except for minor differences of wording. We believe that the results of one session can be measured not by the quantitative importance or the number of documents adopted, but by the quality and the realism shown in the decisions adopted.

Instead of devoting ourselves yearly to a routine task, we should be more effective if our work were directed towards a self-critical analysis of our previous acts and then to the adoption of concrete and realistic decisions.

(Mr. Buketi Buyaki Matulombe, Zaire)

My delegation believes that no substantial progress can be achieved in the matter of international security unless certain fundamental principles are made the basis of relations among States. Among these prior considerations, my delegation wishes to stress, is first and foremost the dynamic and evolutionary character of human society. It is evident that the international realities of 1885 at the Berlin Conference were different from those of Yalta in 1945 or those of the United Nations in 1960 or 1970.

The refusal to acknowledge this evolution lies at the very root of the crucial situation with which we are all familiar and which we deplore: refusal to abandon certain privileges and relations born of the latter days of colonization; refusal to consider States as independent members of the third world and as equal counterparts; refusal to recognize the equality of races and the right of all peoples to respect, consideration and a secure life; refusal to share the fruits of the joint efforts of the working classes of all countries - in short, refusal to accept the various changes produced in international life, which is at the root of many misunderstandings and the origin of some of the crises of our time.

The second prior consideration is the consistent will that should imbue all States to work for peace and should be made manifest in terms of the national policies of each State. Good-neighbourliness and the rejection of any hegemonism would contribute to the achievement of that goal.

Finally, the third and last of the prior considerations is respect for the authenticity of others by the eradication of the vain contention of the superiority of one culture over another and acceptance of the fact that peoples in their diversity complement one another.

(Mr. Buketi Buyaki Matulombe, Zaire)

It is our adherence to these postulates that can establish an era of peace and security. We have indeed forcefully proclaimed the right of all States to security, but as long as certain Powers seem to disregard the universal value of the prior considerations that I have described no substantial progress can be achieved in this field, and that negative attitude will as a consequence frustrate any effort undertaken by the international community to encourage peace.

International security cannot be dissociated from peace, and will not be a reality throughout the world until peoples of the third world cease to be both the instruments and the victims of the game of the great Powers. Our permanent concern must be to safeguard harmony in the relations among interdependent States.

Mr. STAYKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in 1970 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, has provided sufficient evidence over the years of its great value as one of the most important United Nations documents and as a basis for action and the initiatives of States in the field of the strengthening of world peace and security.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches paramount importance to this document because it embodies purposes and tasks towards the realization of which is directed the whole of the foreign policy of Bulgaria. The strengthening of peace and understanding among peoples and the development of fruitful co-operation are intrinsic elements of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

During the last few months certain positive elements have emerged which promote the process of the strengthening of international security and the deepening of détente in international relations.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

My delegation, in common with many others, has already had occasion to stress the great importance of the second strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II), not only for the signatories, the Soviet Union and the United States, but also for the prospects of détente, peace and security for peoples all over the world. This treaty opens up new possibilities for the conclusion of a subsequent treaty on the reduction and the limitation of strategic weapons. That is why the great and multiform importance of SALT II leads us to express the ardent hope that it will be ratified in the very near future.

For life itself and the universal development of international events have brought to the fore in world politics the problem of the limitation of the arms race and that of disarmament, the solution of which will govern the deliverance of human civilization from the devastating consequences of a possible nuclear war. It is quite clear that the arms race, if it is not mastered and if it does not give way to disarmament, will immeasurably increase immeasurably the danger to international peace and security and even endanger the very existence of mankind. Tangible success on the road to disarmament would liberate colossal resources to aid the economic and social progress of the world and, in particular, to assist the developing countries. In this way, the solution of the problem and the ending of the arms race have become an imperative need of the times in which we live.

From the point of view of the link between international security and disarmament, my delegation wishes to draw attention to the need to achieve progress in the negotiations on a number of important aspects connected with curbing the arms race, first of all, in the nuclear field. I refer above all to the question of starting negotiations on measures to be adopted in order to put an end to the production of nuclear weapons and to promote the reduction of stockpiles of such weapons until their complete elimination is achieved.



(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

The draft resolution adopted by the First Committee to this effect forms a good basis for deciding on future measures along these lines. In this regard, I should like to emphasize that measures relating to the reduction of nuclear weapons and to nuclear disarmament must be co-ordinated in practical terms with measures relating to the reinforcement of international guarantees of a political and legal nature concerning the security of States. Of particular importance would be the conclusion of an international treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

In the field of disarmament there are, of course, other problems which have been on the agenda for some considerable time, and whose solution should not be delayed. The interests of world peace and security require that all States make a tangible contribution to accomplish progress along all the lines laid down in the Programme of Action adopted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The process of strengthening international security is accompanied by considerable difficulties deriving from the actions of those who are working against the cessation of the arms race and against détente and who harbour hegemonistic designs. The struggle to establish the inadmissibility of hegemonism, as demonstrated by the discussion in this Committee, constitutes an important orientation in the efforts to consolidate détente and strengthen democratic principles in world politics, for the defence of the rights of small countries and peoples.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

At present, every movement forward on the road towards the consolidation of peace in Europe and peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation among the countries of Europe in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and growing confidence comes up against the plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to intensify the nuclear arms race and to deploy in Western Europe new types of American rockets which are oriented towards the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, thereby destabilizing the situation further. It is quite obvious that the forces which do not wish Europe to follow the course outlined by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are recommencing their activities and are making various co-ordinated efforts in order to cause the world to return to the times of the "cold war".

Now, at a crucial moment for the destinies of the European peoples, the socialist countries are proposing a programme of measures and new initiatives which will make it possible to tackle the difficult tasks of our day and which are designed to deepen détente and to supplement it by détente in the military field.

A new initiative of great scope is contained in the series of proposals presented by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at Berlin on 6 October of this year. Taking into consideration earlier proposals of the socialist countries, it might be possible to say that we have before us a genuine peace programme for Europe. This group of proposals embraces all the main aspects of military détente in Europe: the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons and the promotion of confidence-building measures. Quite clearly, the implementation of these proposals would result in increasing the security of all the peoples of Europe and strengthening the element of confidence in relations among them.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

Progress in this direction would in fact mean putting to good use the powerful positive potential represented by the decisions of the historic Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the holding and crowning success of which proved one of the most important events of the past decade. The Conference promoted the tangible improvement of the political climate in Europe and throughout the world. The Final Act is being increasingly affirmed every day as a code of conduct for peaceful coexistence among European States and as a vast long-term programme for fruitful co-operation among them. The forthcoming meeting in Madrid is called upon to contribute to the strengthening of security and understanding in the continent and to extend pan-European co-operation. My country, for its part, is striving to ensure that the work of the Madrid meeting takes place in a constructive spirit, so that it may become a useful second step in the peaceful evolution of the continent of the implementation of the Final Act.

Another deserving initiative is the idea of transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. This idea enjoys a great deal of support among the States Members of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports this initiative and is ready to make its contribution at the preparatory stage and during the work of the International Conference on this subject which is to be held in 1981.

It should be noted that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries consistently support the view that it is urgently necessary to undertake new efforts on a world-wide scale to eliminate military bases situated in foreign territory.

Nowadays, more than ever before, hotbeds of tension and regional conflicts have a very negative effect on international security, and at the same time are fraught with constant danger for world peace.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

Seen in this light, the situation in the Middle East retains its alarming aspects. Facts demonstrate that separate measures of such a nature as the treaty between Egypt and Israel do not provide any solution for this problem. On the contrary, they further complicate it. It is evident that a just and lasting settlement of the question of the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of the well-known resolutions of the United Nations, with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people, which must be guaranteed the right to establish its own State.

Very special concern is being aroused among us by the equally dangerous situation in South Asia. The principal cause of this state of affairs is the hegemonistic policy of a great Power of the region, which uses as a weapon such things as interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and which is threatening to "give new lessons".

We are also preoccupied by the intense campaign of slander against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam concerning the problem of refugees in Indo-China. It is impossible to be mistaken about the intention to use this problem as a pretext for interfering in the domestic affairs of the sovereign People's Republic of Kampuchea, the authentic representatives of which must occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

The situation in Cyprus is also a serious source of tension in the eastern Mediterranean, and it is all the more unfortunate that no progress towards the settlement of this problem can be discerned. This complicated problem must find its solution on the basis of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations, with the guaranteeing of the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus and respect for its territorial integrity.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

In Asia, Bulgaria maintains its support for the constructive efforts made by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the free, peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean people without any foreign interference.

The strengthening of international security is indissolubly bound up with the settlement without delay of such problems as the total elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid. But during their just struggle for their national independence, for their right to the independent control of their natural resources and against colonialism and racism, the peoples are being confronted by the resistance of imperialist, reactionary and racist forces, which in this way are creating hotbeds of tension and thereby endangering world peace.

There is no doubt at all that the elimination of the racist régimes of southern Africa, the immediate granting of independence to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the elimination of the system of apartheid in South Africa and the cessation of all military and political interference of imperialist forces in the domestic affairs of independent African countries represent essential elements in the efforts and the struggle for world peace and international security.

These are some of the so-called hotbeds on our planet, and from this it will be readily understood how important it is to adopt rapid and effective measures to settle crisis situations, with a view to preventing not only their developing into large-scale and permanent military conflicts, but also their becoming a constant danger to international security.

(Mr. Staykov, Bulgaria)

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria endeavours constantly to strengthen security, good neighbourliness and co-operation among the States of the Balkan peninsula. The initiatives and goodwill demonstrated by the Bulgarian Government and personally by Todor Zhivkov, President of the Council of State, with respect to our neighbours enjoy widespread support. As President Zhivkov stated in a speech before the National Assembly last May:

"The aspirations of all Bulgarians are to see the Balkan peninsula transformed into a region of lasting peace and stability and to live in a climate of trust and mutual respect, in close co-operation with all our neighbours. That is the goal we have pursued unswervingly, that is the goal which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively endeavouring to translate into practice".

Constant strides are being made in the political dialogue, trade and economic relations and cultural exchanges between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries. The policy of strengthening relations of security, good neighbourliness and co-operation being pursued by Bulgaria is based upon our people's sincere and deep desire to live in peace and understanding with all their neighbours.

Giving due value to the vital importance of the need to consolidate international security, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, will spare no effort in the future as well to achieve implementation of the provisions of the Declaration in order to arrive at an end to the arms race, the elimination of hotbeds of tension and strict respect by all States for the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is that same spirit that we are emphasizing the importance of the basic provisions of draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.55 by giving it our positive support.

Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Almost ten years ago, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. All States supported it. That document is one of the significant landmarks on the path towards a relaxation of international tensions and the strengthening of international security. A review of the implementation of that Declaration was a justified

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

undertaking that has made it possible to compare what has been achieved with what is still required, as well as to determine the necessary tasks that lie ahead.

In this connexion, we must also take into account such important United Nations documents as the Declarations adopted at the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions of the General Assembly, the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente (resolution 32/155) and the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace (resolution 33/73). In taking stock, we should like first of all to refer to the fact that it has been possible to prevent a world-wide nuclear war. The groundwork has been laid for further steps to prevent and halt the arms race and to bring about disarmament. Peaceful coexistence has been recognized as a principle in relations between States. Much has been done to give substance to this principle. The number of peoples who have liberated themselves from the yoke of colonialism has increased. Following the decision to create a New International Economic Order, the liquidation of neo-colonialist exploitation has also been placed on the agenda. On the whole, relations between States have been improved as far as the peoples are concerned.

No one expected these developments to proceed without difficulties. At present, they are being threatened by a serious countermeasure that consists in co-ordinated and intensified acts by the forces that are striving to revive the cold war and confronting Europe with the question of whether it will continue on the course of a sharp escalation of the arms race and an increase in tensions and confrontations, or whether relations between the States of our continent will be based on the principles of Helsinki.

The path Europe will follow must, in our opinion, be of the greatest concern to the peoples of other regions, because developments in Europe will inevitably have either a positive or a negative effect on the full range of international relations. The crux of the problem may be boiled down to a material guarantee of political détente by means of military détente. Political relations can be stable only in so far as it is possible to maintain an approximate balance of military forces on the basis of which effective steps can be taken to limit the arms race and to bring about disarmament, and also to strengthen confidence.

This is the purpose of the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries that are contained in the Moscow Declaration adopted in November 1978 and in the Budapest statement adopted in the spring of this year. This goal is the basis of the

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

peaceful initiative taken by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and President of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid I. Brezhnev, on 6 October of this year in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, in which he set forth the readiness of the USSR to reduce the number of medium-range rockets in its western regions, provided that the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) do not deploy additional American medium-range rockets in western Europe. This positive and far-reaching proposal for talks should be implemented in the near future. So far, no constructive response has come from the NATO countries. Instead, in the various foreign offices decisions are being feverishly drawn up that will rob the proposed negotiations of their basis and inevitably complicate the process of détente.

The peoples involved are left in ignorance of the state of affairs and its possible consequences. It is a fact that the intention is to add to the thousands of nuclear-weapons carriers deployed in the Western European countries 600 of the most modern American medium-range rockets. The desire is to alter the military balance of forces and to achieve superiority, which could then be used for political blackmail, and this is not being restricted to the States members of the Warsaw Pact. It is another aspect of the long-term programme of increasing NATO armament that is now under way. It is well known that this programme was adopted at a time when here, in New York, the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, was taking place. The purpose it pursues cannot be achieved, but an intensification of the arms race would be an additional burden on the peoples, causing an increase in tensions and leading to inevitable negative consequences for the over-all desire to achieve a limitation of the arms race and disarmament.



(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

We should like quite seriously to state that the socialist States will not permit a repetition of the events of the year 1941. Thirteen million citizens of the German Democratic Republic have signed an urgent appeal that states:

"We built up our country out of ruins not in order to reduce everything to rubble once more. What has been produced by assiduous labour should not be again destroyed. We support the peace initiative of Leonid Brezhnev. Reason and good will are needed, instead of the arms race and the policy of war. We demand the following: that instead of new nuclear missiles in western Europe that there be steps towards disarmament; instead of the arms race, that there is a continuation of détente".

The strengthening of international security by means of disarmament is a global task. This has again become clear in the course of the discussions on the relevant items in this Committee. The unanimous approval of the SALT II Treaty is of great political significance, and we hope that that Treaty may soon be ratified.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the fact that demands for concrete steps towards disarmament, especially in the nuclear sphere, have prevailed. The appropriate measures have been defined in resolutions; and here we wish once again to invite attention to the necessity of immediately resuming consultations and negotiations on nuclear disarmament in all its aspects. The question quite relevantly arises: How is it possible to achieve substantial progress towards halting the arms race, as was called for at the tenth special session devoted to disarmament, if some nuclear States are still not ready to enter into negotiations? Since in order to produce concrete steps towards disarmament, in the first instance it is necessary to have the political will of States, the adoption of the declaration on international co-operation for disarmament, as proposed by Czechoslovakia, deserves particular attention. This declaration is designed to establish a correlation between words and deeds so that pronouncements concerning programmes may be converted into concrete steps.

How, for instance, is it possible to achieve practical results if, on the one hand, in negotiations priority is given to the prohibition of chemical weapons while, on the other hand, the Pentagon is calling for appropriations

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

for the production of new types of such weapons? In this connexion, it might be worth saying that studies cannot replace political will. We must be watchful in regard to attempts to take advantage of such studies as an excuse to prolong political negotiations.

It is not possible to guarantee genuine security for all peoples unless we eliminate the festering conflicts and prevent the appearance of new ones. Controversial questions between States for the most part are complex and tend to become exacerbated. Their solution on occasion calls for time, but under all circumstances it is necessary to seek peaceful solutions. Interventionist wars should be prohibited. They exacerbate the international situation, they produce large numbers of victims and they do not resolve anything. A reliable guide for the definitive settlement of international disputes is the United Nations Charter or, to put it another way, if any attempts are made to bring about a settlement in contravention of the United Nations Charter this leads, as a rule, to the exacerbation of the problem. The Camp David accords on the Middle East are evidence of this. The withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, the recognition of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish its own independent State, and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the settlement of the conflict remain the premises for the achievement of peace in the Middle East in the truest sense of that expression.

In southern Africa the conflict continues. Its principal focal point namely, the racist régime in South Africa, still survives as a result of the support of its overseas friends and allies.

In London negotiations on Zimbabwe are taking place. Let us not speak of the tactics used by the host party, since they revive memories. However, we should point out that the gentlemen from Pretoria are brazenly threatening aggression in order to achieve their openly stated expansionist plans. We do not note any indignation on the part of those who, in other circumstances, speak loudly regarding a peaceful settlement in southern Africa and refuse to recognize the right of peoples to armed struggle against their oppressors. A lasting peace in southern Africa is possible only if the right of people to self-determination is systematically exercised and the way is barred to neo-colonialist manoeuvres. The United Nations should take effective measures against

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

the racist régime in southern Africa. The time for this is certainly ripe. This applies also to the prohibition of any activity in the nuclear sphere.

During his recent visit to friendly Ethiopia, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, stated:

"Together with the other States of the socialist community, the German Democratic Republic emphatically calls for the application of the sanctions against Rhodesia that were adopted by a decision of the United Nations and for effective sanctions by the Security Council against South Africa. We firmly condemn any continuing aggressive actions by the racist régimes against the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia and other States of that region towards whom we continue to display an unshakable solidarity.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

In South-East Asia, the hegemonist policy of one of the members of the Security Council has led to a serious threat to peace. The people of Viet Nam has had to defend itself against the aggression of that Council member. The officially declared great-Power chauvinist policy, namely, that of giving neighbouring countries a lesson by means of arms, is not only the expression of unconcealed hegemonist aspirations but is also a serious threat to all States of that region. After the elimination of the Pol Pot régime, which is manipulated from outside, the Kampuchean people has begun to heal its deep wounds. No attempt to interfere, carried out by reactionary circles will compel free Kampuchea to place itself again under the hegemonistic yoke. Kampuchea can rely on the solidarity of its friends. The People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated that it is ready to establish peaceful relations with all its neighbouring States. It will definitely become a factor of peace in Asia.

Considerable efforts are being exerted by the coastal States of the Indian Ocean to convert it into a zone of peace. It is universally recognized that the elimination of military bases is the kernel of this problem. We support this initiative because in principle we are in favour of the dismantling of foreign bases. This, and not in any lesser measure, is something which applies to Guantanamo, which is still under occupation in spite of the will of the Cuban people.

The establishment of stable peace in Asia also includes a solution of the Korean question. The German Democratic Republic supports the just demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful reunification of the country and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the southern part of the country, as these are the principal obstacles to a peaceful solution of the Korean question.

In working towards a stable international security, we must relate practical measures for the solution of international conflicts to the expansion of political and international legal instruments for peaceful co-existence because the emergence of new trouble spots must be prevented. The United Nations Charter is a reliable foundation which should

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

under no circumstances be infringed. Relying upon the Charter, it is necessary to clarify by appropriate rules the rights and duties of States. That is why we must welcome the fact that work on a world treaty on the non-use of force has entered the stage of intensive negotiations. The General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted other documents which are of great significance in view of the expressed will of States contained in them. This includes the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace which was adopted on the initiative of the Polish delegation.

In this connexion, I should like to draw attention in this Committee to the growth of Fascist and neo-Fascist trends. In this connexion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic had this to say in the general debate of this session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"Those who seek to terrorize public opinion, engage in slander campaigns and preach hatred among peoples and races, can easily be identified as the most extreme enemies of peace, international understanding and human rights. They must be opposed with resolve before peoples have to suffer the consequences. Tolerance or even lenience would be dangerous. The birth of the United Nations and its mandate are inseparably connected with the victory over Fascist barbarity. Abhorrence of evils done must include vigilance and determination to nip all new attempts in the bud. The activities of neo-Fascist forces require an adequately vigorous response by the United Nations".

(A/34/PV.16, p.41)

Our eyes are turned to the future. The socialist States are doing everything in their power to deepen and expand the process of détente. We welcome the resolve of the non-aligned countries, expressed at the Havana Conference, to use their growing authority and prestige to promote the cause of international security. We value highly the efforts of realistic political personalities in the capitalist world to continue the process of disarmament and détente. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is in favour of the adoption of the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That draft resolution should in concentrated form reflect all the positive elements in the development of

(Mr. Florin, German  
Democratic Republic)

international relations and at the same time draw attention to the negative effects and phenomena. The Declaration of 1970 provides us with substantive criteria for this purpose.

Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, first of all, as I am speaking for the first time in this Committee allow me to congratulate you on your election as chairman and to express to you our appreciation of the skilful and wise way in which you have discharged your functions.

Regarding agenda item 46 which we are now discussing, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", my delegation wishes to make a brief statement.

My delegation, representing as it does a Government and a people which have emerged from a cruel and bloody struggle against a dynastic dictatorship without equal in America, is aware of the sufferings entailed by the horrors of war and the insecurity of life and property. Although we realized that the war waged by our people against their oppressors had to be fought if we were to achieve our freedom, we now understand and recognize the fact that in international affairs, in relations among States, the search for peaceful solutions to disputes and for practical steps to reduce tension and eliminate its causes is the most laudable and noble venture open to mankind.

(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

That is why we attach particular importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which clearly points out and denounces the fundamental causes of tyranny and of the conflicts that arise among many States. Thus the Declaration is a more specific expression of the very purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

We are convinced that international peace and security will be strengthened as countries show greater respect for the independence and sovereignty of nations, irrespective of their size, ideologies or socio-economic structures, as well as for territorial integrity and for sovereignty over natural resources. More fundamentally, we are further convinced that a most important step in the consolidation and strengthening of international peace and security would be the achievement of a more just New International Economic Order that would once and for all eliminate the onerous disadvantages borne by the developing countries in their trade with the industrialized nations, and that would finally put an end to the arbitrary decisions and avarice of the developed countries in the setting of prices of raw materials imported from the developing nations, and eliminate the current fiction of the transfer of technology, since it is nothing more than the transfer of technology that is either outmoded, obsolete or merely complementary to the highly developed technology that the industrialized countries keep for themselves, and is not geared to the true progressive and positive development of the developing nations or to respect for their sovereignty over their immense resources and potential.

Another great and undeniable truth is that international peace and security will be constantly threatened and impaired as long as the human scourges of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in all its manifestations, as well as the imperialist practices of the threat or use of force by powerful States against the weak, continue to exist; as long as millions of people remain under the boot of colonial oppressors and exploiters; as long as peoples

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dauntlessly strive to achieve their freedom and independence; as long as millions of human beings are held in the subtle yet insidious clutches of neo-colonial domination and strive intrepidly to achieve their self-determination and socio-economic independence. Indeed, as long as the imperialist policies of aggression and expansionism persist and new hotbeds of world tension are added to the chronic ones that already exist, we as men will not have advanced very much towards the establishment of stable and lasting peace and security.

These areas of chronic tension and conflict which are scattered over the world at present cause the developing countries the loss of enormous amounts of material and economic resources and of countless human lives, as is the case in South Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia. It is for this reason that we are gratified to note the proposals and plans being made in Europe for arms limitation, thereby reducing the danger of tension and conflict between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

But we wish to stress our concern over the turn of events in South-East Asia, a situation which we consider to be of such gravity as to endanger the security not only of the region itself but of the entire world. I refer specifically to the accusations made at yesterday's meeting by the delegation representing the heroic people of Viet Nam, to the effect that China is preparing for a new act of criminal aggression against the territorial integrity of Viet Nam and, indeed, against the very independent existence of that State.

In February this year the whole world was witness to the act of aggression launched by 600,000 Chinese troops against 10 provinces of North Viet Nam, carrying out that pogrom on the basis of the "irrefutable legal argument" of "teaching a lesson" to the Vietnamese people. As I say, we are concerned about that situation in the light of the report that 15 divisions of Chinese infantrymen have been stationed along the northern border of Viet Nam and at points close to those borders, backed up a short distance to their rear by five other units of the Chinese army.



(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

This leads us inevitably to ask ourselves and the world on what basis those troops are stationed there. Does China fear an invasion by Viet Nam? When has Viet Nam ever invaded its powerful neighbour to the north? Or should we ask ourselves on the contrary: how many times in history has Viet Nam suffered the scourge of hordes from the north penetrating its territory and trying to destroy its very existence as a sovereign State? In the light of the inevitable conclusions that must be drawn from these questions, and of the threat they spell to international peace and security, my delegation feels obliged as a moral duty to echo those denunciations. We cannot remain silent about the threat and the danger hanging over the Vietnamese people, which gained independence and sovereignty only after decades of heroic sacrifice of material possessions and human life - a struggle which served as an inspiration to my own people in Sandinista Nicaragua to wage our own struggle for independence.

Thus we appeal to the United Nations - and in particular to the Security Council - to keep close watch over the evolution of the situation in South-East Asia and, in keeping with the 1969 Declaration and the Charter of the United Nations itself, adopt all necessary measures to put an end to that conflict.

Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Since its adoption in 1970 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has given rise every year in the First Committee to a debate that has constantly grown, which attests to the importance attached by the peoples and Governments of the world to the question of the strengthening of international peace and security, the first condition for the development and progress of all nations.

The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, whose country has for many years suffered the disastrous effects of war, and is today being subjected against its will to political and military pressures from its gigantic northern neighbour, must feel some gratification at all the joint efforts being made by the international community to ensure a total and unconditional application of the principles contained in the aforementioned Declaration, as well as those on which it was based - that is, the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. The First Committee's annual debate on this question is certainly one of those efforts to which my delegation, in conformity with the policy of peace, understanding and co-operation of its Government, could not remain indifferent.

All Members of the United Nations, whether Founding Members or not, have, by virtue of their membership with all attendant rights, an obligation to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, the primary role of the Organization, and to observe scrupulously, in their relations with other States, certain principles including those of the sovereign equality of States and mutual benefits, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States.

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Furthermore, there are certain commitments that States, in the realization of the purposes of the United Nations are bound to honour, and they consist primarily in practising tolerance and living together in peace in a spirit of good-neighbourliness.

Since the Charter entered into force, a number of important instruments and Declarations have reaffirmed and reinforced the validity of these principles and, consequently, the urgent need for all nations, great or small, to abide by them scrupulously and to take concrete and resolute measures to ensure and strengthen international peace and security.

The Declaration on friendly relations among States, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and the draft declaration on international co-operation for disarmament, which has recently been adopted in the First Committee on the timely initiative of the delegation of Czechoslovakia, are part of the series of repeated and unflagging efforts made within the framework of the United Nations to safeguard peace, security and international co-operation. Accordingly, we should like to take this opportunity to express to the initiators and the authors of those Declarations our most profound appreciation and assure them that the Lao People's Democratic Republic will spare no effort to contribute to the achievement of the principles and purposes contained in them.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the peace-loving peoples and the non-aligned and socialist countries, notably positive changes have taken place in international relations, which has made it possible in recent years to lay down bases for détente and co-operation in many fields between States having different social systems, thus strengthening the prospects for peace and security, an indispensable factor for any progress. As proof of this, I would cite the following: the holding of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, the signing of the Helsinki Final Act establishing the basis for détente and co-operation in Europe and the signing of the Vienna Agreement on SALT II.

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

However, like many other countries, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is deeply convinced that, for the positive results of those meetings and agreements to have decisive influence on developments, they must be quickly brought to bear in accordance with the spirit and the considerations that prevailed when they were concluded.

In this context we believe that the decisions adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly must be implemented by all means in order to put an end to and reverse the arms race. Among those decisions, the ones touching on nuclear weapons, which represent a deadly danger to mankind, should obviously be accorded pride of place in our concern. In this connexion my delegation is pleased at the positive results achieved in this field in the First Committee during the current session and earnestly hopes that, in the interest of strengthening peace and of the survival of civilization, those results will not become a dead letter as has been the case up to now.

Similarly, we await with great interest the ratification by the United States Congress of the Vienna Agreement on SALT II, making possible progress towards the negotiation and the preparation of a SALT III agreement whose scope should be considerably widened in order fully to meet the aspirations of all countries.

In the meantime, we appreciate and welcome the proposal of the Soviet Union, made at the highest level by President Leonid Brezhnev on 6 October last in Berlin, and aimed at accelerating and deepening the process of irreversible détente established in Europe. To that end, the Soviet Union, after consultations with its partners of the Warsaw Treaty, has decided unilaterally to reduce the number of Soviet troops stationed in Central Europe. Pursuant to that decision, 20,000 Soviet soldiers, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment will be withdrawn from the territory of the Democratic Republic of Germany in the course of the next 12 months.

That decision attests to the unwavering policy of peace of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and their concern to carry out détente not only in words but also in deeds. However, it is truly regrettable that the other parties to the policy of détente and the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), instead of adopting the same attitude have deliberately

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

taken the opposite course. In this connexion we wish to emphasize that the putting into effect of the plan aimed at deploying on the European continent medium-range American nuclear missiles, known as Pershing missiles, would have serious consequences on that continent and beyond. The peoples of Europe, like the peoples of my region, which have cruelly suffered from the tragic consequences of armed confrontation, will never tolerate this kind of manoeuvre.

Furthermore, my delegation wishes to state clearly that that plan is in flagrant contradiction with paragraph 20 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which

"Urges all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to make urgent and concerted efforts... for the cessation and reversal of the nuclear... arms race."

In view of what I have just said, and because of our commitment to the full and unrestricted application of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we deem it our duty to call upon the international community to thwart this plan, whose consequences are incalculable.

We also deem it our duty towards the cause of the strengthening of peace and security to appeal to the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to put an end to their political, military and financial support of the minority racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which, in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and international law, persist in their illegal occupation of the Territories of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Similarly, we also request them to stop unconditionally supporting Israel in its policy of occupation and plundering of the occupied Arab territories and categorical denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

It is difficult to hope to strengthen international peace and security without outlawing the policy of hegemony in all its forms and manifestations in relations among States. In this connexion we appreciated the true value of the initiative of the Soviet Union in proposing the inclusion of this question on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, an initiative that led to the adoption last week by the First Committee of an extremely important text on hegemony submitted by the non-aligned countries. We sincerely hope that

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

all States will in their international relations scrupulously observe all the principles contained in that document, in the interest of entente and peaceful coexistence among all peoples.

In this context, without wishing to engage in polemics with anyone, my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Committee to the tense situation now prevailing in the Indochinese peninsula, particularly in the northern frontier zones of my country with the People's Republic of China.

That situation, which flows from the hegemonistic and expansionist great-nation policy of the reactionary ruling circles of Peking, has been brought to the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations by our Minister for Foreign Affairs ad interim in two letters dated respectively 18 March and 26 April 1979, which have been circulated to all Members of our Organization in documents A/34/135 and A/34/211.

In those two letters it is stated, in particular, that the Chinese leaders, after their invasion in February of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, massed several divisions of their regular armed forces along the Chinese-Lao frontier, introduced into Laos spies and subversive agents in increasing numbers in order to sow troubles and disorders, sabotage tranquillity and the peaceful work of the multinational Lao people, and collaborated with the imperialists to support exiled Lao reactionaries in order to disturb security and public order in the country and constantly hinder the political line chosen by the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

On 7 and 10 March, the Chinese authorities twice blatantly violated the independence and sovereignty of Laos by sending a number of battalions of their regular forces into our territory. At the same time, they supported the criminal activities of the Vangpao commando bandits and other exiled Lao reactionaries they had regrouped in the southern Chinese province of Yunnan.

All these activities were intended to intimidate the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and force it to abandon its policy of independence and socialism, which the leaders of Peking had termed a policy "of trailing behind Viet Nam and the Soviet Union". In this connexion, I should like to point out that the Lao People's Democratic Republic has always pursued a line of conduct based on reason, not passion. In order to carry out their sinister designs, those in authority in China have gone so far as to set up a so-called Lao Socialist Party, consisting of traitors to our nation, for the purpose of cynically interfering in our affairs. Furthermore, together with the imperialists and other reactionary forces, they have incited Lao citizens, particularly the city youths and ethnic minorities to flee abroad, by threatening them with an imminent Chinese invasion of Laos.

All these dastardly acts are committed against a small country of only 3 million inhabitants which needs all its active population to carry out the task of national reconstruction and rehabilitation after almost 30 years of devastating warfare.

At present, while the possibility of a bloody "second lesson" looms dangerously over Viet Nam, the Peking authorities have increased their political and military pressure against Laos by inciting their agents to engage in further irresponsible acts in the northern provinces of my country and by massively concentrating their troops along our borders.

As can be seen from the declaration dated 6 March 1979 from my Government:

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

"The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a fully independent and sovereign country. Having finally crushed the imperialist aggressors, the Lao people aspires only to live in peace so that it may bind up the wounds of war, build up its country and create a life of affluence.

"The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a socialist country, a member of the non-aligned movement and of the United Nations. It has at all times pursued an independent, sovereign and socialist foreign policy in the interests of the Lao nation and of peace and friendship among peoples; it aspires at all times to strengthen its friendly relations and co-operation with neighbouring countries and with other countries throughout the world.

"The Lao people always sets great store by the firm friendship of the peoples of friendly countries and has never encroached on the interests of other countries.

"As a small country with a population of little more than 3 million, Laos can never be a threat to China, a huge country with a population of 900 million. However, the Lao people, which has never yielded to any aggressor, is determined not to allow anyone to violate its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, which it gained by dint of long and painful struggle involving great sacrifice. The constant deterioration in Lao-Chinese relations is entirely the responsibility of the Chinese party.

"If the Chinese party really wanted to safeguard and develop the solidarity between the two nations, as it had claimed, it should have proved this by positive actions. It should stop concentrating its military forces on the Lao frontier and desist immediately from its actions threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, from its interference in the domestic affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, from its manoeuvres aimed at dividing the multinational Lao people and from its machinations against the security and public order of Laos.

"...



(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

"The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic appeals to the fraternal socialist countries, to the non-aligned countries and to peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world to continue to support and assist the Lao people in the task of national defence and national construction. It calls on the people of China and the genuine Chinese revolutionaries to take timely and effective action to suppress the common danger threatening the peoples of the two countries and to safeguard the immemorial tradition of solidarity and friendship between the Lao and Chinese nations."

(A/34/135, pp. 3 and 4)

The above quotation fully reflects the reality of the situation prevailing in my country and also its continuing policy towards China. Together with the other countries of the region, we resolutely follow a policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. That policy is in conformity with my country's geo-political situation, its immediate and long-term interests and also meets the deep aspirations of the Lao people and of the peoples of South-East Asia. We sincerely hope that we shall develop relations of friendship and co-operation with the countries of South-East Asia in order to work together to make that region a zone of peace, independence, neutrality, stability and prosperity. In the meantime, we are pleased with our fruitful relations of good-neighbourliness with the Kingdom of Thailand and we shall do everything we can to make the common frontier of our two countries a frontier of peace and lasting friendship.

We are also maintaining a policy of peace and good-neighbourliness with the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

We are happy with our relations of militant solidarity, friendship and fraternal co-operation with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which are being constantly strengthened and developed each day. We resolutely support the struggle of the fraternal people of Viet Nam to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as their efforts to resolve peacefully the dispute that exists between Viet Nam and China, resulting from the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the leaders in Peking. We strongly condemn any aggression committed against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We also vigorously condemn all cynical attempts

(Mr. Sourinho, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

to interfere in the domestic affairs of the fraternal people of Kampuchea, particularly those aimed at breathing new life into the political corpse of the murderous Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique; we resolutely support the efforts of the Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea, which is the sole legitimate and legal representative of the people of Kampuchea, both in domestic and international affairs.

We are steadily developing good relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other fraternal socialist countries. We are actively co-operating with them in their efforts to strengthen international peace and security.

We support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent unification of Korea and we call for the total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from the southern part of Korea.

In conclusion, I should like to restate the commitment of my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and to those principles contained in the many declarations adopted by our Organization dealing with the safeguarding of international peace and security and the promotion of co-operation and peaceful coexistence among all peoples.

Mr. MESHARRAFA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): If we examine the evolution of international relations during the 1970s we observe that there are two essential characteristics of that period which affect on the one hand the process of the unleashing of conflicts and on the other the process of the concentration of efforts to deal with the problem of détente between the two super-Powers, which cannot be disregarded in our calculations since it has affected and continues to affect many regions of the world.

Détente on a bilateral basis is governed by what might be called the balanced existence and the predominance of interests, as well as the transition of a strategy of mutual deterrence to a means of influence applied by both sides. This represents a step towards the lessening of conflict in their relations and the search for common action in specific fields, taking into account such opportunities as may arise in the case of sudden outbreaks of conflict.

The second characteristic of the 1970s is the action taken at the international level to promote international détente and peaceful co-operation despite different political, social and economic systems. Such international efforts derive from a profound sense of responsibility concerning the need to concentrate efforts to face foreseeable problems and to put an end to hegemonism and the race for military and nuclear superiority and to reaffirm the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, the solution of problems by peaceful means, the non-use of force in international relations, the elimination of the last hotbeds of colonialism, racism and tension and the settlement of disputes peacefully and on a just and equitable basis, while devoting special attention to local, regional and international development before regional and international conflicts exhaust the economic resources of the world and in particular those of the countries of the third world.

We do not deny that the two super-Powers have no choice in the nuclear age but to maintain their relations on the basis of peaceful competition. But the fact that the two poles of détente possess the capacity for the destruction of mankind compels us, the majority of mankind, to insist on our right to defend our survival and to demand that we be recognized in the role of partners in the elaboration of international policy so that bilateral détente may become international détente, with everything that that implies on the political, economic, military and social levels.

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

If my delegation has spoken in detail of bilateral détente it is to make it possible to fill the gaps that we note in international relations so that we may be able to adapt our strategies and make them compatible with the changes taking place in the development of technology so that our world may be ruled by justice and law.

Among the most important matters that have to be settled within the framework of détente is the need to put an end to selectivity regarding détente and to inequality in the relations among States, which in the case of many States amounts to domination, the exertion of pressure, the threat of interference in their domestic affairs and the pursuit of new spheres of influence by overt or covert means.

My delegation welcomes the examination for the first time at this session of the question of the policy of hegemonism. We are on the right road, because there is no doubt that we shall thus succeed in reaching an agreement that will put an end to the policy of hegemonism, which encompasses political, economic, ideological, social and psychological hegemony.

The inequality of relations and the lack of respect for some of the provisions of the Charter have led to the exercise of direct and indirect hegemony over the States of the third world, since normally hegemony is not practised against States with equal resources but rather against those with limited resources.

In order to put an end to the policy of hegemony in international relations it is necessary that we all adhere to the principles of the Charter and in particular those relating to sovereignty, equality, independence, territorial integrity non-interference in the domestic affairs of others, the solution of disputes by peaceful means and the elimination of hotbeds of colonialism and racism. It is also necessary to respect the right of peoples to self-determination, and to choose freely their economic, political and social systems without any foreign interference whatsoever.

Ten years have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This not only reaffirmed the will of Member States to benefit from the stability in the framework of the new international relations, but constituted a point of departure for initiatives in

(Mr. Hesharafa, Egypt)

all the fields relating to the strengthening of international peace and security, and the promotion of co-operation among States.

The conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations would contribute effectively to the strengthening of world peace and security. Such a treaty would, in our view, be a reaffirmation of the provisions of the Charter, and in particular, of Article 2 (3) to (5) and Chapters VI and VII.

The principle of the non-use of force in international relations must go hand in hand with the commitment to respect the principles of equality among States, their territorial integrity and non-interference in their domestic affairs, and in no way excludes the right of peoples to struggle for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence or to support national liberation movements struggling against racist régimes and for the solution of political problems, in particular the problems of Palestine, the Middle East, Zimbabwe, Namibia and southern Africa.

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

The Egyptian delegation supports the Romanian delegation's initiative at the present session aimed at achieving a settlement of disputes by peaceful means. That initiative is consistent with Egypt's policy of solving problems in a practical and realistic way, based on justice. While it takes courage to decide on war, it takes even more courage to decide on peace. Peace puts an end to the squandering of material, human and natural resources, and to all foreign interference, and allows resources to be devoted fully to development.

The third world has no choice other than to act immediately to resolve its local and regional disputes. As international disputes are settled, the third world becomes the victim of a selective approach. It must become aware of this before its development plans are totally paralysed as economic and political problems pile up. In fact, we need a pause during which to recover our strength and to revise our calculations.

As a country bordering on the Mediterranean, Egypt attaches particular importance to stability in Europe and its repercussions on the neighbouring regions. There is a close relationship between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean. The events and crises which occurred during the 1970s revealed the close relationship between mutual interests, on the one hand and, on the other, the urgent need to strengthen stability in the region and, in particular, to provide a lasting and just solution to the problems of the Middle East and Palestine.

My delegation pays a tribute to the Government of Malta for its initiative in proposing a preparatory conference to be held in Malta, with the participation of the littoral States of the Mediterranean, prior to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is to take place in Madrid in 1980. We hope that all the parties concerned will become increasingly convinced that they must help to solve economic, political and social problems and to promote co-operation among themselves. Accordingly, Egypt is seeking to make the Red Sea an area of peace and to promote co-operation for the benefit of the peoples of the region. These sincere attempts by Egypt follow the international community's efforts to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The security of the Red Sea area supplements that of the Indian Ocean and the

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

Mediterranean. It is also the vital strategic link in the chain connecting the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa.

The Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the Red Sea must remain an oasis of peace. At a seminar held in Cairo, he restated the basic principles which, in Egypt's view represent the broad framework for converting the Red Sea into an oasis of peace:

First, the Red Sea must remain a sea lane in which shipping is safeguarded in accordance with international law and the interests of the littoral countries.

Secondly, a formula for common action and co-operation among littoral States has to be elaborated in order to guarantee the security of the area. This could certainly be achieved through a just and early settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, based on respect for the legitimate rights of all the parties concerned.

Thirdly, the Red Sea must be kept out of great-Power rivalry, shows of strength and of armed force. No foreign military base should be placed there, which means in effect that the Red Sea must be governed by the principles and rules of non-alignment, the more so since all the littoral countries profess and practise non-alignment.

Fourthly, the Red Sea should become a nuclear-weapon-free zone of peace, thus complementing the aims stated in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Fifthly, the five permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime Powers must respect the agreed arrangements ensuring that the Red Sea remains a zone of peace.

Sixthly, scientific, technical and regional working committees should be set up to work in co-operation with the international specialized agencies to study aspects of the campaign against pollution and concerning the exploitation of natural resources for development.

Our experience of international relations has yielded negative and at times bitter results. It is not a matter of elaborating principles or making additional statements, but of implementing those principles. The United Nations Charter, and the Declarations adopted thus far on the strengthening of international security offer an adequate context in which to place international relations

(Mr. Mesharrafa, Egypt)

during the next phase. What is still lacking, however, is the formula or machinery for following up statements of intent with their specific and realistic implementation. This is a responsibility and a task incumbent upon the Non-Aligned Movement. The non-aligned countries must synthesize their views into a formula consistent with those of the other Powers in order to make it practicable. Otherwise, we should find ourselves in a vicious circle while the other forces were reorganizing their positions and their relations, far from the United Nations and far from the third world.

Egypt, which helped to found the United Nations and to strengthen its role, will make every effort to help strengthen international peace and security, and will work towards achievement of a better concept of international relations.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to announce the following additional sponsors of draft resolutions: Burundi, A/C.1/34/L.54; Angola, Burundi, Congo and Qatar, A/C.1/34/L.55; and Senegal, A/C.1/34/L.57.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.