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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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INDIA

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Following the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, India had hoped that further progress in this vital field could be made with the co-operation and understanding of the largest number of States. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations had given some guidelines on how we should proceed within the general framework of the Charter. We were particularly gratified that these two Declarations reflected substantially the views expressed by the non-aligned countries at Lusaka in September 1970. Our hopes were all the greater because of the domestic developments in India, and we were encouraged by the announced decision of Pakistan to hold national elections on universal adult franchise for the first time since it achieved independence 23 years ago. We have been greatly disappointed by the course of events and their consequences on India since 25 March 1971.

2. In the broader context, we have noted with relief and satisfaction the reduction of tension in Europe. This has been brought about by determined efforts of several States and has received recognition in several treaties and agreements. We look forward to concrete and speedier progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and in other fields which might eventually lead, under international supervision, first, to effective nuclear disarmament and then to complete and general disarmament. We also welcome the continuing signs of reduction of tension due to ideological conflicts. The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation was a welcome development; this Treaty is not directed against any third country; it supports and endorses non-alignment and can act as a restraint on any country with aggressive designs towards any of the signatories. It is our hope that this Treaty will provide a pattern for similar treaties between India and other countries in suitable circumstances.

3. While these gains can generate a measure of optimism for greater international security, we must note with concern other situations and developments which continue to retard, if not endanger, international security and friendly relations between States. The most significant of such situations and developments are:

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(a) Massive violation of conventions and declarations regarding genocide, human rights and other fundamental rights have taken place in East Pakistan with most tragic consequences for the people of this area. A continuing influx of refugees into India, whose number has exceeded 9 millions, has created serious economic, political and social problems and dislocations in India;

(b) The failure to apply effectively the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force has increased tension most seriously in the Middle East;

(c) The International Court of Justice has given its advisory opinion that the occupation of Namibia by South Africa is wholly illegal and yet the United Nations, particularly its Security Council, has not yet taken any concrete steps to terminate this illegal occupation and to place the Territory under the administration of the United Nations with a view to enabling the Namibians to exercise their right to self-determination as soon as possible;

(d) In South-East Asia, the war in Viet-Nam has spread to the neighbouring States of Laos and Cambodia and no precise time-limit has been fixed to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Indo-Chinese States;

(e) Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) continues to be ruled by a white minority and the administering Power has so far failed to enforce its will to bring about an end to the unilateral declaration of independence and to introduce arrangements for majority rule on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The economic and other sanctions decided upon by the United Nations have not been allowed to have their effects because of lack of co-operation by several States, but particularly because of defiance by South Africa and Portugal;

(f) Large Territories of Africa continue to be under colonial or illegal domination of one form or another and the borders of independent States of Africa are frequently violated by the colonial and racist régimes;

(g) Discrimination of various kinds are being practised in many parts of the world and nowhere in so pronounced and inhuman a form as through the doctrine of apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa.

4. The Consultative Committee of the non-aligned countries met at the level of Foreign Ministers at New York on 30 September 1971 and indicated how some of these problems can be prevented from further deterioration and their solutions found

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within the existing provisions and procedure for maintaining international peace and strengthening international security. While fully endorsing and accepting the views of the Consultative Committee of the non-aligned countries, India further believes that the traditional machinery and approaches for solving these problems and difficulties may not always prove adequate to bring about satisfactory or timely solutions. India is therefore anxious that, within the framework of the present Declarations and of the Charter, fresh attempts should be made to work out new ideas and explore new areas for effective co-operation. To begin with, greater efforts to define aggression, threat to peace and breaches of the international peace are called for. Secondly, peace-keeping and peace-making apparatus of the United Nations would require closer examination. Thirdly, introduction of arms in areas of conflicts and tension, under whatever guises or pretexts, might require control and supervision. Fourthly, the concept of zones of peace should be adequately developed and all measures taken to reduce, if not eliminate, military alliances which generate tension and give rise to blocs and spheres of influence. Fifthly, the conflict between territorial integrity and self-determination, to which the Secretary-General has drawn our repeated attention, should be examined seriously in depth and detail and some solution should be worked out to resolve this conflict. Sixthly, an adequate machinery should be established to protect fundamental human rights, particularly when they are violated by established Governments, and provisions may have to be made for punishing those responsible for massive or systematic violations. Seventhly, the United Nations must continue to strive for full application of universality for its membership. Eighthly, all efforts must be made urgently to bring about general and universal disarmament beginning with total disarmament of nuclear armoury under international supervision. We do not attach any particular priority to these measures, on all of which progress can be made simultaneously.

5. In considering these measures, the Government of India will be guided by their conviction that, in order to achieve the best and most widely accepted results, a sense of participation by all States, big or small, is most important, particularly before any decisions are finally taken. In this context, the universality of membership of the United Nations assumes added significance. The Government of India thinks that, while it may present difficulties in considering any revision of

the Charter, they are none the less convinced that a realistic application of the Charter as well as the Declarations will be helpful in strengthening international security. Similarly, the Government of India considers that no set pattern should be prescribed on the methods which the States should follow in settling their disputes with other States by peaceful methods.

6. The connexion and interdependence between economic development and international security has been fully recognized in the Declarations and India looks forward to the full and effective implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. India has noted with some concern developments which have taken place in the international monetary system in recent months with their harmful consequences on development of the developing countries. Furthermore, various attempts which are being made to escape the obligations of the Strategy cannot but cause anxiety to the Government of India.

7. These views will be elaborated to the extent necessary by the Indian Delegation at the current session of the General Assembly.
