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Chairman: Mr. BOATEN (Ghana)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

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

Mr. HALASZ (Hungary): We are meeting now to continue discussion on a pivotal issue, following through on the subject of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which is of direct concern to the peoples' pursuit of a better life, to international co-operation, to improved relations among States and, ultimately, to world peace. One of the greatest challenges of contemporary life, the implementation of the Declaration constitutes a major component of what may be called the peaceful endeavours of mankind in the face of the continuing arms race and amid attempts by reactionary forces to block efforts at human progress in general.

It was in that context that my Government, in response to the Secretary-General's request for information and suggestions concerning the implementation of that Declaration (document A/32/165), stressed the main elements of its foreign policy, which is based on and guided by the principles reaffirmed in the Declaration, namely, peaceful coexistence, non-use of force, non-interference, development of friendly relations and mutually advantageous co-operation among States, maintenance and deepening of détente, promotion of disarmament efforts, along with recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination and support to the struggle of peoples still under colonial rule for the achievement of freedom and independence and for the liquidation of racism.

(Mr. Halasz, Hungary)

After these preliminary remarks I should like on this occasion to restate the position of my Government on this question, making a special point of its principal aspects that are of great timeliness and of general validity in sustaining the momentum of recent efforts to build a better world and to outlaw war.

The strengthening of international security is a world-wide task, in the realization of which all States and all continents shall play their part. That is why my country, as part of the socialist community, is participating actively in the Belgrade meeting now being held to follow up the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. That is why it has taken and will take practical measures to implement the recommendations of the Final Act and is seeking improved relations in the spirit of the Helsinki accords within bilateral as well as multilateral spheres. That is why it is seeking expanded co-operation based on mutual benefits in all walks of life.

It is likewise in this spirit that, given its implications for stronger security and for the solution of the immense problems facing the world and, in particular, the developing countries, we firmly support the limitation of the arms race and the taking of effective disarmament measures and welcome any efforts at reducing the danger of a nuclear war. We are therefore pleased to note some positive results achieved in the course of negotiations between the Soviet Union and other nuclear Powers, and, guided by this motivation, we accordingly participated in the elaboration of, and were among the first to sign, the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, and, together with the other States Members of the Warsaw Treaty, Hungary proposed that the States signatory to the Final Act of Helsinki should agree to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons against one another. We similarly stand for the extension of political détente to the military field.

For all those reasons we believe that the successful outcome of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, leading to the convening of a world disarmament conference, would give fresh impetus to negotiations on disarmament.

The strengthening of international security presupposes the strengthening of mutual confidence and co-operation among States. In this connexion my Government

(Mr. Halasz, Hungary)

attaches great importance to the principle of non-interference as a generally recognized principle of international law, embodied, inter alia, in the Bandung Declaration of 1955, in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and in the documents of the summit conferences of non-aligned States, latterly at Colombo in 1976, and also expounded in General Assembly resolution 31/91. Within the meaning of the Charter of our Organization, non-interference implies respect for the sovereignty of States.

May I on this score emphasize the right of peoples freely to choose their social and economic systems and to seek and receive support for their struggle against attempts to disrupt their political, economic and cultural order. Accordingly, what constitutes interference is not giving support to such a struggle in keeping with the principles of the Charter but raising obstacles thereto, which is of particular gravity when, coupled with designs of destabilization, campaigns of defamation against Governments, political or economic pressure and the use of propaganda means to that end, it becomes the standard of political methods raised to the rank of official State policy.

From the foregoing it also becomes clear that the Hungarian Government is in agreement with, and in full support of, the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

My Government considers that the liquidation of the hotbeds of crisis and the early and just settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means have great importance to the strengthening of international peace and security. Its position concerning the settlement of the Middle East situation and the question of Cyprus, as well as of other international conflicts, is known and unaltered, and it invariably supports the just struggle of African peoples for the attainment of independence and the elimination of apartheid.

In my Government's opinion, the consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the current session of the General Assembly will be another contribution to the realization of the aspirations set forth in the Declaration. My Government will also in the future make a maximum contribution, commensurate with its possibilities, to the strengthening of international security and to the success of efforts on behalf of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation based on mutual advantages.

(Mr. Halasz, Hungary)

My delegation is convinced that strict and full respect by all States for the principles that must guide the action of all countries in their international relations can contribute greatly to efforts to strengthen international peace and security, to reduce international tension and to promote peaceful coexistence, while their violation and a policy of force and interference, whether overt or covert, are a source of grave peril to the cause of peace. Precisely for that reason, it is necessary that the United Nations deal with the questions affecting international security from time to time, as it has done so far.

Mr. KAMAL (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): A year ago, the First Committee considered agenda item 37, entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations". Some years ago, this same Committee studied agenda item 50, the "Declaration on the strengthening of international security". At the start of the work of this Committee during the present session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed a new item, agenda item 127, entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war". In considering those three questions, it is clear that there has been a deterioration in international relations, relations which from time to time need to be strengthened and improved by means of resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

The preamble to the Charter begins with the following words:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

From those words we understand that questions of war and peace and of recourse to the use of force are questions affecting the destiny of mankind, something of which nations have been aware for more than 30 years.

Although those matters affecting the fate of mankind are interrelated and call for a greater awareness, although their substance shows that this is an urgent priority matter, and although the countries which signed the Charter benefited from their own sovereignty and had a thorough knowledge of the provisions of the Charter, the Charter has remained a dead letter, a series of provisions which need a new significance and stimulus to enable this set of rules to lead Members to act.

There is no need to shed crocodile tears. The world has become weary by raising its voice in one appeal after another. But, there is the possibility of arousing some hope and achieving effective co-operation amongst the peoples

(Mr. Kamal, Bahrain)

of the world. In our opinion, we need to hear a few words of truth in this respect. Because of such words of truth, we would be able to set the course to be followed in the future and to take further steps towards the attainment of the ultimate goal of peace.

My delegation, speaking on the basis of the logic of small countries which are part of the developing countries, whose number is constantly increasing instead of decreasing, is inspired by a clear and obvious reason because we know how much we all suffer from this widening gap between the peoples of the world. The sufferings of the small countries are linked with the question of world security. It is a matter which affects our destiny, because the small countries are often the victims of wars which are of no concern to them. For a long time the small countries participated in wars unleashed by the larger countries and have suffered from that situation. That is why the small countries are deeply convinced of the need to strengthen international peace and security, because it is only by means of peace and security in this world that peoples can survive.

The faith of the small countries in the principle of the non-use of force in international relations is not merely a political method; this conviction is born of the right of peoples to sovereignty over their territories and wealth, and this position emanates from the principle that peoples exploit their own resources for their own benefit. That is the first principle that appears in the Charter:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

The fact that we request that the Indian Ocean be declared to be a zone of peace and call on the great Powers to respect this wish and ensure the security of our region of the world shows that in fact we support the cause of the small countries which have acceded to independence and have the right to defend themselves.

(Mr. Kamal, Bahrain)

The appeal concerning the Indian Ocean and the call for the Middle East to become a denuclearized zone are at the very roots of the daily life of all citizens in our part of the world. We are determined to ensure peace and security for both present and future generations.

The Middle East has been the scene of war for 30 years. This reflects the challenge of that region to the international community, which has perhaps itself created the situation in the Middle East which inflicts suffering on the countries of the region and is a barrier to the economic and social development of the peoples of the Middle East. Despite the adoption of several resolutions at the United Nations, we note that vast areas in our region remain occupied by military forces. This occurs elsewhere - in southern Africa, in Rhodesia and in Namibia. United Nations resolutions on this part of the world and other explosive regions of the world are numerous. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us the members of the international community to abide by these resolutions and decisions. We must prove that we are sincere towards the peoples of the whole world.

(Mr. Kamal, Bahrain)

As we see it, the world is an indivisible whole and therefore no people can live in isolation from the rest of the world. Furthermore, no country can live at the expense of another, inflicting suffering on another. This is the situation that has been rejected by human civilization. The most elementary principle of human civilization is that of human rights. Human rights cannot be divided because man, wherever he is, must enjoy his rights. Human rights in America complement human rights in Asia or Africa. This implies the right to live in peace and security, which can be achieved only by respect for the principles of the Charter and compliance with all United Nations decisions and with the will of the international community represented by the United Nations.

On this basis the world can proceed toward peace and security and guarantee the future of its civilization. The adoption of the principle of non-use of force in international relations, while constituting a sound basis enabling good relations to be established among the peoples of the world, cannot in itself improve and promote good relations. After the colonialist era, the world found itself divided into two kinds of countries and communities - the developed and the developing. The gap between them, which is enormous, is the natural result of long years of exploitation to the benefit of the advanced countries and to the detriment of the colonized countries.

In this connexion I should like to make it clear that, since the purpose of the proposal of these three items is to create a world which will live in a spirit of constructive co-operation and dialogue, I believe we cannot be content with simply preventing States from using force in international relations. We must see to it that the wealth of certain peoples is not pillaged, and we must prevent the use of force to resolve political conflicts. All material and technical aid must be given to the small countries. This is a right they have been deprived of during the past centuries, because of foreign occupation and exploitation of their wealth. To make reparation for the damages done, to put an end to poverty, hunger and disease, the advanced countries must take the appropriate measures by guaranteeing world peace and security and exemplifying the principle of the non-use of force.

(Mr. Kamal, Bahrain)

In that way it will be possible to create a world of peace and justice. We can achieve peace and justice and strengthen the role of the United Nations, but not when two thirds of the world suffers from the scourge of underdevelopment, poverty, hunger and disease. The United Nations ideal, which is to strengthen friendly relations among peoples on the basis of sovereign equality and respect for the right to self-determination of peoples, means that appropriate measures must be taken to consolidate world peace and security.

After 30 years of this experience of the countries of the world, through the United Nations, we note that this ideal seems to be unattainable. To be able to implement this ideal the provisions of the Charter must be applied, as well as all the principles contained in the Charter which enable all peoples to exercise their rights in accordance with the noblest human values.

Mr. BIKOUTA (Congo) (interpretation from French): The interest of the three items now before us, and particularly the non-use of force in international relations, as well as the apparently sincere concern of all delegations to make their contribution to the strengthening of international security and to the deepening and consolidation of international détente, represent, for my delegation, an eloquent proof of the importance of the concept of peace in international relations.

In an atmosphere heavy with insecurity and the dread of war, no one can be proud or be pleased at such a situation, and this is not an ideal field for experimentation and the flourishing of mankind. In other words, no people desires war and no one is unaware of the value of peace. Yet, the history of human civilization seems to have used belligerence as a moral value. Otherwise, how are we to understand the underlying reasons for the Crusades, for the Hundred Years War, the two World Wars and, closer to us, the wars that have brought mourning to Viet Nam, Angola, Mozambique and other territories subjected to the colonial yoke, the Middle East and other areas too.

(Mr. Bikouta, Congo)

The United Nations Charter, in its relevant provisions, at times seems to be nothing more than a mirage, since there are no means to prevent the manufacture and export of increasingly more effective sophisticated and refined instruments of destruction. All this leads a number of States to wonder what value the United Nations Charter has other than a symbolic value, at least in certain cases. Of course, we do know that in Article 2, paragraph 4, the Charter enunciates the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, and that General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), on the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, might a priori be considered to make superfluous any other initiative intended to strengthen international peace and security.

From a legal point of view, this concept is not unattractive, particularly if we refer to the famous principle pacta sunt servanda, which the international community, eight years ago at Vienna, enshrined in the Convention on the Law of Treaties.

(Mr. Bikouta, Congo)

However it would seem that neither the United Nations Charter nor that Convention effectively respond as yet to the wishes of all mankind because, so far as I can recall, no legal argument has been advanced regarding the maintenance of what has been designated as the "balance of terror", which implies the existence of military blocs. Nor do we believe that we have become sensitized to legal objections to the convening of a summit meeting on security and co-operation in Europe. All that was really required was the United Nations Charter which offers every guarantee for the preservation of peace and for promoting international friendly relations. However, my delegation recognizes that those concepts could create a better climate of understanding among nations.

For my delegation the important fact which deserves to be considered in all seriousness is the fundamental problem of the political will of States - at least of certain States - to free themselves from a certain psychological conditioning which prevents them from considering as an irreversible law of history the evolution of the legitimate aspirations of peoples. I have in mind the right to self-determination, to freedom, to live in peace and to be free from foreign pressure. Indeed when we speak of the non-use of force we have in mind not only the "latent" and terrifying force of the nuclear arsenals of some great Powers. We also have in mind the pernicious and no less frightening danger of domination, moral and cultural alienation, economic pressures, cultural alienation and other diktats which characterize imperialism. There is a certain predisposition among certain great Powers to create and kindle hotbeds of tension by vilely exacerbating antagonisms which were originally minor and which might exist or arise among States. The examples, alas, are numerous.

So it is that many countries of the third world encounter the greatest difficulty in making their economies viable because they are caught in the infernal game of the arms race, in order to protect their constantly threatened independence, being totally unaware that they are but pawns in the strategy of the imperialist Powers.

(Mr. Bikouta, Congo)

That is why, subject to certain legal arrangements intended to avoid a useless duplication or weakening of texts, my delegation will support every initiative intended not simply to throw dust in one's eyes but to strengthen ties of friendly relations among nations and to create conditions for a genuinely peaceful coexistence among different social and economic régimes in an atmosphere conducive to co-operation, friendship and understanding among all peoples on our planet.

Mr. NYILINKINDI (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): About 20 years ago at the critical time of the cold war, the non-aligned countries, of which the Republic of Rwanda has been a member since its independence, adopted the important Bandung Declaration which admirably reflects the main elements of détente and international co-operation based on mutual respect and justice in relations among States.

We would also remind the Committee that at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in 1960, on the initiative of certain delegations, including the delegation of Ghana, the non-aligned countries, deeply worried by the danger of nuclear war, prepared a draft resolution calling on the two super-Powers to display moderation and to resume their talks.

Although after numerous consultations the draft resolution was not submitted, it is nonetheless true that the problem of détente and the normalization of international relations was and still remains at the centre of the concern of the non-aligned countries. The fact that the worst was avoided by the extremely broad scope of the multilateral talks is something which in our view bears eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of dialogue and the need to continue the process of détente which has been embarked upon at all levels.

The international community can see today that some progress has been made in relaxing tension between the two great Powers. This is due to some by no means negligible developments that have occurred. Whether it be the

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

various agreements and negotiations relating to the limitation of strategic arms, or the historic encounter in space between the Soviet and American astronauts, or the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, those are all achievements to which one cannot remain indifferent. My delegation cannot but welcome the establishment of a climate of confidence and co-operation between the two ideological poles. We very much hope that this rapprochement will live up to the hopes which the peoples have so rightly placed in it. We hope that this détente will grow and develop into an appropriate system of coexistence with all other parts of the world.

I am sure that there is no need for me to say that my delegation welcomes the Soviet Union's proposal to deepen and consolidate détente. That item like the one on the non-use of force or the threat of force is something which for my country is of particular importance, at the very time when the provisions of the United Nations Charter are clear and unambiguous whatever erroneous and selfish interpretation people may be prompted to place upon them in certain circumstances. While my country welcomes the draft Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, it is not only for the Government of the Second Republic, the protection of the rights of its people and its happiness, which is of paramount importance within our frontiers, but relations of co-operation and peace among nations are also very precious to us.

Thus, while the principles contained in the Soviet proposal represent nothing new, a further impetus is needed to arouse international opinion once again to the need to consolidate détente since flagrant violations of the principles of international security are still the practice in international relations.

A panoramic view of the world situation gives us a picture darkened by interference in the internal affairs of States, recourse to force in the settlement of international problems, colonial and racist repression of the régimes of southern Africa and the persistence of unjust international economic relations, in spite of their systematic condemnation in all international forums - in a word, the extremely limited scope of détente.

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

Indeed, while the two great Powers continue negotiations in various areas of international life, at the time when from Helsinki to Belgrade, security and co-operation in Europe are making strides, we deplore agitation, fratricidal war, aggression and the incalculable number of innocent victims in our continent, peace-loving Africa, for which I am afraid the only answer to our appeals for solidarity, co-operation and friendship among peoples has been the further inflaming of hatreds and the subsidizing of our own destruction.

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

However, in so far as tensions and the wars imported into Africa are concerned, everyone realizes the profound concern of the African leaders. In the general debate, our Foreign Minister also stressed this when he quoted from the statement of His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda and Founder-President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development:

"We have already denounced and deplored this confrontation among brother countries on several occasions; a confrontation that results from struggles for influence among the great Powers. Our continent remains the scene of conflict nourished by ideological differences. Africa has no need of these struggles. What we ask of friends who wish to help us is support in the campaign we are waging against underdevelopment. Poverty and ignorance are our common enemy, and this struggle concerns all of us, whatever the colours under which we fight." (A/32/PV.26, p. 6)

My delegation hopes that this moving and relevant appeal of one of the most peace-loving Heads of State, whose desire to co-operate is beyond question, will be heeded.

Colonialist and racist domination is now rampant in southern Africa. Year after year, day after day, the list of freedom fighters and those struggling for the dignity of the African people is growing longer and longer and adding to the list of martyrs of southern Africa. In the Middle East, in Europe and in Asia, occupation and military oppression are a heavy burden on peoples whose sufferings and frustrations can only be properly appreciated by the victims themselves. Nevertheless, any human being can easily understand the distress of these peoples, even if some are forced by a combination of events to do the best they can in the face of ill fortune. My delegation, therefore, feels that détente should also aim at bringing about respect for the territorial integrity of States, respect for the right to self-determination and independence of peoples, and also the normalization of all political and economic relations among States.

In so far as present day economic relations are concerned, we remain convinced that the deepening of détente should contribute greatly to the improvement of existing relations. My delegation indeed believes that the tensions arising from injustice in economic relations are in no way less explosive or dangerous than situations of conflict born of political differences. History

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

teaches us that wars always have as their causes ambitions for economic expansion, even if in those cases politics served as a screen. Within this context, the solution of the economic problems of the day should be included among the range of objectives of détente for which all the nations in the world should strive. In the interests of peace and international security, what we need is the will of all to bring about the well-being of all peoples, to overcome the difficult obstacles which we encounter at all stages of negotiations today.

In this regard, on the subject of the meagre results of dialogues to establish a new economic order, the President of the Rwanda Republic, His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, Founder-President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, said in his New Year statement:

"In spite of the difficulties impeding the progress of the third world and tending to increase tension among nations, we think it is in the interest of rich and poor countries alike to realize that the survival of all is based on their solidarity, and this should be demonstrated by a fair distribution of wealth among peoples and a just balance among nations. Progress should not remain the attribute of just a few countries, just as poverty should just not be the heritage of much of mankind."

The principle of the non-use of force in international relations is one of the essential prerequisites for détente. The Rwanda Government very much appreciated the proposal for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force or threat of the use of force in international relations. As everyone knows, an objective evaluation of the situation prevailing in the world is not particularly encouraging with regard to the exclusiveness of machinery which at present exists for the maintenance of international peace.

The broadening of the conflicts in Viet Nam and in Cambodia was limited to a very narrow circle, because more or less everywhere in the world the germs of confrontation between nations or ideological blocs are latent, if not actually well developed in certain cases. Pressure and injustice in international economic relations are the result of the use of force. Under the circumstances, it is desirable to encourage and to promote friendly relations and relations of co-operation among States and to strengthen the rule of law, justice and non-violence.

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

It is within this context, and in accordance with the guiding principles of the Second Republic, a policy of peace and co-operation, that the Rwanda delegation supported the initiative for the conclusion of a world treaty prohibiting the use of or the threat of the use of force in international relations and voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 31/9. The Rwanda Government therefore feels that the formulation of a legally binding instrument clearly stating the rights and duties of States in their relations would contribute to the better use of human and material resources and to the strengthening of peace in the world.

Furthermore, since the principle of the rejection of force or the threat of the use of force as a means of solving international problems has already been accepted as a precept under Article 2 of the Charter, to which all Members of the Organization have subscribed, codification of the proposed treaty should also be as precise and complete as possible, in such a way as to give greater clarity to a principle already recognized by all States as an indispensable element for international peace. With regard to this point, the Rwanda delegation believes that the use of force should be considered within a much broader context than armed aggression, as was made clear last year. The racist régimes in southern Africa should be condemned most explicitly and categorically in this convention. Furthermore, at a time when the whole international community has condemned the vast amount of human and material resources wasted in the arms race and the growing privations which are the burden of three quarters of mankind, the non-use of force should have an effect on the economic order and on disarmament, because the economic imbalance and the arms race are the consequences of the use of force and the threat, or at least the deliberate intention, to use force. Furthermore, the Rwanda delegation would like to stress, as many previous speakers have already done, that the convention on the non-use of force should reflect as clearly as possible the inalienable right of States to defend themselves against any aggression, as is laid down in Article 51 of the Charter. Similarly, the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial or racist domination for the restoration of their freedom, independence and dignity should be unambiguously

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

reconfirmed. We note with satisfaction that the authors of the proposal under discussion share the same concerns with regard to the criminal policy of the racist régimes and unjust economic relations.

My delegation therefore firmly supports these initiatives for the fundamental strengthening of the bases of universal peace, and we very much hope that the declarations of commitment to peace will be accompanied by concrete and dynamic action, so as to banish for ever all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man.

(Mr. Nyilinkindi, Rwanda)

Mr. Chairman, since I have the floor, I should like to express the pride of the Rwanda delegation at seeing you preside so competently and successfully over our proceedings. I should also like to address my warm gratitude to all our colleagues for their constructive work in the conduct of our proceedings, which have taken place in an atmosphere of co-operation free from tension.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further speakers for this morning's meeting. I should like to remind members that on Wednesday, 7 December, after the conclusion of the general debate on the items under consideration, the Committee will proceed to take decisions on the draft resolutions. Therefore, I request those delegations that wish to submit draft resolutions to do so as soon as possible in order to facilitate the work of the Committee in concluding consideration of its agenda items as planned and approved.

There are no speakers for this afternoon's meeting and I am therefore compelled to cancel that meeting. The next meeting of the Committee will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, 6 December, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.