



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 58th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BOATEN (Ghana)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/32/PV.58
12 December 1977

ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 50 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
(A/32/68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 93, 117, 128, 140, 153, 154, 157,
164 and Add.1, 165 and Add.1-2; A/C.1/32/2, 8; A/C.1/32/L.47)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 pertaining to agenda item 50, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". The draft resolution has no financial implications. It is sponsored by ten delegations and was introduced by the representative of Cyprus on 8 December 1977. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to announce that the delegations of Madagascar and the Congo have become sponsors of this draft resolution.

Miss DEVER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the nine countries members of the European Community I should like to recall the importance attached by our Governments to the strengthening of international peace and security, which is one of the principal aims of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by consensus in 1970.

(Miss Dever, Belgium)

The active role played by our countries in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe gives unequivocal proof that we spare no effort to find means of strengthening international peace and security. Because of that we deplore all the more the fact that draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 runs counter to that objective. In fact, the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was possible as the result of lengthy negotiations which led to a delicate balance. That unanimity, which ensured the authority of the Declaration, has been gradually weakened by the yearly discussion which only too often are but a repetition of debates that take place during the consideration of other items of the General Assembly's agenda.

Hence we shall be obliged to abstain on the draft resolution, for the reasons already explained on behalf of the Nine - in 1974 by the representative of France, in 1975 by the representative of Italy, and on 10 December last year by the representative of Netherlands - when votes were being taken on draft resolutions similar to the one that is before us today.

Mr. HIRSCH (United States of America): The United States believes that the United Nations Charter provides the best guidelines under which Member States can take practical and concrete measures to strengthen international peace and security. The present draft resolution, in so far as it simply restates or misleadingly paraphrases the principles and purposes of the Charter, contributes little to the strengthening of international security. The current draft resolution contains elements with which we do not agree.

The fourth preambular paragraph contains an inaccurate reference to the work of the sixth special session. No consensus was reached at that session. The resolution was adopted without objections but with far-reaching reservations, reservations which the United States, for its part, still maintains.

The fifth preambular paragraph introduces the role of the mass media in the strengthening of international security in a rather disturbing way.

Operative paragraph 1, unlike last year's resolution, calls upon States to adhere to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, without previous reference to the United Nations Charter. That is unacceptable.

Operative paragraph 3 urges States to support national liberation movements in the struggle for self-determination.

Operative paragraph 5 is unacceptable in that it clearly implies that any attempt to influence the action of a State in exercising its "sovereign right" - in the phrase of the draft resolution - to dispose of its natural resources violates the Charter even where the exercise of that "right" violates international law.

Operative paragraph 7 raises a problem with reference to the Mediterranean zone of peace in that it would interfere with collective security arrangements and would suggest that littoral States would have the right to establish a special régime to govern that part of the high seas.

Accordingly, we shall vote against this draft resolution.

Mr. BEREZOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In connexion with the consideration of the draft resolution before the Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Soviet delegation wishes to stress the usefulness of the yearly discussion of the question in the General Assembly. From examining what has been accomplished last year and in the past further to strengthen international security, we can confirm the correctness and timeliness of the objectives contained in the Declaration as well as the fact that it was politically important and useful in practice in international relations.

Last year many efforts were made to strengthen international security. Much success has been achieved in strengthening peaceful coexistence in relations among States of different social systems and in the non-use of force for the settlement of international disputes. At the same time, the struggle of peoples to consolidate their independence and sovereignty and to liquidate the last bastions of racism, colonialism and apartheid continues.

The strengthening of mutual trust and co-operation among States has led to definite progress in limiting the arms race. The process of international détente is now the determining factor in international relations.

Speaking of the positive trends and the achievements in the field of international security, we must also note the fact that such achievements do not occur by themselves and that there are many difficulties ahead. There are still hotbeds of military conflicts and of tension; there are still enclaves of colonialism and racism which threaten international peace and security. There are also attempts to divert the settlement of unresolved disputes from their basic solutions, and this too does not serve the cause of strengthening security.

All these problems must be faced by the combined efforts of all countries. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security can serve as a useful guide for the activities of States. The Soviet Union supports the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was drafted as a result of lengthy consultations of many States.

(Mr. Berezovsky, USSR)

This draft resolution reflects the views of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the matter and we feel that it will play an important and useful part in the implementation of the Declaration. The Soviet Union attaches much importance to the need for States, in their mutual relations, to observe and apply a cardinal principle in international relations, that of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It is necessary to ensure that all States, in their policies, adhere to the provisions of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, which was adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly in 1970, so as to exclude from international relations all form of interference in the affairs of other States.

For those reasons, the delegation of the Soviet Union will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by a number of States in document A/C.1/32/L.47.

Mr. EILAN (Israel): The United Nations was created with the principal aim of supporting the maintenance of peace and security in the world. This is its essential raison d'être and all other activities however important are subsidiary to this the main goal of our Organization.

Israel has always supported resolutions of the General Assembly which were in full accord with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, its ideals and purposes and will continue to do so.

I should like at the beginning of my statement to quote two articles of an international instrument which proscribed the recourse to force and which proclaimed the imperative need of the pacific settlement of disputes between States.

"Article I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means."

The extracts that I have just quoted are from International Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, Paris, 27 August 1928. Between the date of the signature of this pact in 1928 and the Second World War, three major armed conflicts and invasions took place on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Since the holocaust of the Second World War and the subsequent signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in June 1945 until this present session of the General Assembly, roughly 30 armed conflicts took place, mainly on the Eurasian land mass.

If one is to judge recent human history by the number of wars within the last 50 years, it would seem that the road to armed conflicts is paved with the most noble intentions as proclaimed in international covenants and numerous resolutions of the General Assembly.

If one were to enumerate all the armed conflicts one by one that have taken place since the inception of the United Nations, conflicts which have caused so much suffering to mankind, one would surely come to the conclusion that most

(Mr. Shiloah, Israel)

If not all, of them could have been avoided. They could have and should have been avoided had Member States been prepared to be guided by the provisions of Article 2 of the Charter and especially by the injunctions contained in paragraph 3 of that Article. What does Article 2, paragraph 3 say? It says:

"All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

The key words in this paragraph are "peaceful means". Peaceful means in this context connote negotiations, and no negotiations are possible without contact. Even at the worst periods of the cold war, diplomatic contact was maintained between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was the maintenance of this contact which made negotiations between the two Powers possible at a later stage - negotiations which in some fields led to far-reaching agreements, both encouraged and endorsed by the United Nations.

Speaking as the representative of a country which was forced to fight five wars in nearly 30 years, I am bound to say that the dialogue which is now taking place between Jerusalem and Cairo represents an immeasurably greater contribution to the peace of the region and the world than scores of resolutions and repetitious debates in this Committee. The maintenance of contact between former combatants in spite of divergence of views is what the Charter is all about. I have therefore refrained from exercising my right of reply to some Arab speakers in the debate whose sterile and unremitting acrimony against Israel was as futile as it was inimical to the proclaimed aim of the draft resolution before us.

The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/32/L.47, submitted under item 50, contains appeals to Member States which have often been made in the past; it repeats obligations already existing under the Charter; it does not contain a single new thought which would make peace more durable or would make war less likely. Here and there the language of the draft resolution departs from the accepted terminology of diplomacy and borders on the well-worn clichés of a propaganda pamphlet. When we try to take an over-all view of the debate thus far, we cannot help asking ourselves whether this draft resolution, as well as those previously adopted under the three items, were really necessary.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Iraq on a point of order.

Mr. KUBBA (Iraq): I wonder whether we are hearing an explanation of vote or a statement on the current issues on our agenda.

Mr. NILAN (Israel): How much did this last debate, which was a repetition of so many previous debates, actually contribute to the cause of peace? And with so little to show for this debate, we accordingly regret to note the introduction into this draft resolution before us of certain semantic nuances where the original meaning of words has been changed to denote political conceptions which do not always fully conform to the principle of solving disputes by peaceful means.

Moreover, this draft resolution, like the two adopted yesterday, however repetitious, is remarkable by certain glaring omissions. Nowhere are United States urged to initiate dialogues where none had existed before; nowhere are States urged to enter into direct negotiations where wide divergences of views are known to exist. I am not referring exclusively to the Middle East or the Israel-Arab dispute; there exist also other areas of tension and armed conflicts in the world. In fact, reading the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/32/L.47 one is sadly led to doubt whether their authors have fully understood the true meaning and practical application of the words "peaceful means" as envisaged by those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, my delegation will abstain on this draft resolution.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The Albanian delegation wishes to state that it has reservations with respect to draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47. To explain our attitude with respect to the draft resolution, the Albanian delegation wishes in particular to stress the following.

The Helsinki Conference and its decisions have brought nothing of value to Europe. The decisions of the Helsinki Conference are a dead letter. The American imperialists and the Soviet socio-imperialists, who were the principal protagonists in the Helsinki Conference, wanted that Conference for bargaining purposes and to mislead the peoples of Europe. They tried, and continue to try, to use the Helsinki Conference and its decisions to legalize their military presence in Europe and to consolidate

Mr. Paleta, Albania

their positions in their respective zones of influence. The Belgrade meeting has shown the failure of the decisions of the Helsinki Conference; it has demonstrated that the two imperialist super-powers are trying to profit from this type of meeting, in order better to serve their political and military designs in Europe and elsewhere.

The spirit and decisions of the Helsinki Conference in our view can have no positive effect in the Mediterranean and in other areas. The Mediterranean basin remains a field of intensive aggressive activities on the part of the two super-powers. The aggressive navies of the United States and of the Soviet Union continue to multiply their cruises in the Mediterranean. United States and Soviet warships are still able to anchor in the ports of certain Mediterranean countries.

For those reasons the Albanian delegation cannot support draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 and will not participate in the vote.

Mr. BERG (Sweden): During earlier General Assemblies the Swedish delegation supported draft resolutions regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is true that at times we have had some reservations on different passages in the texts but, on the whole, we have been able to accept the proposed draft resolutions. This year, however, we are faced with a draft resolution in which there have been introduced some elements which are totally new in comparison with previous resolutions. My delegation regrets that these new elements will oblige Sweden to abstain in the vote of draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47. The most important of these new elements has been included in the last preambular paragraph which deals with so-called "objective dissemination of information" and "the role and responsibility of the mass media in this respect". My delegation cannot find that a resolution on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is the proper place to deal with the question of dissemination of information. Sweden cannot support a

(Mr. Berg, Sweden)

text which intends to regulate the contents of the mass media - and that in a proposed language we find vague and ambiguous.

Our difficulty in accepting such a text is further strengthened when we take into account the serious implications the proposed formulation could have on ongoing and future international discussions on the question of information. I would like in that context especially to mention the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, its review Conference and different discussions and conferences that have been and will be held in the framework of UNESCO. The proposed text could in our view adversely affect a clear interpretation of declarations and resolutions already accepted by this forum. Finally, I should also like to state that my delegation has some reservations as to the language in operative paragraph 7.

Once again I must admit that it is with regret that my delegation has noted the introduction of such new elements in the draft I have just commented upon that will oblige my delegation to abstain in the vote.

Mr. GRANILLO BARRERA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish):

El Salvador will support draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 on the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". In our view it is an important expression, within the context of the efforts of the international community to achieve the purposes of the United Nations Charter, in the search for peace, the strengthening of international security, disarmament and universalization of the process of détente. In fact, although remarkable progress has been achieved in the struggle against colonial and all other forms of domination, colonialism persists and prevents peoples from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination; there still are cases of foreign occupation, the threat of the use of force, the arms race, and so forth which justify continuation of our Organization's efforts to eradicate them and to strengthen international security.

(Mr. Granillo Barrera,
El Salvador)

In my delegation's view, the process of détente between the great Powers should facilitate respect for the principles of the Charter throughout the world, as stated in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, and therefore the great Powers must refrain from any act which, at the expense of the third world and to the detriment of the principles of the Charter, stops the process of détente and endangers world peace and security. Unless they do so, the great Powers will be transferring their rivalries to local flashpoints of tension.

My delegation will therefore vote in favour of broadening the process of détente as this will contribute effectively to the strengthening of international security. Similarly, my delegation supports all initiatives in favour of disarmament, in particular, nuclear disarmament, and the creation of zones of peace, as laid down in paragraph 6 of this draft resolution.

For these reasons, my delegation will support the draft resolution before us.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution. A recorded vote has been requested by the United States.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamarihya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark,
France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland,
Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands,
New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey,
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The draft resolution was adopted by 94 votes to one, with 19 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. SUCHARIPA (Austria): Because of its geographical position in the heart of Europe, Austria has always considered its national security to be closely linked to international stability and is thus vitally interested in all measures conducive to the strengthening of international security and the promotion of peaceful co-operation between States in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

We have therefore from the very outset supported the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We have also been in a position to lend our support to a number of resolutions presented in previous years under the agenda item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", inasmuch as those resolutions reaffirmed the well-balanced and comprehensive provisions contained in the Declaration. At the same time, however, we had to register our reservation on certain formulations in those resolutions which we considered to be either imprecise, or which introduced new elements into the framework of the Declaration without giving the necessary time for a sincere and thorough discussion of those new elements.

As far as the wording of the present draft resolution follows the wording of previous resolutions on this agenda item, the reservations of my delegation remain valid.

To these general remarks I should like to add the following specific comments. First of all I have to point out that the formulation of the last preambular paragraph is not acceptable to my delegation because in our view it is in conflict with the principle of freedom of information to which my Government attaches particular importance.

Secondly, with reference to operative paragraph 7, I may recall that last year my delegation had already indicated that the proposal for a conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, as indeed the notion of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean,

(Mr. Sumaripa, India)

itself, is, in the opinion of the Austrian delegation, very unclear. We are not able to support such a proposal prior to its discussion and definition by all countries of the region, and until their readiness to participate in the establishment of such a zone has been ascertained. Furthermore, due consideration must also be given to the impact of such a zone on the regional and supra-regional stability and security.

It is for these reasons that my delegation has not been able to support the present draft resolution.

Mr. MADADHA (Jordan): My delegation welcomes the draft resolution that has just been adopted. It has voted in favour of it because of the numerous positive elements that it contains towards the noble objective sought by mankind, namely, a just and lasting peace for all humanity.

However, we had some doubts as to the meaning implied in operative paragraph 5 concerning the free disposal of natural resources by all nations. The explanation understood and taken for granted by my delegation was that it meant the free disposal of natural resources for peaceful purposes, for it could not be explained otherwise, especially as it has been adopted by this Committee, which deals mainly with problems of peace and security in the world.

Mr. ULUÇEVİK (Turkey): The Turkish delegation attaches great importance to the strengthening of international peace and security. That is one of the cardinal aims of the Charter of the United Nations. We regard the adoption by consensus of the relevant Declaration in 1970 by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly as a positive contribution to that end. However, in the view of my delegation annual debates on this very topic have been repetitious in nature without substantially contributing to the proclaimed aims of the Declaration. Moreover, the adoption of new resolutions on this subject during each consecutive session of the General Assembly since 1970 has shown a tendency to impair the carefully-balanced content of the 1970 Declaration.

(Mr. Uluçevik, Turkey)

It is for that reason that my delegation abstained in the voting on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.47 concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Mr. HARTTILA (Finland): The Finnish delegation voted for draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47. In doing so, we followed our basic line of previous years, which is to give all possible support to the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. However, our positive vote does not mean that all the wording in the text just adopted is in full harmony with our views and wishes. That is particularly the case with operative paragraph 7 and also the last preambular paragraph. Some of the wording in those paragraphs is at variance with our well-known positions taken in other contexts, especially in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. No change has taken place in respect of those positions, and thus those two paragraphs in particular of the draft resolution are not wholly acceptable to us.

Mr. KITI (Kenya): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47, which it regards as a step towards furthering the implementation of the Declaration under consideration. We consider that the purpose of the United Nations is progressively to improve on its work, especially its work aimed at the maintenance of peace and security which, as most delegations have emphasized, is the main task and purpose of this Organization.

Mr. Pitt, Kenya.

We adhere to and believe in the Charter, but we also believe that the Charter by itself has not contributed to the maintenance of peace since it was signed in 1946. As I pointed out at the time I spoke, any measure that is taken towards the maintenance of peace, however small it may be, should be welcomed, and we consider the adoption of the draft resolution in that regard.

My delegation is particularly satisfied with the inclusion in the resolution of the concepts and ideas that my Government has held to be the pillars of the policy of improvement of the atmosphere of peace and security. We note with satisfaction that in the fifth preambular paragraph the resolution calls for the elimination "of crises and hotbeds of tension in various regions endangering international peace and security". As it will be recalled, my delegation expressed its concern at the increasing number of hotbeds and areas of tension in Africa, and unfortunately very close to my own country.

We are also satisfied to note that in that same preambular paragraph the international community is called upon to intensify its efforts to reduce the arms race, to reduce acts of aggression, to reduce acts of interference and the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, which my Government considers to be the source of serious disturbance of peace in the continent of Africa. We are also satisfied to note that in the sixth preambular paragraph the resolution calls for objective dissemination of information.

My delegation has always considered that the mass media can play a constructive role in enhancing the cause of peace. We have always been against the dissemination of subjective information aimed at distorting facts, aimed at creating causes of instability in other countries' areas of operation. We have not at any time considered this paragraph to mean an interference with freedom of information. We have, however, always felt that with the present level of international technology there is room for objective dissemination of information aimed at enhancing the causes of peace.

(Mr. KILI, Kenya)

My delegation also noted with satisfaction the inclusion of the cardinal principle, in operative paragraph 5, of the inalienable right of every country to sovereignty over its natural resources. We therefore subscribe fully to the sentiments contained therein, namely that any pressures directed at the freedom of any country to dispose of its natural resources as it deems essential for its economic development is an unacceptable interference in its international or national affairs.

As I pointed out at the time I spoke, it is now considered an acceptable principle that there is a close relationship between international security, on the one hand, and economic, social and political development, on the other. We consider any interference in the economic development of any country to be an interference in its international security. We therefore have found it very satisfactory that the draft resolution was adopted by a very large majority, and we hope that Member States will put its principles into operation. As I had occasion to emphasize, it is not the adoption of the resolution that is important but its implementation if we truly believe in the cause of peace and justice.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation was unfortunately absent when the vote was taken. Had we been present, we would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): With regard to draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47, we voted in favour. It is because we felt that this is a new step which will be made by the United Nations to strengthen peace and security throughout the world. But on this occasion we cannot overlook the allegations of the representative of Israel or his erroneous interpretation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. I want to read out the text -

The CHAIRMAN: Is the representative of Israel raising a point of order?

Mr. EILAN (Israel): Indeed, Mr. Chairman. On a point of information, I should like to ask you whether the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic is speaking in explanation of vote after the vote or whether this is a right of reply?

The CHAIRMAN: I take it that the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic is explaining his vote after the vote. If, after this, the representative of Israel wishes to explain his vote, he can do so.

Mr. EILAN (Israel): Mr. Chairman, I should, if I may, to remind you that I have already explained my vote.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I wanted to read out here the text of Article 1 of the United Nations Charter: (spoke in English)

"The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. 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 ..."

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

(continued in Arabic)

It is well known that in 1948 Israel was created on the basis of an aggression. In 1956 Israel was one of the three States which launched an aggression against an Arab nation. In 1967 the aggression of Israel against the Arab States was continued, and up to the present time ---

The CHAIRMAN: We are not discussing Israel here, and if our meeting goes on like this there will be no end to it.

Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic): I am about to finish, Mr. Chairman.
(continued in Arabic)

The negative position of Israel with regard to the resolutions of the United Nations is well known. If Israel really wants peace, the path to peace is well known. It is the path of strict adherence to the resolutions of the United Nations and its Charter and also abstention from any falsification of truth.

Mr. LIMA (Cape Verde) (interpretation from French): If the delegation of Cape Verde had been present when draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 was put to the vote we would have voted in favour of it.

The CHAIRMAN: The statements of those representatives who were unable to be present during the voting will be reflected in the record.

As there is no other delegation wishing to explain its vote I declare consideration of draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.47 concluded.

CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has completed consideration of all the agenda items allocated to it. Before I make a concluding statement does any member wish to speak?

Mr. BARTON (Canada): I have a feeling that I may be intervening out of a traditional order, and I am most appreciative that I have been given this privilege because I have another engagement that I have to keep.

I have the honour at this time, in my capacity as Chairman of the Western European and Others Group for the month of December, to express our appreciation for the guidance which has been provided to this Committee by you, Mr. Chairman, and the other members of the Bureau.

First, let me say how impressed we have all been with the way in which you have conducted the work and the debate in the First Committee. The fact that we are concluding the study of the different items exactly on time, without any last-minute rush, is due primarily to your ability and dedication to the conduct of the work of this Committee.

During the past three months we have heard more than 230 speakers in the three general debates relating to disarmament, to outer space questions and to the non-use of force in international relations, the strengthening of international security and détente.

I think we would all agree that the debate on disarmament issues was constructive, and I suppose it could be said that as usual it was the main course of the feast that we cooked up for ourselves.

We still have a long way to go on the path towards true disarmament, as opposed to arms control, but we think that there is room for hope. We believe that our optimism in this regard will be confirmed and enhanced by the results of the forthcoming special session on disarmament.

I think also that important and encouraging developments have been noted at this session in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, particularly with respect to the progress made in formulating draft principles on direct broadcast satellites and remote sensing. The report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has received unanimous support, and even if some delegations have expressed some reservations about the immediate enlargement of the Committee for reasons that are well known, we should at the same time like to extend a warm welcome to the new members of the Committee who will shortly be selected by the President of the General Assembly and will become full and valued participants in the important work of that Committee.

(Mr. Barton, Canada)

We have just completed the study of the last item on our agenda. My delegation would like to congratulate Mr. Hoveyda of Iran for his tireless, and eventually successful, efforts to produce a declaration on the question of détente which could attract consensus support. At the same time we should like to thank the delegations of the Soviet Union and those of non-aligned countries for the spirit of collaboration and understanding that they have shown in our consideration of this and related items. Although some delegations have expressed some reservations about the utility of drafting a declaration on non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, we continue to believe that the cause of international peace and security can and will be advanced by the deliberations in this Committee and in the Assembly as a whole.

Finally, 30 resolutions have been adopted in this session by the First Committee. I think we can be proud of having selected so distinguished a Bureau to guide the work of our Committee. Your leadership, Mr. Chairman, and the collaboration of all members of the Bureau and the invaluable support of the members of the Secretariat, led by Mr. Shevchenko and Mr. Banerjee, have contributed immeasurably to the success achieved at this session.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me and to the other officers of the Committee.

Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): It is a great honour and a pleasant duty for me to thank you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the group of East European countries for your wise and considerate guidance of the work of the First Committee. It is thanks to that guidance that the work on such a comprehensive agenda could be successfully completed. You, Mr. Chairman, have fully merited the confidence and trust placed in you by our regional group and the whole Committee. Your personal engagement essentially contributed to the success of the work of our Committee.

We address our thanks also to the Committee's two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Hollai of Hungary and Mr. Pastinen of Finland, as well as to our Rapporteur, Mr. Correa of Mexico who, in so active a manner, supported you, Mr. Chairman, in fulfilling your complex programme of work.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

The successful conclusion of the consideration of the agenda items entrusted to our Committee within the scheduled time and the number of draft resolutions adopted are manifest proof of the efficiency of the First Committee's activity. The wise guidance of our work which was oriented towards constructive co-operation with all regional groups is reflected particularly by the fact that it was possible to adopt important draft resolutions by consensus.

We also wish cordially to thank the members of the Secretariat, in particular the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Shevchenko, and the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Banerjee, and all their helpers and supporters both visible and invisible.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

Their active co-operation, untiring devotion and their profound sense of responsibility helped to resolve important and certain complex organizational problems to the satisfaction of the Committee.

The discussions in the First Committee during the thirty second session of the General Assembly were marked by a spirit of constructiveness. On the basis of the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and thanks to the good co-operation within our Committee, it has been possible to adopt a declaration on the deepening and consolidation of détente which we consider very important for the efforts to maintain peace and security in the world.

The desires and hopes of the peoples to proceed to decisive measures, to strengthen international security, to halt the arms race and to achieve disarmament are reflected in many resolutions which will contribute to the preparation and the success of the special session on disarmament of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held in 1978. We express the hope that the results of the work we have done will provide a good basis for further fruitful activities within and outside the United Nations.

The work for this year has been completed. Now we are called upon to work for implementing the measures we have agreed upon in order to contribute towards obtaining the purposes of the United Nations as they are laid down in its Charter.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the German Democratic Republic for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me, to the other officers of the Committee and also to the Secretariat.

Mr. TOMO ATANGANA (United Republic of Cameroon) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, for me it is an honour and a pleasant duty to present to you, on behalf of the African Group and also on behalf of my own delegation, my warmest congratulations for the excellent way in which you have guided the debates of the First Committee at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly. This could not be otherwise, Sir, because we know you and we have

(Mr. Tovo Atangana, United Republic of
Cameroon)

greatly appreciated the interest which you have shown in all the problems connected with peace and international security. In our world which is seeking peace and general and complete disarmament, the strengthening of collective security and the peaceful use of the resources of the earth and of outer space are objectives of high priority. At a time when hegemonic appetites and the wish for domination have prompted States to engage in an arms race to the detriment of development, \$400 billion are being spent yearly for armaments, whereas hundreds of millions of men, women and children are living in dire poverty in developing countries. As representatives of Africa, we are greatly preoccupied with this unprecedented waste of resources which is carrying the human race to its doom.

Our Committee has tried throughout this session to find means to alter this sad fate. This, of course, is a factor which encourages us to have here. We are very proud of the inestimable contribution which you have made to this collective effort of all those who have assembled here, by guiding our debates so competently and so wisely.

It is a pleasure for us to associate ourselves in the tribute which we pay to you, the officers of the Committee and the Secretariat who have helped you so much in the accomplishment of your task.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon for his kind words addressed to me and also to the other offices of the Committee and to the Secretariat.

Mr. ARTEAGA ACOSTA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Latin American delegations, permit me to express to you our sincere congratulations and our appreciation for the very able manner in which you have presided over the First Committee at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Under your very able guidance, the Committee has done fruitful work in its consideration of the important items on its agenda. The vast number of resolutions adopted by the Committee once again reflect the determination of the United Nations to promote international co-operation in outer space, to halt the arms race and, lastly, to promote international peace and security.

(Mr. Arteaga Acosta, Venezuela)

In discharging your important functions, Mr. Chairman, you have had the co-operation of the other officers of the Committee. The Latin American group, therefore, wishes to congratulate and to express its appreciation to the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, Mr. Pastinen of Finland and Mr. Hollai of Hungary, and to the Rapporteur, Mr. Correa of Mexico, for the very able way in which they discharged their functions.

May we also extend our appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Shevchenko, and to Mr. Banerjee, the Secretary of the Committee, as well as to the indefatigable staff of the Secretariat. We also extend our gratitude, of course, to the interpreters, translators, in fact to all the staff, visible and invisible, who have contributed with their usual dedication and great patience to the work of the First Committee during this current session.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Venezuela for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me, to the other officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat.

Mr. MATANE (Papua New Guinea): Mr. Chairman, in my capacity as Chairman of the Asian Group for the month of December, I should like, on its behalf, to thank you and the other officers of the Committee for conducting our meetings during the thirty-second session of the General Assembly in the most efficient manner. I am sure that everyone present here today will agree that your difficult work was made easier by the Secretary of the Committee and his staff in their tireless efforts to provide this Committee with the services that allowed it to function smoothly.

It would be unthinkable for me, Mr. Chairman, not to mention some of the officers who worked behind the scenes but who contributed a great deal to the smooth functioning of this Committee.

Mr. Katane, Papua New Guinea

These include the conference officers, document officers, translators and guards. Through you, Mr. Chairman, I thank them all. Finally, I wish to convey to the members my best greetings for the forthcoming season and to those who are travelling back to their countries I wish goodspeed and bon voyage until we meet again next year.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Papua New Guinea for his words concerning me and the other officers of the Committee and also his kind words with regard to the Secretariat.

Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic):
Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Arab Group I want to express to you our great satisfaction at the way in which you have guided our deliberations. There are many reasons for our satisfaction. Firstly, you represent a country which is in the very vanguard of the African struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Secondly, an important role has been played by Ghana in the strengthening of the movement of non-aligned countries, whose principles are becoming more and more established in circumstances in which international conflicts and the arms race are continuing. Thirdly, it is in the very nature of the work of this Committee that its agenda includes complex and interrelated items which are all of relevance to the very destiny of mankind. In addition to this, we have noted the positive role that you and the Secretariat have played, and we want to express our congratulations and our best wishes.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Democratic Yemen for his words addressed to me and the other officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat.

Mr. MESALIATI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Islamic Group, over which my country has presided this year, I am happy to convey to you our sincere thanks for all the efforts you have made in leading the work of this Committee to a happy conclusion. We also wish to thank the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, as well as all the members of the Secretariat.

The cause of international peace and security is at present a matter of great interest to the international community. We hope that the international community will implement the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. We have all worked together in harmony. The draft resolutions adopted by our Committee bear witness to this, and I hope we shall continue to succeed in our efforts in the future.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his words addressed to me and the other officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat.

With the conclusion of agenda items 37, 50 and 127, the substantive deliberations of the First Committee at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly have now been completed with considerable accomplishments.

I believe that, with your full co-operation, dedication and hard work, this Committee has been able to complete the very important tasks assigned to it in a satisfactory and friendly manner. The problems we have discussed - the deepening of international détente, disarmament, outer space matters, the non-use of force in international relations and the strengthening of international security - are cardinal problems of our time, which influence the state of international relations and are of utmost importance to every nation.

The Committee considered and completed, on schedule, a total of 22 items, heard some 226 statements and adopted 30 draft resolutions, at 55 meetings of substantive work.

As members will recall, the Committee started its work by the consideration, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the item entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the

(The Chairman)

danger of nuclear war". As a result of extensive consultations and efforts, the text of the Declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente was agreed upon and adopted by consensus. We have every reason to believe that this document will take a deserving place among the most important United Nations documents. Its implementation would contribute to further strengthening the process of détente and extending it to all regions of the world and facilitate the settlement of outstanding world problems by peaceful means. It would favour the utilization of resources for improving the living conditions of peoples in a climate free of coercion or the threat or use of force and thus contribute to the attainment of the high purposes and principles set forth in the United Nations Charter.

During the discussion of this item many delegations emphasized the necessity to avert the threat of nuclear war, which is fraught with incalculable sufferings and destruction for all mankind. Though the draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war was not put to a vote, because of the wish to have this question studied more thoroughly, it is evident that this problem is inseparably connected with the strengthening of international security and consolidation of détente. It is of vital importance to all the peoples and will undoubtedly be considered in the course of further discussions of disarmament questions, in particular at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and in the course of preparations for it.

This year the First Committee continued the consideration of the question entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations", which is closely associated with the strengthening of international détente. In the replies to the Secretary-General's inquiry, as well as in the course of our discussions in this Committee, a considerable number of States made observations and suggestions with regard to formulating the text of such a treaty. As is known, this question is being considered also in the Sixth Committee, which we hope will adopt an adequate decision to achieve this objective.

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(The Chairman.

This year our Committee considered again the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and adopted a new resolution reaffirming the appeal to all States to be guided in their international activities by the provisions of that Declaration. Under the same item, the Committee adopted another resolution calling on all States to observe the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

(The Chairman)

I certainly cannot fail to note the constructive character of the consideration of disarmament items. It was gratifying that the Committee was able to adopt a draft resolution on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. As a result of recent initiatives certain progress has been achieved at the tripartite negotiations on this matter. This development has made it possible for the Committee, for the first time in recent years, to work out and adopt a balanced draft resolution on this complicated and urgent question.

I should mention the adoption of a separate draft resolution, expressing satisfaction with regard to the recent proposals by the leaders of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the question of the limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals and calling for the speedy and successful conclusion of the negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons.

States Members once again reaffirmed the desire to reach early agreement on the effective prohibition of production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction. The positive solution of this problem would spare mankind the threat of this horrible weapon of mass destruction.

Many delegations have spoken in favour of prohibiting the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction. The draft resolutions adopted on this question call for the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons.

The Committee paid considerable attention to the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which is of vital importance in the efforts to avert nuclear war. The draft resolution on this question defines concrete measures for achieving this goal.

The Committee also considered a number of other important aspects of the cessation of the arms race, disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war. In this regard, important draft resolutions have been adopted on the economic and social consequences of the armaments race, the disarmament decade, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world, the reduction of military budgets, regional aspects of disarmament, incendiary weapons and the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

(The Chairman)

The Committee took further steps to enhance the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. It unanimously endorsed the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament and reaffirmed the decision to convene that session in May-June next year. That session will be a most important stage in the United Nations efforts in the field of disarmament. The Committee also adopted a separate draft resolution on the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

Active discussion took place on items relating to the peaceful uses of outer space. These items are of major importance not only for the present but for the future as well, particularly if we bear in mind the tremendous possibilities that outer space can offer for the benefit of mankind. It was heartening to hear how the technology of outer space is being used and further developed for various social, economic and educational purposes, particularly in their application in the developing countries.

I should also not fail to stress what an important task the Outer Space Committee has to perform in the years to come. I have no doubt that that Committee will endeavour with renewed vigour to ensure that the potentials of space science and technology will be utilized in the solution of the urgent problems relating to the shortage of food, the growth of population and the preservation of the environment.

Permit me at this stage to express my thanks to each and every one who has made it easy and possible for me to discharge the responsible task of Chairman of this Committee.

My gratitude and that of the other officers of the Committee go first to all members of the Committee. Their courtesy and unfailing assistance and co-operation of members have been a daily source of strength. Without mentioning names, I should like to say that I have benefited immensely from the co-operation of those members who have felt a particular responsibility for bringing to this Committee initiatives, proposals and texts of draft resolutions. It has been a particular gratification for me to witness the continuing efforts to seek conciliation and the many instances in which the Committee achieved full agreement.

The Chairman

and statements in the Committee that it is in the interest of all that we should all endeavour to reach a consensus in as many instances as possible. Such a goal for the future. It is my hope that the spirit of co-operation and compromise which makes a consensus possible will continue to pervade the Committee.

I address my sincere expressions of gratitude and appreciation to the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, Mr. Imre Kollai of Hungary and Mr. Ilkka Paastinen of Finland, who were always ready to substitute for me and extend their invaluable co-operation and advice to me, and to the Rapporteur, Mr. Francisco Correa of Mexico, whose succinct reports testify to his ability and co-operation.

To the Secretariat, I wish to express my deep appreciation. I thank the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Arkady Shevchenko, for his co-operation. The Secretary of the Committee, Mr. P. K. Banerjee, has given me valuable assistance and mature advice. His vast diplomatic experience and wisdom have been a constant source of comfort and strength to the Chair. I should like also to express, on behalf of the members of the Committee and on my own behalf, our gratitude to the Directors of the Divisions and to all members of the Secretariat, whatever their jobs, who have facilitated the work of the Committee.

Whatever we have achieved at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly in the First Committee is a product of a collective effort for which I am most grateful to all of you.

I wish to extend to you all my sincere season's greetings and best wishes for a happy New Year, and to wish you much personal success in your future endeavours.

The last meeting of the First Committee during the thirty-second session of the General Assembly stands adjourned.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.