



*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 138**

**Right of peoples to peace**

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mongolia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.14.

2. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Since time immemorial the peoples of the world have cherished the common ideal of living in peace with one another. However, until the twentieth century, *jus ad bellum*—that is, the right to wage wars—was considered quite natural. It was only in the wake of the First World War, which claimed the lives of millions of people, that this right was outlawed.

3. Lenin's Decree of Peace, adopted on 8 November 1917, right after the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, denounced the imperialist war as the gravest crime against humanity and called upon the peoples and Governments of the belligerent countries to put an end to the war and conclude a just, democratic peace without annexations or indemnities. In 1928 the community of nations solemnly adopted the Kellogg-Briand Pact whereby States declared, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

4. The Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted in the wake of the most devastating of all wars hitherto known to mankind, which claimed the lives of 50 million people, solemnly declares, on behalf of the peoples of the United Nations, the determination to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to this end "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". The Charter is a striking example of the embodiment of the aspirations of peoples to outlaw war once and for all and to live in peace.

5. Today, almost 40 years after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, force is still being used in many parts of the world: in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in Central America, to mention just a few. The invention of the nuclear weapon has radically changed the attitude of peoples and States towards questions of war and peace. The use of nuclear weapons places in question the very survival of human civilization. Moreover, in this age of scientific and technical revolution and the growing

interdependence of States, the danger of the escalation of local and regional wars into a global conflagration is increasing.

6. As a result of the imperialist policy aimed at attaining military superiority, the arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, is attaining unprecedented dimensions. Moreover, various doctrines of waging "limited" or "protracted" nuclear wars, as well as various justifications for the first nuclear strike, are being worked out. Therefore at this stage, when the very survival of mankind is at stake, the maintaining and strengthening of international peace and security are acquiring special importance and urgency.

7. As the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], the first special session devoted to disarmament, pointed out, in 1978, "Removing the threat of a world war—a nuclear war—is the most acute and urgent task of the present day." It has become the most earnest aspiration of peoples throughout the world, irrespective of their race, size, belief, geographical location or level of development. This has found expression, *inter alia*, in the statement of the six eminent leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania addressed to the nuclear Powers and was also confirmed once again during the general debate in the General Assembly, held in this hall just a few weeks ago.

8. Mongolia, like many other States, believes that however complex the international situation may be it is possible to prevent wars, whether nuclear or any other, through the consistent and concerted efforts of all the peace-loving forces of the world.

9. Many constructive, concrete proposals and initiatives aimed at reducing the dangers of war and solving international disputes by peaceful means have been advanced by peace-loving States. They are well known. The most recent ones address the questions of the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and a qualitative and quantitative freeze on the nuclear-weapon arsenals of all the nuclear Powers. Because of the growing danger of the use of nuclear weapons, the proposal on the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear Powers that have not yet renounced it is acquiring special importance.

10. The questions of disarmament, that is the questions of reversing the arms race and reducing and ultimately destroying the material means of waging wars, are on the agenda. Concrete proposals have been made to outlaw the use of force on a global scale by concluding a world treaty, as well as on the regional level, including a proposal by the Warsaw Treaty Organization to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the mainte-

nance of peaceful relations between the States members of that Organization and those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. In 1981 Mongolia, for its part, proposed the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific and, with that aim, the convening of a regional conference with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council. Most recently, the Soviet Union has proposed the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from outer space against Earth.

11. The realization of these and other concrete, constructive proposals would make a significant contribution towards reducing the danger of war and strengthening international peace and security. What is lacking now is mutual confidence and the political will of States to negotiate and achieve such measures.

12. In this regard, the peoples of the world, whose understanding of and role in international relations are increasing, are destined to play an important, active role in fostering understanding and mutual confidence. We fully agree with the Secretary-General who pointed out not long ago that "without the understanding and support of the peoples of the world, Governments would not succeed in realizing the noble aims of peace, justice and prosperity for all".

13. The report of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to the XVIIIth Congress of the Party in 1981 specifically underlined that "the peoples of our planet have the sacred right to peace. This right should be guaranteed."

14. Indeed, every people and every individual should enjoy life in peace, since peace is a *sine qua non* of the attainment of all the noble aspirations, fundamental rights and freedoms of the peoples of the world. The supremacy of the right to peace over other fundamental rights of peoples and individuals is recognized in the Charter of the United Nations.

15. Today the right of peoples to peace, that is, the entitlement of peoples to live in and fight for peace, is implicitly recognized by the international community. This implicit recognition of the right of peoples to peace has found due reflection in the decisions of the Nuremberg and Tokyo military tribunals, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex], the Definition of Aggression [resolution 3314 (XXIX)], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)], the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [resolution 33/73], and in the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs in relation to maintaining and strengthening international peace and security, averting the danger of nuclear war, disarmament, human rights and so on.

16. The right of peoples to peace provides the basis for peace and anti-war, anti-nuclear movements throughout the world. Those movements are now embracing millions of peoples of all professions and all walks of life. They constitute an important factor in present-day international relations. The effectiveness of peace and anti-war movements has been demonstrated during imperialist wars and wars of

aggression. The concerns, views and demands of peace and anti-nuclear movements are being increasingly heard throughout the world and no Government can disregard them.

17. It is with this in mind that Mongolia is proposing to the General Assembly the adoption of a declaration which would solemnly proclaim the right of peoples to peace. Proclamation of this right would, in our view, inspire the peoples in their struggle to ensure a peaceful life for present and future generations and provide a political and legal basis for such struggle.

18. Furthermore, Mongolia suggests that the General Assembly declare that the preservation of this right and promotion of its effective enjoyment constitute one of the fundamental obligations of each State. In doing so, we proceed from the belief that the sacred rights of peoples I have just mentioned can be fully realized only with the active participation of States.

19. Peace cannot be understood merely as the absence of war. In order to protect and strengthen the right of peoples to peace, not only should so-called negative actions, such as refraining from the use of force, refraining from intervening or interfering in the internal affairs of others, be taken, but also positive actions, such as strengthening international peace and security, developing and strengthening confidence-building measures, settling international disputes exclusively by peaceful means, accelerating the economic and social development of States, ensuring social progress and justice, and so on.

20. One of the most effective ways of ensuring legal and material guarantees of this right would be the adoption of practical measures in the fields of disarmament and the conclusion of specific agreements and conventions in this field.

21. The Mongolian delegation proposes that the General Assembly make an appeal to all States to do their utmost to assist in implementing this paramount right of peoples to peace by adopting appropriate measures at both the national and the international level. Thus, for example, on the national level the States that have not yet done so could adopt special measures on safeguarding peace for present and future generations. It could be declared that ensuring a peaceful life for peoples is the primary obligation of a State and that propaganda for war and the incitement to hatred of peoples and nations are crimes punishable by law. The Parliament of the Mongolian People's Republic adopted in February 1951 a special law on the safeguarding of peace whereby war propaganda in any form whatsoever was prohibited under the penalty of the law. Some States have incorporated in their constitutions the struggle for the maintenance of international peace and security as their major foreign policy principle and objective. Other States which have not done so could follow suit, thus broadening the domestic legal basis of the struggle for peace.

22. Measures on the international level would include the positive actions of States already mentioned, the broad range of activities envisaged in the framework of the International Year of Peace in 1986, the organizing of seminars and symposia, and other activities.

23. Since the use of nuclear weapons is the ultimate negation of the right to life of peoples and of individuals, it would seem to be appropriate and timely to point out in the declaration that the policies

of States should be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

24. All these ideas are contained in the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace [A/39/L.14], which reflects the results of consultations that the Mongolian delegation, with the sponsors, has undertaken with representatives of all the regional groups. In the view of all the sponsors, the adoption of this draft declaration by the General Assembly and its implementation would make a significant contribution to the cause of peace and to the support afforded by the Organization to the peoples' struggle to achieve and ensure a peaceful life.

25. Before concluding, may I draw the attention of representatives and of the Secretariat to the fact that in paragraph 2 of the draft declaration the words "co-operation in" should be replaced by the words "promotion of", and that in paragraph 3 the word "implementation" in the first line should be replaced by the words "ensuring the exercise".

26. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union fully supports the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic that the General Assembly adopt a declaration on the right of peoples to peace. The timeliness of this proposal is rooted in the fact that it is aimed at the performance of the most important task now facing mankind, that is, the preservation of peace.

27. Life in conditions of peace and the prevention of war, which brings only death and suffering, have long been the cherished dream of all peoples. The tragedy of the Second World War, which spelt death and indescribable suffering for tens of millions of people, emphasized the urgent need for all States to unite their efforts in support of international peace and security and to prevent another war. It was for this purpose that the United Nations was founded and in its Charter reference was made to the need to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

28. Although priority has been given to the task of achieving peace at various times in history, it must be recognized that in this age of nuclear missiles the task has taken on a fresh dimension. The creation and further refinement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction have resulted in a threat not only to the future of whole countries and peoples, but to the very existence of life on Earth.

29. In the light of this, the focusing of attention on the problem of guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace is highly justified and timely. Peace has never been so fragile as it is today. The mountains of weapons are growing at an increasing pace, representing a concentration of unprecedented destructive power. There has been a heightening of international tension. The situation in various parts of the world is becoming more and more explosive, and we cannot fail to note that today even a small local conflict may grow into a nuclear catastrophe.

30. The elimination of the danger of nuclear war has become the most pressing question of the day. The detrimental effect of the further accumulation of military arsenals is perfectly clear to all—to anybody, indeed, who takes a sober view of the realities of the nuclear missile era. We are squarely faced with the

task of doing everything in our power to curb the arms race, reduce the level of military confrontation and bring about the peaceful solution of outstanding international problems.

31. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the solemn declaration by the General Assembly of the right of peoples to peace would be an important contribution to this effort. Clearly, there can be no question that this is one of the most important rights of peoples, together with such other inalienable rights as those of self-determination, independence and sovereignty. As was aptly pointed out by those on whose initiative this item was included in the agenda [see A/39/L.14, annex I], "the granting of general recognition to this sacred right by embodying and proclaiming it in a special decision of the Organization would be fully in accordance with the general cause of preserving peace".

32. The draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace [A/39/L.14] is an important document which, together with the solemn proclamation of the sacred right of all peoples on the Earth to peace, contains a number of other significant ideas. It reminds us that in the nuclear age the establishment of a lasting peace on earth represents the primary condition for the preservation of human civilization and the survival of mankind, and expresses the will of all peoples to eradicate war from the life of mankind and above all, to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe.

33. The draft declaration quite properly points out that guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace demands that the policies of States be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations. The draft declaration also contains an appeal to all States to do their utmost to assist in guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace through the adoption of appropriate measures at both the national and international level.

34. If the General Assembly were to approve the declaration on the right of peoples to peace proposed by the Mongolian People's Republic, this would serve the purpose of helping to protect peace and would be a serious reminder of the fact that it is one of the fundamental obligations of every State to guarantee a peaceful life for its people.

35. The solemn proclamation of the right of peoples to peace would undoubtedly respond to the thoughts and aspirations of peoples as reflected in the course of the World Disarmament Campaign. Peoples of differing convictions, ages and professions participating in that Campaign, have expressed growing alarm about their future and the future of all mankind and have spontaneously called for the defence of peace on Earth.

36. This was indicated in the final documents of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983:

"Peace movements around the world are increasingly challenging the cogency of decisions to intensify the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. World solidarity on the vital questions of human survival is today not merely a lofty ideal, it is an overriding necessity."<sup>1</sup>

37. It is the prime duty of all States to take all possible steps to meet the demands of people of

goodwill, and it is precisely on this that the efforts of the Soviet Union have been focused, as was stated by Mr. K. U. Chernenko on 13 February of this year, when he said:

“The Soviet Union, as a major socialist Power, is fully aware of its responsibility to the peoples of the Earth to maintain and strengthen peace. We are open to peaceful, mutually advantageous co-operation with States of all continents. We favour the peaceful resolution of all international disputes on the basis of serious, constructive talks on a basis of equality. The Soviet Union will fully interact with all States which are prepared in practice to assist in reducing international tension and creating an atmosphere of trust in the world, in other words, with those who really intend not to prepare for war but rather to strengthen the foundations of peace.”

38. In the light of its feeling of responsibility for the fate of the world, the Soviet Union has always agreed that relations between States possessing nuclear weapons should be subject to certain norms. This means, first and foremost, that it is necessary to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important purpose of our foreign policy and not allow situations to arise which are fraught with nuclear conflict; to refrain from propaganda for nuclear war in any of its aspects—global or limited—and in no circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries on whose territory there are no such weapons; to respect the status of those non-nuclear zones already created and to promote the formation of new zones of this type in various parts of the world; not to allow nuclear weapons to proliferate in any way and not to locate them on the territory of countries where they do not exist; not to transfer the nuclear arms race into new environments; to seek the reduction step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security, of nuclear armaments of all kinds until they are totally eliminated.

39. Considerable progress would be made in guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace by the adoption of specific measures to curb the arms race; the imposition by nuclear Powers of a qualitative and quantitative freeze on all nuclear weapons in their possession; the immediate general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; and the banning of a nuclear arms race or any other kind of arms race in outer space.

40. As Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union emphasized at the solemn meeting devoted to the sixty-seventh anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 6 November 1984:

“Every thinking person understands today that he and all mankind are faced with the choice between life and death: either the arms race with the concomitant risk of a holocaust, or disarmament and peaceful coexistence among States with different State systems. There is no other option.”

41. In the annals of the Organization there are a number of pages which bear witness to the considerable contribution it has made to protecting the rights of States and peoples and fundamental human rights. Definite guidelines have emerged from United Nations activities in this area.

42. At the same time, it is becoming more and more obvious that there is an intimate relationship be-

tween the efforts to preserve peace on Earth and efforts genuinely to guarantee the rights of peoples. In a situation which is marked by growing international tension, it becomes increasingly important consistently to seek the enjoyment by the peoples of the right to peace, because only in conditions of peace can the practical enjoyment of other human rights be ensured.

43. Is it really possible to support the peoples' rights and at the same time accept the possibility of the destruction of hundreds of millions of human beings—indeed, all human civilization—in the flames of a nuclear conflagration? Is it conceivable that there are any people in the world who wish to be consumed in the flames of nuclear war? What is the worth of all that has been said about human rights when the primordial rights of peoples are held worthless—their right to life and their right to peace? We cannot but agree with the Secretary-General when he says that unless peace is preserved there will be a threat to the most fundamental human rights, the right to life and the right to preserve human civilization on Earth.

44. At the same time, what tremendous opportunities would be offered to all peoples and countries, large or small and regardless of their social structure, if it were possible to reverse the arms race. Vast material and intellectual resources would be liberated for other action necessary to eradicate famine, sickness and poverty. There would be an opportunity also to tackle some of the most important problems facing mankind: the problems of protecting the environment and exploiting the world's oceans and outer space for the well-being of all peoples.

45. The realities of contemporary life demand that every people be guaranteed the right to peaceful development in conditions of independence, and that the right to peace be universally respected. Every effort should be made to eliminate the dangerous situation whereby entire regions of the world are in a state of turmoil and for years there has been bloodshed through armed conflicts. This is happening in the Middle East, in Central America, in the southern part of Africa and in other parts of the world, where entire generations of people have grown up without ever knowing what genuine peace is.

46. The adoption by the General Assembly of a draft resolution on this item would indeed be a substantial contribution to the Organization's support for the efforts of peoples to secure a peaceful life.

47. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The German Democratic Republic regards the discussion of the agenda item entitled “Right of peoples to peace”, which was initiated by the Mongolian People's Republic, as a matter of crucial importance. It takes up the key issue of our time, the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

48. The right to peace is the most significant and fundamental human right. Its guarantee and implementation are basic prerequisites for the continued existence of mankind and for overcoming the manifold political, economic and social problems it is faced with today.

49. Today, as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the peoples over Hitler's fascism and the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, serious dangers are threatening peace again.



50. As a result of the policies of confrontation and the arms drive pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, as a result of the open striving for military supremacy and the accelerated war preparations in various regions of the Earth, the international situation has considerably worsened.

51. The arms-drive mania of those circles, which is based on illusory but extremely dangerous and disastrous concepts of wageable and winnable, limited and protracted, nuclear wars on the Earth and in outer space, is constantly increasing the risk of a nuclear holocaust.

52. Parallel to the course of the imperialist arms drive, which entails enormous burdens for all the peoples of our globe, its advocates do their utmost to heat up the international climate still further while, by verbal peace declarations, they try to shield from the eyes of the world the consequences of such an adventurous policy. However, the mighty peace demonstrations which were held on all continents, including in my country, on 1 September, the International Day of Peace, showed very impressively that the peoples cannot be deceived by such words about peace. Rather they have reaffirmed, more strongly than ever before, the demand for immediate steps for improving the international situation, for ending the arms race and for a return to détente and mutually beneficial co-operation.

53. As was stressed by the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, the safeguarding of peace is the main question of our time. He said:

"The world needs peace. It must not become an inferno of nuclear war. If there has ever been a special responsibility of politicians of the present generation for the generations to come, then it is that of preventing such a catastrophe which would destroy everything. The German Democratic Republic, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States, will spare no efforts and will do its utmost to secure the peace."

54. In the German Democratic Republic the safeguarding of peace is a principle enshrined in its Constitution, which has been constantly implemented over the past 35 years, since the foundation of the German Democratic Republic. Peace in words and peace in deeds have always formed an inseparable entity. Today the German Democratic Republic still adheres unswervingly to its peace doctrine, that is, to do everything to ensure that never again can war start from German soil. Pursuant to that maxim, we are prepared to co-operate, despite differences, with all realistically minded forces in bringing about concrete measures for securing peace and in erecting a political and legal bulwark against any threat to peace.

55. The peace-loving forces of the world will in the future continue to find a reliable pillar, an honest partner with a predictable policy, in the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist States. The Warsaw Treaty States have always been ready and determined to search constantly for constructive ways of developing peaceful and stable international relations which are based on equality and equal security and take into account the existing realities in the world and the interests of all States.

56. Guided by their responsibility for peace and international security, the socialist States have sub-

mitted a great number of far-reaching and realistic proposals.

57. Included in them are the latest Soviet initiatives on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind and on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism. They demonstrate that the will for peace and the readiness for disarmament of the socialist States can always be measured by concrete deeds. Verbal preparedness alone for negotiations, as is professed today by those who in the past have destroyed the bases for negotiations and now block them with pre-conditions and negate all the proposals of the socialist States and the initiatives of non-aligned countries, does not lead to the improvement of the international situation. What is imperative is, above all, the political willingness to take practical steps for the prevention of nuclear war.

58. The Charter of the United Nations calls upon all Member States "to take effective . . . measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." Especially in the strained international situation of today, that appeal and obligation would be best served through the adoption by the General Assembly of the "Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace" annexed to the draft resolution submitted by the Mongolian People's Republic [A/39/L.14].

59. In the present conditions, acting in the interests of peace requires, in the first place, as is stressed in the draft declaration, renunciation of the insane armament drive for the gaining of military supremacy, in order to make it possible to proceed to specific measures of arms limitation and disarmament, especially in the nuclear field.

60. In this context, it is of fundamental importance to reach agreement on norms of a binding character, a kind of code of conduct for regulating relations among nuclear-weapon States. The common recognition and observance of such norms would be conducive to diminishing the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict and would be an important contribution to restoring confidence in international relations. This applies, in particular, to the obligation to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important aim in the foreign policy of those States, to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, to prevent the extension of the nuclear arms race to new fields and to seek, step by step and on the basis of the principle of equal security, a reduction of nuclear armaments of all types until their final elimination.

61. Therefore, the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace rightly declares that all States have the duty to direct their policies towards the elimination of the nuclear threat. States are called upon to provide the legal and material guarantees of the right to peace through measures in the field of disarmament, renunciation of the use of force and the settlement of international disputes exclusively by peaceful means. The conclusion of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty member States and the NATO countries would be a fundamental contribution in that direction.

62. Recognition of, and strict respect for, the realities which came into existence as a result of the Second World War are and continue to be of crucial importance to the implementation of the right of peoples to peace. Any attempts to ignore these realities or to question them are incompatible with

the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act, and seriously threaten international peace and security.

63. The history of mankind confirms impressively that only in peace can the peoples realize their own goals and ideals. It is therefore a task of the highest political responsibility for all States and peoples to work for the achievement of durable peace and for the right not only of the present but also of future generations to peace and security.

64. Pursuant to its policy directed to peace and co-operation and the welfare of man, the German Democratic Republic will continue to do its utmost to secure a peaceful future for mankind through a fruitful dialogue and agreement on concrete measures to prevent nuclear war, end the arms race and bring about disarmament, a return to détente and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation between States and peoples.

65. Therefore, we explicitly support the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the Mongolian People's Republic.

66. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): On the proposal of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, a new item entitled "Right of peoples to peace" was included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The Bulgarian delegation would like to express here, as it did in the General Committee, our unqualified support for this noble initiative, since the maintenance of world peace is an overriding task for all mankind.

67. Given the very complicated and worsened international situation of today, this is a particularly topical and timely initiative. This was confirmed by the general debate at the present session, which demonstrated most categorically that the growing danger of nuclear war is the most important issue for the international community. The majority of delegations noted with deep concern and apprehension the further deterioration of the international situation, thanks to the buildup of arsenals of weapons of mass destruction and to attempts to gain military superiority at any cost, a basic consequence of which has been the increased danger of military conflict with unpredictable implications for the future of civilization.

68. Today the basic issue stirring the conscience of mankind is the necessity of taking urgent measures to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. All peoples will take an active part in the achievement of this universal objective, with which the question of the right of peoples to peace is fully consonant, since their united moral strength, will and efforts carry great political weight in solving the problems related to the maintenance of international peace and security and the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

69. The guaranteeing of the right of peoples to peace would not only be a major and timely contribution by the United Nations to the strengthening of peace and the prevention of war, but would also be conducive to promoting the socio-economic development of all countries and peoples, particularly the developing countries, as well as to solving the urgent global problems confronting all of mankind.

70. The aggravation of international tensions caused by the actions of those in certain reactionary circles in the capitalist countries poses an ever-greater threat to the peaceful life of peoples. In those circumstances, the United Nations, whose

primary purpose is the maintenance of international peace and security, can play a very significant role by reaffirming and resolutely supporting the inalienable rights and legitimate actions of the peoples, whose representatives we are here, to avoid nuclear war and preserve peace for present and future generations.

71. The Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, recently said:

"We, the people of the last decades of the twentieth century, are entrusted by history with the fateful responsibility to make every effort to save life, to salvage mankind and civilization from nuclear annihilation. Let us be optimists. Let us hope that future generations will be deeply grateful to us for conscientiously carrying out our obligations and not permitting our beautiful Mother Earth to become a dead radioactive planet."

72. The right of peoples to peace should be guaranteed by all States. There exists an inherent interrelationship between this right and the international obligations of States, which are called upon to express the vital interests of their peoples. The right to peace makes States assume obligations such as those relating to the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes by way of negotiations, co-operation in saving present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, the suppression of acts of aggression in international relations and so on.

73. The sacred right of peoples to peace has not yet been embodied in international instruments as a political and legal basis for the activities of peoples in safeguarding world peace. Therefore, the universal recognition of this sacred right through its incorporation in a relevant decision of the United Nations would best serve the interests of the common cause of protecting peace. On the other hand, it is our profound conviction that legal and material guarantees of this right would play a positive role in building confidence among States, giving effect to the principles of peaceful coexistence and active co-operation among States and in the implementation of concrete measures of general and complete disarmament.

74. The adoption by the General Assembly of a document on the rights of peoples to peace and the implementation of the letter and spirit of its provisions would be a major contribution by the world Organization to the struggle of peoples for peace. In the view of the Bulgarian delegation, the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, is a solid basis for the adoption of such a document.

75. The adoption of this document, which emphasizes that in ensuring the rights of peoples to peace the policies of States, particularly of nuclear-weapon States, should be aimed at removing the nuclear threat, and that nuclear-weapon States should be guided in their relations by specific agreed norms of conduct in the interest of preventing nuclear war, would be another important step in strengthening the role and the prestige of the United Nations and in safeguarding the peaceful future of our planet.

76. In conclusion, in expressing once again our whole-hearted and unqualified support for the noble ideas and goals which are set forth in the draft

declaration on the right of peoples to peace, put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like to voice my delegation's confidence that these ideas and goals will meet with the understanding and support of all delegations and that the declaration will be unanimously adopted.

77. Mr. PHAM NGAC (Viet Nam): Forty years ago, in the wake of the most disastrous war mankind has ever known, the United Nations was founded with a solemn declaration:

"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 . . . and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .".

78. The message of those lines is perfectly clear. Peace is of primary importance to all peoples, and must be preserved by all. However, since the lines were written, over 100 armed conflicts and wars have taken place, and mankind is now finally facing the danger of a nuclear war which would destroy its very existence. The arsenals of nuclear weapons continue to pile up and are capable of killing the whole of mankind many times over.

79. In these circumstances, the right of peoples to peace has become more pressing than ever. Thus, it was most timely for the Mongolian People's Republic to propose the inclusion in the agenda of this session of item 138, entitled "Right of peoples to peace." My delegation welcomes most warmly the discussion of this item in the plenary Assembly and is convinced that the deliberations on this subject will greatly further the cause of world peace and promote understanding among peoples.

80. The right to peace is the inherent right of every man on Earth. This right has been testified to through the long history of mankind and clearly established as the most fundamental human right. The effective enjoyment of human rights can be realized only in an environment of peace and development. Therefore, peace, development and human rights are organically linked, with peace as the *sine qua non* condition for the achievement of freedom, social progress and justice.

81. There exist, however, different views on peace. Some advocate "peace through strength" and define peace simply as the absence of a world war, keeping intact the old establishment of world order and maintaining social inequality and injustice and their dominance over other countries. The imperialist and reactionary forces reserve for themselves the right to peace, while imposing wars on other nations—either colonial wars or imperialist wars of aggression, limited wars or local wars, undeclared wars or wars by proxy. They even advocate the admissibility of limited nuclear war far away from their soil; or they regard as excellent a situation in which they can cause "great chaos" in the world but keep "great peace" in their own countries.

82. They pay lip service to peace and disarmament. Whenever they talk most loudly about peace and disarmament, they accelerate most vigorously the arms race and prepare for war. They claim that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" and that "there is no sane alternative to negotiations on arms control", but in fact they are

indulging in the biggest-ever programme of armament. They have highlighted the five principles of peaceful coexistence in their national constitution but pursue a policy of expansionism and hegemonism, seeking desperately to modernize their military forces in order to become nuclear Power number one, and threatening to teach another nation a lesson.

83. Peace is indivisible. There exist today several hotbeds of tension around the world. Many peoples still cannot have a life in peace. Some have even known no peace for several decades. They are deprived not only of peace but also of independence and freedom—in other words, a just and durable peace. Peace and security, independence and development are noble goals that peoples of the world are striving for. With a just and durable peace, strengthened by successive disarmament measures, peoples of the world could freely engage in economic and social development and promote friendly ties among nations.

84. Over the past four decades, the forces of peace have made untiring efforts for peace and disarmament. They have successfully preserved world peace and put out the flames of war in different parts of the world. Some hundred initiatives for peace and disarmament have been submitted by the Soviet Union, the State which, at its foundation, issued the first Decree of Peace. It has unswervingly pursued a foreign policy of peace and during the period of détente initiated the conclusion of many multilateral and bilateral treaties on disarmament.

85. Tremendous efforts have also been made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in this regard. At its initiative, the first special session on disarmament was convened in 1978, and the second in 1982. Its role in disarmament deliberations and negotiations is becoming more and more important.

86. The peoples of the world are also more conscious of their role. In recent years, we have witnessed most explicitly their devotion to peace and disarmament. Demonstrations against the arms race have been repeatedly organized in all continents. They are most determined to defend peace, to defend their own lives.

87. The United Nations also has a laudable record in this respect. In addition to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter, several documents have been adopted: the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978; the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [resolution 33/73], to name just a few.

88. The struggle of the Vietnamese people for peace is a most arduous one. While some peoples of the world have been able to enjoy the longest period of peace in this century, the Vietnamese people have had to fight continuously for the past 40 years against the wars of aggression imposed on them by one nuclear Power after another. Since they have made the greatest sacrifice for peace and independence, they are most determined to defend them. At present, as in the past, they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea against foreign aggression. They greatly value peace and, together with other peoples, struggle for their right to peace.



89. It is a truism that mankind needs peace and that everyone would benefit from it. However, we must still fight hard today for universal peace. The obstacles to the right of peoples to peace lie squarely with certain quarters which, for selfish interests, refuse to give up their policies of force of arms, intimidation, intervention and aggression against other nations. Until these obstacles are removed, the struggle of the international community for the right to peace will be a long and hard one. The peoples of the world clearly need to redouble their efforts to attain this right. The Organization, also, is now engaging more actively in this endeavour, and will be even more deeply engaged next year when we will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the International Year of Peace.

90. It is the belief of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that we, the peoples of the United Nations, could and should do everything possible to ensure the right of peoples to peace. For this reason, my delegation calls for the adoption of the draft resolution and Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, contained in document A/39/L.14.

91. Mr. MEISZTER (Hungary): To speak from one of the highest rostrums of the world about peace, about the right of peoples to peace, is a noble and honourable task.

92. The very first—and I stress, on purpose, the first—sentence of the Charter reads that the purpose of the United Nations is “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” and to ensure conditions of freedom, social progress and justice. It is clear that there is a close relationship between peace, human rights and development, and that one is inseparable from the others.

93. Peace is a condition *sine qua non* for realizing all the noble aspirations, fundamental rights and freedom of peoples everywhere. I am fully aware that that is an axiom. Nevertheless, I feel obliged to emphasize it at the beginning of my statement.

94. The Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [resolution 33/73] points out, *inter alia*, the supreme importance of establishing a just and durable peace for present and future generations and pronounces the principle that the right to peace is inherent, as are other human rights.

95. In the current complicated international situation, fraught as it is with dangers, the safeguarding and maintenance of peace is of paramount importance to the future of mankind and the world. This is why we find it extremely timely that the topic entitled “Right of peoples to peace” has been included in the agenda of the current session. We welcome this initiative, which is a true reflection of the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic, of the ceaseless efforts deployed by Mongolian diplomacy to improve relations between the States of the region, to establish a system of collective security on the Asian continent and to ensure peace all over the world.

96. The responsibility for the increase in international tension, for the strains and disorders in inter-State relations, lies with the imperialist circles that have launched an offensive against peace and social progress. This explains the lack of meaningful progress at the disarmament forums, the absence of new arms control accords and the fact that many existing agreements are also in jeopardy.

97. In the face of this situation, which is hardly optimistic, to say the least, we are justified in asking whether peace can be sustained for ourselves or for our successors; whether future generations, after a lapse of decades or centuries, will remember us as having done our utmost to preserve peace, or, as a consequence of the worst imaginable scenario, there would be no one left to remember.

98. Today, the greatest and most direct danger for the right of peoples to peace is raised by an eventual use of nuclear weapons. As far back as 1961 the General Assembly declared that the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations and that any State using such weapons would be acting contrary to the laws of humanity and committing a crime against mankind and civilization. General Assembly resolutions 35/152 D and 38/75 were also adopted in this spirit. In full conformity with their provisions, it is the well-considered opinion of my delegation that the prevention of the outbreak of a nuclear war is the primary and most urgent condition for ensuring the right of peoples to peace.

99. For the right of peoples to life in peace to be strengthened, negative restraints alone are not sufficient. Positive actions, such as strengthening international peace and security, accelerating economic and social development, promoting understanding among peoples, should also be taken.

100. Two weeks ago a significant domestic policy action took place in my country. The Tenth National Peace Conference, with the participation of 1,200 delegates, was held under the hallmark of responsibility for peace and readiness for action. The Conference was attended by a delegation of the World Peace Council, the broadest international peace movement, headed by Secretary-General Romesh Chandra. On that occasion we welcomed such outstanding fighters for peace as James Lamond, Member of Parliament and President of the Peace Assembly of Britain; John Hanley Morgan, pastor and President of the Peace Congress of Canada; the Vice-President of the World Peace Council; and Marcelino Jaén, adviser to the President of Panama and member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council.

101. The representatives of youth, of social organizations, of churches and denominations, and of cultural and scientific life, have stated that in our time removal of the danger of war and defence of peace are the noble motives uniting millions of peace-loving people around the globe, whatever the colour of their skin, their ethnic origin, ideology or social status. It was solemnly declared that the Hungarian peace movement was open to any forward-looking and useful initiative and was ready for common work and joint action, being guided by the deep conviction that war cannot be prevented in one country alone, but only through concerted action by the peace-loving forces of the world, for the simple reason that peace is one and indivisible.

102. The older generations who experienced the last world conflagration can more easily transform their desire for peace and the rejection of war into political action, because the difference between peace and war is deeply engraved in their minds and they know the meaning of war.

103. For the youth of today, peace embodies freedom, security, well-being and tranquility. Although, fortunately, they have had no personal experience,



they recognize that fear and weapon-inflicted death are horrible. It is for us to ensure that the younger generation will never experience the horrors of a world war.

104. In its statement of position the aforementioned Conference emphasized, among other things, that the Hungarian people, engaged in socialist construction, wishes to live in peace and security and, worrying about its achievements, is understandably concerned at the recent course of international events; that in our age a world war is avoidable and peace an attainable goal worth living, working and fighting for; and that in the present international situation the Conference considers it the most important task of the Hungarian and international peace movements to contribute to bringing about an international atmosphere in which negotiations on disarmament can be resumed and have positive results.

105. My Government shares the view that peace should mean much more than the absence of war, violence or conflict. Peace should be promoted by a positive relationship between States and peoples based on co-operation, mutual trust, understanding and justice.

106. The foundation of peace and security can be strengthened within the framework of the United Nations. In this respect, we attach great significance to General Assembly resolution 37/16 proclaiming 1986 as the International Year of Peace.

107. In response to the Secretary-General's note, my Government, too, submitted its comments and suggestions concerning the International Year of Peace, expressing, *inter alia*, its support for the principal objective and the draft programme for the Year as contained in the Secretary-General's report to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [A/39/500].

108. Within the framework of preparations for the International Year of Peace, representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic will act in a constructive spirit at the regional seminar to be held at Vienna from 6 to 10 May 1985. The proclamation of the International Year of Peace, coinciding as it does with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, could also serve as an additional stimulus to the mobilization of efforts to safeguard and strengthen international peace and security, halt the arms race and avert the danger of nuclear war.

109. The preservation of universal peace is the central preoccupation of all mankind. It is our primary and noble task not to spare any effort to keep this flame alive. The draft resolution presented by the Mongolian People's Republic under the title "Right of peoples to peace" is seen by my Government as a step towards this noble goal. We think it timely and fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations that the right of peoples to peace be solemnly declared, as it serves to promote the main purpose of mankind and the United Nations, that of maintaining international peace.

110. Mr. FREYBERG (Poland): The item under consideration is of particular importance. It concerns the fulfilment of the primary obligation of States as expressed in the Charter "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to ensure conditions of freedom, social progress and justice.

111. The right to life in peace and other human rights and development constitute an indivisible whole. Without respect for the right to life in peace,

discussions on all other human rights and on development become pointless. In the nuclear era, and with the existence of other modern weapons of mass destruction, the elimination of war is a pre-condition of the survival of humanity. The creation of a world without war requires constant and consistent action on many planes. It requires the co-operation of Governments and governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as the active efforts of peoples. It calls for a gradual restructuring of international relations and their thorough democratization.

112. A ban on the right to war—*jus ad bellum*—will become fully effective only when the currently applicable anti-war legislation—*jus contra bellum*—is supplemented by an extensive system of legislation on the right to peace—*jus ad pacem*. There is already solid legal substantiation of the right of peoples to peace, as the representative of Mongolia pointed out in submitting his proposal. In order gradually to strengthen *jus ad pacem*, positive actions should be undertaken, such as: strengthening international peace and security; limiting the arms race and undertaking meaningful disarmament negotiations; developing confidence-building measures in all spheres of international life; accelerating economic and social development; protecting human rights; and preparing societies for life in peace.

113. In regard to this last undertaking, it is worth recalling that nearly six years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of Poland, of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [resolution 33/73]. Its implementation will be the subject of consideration in the First Committee, so I shall point out here only that this Declaration constitutes, in our view, an important element in the historical process aimed at the ultimate and complete eradication of war from the life of nations. It was precisely that document which directly confirmed the right of individuals, States and all mankind to life in peace.

114. We are living in a time of general deterioration of the international situation. Tensions, confrontations and armed conflicts in various regions around the globe are accompanied by an accelerating arms race and an atmosphere of mutual mistrust, suspicion and war psychosis. It is precisely the inalienable right of nations and individuals to life in peace that is endangered. Fundamental norms guiding the coexistence of nations are being trampled upon. One of the most important reasons for the considerable deterioration of the international situation is, after unabated militarization, the ideologization of international relations, the blatant attempt to force one's own system of values on other countries being one of its most significant features. A Manichean vision of a world made up of some States regarded as symbols of "good and light" and other States placed in the category of the "empire of evil and darkness", is a departure from a policy of coexistence, mutually beneficial co-operation, meaningful dialogue and agreements. The main source of danger is the return to the policy of the position of strength, attempts to gain military supremacy, and rejection of the commonly agreed principles of a just postwar global order.

115. In this situation it is imperative to avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe and decrease tensions. It is likewise imperative to search for new ways of effectively applying existing and accepted international agreements and mechanisms.

116. The proposed declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be one important means of putting into effect the obligations undertaken so far. Progress in laying down the international obligations of States concerning human rights has been immense. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], along with the numerous conventions adopted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, have set up an entire system of international legal arrangements. The fundamental premise of that system is the assurance of the right to life in peace. Without the effective enjoyment of that right, all other rights become but declarations suspended in a vacuum.

117. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In Lenin's message to the citizens of Russia on the occasion of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 reference was made to peace, and the first decree of the Soviet State, adopted the day after the victory of the October Revolution, was Lenin's Decree on Peace, which proposed that

"All belligerent peoples and their Governments should immediately initiate talks on a just, democratic peace, a peace without annexation—that is, without the seizure of foreign lands or without the compulsory incorporation of other nationalities—and without tribute."

At the same time it was emphasized that the Soviet Government

"did not in any way regard the aforementioned conditions for peace as ultimatums, that it was prepared to consider any other conditions for peace, simply insisting that they be proposed as quickly as possible by any belligerent country, that they be completely clear and that any ambiguity or secrecy in putting forward peace conditions must necessarily be excluded."

This is the peaceful policy which our fatherland has unfailingly pursued for 68 years now, both in conditions of struggling to end war and in peacetime.

118. In accordance with its Constitution, our socialist State consistently pursues Lenin's policy of peace and favours the strengthening of the security of peoples and broad-based international co-operation. It bases its relations with other States on observance of the principles of sovereign equality, mutual abstention from the use or threat of use of force, the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, equality, the right of peoples to determine their own future, co-operation among States and the conscientious fulfilment of obligations stemming from the generally recognized principles and norms of international law and from international treaties.

119. Our foreign policy is in full accord with the Charter of the United Nations, which starts with the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

120. A brief perusal of the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted during the 39 years of its existence on the initiative on the Soviet Union and all other States of the socialist community, including

the Byelorussian SSR, as well as other peace-loving countries, reveals the invaluable contribution they have made and continue to make to averting the nuclear threat; preserving and guaranteeing peace among peoples; curbing the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, and promoting disarmament; the process of decolonization, the achievement of the purposes of economic and social progress for all peoples; the codification and the progressive development of norms of international law; and all other issues of vital concern to mankind and in harmony with its aspirations.

121. It was on the proposal of the Soviet Union that the United Nations Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*] as the gravest crime against humanity and a violation of a fundamental human right—the right to human life—was adopted.

122. The Soviet Union was the first to favour the prohibition of and to condemn the use of nuclear weapons, as also the spreading of war propaganda and its doctrines, and to propose measures to eliminate nuclear weapons through a freeze, a test ban and a staged programme of nuclear disarmament until these weapons of mass destruction have been entirely eliminated. The Soviet Union has also undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use them against non-nuclear States which had no such weapons on their territories. It has also appealed to other nuclear Powers to undertake similar commitments, either individually or in a joint international agreement.

123. The Soviet Union pioneered the exploitation of outer space for peaceful purposes and has campaigned actively for the prohibition of the militarization of outer space.

124. The entire world is aware of the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist States designed to prevent the appearance of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and to bring about the elimination of chemical weapons, a freeze on and the subsequent reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, and the reduction of military budgets and the use of the funds thus released for purposes of development, so that people may live not only in peace but in better conditions. The Soviet Union is prepared for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

125. It has also proposed the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and agreement by nuclear Powers to certain mandatory norms of conduct in accordance with the purpose of removing the threat of nuclear war and preserving peace on Earth.

126. The efforts of the socialist and non-aligned States to prevent interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to promote the development of relations among States based on the principles of equality and good-neighbourliness are well known. Now the Soviet Union is proposing that the United Nations decide to prohibit the policies of State terrorism and any State activities aimed at undermining the social and political structure of other sovereign States. That is once again confirming the relevance of Lenin's principle of coexistence among States with differing social systems.

127. In the post-war years the United Nations has increased its membership from 51 States to 159, and all of them have, under the Charter of the United

Nations, the main purpose of which is to maintain international peace and security, undertaken relevant commitments and acknowledged that it would be possible, through joint efforts, to banish war from the life of mankind and, first and foremost, to avert the possibility of a world nuclear catastrophe.

128. The right to peace is an inalienable right of every people, a right which was fought for and won in a struggle to the death with fascism and militarism by the forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition; it is a right which is being struggled for now by all peace-loving, anti-imperialist forces.

129. Our common duty as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is to proclaim and confirm that the peoples of our Earth have a sacred right to peace and to act individually and collectively in furtherance of that right. They must make the necessary efforts both nationally and internationally to provide a juridical and material guarantee of this fundamental right of peoples to live in peace by taking practical steps to remove the nuclear threat, promote disarmament, preclude the use of force in international relations and attempt to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. In conditions of peace it is possible to tackle the problems of the well-being of peoples, their prosperity and their economic and social progress.

130. That is a task which is incumbent upon every State and every international organization, and it is our belief that the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace proposed by the Mongolian People's Republic should be adopted unanimously.

131. We believe that this is a duty that cannot be shirked by those who today choose to remain silent on this burning issue of our time, while pursuing a policy in favour of the arms race and aspiring to world domination; by those who come to the United Nations only when they are obliged to follow instructions and vote against a resolution or decision in order to please the mighty of this world, who are endeavouring to aggravate the situation and impede the adoption of constructive solutions; or by those who are obliged to vote under outside pressure for an anti-Charter resolution on interference in the internal affairs of other States.

132. The Byelorussian SSR, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, offered up on the altar of victory over the dark forces of fascism and militarism the lives of every fourth citizen of its country. Not only will it support the proposal to adopt this declaration, but it will do everything in its power to ensure that the right of its people and other peoples to peace is never violated by anyone at any time.

133. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout history, great men have been wont to speak of peace, which is one of man's deepest aspirations. Nevertheless, each century has been characterized by one or several great wars, with their retinue of sorrow and suffering. Our twentieth century alone has witnessed, in the space of 30 years, two world wars, not to mention many other no less destructive regional or local conflicts. Should we then deduce that those who bear the responsibility of governing peoples have not learned the lessons of history?

134. Indeed, hardly had the ashes of Hiroshima and of Nagasaki cooled, and hardly had the ink dried on

the signatures placed in San Francisco on the Charter of the United Nations, which was designed to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", than the Korean war broke out, to be followed by wars in Indo-China which lasted for more than 30 years. We are fully convinced that those of us who experienced the nightmare of those wars would not wish to relive them ever again.

135. It was to reflect those legitimate aspirations that the founding fathers of the United Nations emphasized in the Charter the determination of peoples to "live together in peace with one another". Further, in making the maintenance of international peace and security one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter, the founding fathers endowed those aspirations with a legal character, in other words, they made them a right—the right of peoples to peace.

136. At this time when there is no easing in the aggravation of the international situation and when the danger of a nuclear war weighs ever more heavily on mankind and its destiny, consideration by the General Assembly in plenary session of this item on the agenda, submitted by Mongolia, is most timely. It is not superfluous to remind those who tend to forget—and most especially those who claim that there are more important things than peace or that there are other things worse than war—that the right of individuals, peoples and States to live in peace is at the very root of man's fundamental rights. It is in peace that all human rights can be developed and fully realized. Peace is a favourable premise for social progress.

137. However, for the right to peace to be realized it would require respect for certain priorities and certain principles. First, the most urgent problem consists in averting the danger of a nuclear war, curbing the nuclear arms race, realizing real disarmament and preventing the militarization of outer space.

138. It is generally recognized that there is at present an approximate balance of forces between the two super-Powers. Only the militaristic circles of imperialism, consumed by their ambition to achieve military or strategic supremacy, have questioned that parity and have attempted to break it by engaging in an unbridled arms race, especially a nuclear arms race, and accompanying it with doctrines such as the admissibility of nuclear war, a first nuclear strike, a limited nuclear war and the possibility of winning such a war. The deployment of medium-range nuclear warheads in certain countries of Western Europe was, therefore, the first stage in the implementation of those doctrines.

139. Another question of serious concern is the project of one country to carry the arms race into outer space to which several thousand million dollars have already been devoted. If that project were to be carried out, it would aggravate further the threat hanging over the fate of mankind.

140. To put an end to such a situation an attempt should be made to create a climate of confidence in international relations. The path leading to confidence for the prevention of all wars is the cessation of the arms race, a return to good relations between States, a return to détente.

141. Another condition for the realization of the right to peace is respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence. At present the international community

is made up of States with different political and social régimes, fated to live in continued coexistence. The leading circles in certain capitalist countries refuse to recognize that reality. Their visceral hatred of communism leads them to consider the Soviet Union as the root of all evil and to say that they would prefer to see their children die rather than live under communist domination. Thus they have not hesitated to declare that nuclear war is not the worst of all evils—that the worst is communism. For them the idea of coexistence is excluded. That is why they have done everything in their power to eliminate socialism as a political system. This explains their world crusade against communism. Such an attitude—the refusal of peaceful coexistence—could only lead mankind towards the nuclear abyss.

142. The late Indira Gandhi, concerned at the serious threat to peace of the adventurist policies of such circles, said with good reason:

“We are in favour of the peaceful settlement of disputes and defend the cause of co-operation in the interests of the whole of mankind. We believe in peaceful coexistence. The world is large enough for all of us to live in it regardless of our political convictions, our religious creed or our race. However, it is not sufficiently large for us to survive a war in which nuclear weapons are used.”

It would be desirable for those circles to be inspired by those wise words.

143. Peaceful coexistence also means respect for the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States, because experience has shown that intervention has always tended to create situations which endanger international peace and security. For instance, it would be appropriate for us to renounce a policy which consists in establishing combat forces—the so-called rapid deployment forces—designed to be sent thousands of kilometres from their shores to regions which are declared arbitrarily as being the sphere of their survival interests. Similarly, it would be desirable for an end to be put to a policy which consists in organizing, financing and supporting armed subversive or terrorist activities designed to overthrow or destabilize Governments or those régimes not to one's liking, or which do not obey one's diktat, as in the case of Nicaragua and Afghanistan. For, every State has the inalienable right to choose the political, economic and social system it deems fit, without any form of interference by any other State.

144. Peaceful coexistence means also respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. In our opinion, no State, large or small, wants another to jeopardize its political independence or its territorial integrity and, reciprocally, it must refrain from acting in a like manner towards other States.

145. Thus, a State which organizes and encourages acts of civil war or acts of terrorism on the territory of another State, or which aids and abets or tolerates on its territory organized activities with a view to perpetrating such acts, violates that principle.

146. As a corollary to the respect States owe to one another's territorial integrity, there is the principle of the inviolability of existing international boundaries, including those inherited from the colonial era. It may well be that those boundaries were drawn to the detriment or against the wishes of certain States, but they were obliged to accept and live with them. The

consequences of calling them into question would be to create insecurity and instability in all the newly-independent States, whether in Africa, in Latin America or in Asia.

147. However, we still find at the end of the twentieth century reactionary extremist groups in certain countries who, prompted by expansionist designs, would contemplate the use of force to call that principle into question. The Lao People's Democratic Republic was a victim of such an attitude last June. Without the support of peace- and justice-loving peoples, and without the pressure of world public opinion on those circles, the consequences of that incident on the friendly relations between the two countries would have been much more serious.

148. It is said that happy peoples have no problems, and we would hazard the belief that all peoples on Earth would wish to be like them. Only some of their irresponsible leaders, more often than not nourishing wild dreams or prompted by purely selfish motives, have found a pretext to pit one against the other. Through their thoughtless actions, they thus bring about a deterioration of the international climate, while increasing the threat of war which, were it to break out, would undoubtedly be a nuclear war.

149. Is it not time, therefore, to take measures jointly to avert such a threat?

150. In these last years, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have formulated several peace proposals and initiatives, the most important of which, to quote only three, are: the undertaking by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; the conclusion of a treaty of mutual non-recourse to military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO; and the conclusion of a convention on non-aggression and non-recourse to force between States of the Asian and Pacific region. Those initiatives were firmly supported by the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

151. If those States directly concerned, and above all the nuclear Powers, take those initiatives seriously into consideration, they will undoubtedly make a positive contribution towards creating a climate of confidence in their mutual relations, on a basis capable of promoting stable and peaceful developments, thus meeting to some extent the aspirations of their peoples because, as was so well emphasized by the Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania in their Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984:

“The power and ingenuity of the human race must be used, not to perfect weapons of annihilation, but to harness the resources of the earth so that all people may enjoy a life of security and dignity in an international system free of war and based on peace and justice.”\* [See A/39/277, annex.]

152. Finally, as one of the co-authors, my delegation hopes that the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, which the representative of Mongolia introduced to this Assembly a few minutes ago, will be accepted by all delegations without discussion.

153. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The debate at the current session of the General Assembly has cogently demonstrated

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.



that the vast majority of Member States have feelings of extreme alarm for the future of the world, and they are making their voices heard ever more loudly for the adoption of effective steps to remove the impending threat of nuclear annihilation and to ensure the prime human right, the right to live in conditions of peace and security.

154. For that reason, we welcome the important and timely initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic for the General Assembly at its current session to discuss an item entitled "The right of peoples to peace" and that a corresponding resolution be adopted which would bear witness to the fact that the United Nations is not unmoved at the growing threat, and is prepared to do everything necessary in order really to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as is enshrined in the Charter.

155. The right of peoples to peace, which is indeed the most sacred human right, includes also States' acknowledging the indubitable truth that in conditions of the nuclear age, the establishment of a durable peace on Earth has become the prime prerequisite for preserving civilization and for the survival of mankind, as well as an acknowledgement of their responsibility to pursue a policy which will lead to the achievement of this goal and, more particularly, to take steps to remove the nuclear threat. Viewed in this way, the right of peoples to peace is not an abstraction, but rather the quintessence of the desire of all peoples to ensure a peaceful future for themselves. It is only under peaceful conditions that we can effectively tackle all the other world-wide problems facing mankind, to guarantee the comprehensive economic, social, intellectual and spiritual development of civilization. We are profoundly convinced that peace is indeed the fundamental requirement if all human rights and freedoms are to be fully realized, and if the genuine worth of the human personality is to be assured. Providing durable and sound peace is of equal importance to all countries and peoples. Only if such peace prevails will it be possible to ensure the equality of large and small nations and all the other noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

156. Guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace is indissolubly connected with the removal of the nuclear threat which has scaled new heights of late, and also with the cessation and reversal of the spiralling arms race, because it is precisely the nuclear arms race which has put in jeopardy the further existence of human civilization. Where it exists, it is becoming more and more difficult to defend the foundations of peace. The fomentors of this arms race on both sides of the Atlantic, who have set for themselves the imperial task of achieving superiority over the Socialist countries, bear a weighty responsibility for the fact that peace on earth is becoming increasingly shaky and precarious.

157. It is plain that in certain quarters the right of peoples to peace is not regarded as the most sacred human right, which necessarily implies a fundamental obligation on the part of States to guarantee its attainment. Rather, it is regarded as a propaganda smokescreen to permit all sorts of arbitrary acts contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We still recall vividly statements to the effect that there are certain things more important than peace, as well as certain ideas about

the possibility of winning a nuclear war, thus tacitly admitting the possibility of such a war.

158. From our point of view it is precisely because of the existence of such dangerous trends in international life that the question of declaring the right of peoples to peace and the preservation of that right a fundamental obligation of States takes on special significance at the present time.

159. We fully support the proposal that nuclear-weapon States, which bear the main responsibility for nuclear disarmament, should, pursuant to their obligation to preserve peace, adopt certain agreed standards of conduct in the interest of avoiding nuclear war. It is known that a draft setting out such rules of conduct is in existence. Its fundamental components, which were put forward in March this year by the highest representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. K. U. Chernenko, include a series of extremely important military and political steps based on a spirit of realism and a desire to bring about effective interaction in dealing with the fundamental issue of the present day, that is, the prevention of nuclear war. It is proposed that nuclear-weapon States should undertake to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important aim of their foreign policy, to refrain from indulging in war propaganda of any kind, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to allow their proliferation in any way and, on the basis of the principle of equal security, to effect the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until their total elimination in all their aspects. I think we can state quite confidently that, if all nuclear-weapon States were to follow the example of the Soviet Union and make these principles the basis of their foreign policies, the international situation would be much more stable and the danger of nuclear war would become much less acute. That would indeed be a historic contribution to guaranteeing the sacred right of peoples to peace.

160. In that connection, we also attach extreme importance to the prevention of the arms race in outer space. Man's journey into outer space, we believe, implies that the rights and duties of States should be applied to space activities. Lasting peace on Earth is inconceivable unless we can ensure the completely peaceful character of the exploitation of the universe. Therefore we fully support the initiative of the Soviet Union at this session of the General Assembly concerning the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

161. The safeguarding of the right of peoples to peace requires strict observance by Member States of their obligations under the Charter and other international norms and agreements which strengthen the peaceful foundations of international relations. Of direct relevance to this issue are a number of the decisions of the General Assembly, such as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*, *annex*], the Definition of Aggression [*resolution 3314 (XXIX)*, *annex*], the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*], the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*], resolutions condemning nuclear warfare, the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General

Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament [*resolution 34/88*] and a number of other international instruments. Even this by no means complete list clearly indicates how urgently necessary and useful it is to develop the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure that they are fully complied with and well adapted to the specific historical situations obtaining.

162. We also attach considerable importance to the development and further strengthening of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. This is a matter which is closely related to guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace. During the present session of the General Assembly, Member States have expressed strong apprehensions about the growing number of direct violations of the principle of the non-use of force, including acts of overt armed aggression against a number of developing and non-aligned countries, generally carried out in the cause of protecting spheres of vital interest or on other pretexts. Such events have seriously aggravated the international situation as a whole and jeopardized the preservation of peace not only in a specific region but on a world scale. In our opinion, it has become an urgent necessity to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, such as was submitted by the socialist countries as far back as 1976. We believe that the conclusion of such a treaty would serve as a powerful political and legal guarantee of the right of peoples to peace and would help to promote a favourable atmosphere for further progress in the reduction of armaments and in nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, we consider it a matter of some urgency for the General Assembly decisively to condemn the policy and practice of State terrorism as a means of dealing with other States and peoples, as proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

163. It is our profound belief that in the interest of the preservation of peace States should not inject ideological differences into international relations, which should be based essentially on strict observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on other generally recognized principles and norms of international relations.

164. In a similarly constructive spirit and prompted by the desire to avert the threat of military conflict, the Warsaw Treaty States, at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January of 1983 in Prague, proposed to the States members of NATO that a treaty be concluded containing a reciprocal agreement not to be the first to use force and to maintain peaceful relations. We hope that, following the further appeals made by us, the NATO member States will agree to start practical consultations with a view to the preparation of such a treaty.

165. In order to guarantee the right of peoples to peace all Members of the United Nations should make active, constructive and purposeful efforts to avert the danger of nuclear annihilation, adopt a responsible approach to tackling the important tasks of disarmament, re-establish mutual trust, adopt a policy of realism and seek détente in international relations.

166. The delegation of Czechoslovakia believes that the adoption of the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be consonant with the interest of strengthening peace and international

security and could serve as an important moral and political step towards a peaceful future for human civilization. Therefore we fully support the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, and express our conviction that it will win wide support among the Member States of the United Nations.

167. Mr. VERMA (India): We have been gravely concerned at the dangerous deterioration of the international political and security climate and the continuing tensions and confrontation that characterize relations between the great Powers. This situation has been exacerbated by the spiralling arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, which threatens the very survival of mankind. The lack of a constructive dialogue among nuclear-weapon States has increased the risk of nuclear war. Such a war, even using part of the present stockpiles, would bring death and destruction to all peoples.

168. In this context, we welcome the inclusion of a new item, at the request of Mongolia, on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, on the right of peoples to peace. Peace is of paramount importance for mankind to live under conditions of justice, prosperity and equality. Through the centuries mankind has yearned for peace. Sages and statesmen over the millenia have preached the gospel of peace, brotherhood and tolerance. Peace is the essential prerequisite for the improvement of the quality of life on our planet.

169. The vision of our founding fathers, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", today faces a challenge it has never faced before. The choice before us is clear—either we have peace or we perish.

170. The draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the delegation of Mongolia, focuses on the need to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe and recognizes that to ensure a peaceful life for peoples is the sacred duty of each State. It also emphasizes that policies of States should be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

171. India attaches the highest importance to the prevention of nuclear war. No form of warfare has confronted mankind with dangers even remotely comparable to the dangers that nuclear warfare poses to human civilization, if not to human survival. Little of civilization would survive a nuclear war, and humanity's hope lies in preventing the catastrophe. Nuclear weapons control and a nuclear arms cut-back clearly must be objectives of the highest priority. From those first measures the world must proceed to nuclear disarmament, for nuclear disarmament is the only way to prevent nuclear war. We unequivocally reject theories of deterrence and of limited nuclear wars, which are nothing more than rationalizations by the nuclear-weapon States for the continued development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons. As Member States of the United Nations we have a commitment to take constructive action towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race.

172. While it is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, the problem has assumed too grave and far-

reaching a dimension to be left to those States alone. With this in view, the heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania launched the six-Power peace initiative on 22 May 1984, in an effort to halt the nuclear arms race and move towards disarmament. The six leaders stated:

"We come from different parts of the globe, with differences in religion, culture and political systems. But we are united in the conviction that there must not be another world war. On this, the most crucial of all issues, we have resolved to make a common effort in the interests of peace.

" . . .

"We will do everything in our power to facilitate agreement among the nuclear-weapon States". [See A/39/277, annex.]

173. The joint appeal urges the nuclear-weapon States, as a necessary first step, to halt all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, and to reduce nuclear forces substantially immediately thereafter. This first step must be followed by a continuing programme of arms reductions leading to general and complete disarmament, accompanied by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to ensure an urgently needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race into social and economic development. The essential goal must be to reduce and then eliminate the risk of war between nations.

174. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, identified peace, peaceful co-existence, independence, disarmament and development as the central issues of our time. Peace is not merely the absence of war; it must be based on justice and equality, because intolerable inequality and exploitation remain the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world. However, peace and disarmament are the underlying prerequisites for achieving the other cherished goals of independence, justice and development in our interdependent world. In her keynote address at the Conference, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, said:

"Humankind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Should these tragedies occur, can anyone of us, large, small, rich or poor, from North or South, West or East, hope to escape?"<sup>2</sup>

She further declared:

"Development, independence, disarmament and peace are closely related. Can there be peace alongside nuclear weapons? Without peace . . . all our dreams of development turn to ashes."<sup>3</sup>

175. I reiterate the commitment of India, and indeed of all non-aligned countries, to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the promotion of world peace. In this connection, the final paragraph of the New Delhi Message, adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, is relevant. It says:

"The crisis which confronts our civilization today is unprecedented in history. Great tasks call for wise decisions. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust, engage in sincere, forward-

looking negotiations in a spirit of shared good faith to reach agreement on various disarmament measures and to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis which threatens all of us. Unitedly, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement are prepared to do everything in their power to assist in this process. The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man."<sup>4</sup>

176. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The right of peoples to peace was recognized by the United Nations as long ago as 1945, when the signatories to the Charter of the United Nations pointed to the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. However, a few weeks later, when a horrified world witnessed the massacres of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the need to make a reality of that noble idea became much more obvious.

177. The crime of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the first act of force of the cold-war policy, but it also served to encourage the frenzied search by successive United States Governments for military superiority in order to resolve the complex problems of our time by force. That policy led to a growing accumulation of increasingly sophisticated weapons of every kind, in an attempt to establish military power capable of guaranteeing the solution of all problems from positions of strength.

178. But, while 40 years ago the international community expressed its concern for future generations and recognized their right to peace, there is now every reason for it to be alarmed. In the midst of the worst economic crisis the world has ever known, it is spending more than \$1 million on weapons every minute. Quite a long time ago, it was estimated that there were three tons of explosives for every man, woman or child on Earth, and we were warned of the need to put an end to the arms race that had been imposed on us, lest we perish. That is why working for peace is more than an imperative of our time: it is vital for the survival of mankind.

179. The overwhelming majority of speakers in the Assembly have recognized that the most critical and urgent task today is the safeguarding of international peace and security. The technological possibility of the destruction of our planet and the human species emphasizes even more our need to work for peace and to guarantee peace as an inalienable right of peoples.

180. It is not idle to point out that peoples fight constantly for that right. Suffice it to recall the image of the hundreds of thousands of persons who came to the Headquarters of the United Nations during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted entirely to the consideration of disarmament questions, in 1982. Then, the voice of the peoples rang clear and true in favour of the freezing of nuclear arsenals, in favour of a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, in favour of the reduction of the existing arsenals, and in favour of businesslike, constructive negotiations to establish a world of peace and coexistence of nations.

181. And yet it is an undeniable fact that we are still far from having achieved those objectives, and that there are forces openly working against them. I am referring to those forces that foment tensions in the most varied regions of the world, in order to poison the international climate and obstruct dialogue and



disarmament negotiations in all forums. The same forces that act against the right of peoples to peace and that adopt decisions bringing the world ever closer to a nuclear holocaust are deploying their first-strike weapons on the European scene; they are threatening to destroy the very bases of multilateral relations; they disregard generally accepted principles such as non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and respect for the right of peoples to choose freely the political, economic and social system best suited to their interests.

182. The same forces that oppose disarmament negotiations in Geneva are opposing peace in southern Africa and pursuing their collaboration in all spheres, including the nuclear sphere, with the *apartheid* régime, in open defiance of the African peoples' right to peace.

183. The same forces that are initiating a new spiral in the arms race are concluding strategic alliances with zionism, while acting against the Arab peoples' right to peace and the Palestinian people's right to live in its homeland.

184. It is these same forces that are obstructing peace efforts in Central America and threatening the security of Nicaragua, that are building new military bases in the region, strengthening existing bases, violating the air space and territorial waters of Nicaragua, mining its ports and carrying out, without interruption, threatening and intimidating military manoeuvres, thereby adding the spectre of direct aggression to their undeclared war against that Central American country.

185. That is the regional and world framework within which the Organization is called upon to consider agenda item 138. The present situation is very alarming. Trends contrary to peace must be curbed. No effort to avert the danger of war can be too great. We must work resolutely to ensure observance of and respect for the principles of international law, in particular those relating to the non-use of force in international relations, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and to respect for the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of peoples.

186. All Governments have the duty to guarantee to their peoples the future of peace to which they are entitled, and to that end the strictest adherence to the recognized norms of international coexistence is required.

187. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): It was with some hesitation that my delegation asked to be allowed to speak in the debate on the item now before us, entitled "Right of peoples to peace". We hesitated because, in the first place, we fully understand—indeed we applaud and admire—the spirit which has inspired the Mongolian People's Republic to bring this subject to the attention of the General Assembly, and we would naturally wish to be supportive. The peoples of the world clearly do have a right to peace, and yet my delegation must state that we have serious difficulties with the precise proposals which have emerged, however well intentioned they undoubtedly are, for reasons which I shall explain.

188. First, my delegation is frankly sceptical that any declaration on the right of peoples to peace will in and of itself bring the international community one step nearer to the goal of peace which we all cherish, or even—to use the more precise words of the draft resolution now before us—that it will

"contribute to the efforts aimed at the strengthening of international peace and security".

189. The fact is that the structure of peace has to be built painfully, brick upon careful brick. My delegation would certainly wish to support any initiative which would assist in that difficult task, but we are unable to convince ourselves that the present draft resolution would, in fact, help to do so. Instead, we fear that this draft declaration, if adopted, will be merely another document in the archives of Governments and the United Nations.

190. But, it may be asked—and this is my second point—what harm can possibly be done by affirming this most basic of rights? To this my delegation responds as follows. First, doing something which merely does no harm does not strike us as a particularly purposeful or productive activity on the part of the General Assembly. Secondly, such a declaration, which does not in and of itself contribute to peace, creates the illusion that we are doing something for the cause of peace, and illusions, we believe, are unfortunate if not dangerous. Thirdly, and most important of all, we believe its adoption could actually do harm to the prestige and credibility of the Organization.

191. The international situation today is fraught with dangers: it is characterized by uneasy if not dangerously suspicious relations between the super-Powers and by armed conflict or the potential for armed conflict all over the globe, stretching all the way from Central America to South-East Asia, from Europe to southern Africa. In such a situation, my delegation doubts that we enhance the credibility of the Organization as a sophisticated diplomatic machinery by simply making a declaration of the kind that is contemplated, however generous its purpose and however laudable its spirit. We would be less than frank if we did not admit that the prestige and authority of the United Nations is under serious challenge today. As a country which cares—and cares deeply—for the Organization, Malaysia believes strongly that the Assembly should not do anything which does not enhance its reputation for diplomatic sophistication and intellectual coherence, but which, on the contrary, may embarrass the friends of the United Nations and provide ammunition to those who are only too ready to belittle it.

192. Finally, as to the draft declaration itself, even if my delegation, despite its scepticism, can be persuaded of the value of making a declaration as such, we have difficulties with some of the wording. It seems to us that the draft declaration, if it is to be taken seriously—and that undoubtedly is the intention of its proponents—will have to be given more careful scrutiny than the General Assembly has given it. For example, it can be said that while peace is an indispensable condition of human survival, let alone human progress, it cannot be peace at any price, it cannot be an imposed peace, it cannot be a peace policed by certain Powers by virtue of their superior military might. By peace, therefore, we must mean peace with justice, and therefore it can be argued by extension that the right of peoples to peace must be coupled with their right to freedom, to self-determination, to justice and to a decent life. This is clearly only one comment and there could be many others. But the point is that to be serious—and the Assembly must be serious, and, as I have said, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic and the other sponsors of the draft resolution before us clearly



intended to be serious—the draft declaration requires a more careful examination than the Assembly has had the opportunity to give it.

193. For all these reasons, my delegation would very much prefer this matter not to be put to a vote. In the present circumstances, my delegation feels compelled not to participate in the voting. We believe that this would reflect our position more accurately than an abstention, because what my delegation is saying essentially is that we are sceptical as to both the approach which lies behind the proposal and the actual draft declaration itself, and would not wish to be part of it. We have come to this position with some reluctance. As I have already stated, we applaud and even admire the spirit which inspired this initiative by the Mongolian People's Republic, which has been joined by seven other Governments, with all of which my Government and my delegation have very friendly and cordial relations. But we believe that if we acted otherwise this would not do justice to these delegations to the credibility and prestige of the Organization or to the cause of peace itself.

194. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item. At this point I wish to remind members of the Assembly that during his statement this morning the representative of Mongolia revised draft resolution A/39/L.14 as follows: paragraph 2 of the draft declaration in the annex to the draft resolution now reads:

*"Solemnly declares that the preservation of the right of peoples to peace and the promotion of its implementation constitute a fundamental obligation of each State;"*.

195. Paragraph 3 of the draft declaration now reads:

*"Emphasizes that ensuring the exercise of the right of peoples to peace demands that the policies of States be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations;"*.

196. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on the draft resolution, as orally revised.

197. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): Peace is, has been and must remain the universal pursuit of all States. This, after all, is the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations. However, the Philippine delegation suggests that greater thought and more thorough and careful study should be given to the proposed declaration annexed to draft resolution A/39/L.14.

198. We believe that a draft declaration of such significance deserves to be formulated in a more exhaustive and balanced manner, always bearing in mind, as it were, the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. It is solely for this reason that the Philippine delegation will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/39/L.14.

199. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): On behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community, I should like to address draft resolution A/39/L.14, entitled "Right of peoples to peace".

200. There are sentiments expressed in this draft resolution which all would certainly share. However, the text creates difficulties for the Ten. Resolutions

adopted by the General Assembly in the form of declarations are sometimes regarded, if they command a consensus, as expressing a generally agreed view of the law based either on the Charter of the United Nations or on general international law. However, if, as in the present case, there is no agreed legal basis for the contents of a declaration, the sentiments should be formulated in a different fashion.

201. The text of the annex to the draft resolution has no agreed legal basis for its assertions, although it does refer to the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter. It also refers to "the fundamental principles of international law set forth in the Charter of the United Nations". However, it does not explain how the right to peace might correspond with these principles or fit in with the established and carefully constructed body of law developed from them.

202. Of the questions which arise, I would single out five. First, it is not clear how the text could be reconciled with the right to self-defence as contained in the Charter. Secondly, how would the draft relate to human rights and fundamental freedoms as set out in the Charter? Thirdly, who may invoke the right to peace? How would the right be vindicated? Fourthly, on what foundation in existing international law would the draft base the obligation of States to which it refers? And, fifthly, how would the draft declaration be reconciled with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which also forbids the threat as well as the use of force?

203. The Ten are of the view that any consideration of a right to peace should avoid purely declaratory statements. Such consideration would call for careful treatment in order to ensure compatibility with the Charter and with existing principles of law which all countries wish to abide by in the interests of peace. The Ten feel that the present text does not adequately deal with these points.

204. Apart from these queries of a legal character, there is a more fundamental point of substance. In the view of the Ten, the concept of peace as contained in the draft declaration is not fully compatible with the concept on which the Charter of the United Nations is based. The Charter indeed proceeds on a substantive notion of peace, not merely a formal concept. The Charter does not reduce peace to the absence or elimination of war or the threat of war, let alone one particular type of war.

205. For all these reasons, the Ten will abstain on the draft resolution.

206. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now begin the voting process and take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.14, as orally revised by Mongolia. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libe-

ria, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Denmark, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution, as orally revised, was adopted by 92 votes to none, with 34 abstentions (resolution 39/11).<sup>5</sup>*

207. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Albania who wishes to explain his vote.

208. Mr. PAPAJOGEJI (Albania): The Albanian delegation did not participate in the voting on the draft resolution entitled "Right of peoples to peace" and its annex. We did not do so because we have our reservations.

209. The text of the draft resolution and the declaration annexed to it contains remarks, wishes and some well-known principles. But in our opinion, that is not enough. The resolution does not deal with the main aspects of the problem. It does not mention the real enemies of peace and security, those who have raised the policies of aggression and interven-

tion into a system. We think that those entities should be denounced openly and clearly.

210. It is the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which constantly and seriously threaten mankind. The unbridled arms race, their rivalry for hegemony and expansion, which are rightfully denounced by people throughout the world, are testimony to their aims which are detrimental to genuine peace and security.

211. We cannot share the view that the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers are going to work to achieve real lasting peace and security; that through such resolutions they will of their own free will change their nature and aggressive policies. People need deeds and not mere words and slogans which are used for propaganda purposes.

212. It would take much time to speak about this crucial problem, but as this is only an explanation of vote, these remarks are sufficient.

213. In its declarations and statements before the General Assembly and before various committees, the Albanian delegation has made quite clear its position on these important problems, as well as its desire for, and the contribution of the Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and its people to, real peace and security in the world.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 15.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, annex, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, annex, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, annex, sect. II.

<sup>5</sup>The delegations of Angola, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Lesotho and Saudi Arabia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.