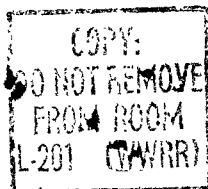


*United Nations*

**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION**

**Official Records\***



FIRST COMMITTEE

51st meeting

held on

Wednesday, 7 December 1983

at 10.30 a.m.

New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 51st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 65: STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION  
(continued)

AGENDA ITEM 66: REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 67: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY (continued)

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.1/38/PV.51  
19 January 1984

ENGLISH

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

AGENDA ITEMS 65, 66 AND 67 (continued)

MR. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): Today the world is experiencing a serious deterioration of international relations, and we are facing many complex crises threatening peace and security in the world and jeopardizing all the achievements of the United Nations since the Second World War. There is tremendous uncertainty throughout the world because of the policy of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of States, a lack of respect for the independence and sovereignty of States and a denial of the right of peoples to self-determination.

Thirteen years ago our Organization adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which included the purposes and principles which were adopted by our Organization as a foundation for relations among States, with a view to their application in letter and in spirit. If that had been the case the world would have experienced a period of détente, enabling it to resolve the most complex issues and to avert the spectre of crises threatening international relations. It is rather strange to note that the very purposes and principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security are also included year after year in resolutions of the United Nations and have become the language of the United Nations itself.

A cursory glance at the situation in the world shows us that there are several hotbeds of tension. If we look at the background of the crises we can see that international imperialism is involved, particularly United States imperialism.

Europe, which has experienced two world wars, is now in a state of considerable anguish because of the decision of the United States Administration to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles on the territories of several European countries against the wishes of the peoples of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

If we analyse the crisis in Central America, we can see that the United States is behind the economic and military pressure on the countries of that region, particularly on those whose peoples are trying to pursue their own path to development that is different from that of the United States - for example, Cuba and Nicaragua.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The overt United States aggression against Grenada last month and the seizure of power on that tranquil island by United States Marines constitutes one of the most serious instances of the deterioration of international relations and shows the contempt of the United States for the principles underlying the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

As for Africa, the situation there is hardly any better than in Central America. The white minority apartheid régime continues to occupy South Africa and Namibia and to practise terrorism and aggression against neighbouring countries, thus flouting the international will as expressed through the Security Council. That régime could not have survived without the assistance and support of the United States and its Western allies, which are opposed to the will of the African peoples.

There are increasingly serious hotbeds of tension in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. United States imperialism and its Western allies have established a racist régime in occupied Palestine. There is a serious threat to peace and security in the region, in view of the massacres committed against the Palestinian people, the displacement of Palestinians - the indigenous people of Palestine - and the policy of colonization and annexation of territory being pursued by Israel with the support of the United States and thanks to American weapons, aircraft and economic assistance.

The situation is all the more serious and explosive in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean, since United States aircraft carriers and other warships and the United States military machine are all concentrated in that region. The phenomenon of the NATO military concentration in the Eastern Mediterranean represents a threat to international peace and security and a challenge to the international community. It is also a form of neo-colonialism, practised against the will of the peoples, and it represents a denial of their right to self-determination. In this connection my delegation would like to recall the statement made by our Foreign Minister, Mr. Khaddam, at this session of the General Assembly:

"We warn the United States Administration that the military involvement in the Middle East will prove as ill-fated as its involvement in Viet Nam. We remind its allies that have hastened to send their fleets and war planes to that region that we threw them out of the door following a long, bloody

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

struggle and we shall not give them the opportunity to return through the window. They can be sure that their aircraft carriers and fleets will not intimidate us or weaken our determination to defend our land and future and exercise our right of self-defence." (A/38/PV.9, p. 76)

More than once we have pointed to the danger of the presence of the multinational forces in Lebanon. We have already stated that these forces are affecting peace and security in the region and requested that they leave Lebanon, since they should realize that they are part of the conflict.

As a super-Power with a particular responsibility for peace and security in the world under its commitment entered into under the Charter of the United Nations, the United States should have opposed the policy of aggression, colonialization and annexation pursued by the Zionist entity. Instead of opposing that policy, the United States signed an agreement of strategic co-operation with the Zionist entity aimed against the Arab nation in general and against Syria more specifically. The most recent visit by Shamir to the United States gave new impetus to this strategic co-operation, since President Reagan said he was happy to have arrived at an agreement with Israel establishing a joint military and political committee. If the American Administration makes use of this event in the electoral campaign, then we shall hardly be surprised or at all impressed by an increase in American aid to Israel, particularly at a time of a presidential election year in the United States. The establishment of the joint political and military committee of the two allies does not surprise us. But what we do find strange is that this nuclear super-Power, which has a tremendous responsibility in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security, should be stirring up trouble and drawing up plans to commit aggression against Syria. The plans agreed on have partly been implemented much faster than was envisaged. The bombing of troops of my country by 28 American aircraft was an act of aggression and a threat to international peace and security. In this connection we should like to reconfirm for the benefit of the American Administration that the Arab people will oppose any attempt at an American plot against us.

The note sent by the representative of the United States to the President of the Security Council of the United Nations, dated 4 December 1983, is, in a way, quite ridiculous. The United States considers that its aggression against Syria was an act of legitimate self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter. But we wonder what charter the United States is talking about and, in fact, what its

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

representative is talking about. Can the American presence, with its troops and navy ships, in a region which is very distant from the United States - thousands of miles away - really constitute legitimate self-defence? Can this really constitute defence against Syria?

The following points underline the situation: First, there is the need to put an end to the American commitment in the Middle East and to do away with any hegemonistic plan to have strategic dominion over the region. Secondly, it is necessary to establish the balance between the parties to the conflict in the region. In this connection we call on the United States to put an end to all kinds of assistance to Israel, particularly military assistance. Thirdly, there should be a declaration of commitment to the United Nations Charter and its resolutions regarding the Middle East, the immediate withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return home, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in their national territory. Fourthly, Israel must withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon, in accordance with resolution 509 (1982). These conditions must be met in order to put an end to the deterioration of a situation which could get out of control and threaten peace and security throughout the world.

Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. Chairman, permit me first of all to congratulate you on the intelligent and effective manner in which you have been conducting the proceedings of this Committee. With few exceptions, the current session has been marked by a climate of consensus that paved the way and facilitated approaching important questions in a constructive spirit of common concern and flexibility which has not been unrelated to your impartiality and sensitivity in grasping the concerns of most countries of the third world.

We are now called upon to discuss an item of fundamental importance in international relations, that is, "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". This Declaration is of great significance in the light of the situation prevailing in the world today and of events taking place in specific regions where the threat or use of force, intervention, interference, aggression and foreign occupation have become standard practice.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

Ever since 1981, when the Reagan Administration came to power, the world has been moving towards a cold war at an increasingly fast pace, with the stepping up of tensions and dangers of global confrontation and the closing off of possibilities for finding peaceful solutions to regional crises through diplomatic means. No doubt, the small countries, the third-world countries and the non-aligned countries are most directly affected by the consequences of this climate of tension and cold war brought about by the irresponsibility and military adventurism of the current American Administration.

Southern Africa, the Middle East, Central America and the Caribbean are dramatic examples of the implementation of a policy which, under the guise of rhetorical support for solutions through peaceful negotiations, acts on the basis of faits accomplis and measures of force. Hence, we need not be astonished at the fact that, with the arrogance and shamelessness which are characteristic of members of the Reagan Administration, on repeated occasions we have heard its representatives in this Organization speaking of relativity in regard to the application of international principles or declaring as obsolete the Security Council which is the main organ entrusted with ensuring international peace and security. Declarations of this kind only confirm what is in practice the behaviour of that major Power and its disregard of universally accepted principles and mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes, which are turned into obstacles to serve the purposes of imperialist domination and the subjugation of peoples.

It is fitting to recall here some paragraphs of resolution 2734 (XXV), the implementation of which we are reviewing. That resolution formally reaffirms the universal validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter and emphasizes that "the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever". It also urges all States to adhere strictly in their international relations by these purposes and principles, among which the following are emphasized:

First, the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; secondly, the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means; and, thirdly, the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

In the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, it is formally reaffirmed that:

"States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion, or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country".

It also reaffirms that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter.

If we were sincere and were to shed our diplomatic trappings for an instant, taking the place of the common man in the street, we could not but condemn the behaviour of the United States, which violates all the recommendations contained in the resolution the implementation of which we are reviewing today.

I have said that there are three regions in the world at present where this criminal conduct from an international standpoint is most clearly seen: the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America. In these three regions the United States has established "policing" countries which have been asked to undertake the dirty work of attacking, destabilizing, intervening against, repressing and massacring the peoples and Governments struggling for their freedom, independence and self-determination. Particularly dramatic and dangerous are the events taking place in the Central American region. The entire world knows about the undeclared dirty war the current United States Administration has unleashed against our people by means of so-called covert operations, for which the Congress of this country recently authorized an additional \$24 million until June 1984.

Everyone is equally aware of the economic aggression the Reagan Administration has been waging against Nicaragua since 1981 in the form of cancelling loans for the purchase of food, unilateral reduction of the sugar quota, blocking of loans in multilateral lending institutions and pressures upon European and Latin American countries to cancel or limit their aid to Nicaragua.

Everyone is equally familiar with the military preparations of the United States Administration in Honduras through the building of military bases and the carrying out of extensive military manoeuvres unprecedented in the history of Central America. As a result of this militaristic policy, Honduras has become a

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

country under the occupation of foreign military forces and a police State in the area, the main function of which is to contain the revolutionary advance of the Central American peoples and to serve as a springboard for aggression against Nicaragua and its revolution. Similarly, Washington has called for a revitalization of the so-called Central American Defence Council, a military pact consisting of the armies of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala aimed at serving as a legal cover for possible intervention in Central America.

Recently the Council on Hemispheric Affairs revealed in Washington the existence of what has been termed the "Pegasus Plan". That Plan, which would begin operations in January next year, calls for a massive invasion by mercenary Somozist bands operating on Honduran territory, under the leadership of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), with the full co-operation of the Honduran Army and with naval and air support of the United States forces currently circling in Central American oceans and occupying Honduran territory. That action would involve 15,000 Somozist mercenaries operating in Honduras and approximately 3,000 operating in Costa Rica, even though in the latter country they are there without the authorization of that Government. These forces could operate under a joint military command of the so-called CONDECA, which would ask for a direct massive military intervention by the United States if the initial phase of the Plan did not succeed.

Similarly, more recently the Washington Post also claimed that President Reagan intended to request funds to take the current military manoeuvres in the area beyond February 1984 and to establish a gigantic permanent military base in Honduras and a training base in El Salvador.

In keeping with its revolutionary principles and desire for peace, my country has adopted all necessary measures to guarantee the defence of our sovereignty and independence and undertook important diplomatic efforts in the search for a peaceful settlement to avert the catastrophe of generalized war in Central America.

Our Government recently made a peace proposal to the Contadora Group by submitting, on 15 October, three draft treaties and one draft agreement to be considered within the framework of the Contadora initiative. The first of these drafts is a bilateral treaty between the United States and Nicaragua; the second, a treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between Nicaragua and Honduras; the third, a general treaty on the maintenance of peace and security among the Central



(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

American Republics; and the last, agreement leading to a peaceful solution of the armed conflict in El Salvador, without which there can be no just and lasting peace in Central America.

This initiative was supplemented by the personal message taken to the Presidents of Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela and Panama by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of the Nicaraguan Republic, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, in his visits to these four countries of the Contadora initiative.

More recently, three additional proposals were submitted to the Contadora Group at the latest meeting, held on 1 and 2 December, in Panama City . One relates to matters of economic and social development in Central America. In its substantive part it refers to making the necessary internal changes to remove any obstacle to development in the manner that each country may consider most appropriate. It also states that Central American integration must be achieved, on the basis of a higher degree of commercial, industrial and agricultural interrelationship among the five countries of the area. It also refers to international trade, the external debt, foreign co-operation and food security and medical supplies - matters on which a search for joint solutions is needed. It mentions and supports Latin American integration, and agrees to the establishment of a special Central American group to reformulate the common market. Finally, it points to a plan of action based on a schedule from 30 January to September 1984 to promote the economic and social development of Central America.

The second proposal, relating to the military and security aspect, is that a commitment must be entered into to undertake negotiations immediately within the Contadora framework so that no military bases or training camps may be present, and no military manoeuvres may be conducted with foreign forces, without the prior consent of the other Central American States. In addition, existing bases and training camps should be removed and manoeuvres now being conducted should be cancelled. It also proposes a freeze on the procurement of arms and calls for the immediate withdrawal of foreign military advisers, the establishment of a limit on arms and regular troops and the setting up of a control mechanism. To this end it proposes the creation of a special commission made up of the five Central American countries plus the four Contadora countries to begin negotiations on the commitments entered into.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

The third proposal is the drawing up of a political declaration reaffirming the commitments to respect human, political, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights and urging the adoption of the measures needed to improve representative and pluralistic democracy which, as a system to be developed, should establish just economic and social structures. It is also proposed that the declaration should contain an appeal to promote action leading to national reconciliation and assisting the repatriation of displaced Central American refugees, with the aid and co-ordination of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. These are commitments to be entered into by Governments to the peoples under their sovereignty.

Despite all these efforts - to which we would add those made by Nicaragua in this Organization, in the Security Council as well as the General Assembly - it has not been possible so far to achieve specific commitments. The Contadora efforts are encountering actions to block them and delaying tactics, serving as a cover for military action and aggression against my country. The risk of a confrontation of such proportions entailing a grave threat to international peace and security continues unabated.

We have maintained, and we shall continue to maintain, that one cannot disregard United States interventionism in Central America or the internal armed conflict in El Salvador. Nicaragua believes that as long as the United States Government does not renounce its policy of intervention and force in Central America, and as long as the armed conflict in El Salvador continues, it will not be possible to attain an effective and lasting peace in the region. It is therefore necessary for the United States Government to undertake not to resort to the threat or use of force, not to continue intervening in Central American affairs and not to carry out military manoeuvres as a means of exerting political pressure, but to promote adequate conditions to make a negotiated political solution in El Salvador possible.

Our proposals were made in the Contadora context. While we await a response which may lead to a constructive discussion resulting in serious and viable commitments, our people are prepared to defend their land with their lives to the last inch.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

In disregard of the international norms governing the conduct of civilized countries, the United States only a few weeks ago militarily occupied the small island of Grenada. There is no need to state that conditions in Nicaragua are quite different, and President Reagan knows from the analyses of his best military and strategic experts the risks of armed intervention in Central America, but the United States continues to seek support for its aggressive plans.

Our desire for peace has been expressed and demonstrated. Responsible Governments elsewhere in the world must make a serious appeal to the "champion of freedom" to behave in accordance with the principles and norms contained in the important Declaration we are now reviewing. That would be an important step towards guaranteeing peace not only in Central America but also throughout the world.

Mr. KOH (Singapore): The current debate on agenda items 65, 66 and 67 sounds to my ear like a mini-general-debate. However, I shall resist the temptation to make a tour of the horizon and shall confine my statement to agenda item 67, concerning the United Nations collective security system.

One of the reasons for the collapse of the League of Nations was that the League had no teeth. The idea that the League should possess and control forces of its own had been too revolutionary to be seriously entertained at the time of its foundation. Following the outbreak of the Second World War, the leaders of the three allied nations - Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshall Stalin - decided at their meeting in Moscow in October 1943 that it was necessary to establish at the earliest practicable date

"a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security".

The three Powers met at Dumbarton Oaks, just outside Washington, in August 1944 to draw up more detailed and comprehensive plans for the organization which would be called the United Nations. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals included the following two propositions: first, that one of the principal organs of the United Nations would be called the Security Council and that it would be given primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security; and, secondly, that the five great Powers would be permanent members of the Security Council and that

(Mr. Koh, Singapore)

substantive decisions would be made by a qualified majority, including the assent of the five permanent members, in matters to which they were not a party.

The first point which I should like to make about the United Nations collective security system is that it was not concocted by a group of constitutional law professors living in an ivory tower and divorced from the realities of the world. The basic outline of the United Nations collective security system was conceived by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, three practical and realistic wartime leaders who were not known to harbour illusions. If the system does not work very well today it is certainly not because the architects of that system were impractical men. Seeing and experiencing the death and destruction around them, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin were determined to save the world from a repetition of the horrors of the Second World War. But as the memory of the nightmare receded in the minds of men, the impulse for peace was quickly overcome by the desire for power, for hegemony and for expansion.

The United Nations collective security system can be compared to a national legal system. The Charter of the United Nations, like the criminal code of a country, contains rules prohibiting certain types of conduct. The United Nations collective security system makes the Security Council its centre-piece. It would function very much like a court of law in a national legal system. States which have disputes with other States, where the dispute threatens a breach of international peace and security, may bring their disputes to the Security Council. In theory, the Council would make a determination of the facts of the case, it would apply the relevant rules either from the Charter or from the general body of international law, and it would make a determination and recommend adjustment measures. If the offending party refuses to comply with the decision of the Security Council, the Charter empowers the Council to take enforcement measures, including the use of force.

Why has the United Nations collective security system broken down? It has broken down for a variety of reasons. First, it has broken down because many States Members of the United Nations have repeatedly violated the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is no excuse to say that Member States have violated the Charter's principles because there are no effective sanctions against such violation. After all, every Member State committed itself when it joined the United Nations to adhere to the Charter principles. In a national society, good citizens obey the laws of the country because of their fidelity to the law and not

(Mr. Koh, Singapore)

because of their fear of the sanctions. As someone has remarked, the degree of civilization of a people can be measured by the extent to which its members comply with what is unenforceable. Using that yardstick, we must regrettably come to the conclusion that the international community in which we live is not a very civilized one.

The second reason for the collapse, or near-collapse, of the United Nations collective security system is the failure of the Security Council to function like a court of law in a national legal system. Although judges are not free from personal prejudices, they, by and large, attempt to ascertain the facts of a case in an objective manner and to apply to those facts the relevant rules of law. In the case of the Security Council, the 15 members of the Council seldom behave in the way that judges do in a court of law. The determination of the facts of a dispute by a member of the Security Council is inevitably affected by such extraneous factors as the relationship between that Council member and the parties to the dispute and the national interests of the Council member, of its allies and of its friends.

In the same way, the identification and application of the relevant rules from the United Nations Charter and from the general body of international law are also affected by these extraneous considerations. This process, therefore, leads the Council to apply the rules either selectively or in a biased manner, or leads the Council to an inability to agree on who is right and who is wrong and on what should be done in order to adjust the situation. As a consequence, there is very little confidence on the part of Member States in the fairness and objectivity of the Security Council.

The third and most important reason for the collapse of the United Nations collective security system is the inability of the five permanent members, especially the two super-Powers, to work together. The Security Council can work only on the assumption of great-Power unanimity. In the current state of international relations, it is clear that that assumption does not exist. There are, in fact, very few instances in which the five great Powers can work together. Some of my colleagues have sought to overcome this problem by suggesting that the veto power of the five permanent members should be abolished. This, unfortunately, is not a very realistic solution, because four of the five permanent members would oppose any such amendment, and because the five great Powers would not have agreed

(Mr. Koh, Singapore)

in 1945 to invest in the Security Council the enforcement powers it enjoys under Chapter VII of the Charter if they had not been given the veto power to protect their national interests.

I fear that there can be no prospects for making the United Nations collective security system work better until the United States and the Soviet Union come to the conclusion that the absence of more effective means of maintaining international peace is creating unacceptable risks to their national interests, that unilateral and competitive measures to keep the peace are likely to magnify rather than to reduce those risks, and that a gradual reinforcement of the United Nations collective security system is possible. Until the two super-Powers reach such a conclusion, no improvement to the United Nations collective security system is in sight. That is why an accommodation, however limited, between the United States and the Soviet Union is an essential prerequisite for the strengthening of the United Nations collective security system.

I should like now to discuss briefly an imaginative proposal for the strengthening of the United Nations security role contained in the report entitled "Common Security" issued by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, better known as the Palme Commission. The Commission believed that border disputes are widespread throughout the third world. Such disputes, which are mainly the legacy of the colonial era, have already caused a number of wars. Even where there has been no armed conflict, the fear of armed attack by neighbours has fuelled defence expenditures which could otherwise have been avoided. The Palme Commission therefore proposed that there should be a commitment within the international community in favour of invoking collective security procedures whenever a border dispute threatened or provoked an armed conflict between two or more third-world countries. This proposal would involve the creation of a preventive capability in the form of standby forces. States would have to commit themselves in advance to accept such collective security operations, and the five permanent members of the Security Council would have to agree to a political concordat by which they would commit themselves in advance to support particular types of collective security action.

I have serious doubts whether, in the present state of relations between the two super-Powers, it would be possible to negotiate such a concordat among the five permanent members of the Security Council. And even if it were possible, it would probably break down if any particular border dispute in the third world involved

(Mr. Koh, Singapore)

big-Power interests or if one of the parties to the dispute were allied to one of the great Powers. Although I have some misgivings on the feasibility of the Palme Commission's proposal, I welcome its thrust, which is to strengthen the Security Council's role in conflict anticipation and conflict pre-emption. I therefore commend the proposal to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the one silver lining I can see in a sky full of dark clouds. That silver lining is the Office of the Secretary-General. In the current incumbent I think we have the right man in the right job. We should therefore conspire to strengthen his office and to give him our collective political backing whenever he undertakes a mission of good offices or of mediation. We should encourage the Secretary-General to make fuller use of Article 99 of the Charter, which authorizes him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. We should also encourage the Secretary-General to develop a capacity within the Secretariat of monitoring the situation around the world and alerting him to incipient problems before they become disputes, and to disputes before they become conflicts. In turn, the Secretary-General would alert the Security Council, thereby strengthening the Council's role in conflict anticipation and conflict pre-emption.

Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka): Senior members of my delegation have already congratulated you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. This is the first time I have spoken in the Committee. Since we are virtually in the closing days of our work and since we have had the benefit of seeing your guidance of the Committee's work, rather than congratulating you I would congratulate us, the members of the Committee, on our good sense and wisdom in having elected you to guide our work. The Committee has benefited greatly.

My delegation has made the point in earlier statements that the item "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" involves consideration of a multitude of issues before the United Nations and a continuous examination of progress towards their settlement. Resolutions under the item have been described as omnibus resolutions. Minutes ago the representative of Singapore called the debate a mini-general-debate, in fact. However, what is involved is not so much a piecemeal examination of each of these issues, but an affirmation of the basic interconnection between seemingly diverse issues having an impact on international peace and security and, most

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

significantly, their measurement against the yardstick of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security identified, for example, the nexus between international security and disarmament, on the one hand, and disarmament and development, on the other. Likewise, there is no doubt that developments in the Middle East area, for instance, have their repercussions on developments in the Mediterranean.

The provisions of the Charter are the points of reference for the 1970 Declaration, and it is worth recalling - even at the risk of repetition - operative paragraph 1 of that Declaration, which

"Solemnly reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever". (resolution 2734 (XXV), para. 1)

The draft resolution before us in document A/C.1/38/L.87, on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which is sponsored by a large number of countries including Sri Lanka, commences by expressing alarm at the increasing tension in contemporary international relations and proceeds to describe the various global trends which contribute to such tension. Clearly, the thirteenth year since the adoption of the Declaration has been a particularly tragic one. Of special concern to small countries such as mine has been the blatant increase in the resort to force and intervention in the internal affairs of States. The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Interference and Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted three years ago, encompasses not only the most obvious forms of intervention but also the more subtle means of interference in the domestic affairs of States. These sophisticated means of interference pose a grave threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of, particularly, the smaller States. Such interventions have of course broader international ramifications as well.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/38/L.87 provides a comprehensive survey of the international situation, although, owing to considerations of length, it does not specifically refer to each and every major issue. It stresses the necessity for the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, to contribute more effectively to the promotion of international peace and security by the search



(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

for solutions to outstanding problems. All States, in particular nuclear-weapon and other militarily significant States, are called on to take immediate steps aiming at promoting and rendering effective the system of collective security envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

For Sri Lanka and other non-aligned States in particular, it has been most distressing to witness the rapid deterioration in international relations, particularly in the relations between the great Powers, and the consequent withdrawal by them deeper into the deceptive fortifications of their respective military alliances - withdrawals symptomatic of a lack of trust and confidence between the groups of countries making up the two alliances. The Non-Aligned Movement has been founded on the conviction that peace among nations cannot be ensured by strengthening mutually antagonistic blocs or military systems. It has been our belief that the strengthening of military alliances only leads to a further escalation of the arms race and fosters mistrust and suspicion in relations between the great Powers and their allies and, for the entire world, an increase of the threat of total annihilation. Non-alignment offers a viable alternative to mutually opposing alliances and blocs, and bases itself on positive principles of justice, freedom and international co-operation.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/38/L.87 makes the point that the current deterioration of the international situation requires an effective Security Council and advocates an urgent examination of all its existing mechanisms and working methods in order to enhance the authority of the Council in accordance with the Charter. This is no new call, neither is it one which implies a criticism of the Security Council; rather it is one which reaffirms the position of the Charter that it is indeed the Security Council which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/38/L.83/Rev.1, of which Sri Lanka is a sponsor, also reaffirms this position. The 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security invited Member States to do their utmost to enhance, by all possible means, the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council and its decisions. The draft resolution before us, reviewing the implementation of the Declaration, echoes these injunctions and suggests, for example, the convening of periodic meetings of the Security Council in specific instances to consider and review outstanding problems, to enable it to play a more active role in preventing conflicts.

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

The Security Council has adopted a number of resolutions, many vital ones unanimously, concerning critical international issues. One need only recall in passing the many resolutions on the elimination of apartheid, including the resolution relating to the military embargo against South Africa, resolutions on Namibian independence, resolutions on the Middle East and Palestine, resolutions on Cyprus - by no means a comprehensive listing - to realize the extent to which decisions of the Council, though firmly based on Charter principles, languish unimplemented. The Council has been unable to take effective measures to ensure implementation of its own decisions. The 1970 Declaration urged all Member States to implement the decisions of the Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter and to respect the resolutions of United Nations organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

This is an entreaty which should bind us all together in a co-operative endeavour for our general mutual benefit. The pursuit of myopic individual interests by powerful groups ignores the reality of the increasing interdependence of States - an interdependence which is clearly evident in all fields, political as well as economic. Confrontational attitudes and polemical policies are self-perpetuating. The call in operative paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.87 is a particularly timely and important one. The Security Council, in which the great Powers sit together, is one forum in which they could co-operate with each other as well as with other members of the international community in the interests of peace and security. Only a pragmatic realization of the common destiny of all nations and a genuine effort to solve conflicts in concert with others through peaceful means, rather than unilaterally by force, on the basis of the equality of nations, irrespective of their military, political or economic strength, can ensure progress towards the strengthening of international confidence and of peace and security.

Mr. MICHAELSEN (Denmark): It is an essential truth that the United Nations can achieve no more than its Members want it to achieve. In the general debate on disarmament issues the Danish representative on 20 October argued in favour of enabling the United Nations to play the role envisaged for it in the Charter and thereby strengthen its role in the field of disarmament. Dealing now with the security issues, we have to look to the other side of the coin. Our aim should be to contribute to the development of an international society where the

(Mr. Michaelsen, Denmark)

principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter are respected whole-heartedly and unreservedly.

Against this background it is a matter for grave concern that not all Member States are living up to their obligations under the Charter. The right to existence and security of all States and justice for all peoples stands contested. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are being violated in many parts of the world, and the violations seem to be increasing rather than diminishing.

It is thus essential that each and all of us intensify our efforts to ensure scrupulous compliance with the principles of the Charter. We must use the available means of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. As an important element of these efforts we must strive to uphold a direct and serious dialogue between East and West aimed at genuine détente. We should bear in mind that the adverse effects of East-West conflict have serious repercussions also in other parts of the world. Conversely, whatever progress we can achieve in East-West relations will also have positive effects on developments in other parts of the world where tension may be even greater.

The process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) is a most important channel for such a dialogue between East and West. It is therefore gratifying that the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid could be brought to a successful conclusion. It has proved possible to obtain consensus on a concluding document which reaffirms and strengthens the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, notably concerning its human dimension. I should also like to mention one important new element of the concluding document, which is the provision for a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe which will start its work next January in Stockholm. We look forward to participating in this conference, the first stage of which will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of confidence- and security-building measures which will be militarily significant, binding, verifiable and applicable to the whole of Europe. We trust that also the meetings of experts foreseen in the concluding document, notably those concerning human rights and human contacts, will lead to improved respect for and implementation of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and thus contribute to the improvement of relations among the States participating in the CSCE.

In concluding, I should like to express my earnest hope that we shall be able in our work to add constructively to ongoing efforts to secure peace and stabilize

(Mr. Michaelsen, Denmark)

security on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter, which in our view must not be considered individually and in isolated contexts but as an integrated whole.

Mr. KOVAC IC (Czechoslovakia): The consideration of the item concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is taking place at a time we consider to be one of the most complicated and most critical periods in mankind's modern history. This highlights even more the importance of the Soviet Union's initiative, adopted by the General Assembly 13 years ago, aimed at strengthening international security. It is of particular timeliness at this point in history, when international relations are aggravated by the stepped-up struggle between the forces of socialism striving to promote peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems and imperialist forces of aggression which, headed by certain circles of United States leadership, endeavour to gain supremacy, to change the existing military-strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization of the Warsaw Treaty, to halt the process of progressive changes in the world and to suppress national liberation movements.

In its crusade against communism, the United States Administration is moving from rhetoric to the implementation of a concrete strategy of United States imperialism; it is moving from words to deeds, which, in practical terms, means to specific measures in the production and deployment of new systems of weapons of mass destruction.

In this situation the primary task of this world Organization and of all peace-loving forces is to undertake maximum efforts and to adopt effective measures in the interest of preserving international peace and security and in the interest of averting a nuclear catastrophe.

Naturally, hundreds of millions of people in all countries of the world are aware of this situation and hope that the thirty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly will contribute to the fulfilment of their aspirations to a life in peace. This was fully attested to by the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War, held in June in Prague. It was an open dialogue of representatives of 1,843 national and international organizations, trade unions, peace, womens', youth and students' organizations, political parties and churches from 132 countries - a dialogue on the topical questions of war and peace, a

(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

powerful appeal to common action against those who are recklessly preparing an obituary to peace and détente. Representatives of the broadest strata of the population of our planet, of different ideologies and religions, regardless of nationality, said no to nuclear war. No Government has the right to disregard this categorical negative.

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation among States with different social systems. The preservation of peace is, therefore, its fundamental objective which permeates all the basic documents adopted this year within the Warsaw Treaty community, of which Czechoslovakia is a firm component part. In the Prague Political Declaration adopted last January by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries and subsequently in further joint as well as separate statements, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty proposed an alternative to nuclear catastrophe. They submitted a far-reaching set of proposals aimed at averting nuclear war, halting the arms race and achieving a relaxation of tension and disarmament. At a session last October in Sofia, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty countries emphasized the importance they attached to receiving an early response to those proposals. This fully applies also to the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States members to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), one which would be open to all States of the world. We fully associate ourselves with the view that, in the current complicated international situation, a movement towards a positive resolution of this question would be of particular significance and would contribute considerably to the strengthening of international security throughout the world.

We appreciate the fact that, on the initiative of the socialist and non-aligned countries this year, our Committee has adopted a number of important draft resolutions dealing with cardinal issues of the present time, in particular those relating to the adoption of measures to avert a nuclear war. Undoubtedly they include those condemning nuclear war as the gravest crime against peoples and a violation of the most fundamental human right, the right to life; calling for a nuclear-weapon freeze; proposing a treaty prohibiting the use of force in outer space and from outer space against the earth; and other proposals.

(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

However, there are those who systematically reject these proposals, as we have repeatedly witnessed in this Committee. Their positions are based on political decisions that are directed not towards strengthening international security but to the gaining of unilateral military advantages. We are reinforced in this view not only by the voting results on certain draft resolutions aimed at disarmament but also by specific political decisions taken by the highest United States representatives. For instance, Presidential Directive No. 75, on the national security of the United States, postulates as a national goal of United States foreign policy the bringing about of internal changes in the USSR. The directives of the United States Defense Department relating to the build-up of United States armed forces speak openly and clearly of the intention to achieve long-term political and military changes within the "Soviet empire" in the interest of the final objective, which is the liquidation of socialism as a social system. Generally known, furthermore, is the "first strike" doctrine, which has already been denounced in the declaration adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Without any regard for this declaration or for the resistance of international public opinion, efforts have been continued to upset the relatively fragile balance in Europe.

Present-day Europe, and along with it the entire world, have again taken a big step closer to the Rubicon. In a recent television debate a certain United States politician stated that the United States had more than 6,000 nuclear warheads in Europe and that no more were needed for its total destruction. This notwithstanding, the United States and the NATO States have started the deployment of further modernized nuclear weapons. We must sharply protest this not only as a step which disregards the significant peace proposals of the European socialist countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries but also as a step that is grossly at variance with a number of United Nations resolutions. The socialist States have never striven, nor do they strive, for military superiority; but, as is stated in the declaration of the States participating in the Moscow meeting of 25 June 1983, in no case shall we allow anybody to achieve military superiority over us. Czechoslovakia, situated in Central Europe, where already two destructive world wars have been ignited, regards the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe as extremely dangerous for our country, for our allies, for European security and for world peace. We have repeatedly drawn attention to this fact. It would be an expression of political naivety to expect that, in a situation in which

(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

Pershing 2 missiles are to be deployed at a distance of a mere 180 kilometres from our borders, we shall sit with our arms folded. Therefore, as is noted in the statement of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic concerning the understanding between the Government of Czechoslovakia and the Government of the USSR of 24 October 1983, it has been necessary to initiate preparatory work for the deployment of missile complexes of operational-tactical designation on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

These indispensable steps have been undertaken with a view to countering the attempts of the United States and NATO to upset the strategic equilibrium and stability in Europe and throughout the world and to gain military superiority.

We are convinced that with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security it will be possible to find a mutually acceptable solution in the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons.

We cannot be satisfied with the course and the results of this year's session of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. The main obstacle in the way of progress in its work is seen by us to lie in the unwillingness, particularly of the United States and some of its NATO allies, to negotiate seriously on concrete disarmament measures. We believe that the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons continues to be a very important issue on the agenda of the Disarmament Committee. In our opinion, a good basis for the drafting of a relevant agreement is provided by the Soviet draft of the main provisions of the convention.

Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to regional disarmament negotiations, in particular the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe in which we are a direct participant and take an active part. Czechoslovakia is one of the sponsors of a number of significant proposals submitted this year by the socialist countries, which form a well-rounded and logical complex of a three-phased reduction approach aimed at achieving equal collective levels on each side, independently of existing differences in data on the numerical strength of armed forces. This simple approach to an agreement is designed to overcome the deadlock reached in the talks and to create the prerequisites for reducing the danger of military confrontation in Central Europe.

As a convinced advocate of the continuation and development of the all-European process initiated in Helsinki, Czechoslovakia welcomed the fact that the Madrid meeting successfully culminated in the adoption of a comprehensive and balanced concluding document which embodies the continuation of the policy of

(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

peace, détente and East-West dialogue and the development of all-around co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The most important decision of the meeting, in our view, concerns the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe which would ensure that the policy of détente is extended from the political to include the military sphere.

We attach great importance to the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in northern Europe, the Balkan Peninsula and other parts of the world. Very timely, in our view, is the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and the convening of an international conference on this question, which is being constantly postponed due to obstructions raised particularly by the United States.

We support measures aimed at strengthening security also in other continents. In this context we continue to consider very timely the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of an agreement on non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among States of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

The deteriorating international situation and growing threats to peace in the world are the result of the spreading of current hotbeds of tension and the creation of new conflict and crisis situations. In order to redivide, manage and control their spheres of influence, the imperialist forces are stepping up their policies of pressure, diktat and interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The consequences of these policies are most tragically reflected in the dramatic and dangerous development in the Middle East - where, as yet, the causes of the conflict have not been removed - which not only constitutes a permanent threat to peace in that region but has an equally negative impact on the entire system of international relations. The question of Palestine, in our view, continues to be the crucial aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We resolutely support a united Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the leading force of the Palestinian people. We consistently encourage the convening of an international conference on the Middle East as the most realistic way to restore a durable and just peace in that region. The most dangerous current development in the Middle East is the course pursued by the United States in Lebanon. By directly deploying its armed forces, along with other NATO countries, it increases the danger of the resumption of widespread military actions in the Middle East and delays the achievement of a just settlement of the crisis acceptable to all the



(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

parties involved. We are of the opinion that a just settlement of the question of Lebanon is possible only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, as well as those who support them.

A significant impetus towards transforming South-East Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation has been provided by the proposals and initiatives of three Indo-Chinese countries submitted this year at their seventh conference. The proposed political dialogue of the interested parties offers the only way of achieving a solution of the problems, while at the same time respecting the sovereignty of States and adhering to the principle of non-intervention in their internal affairs.

We resolutely support the efforts of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful re-unification of Korea and the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of that country.

We take an unequivocal stand in favour of Cyprus remaining independent, sovereign, unified, territorially intact and non-aligned. We reject any infringement of these principles.

It is increasingly urgent to halt the senseless war between Iran and Iraq and settle disputes between them on the basis of mutual respect for their independence and territorial integrity.

We are greatly concerned about developments in Central America where, following the invasion of Grenada, aggressive acts are being stepped up, with the direct political and military participation of the United States, against Nicaragua, Cuba and the national liberation struggle of the people of El Salvador.

The United States is trying, above all, to assert its military-strategic interests in that region and, obviously, is pursuing a policy of destabilization of those régimes which do not conform with its ideas and interests. It is impossible to agree to the creation of puppet military pacts designed to cover up direct military actions by the United States. On the other hand, we appreciate the collective efforts of the States members of the Contadora Group for the settlement of the Central American crisis through political negotiations.

We denounce the racist policies of the Pretoria régime practiced both against the non-white population of South Africa and against the people of Namibia, a country it continues to occupy unlawfully. The Namibian people, led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) must, on the basis of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, be given the opportunity to implement its right

(Mr. Kovacic, Czechoslovakia)

to self-determination, freedom and national independence without delay and without any precondition and obstruction either by South Africa or the so-called contact group. We fully support the conclusions of the Paris Conference in support of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence. We resolutely condemn the barbaric attacks by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola and other neighbouring independent States.

As a member and a component part of the defence alliance of the socialist community - the Warsaw Treaty Organization - the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is unswervingly faithful to the peace ideals and principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We belong to those countries which strive with all their might not only for the peaceful settlement of conflict situations throughout the world but also for the creation of conditions that would eliminate the very inception of such situations. We have an easily understandable motivation for this position that is based on our experience from past wars.

We are firmly convinced that even the most complicated disputes can and must be resolved by political means and by negotiation, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the norms of international law and the principles of mutual equality and equal security. Only through a constructive dialogue based on these principles and not by obstructing such a dialogue and by building good relations between neighbouring States as well as between economic and military groups can we achieve a gradual relaxation of international tensions.

Czechoslovakia is striving for such a dialogue in all international forums and at all levels. We appreciate every positive response in political, scientific, technological and economic relations, because we are convinced that this is the best way to establish conflict-free relations among nations leading to the strengthening of international security.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): As can be seen from the way in which the work at this session has proceeded, there is no issue at the present time of greater importance to mankind than that of preventing war, primarily nuclear war and preserving and strengthening peace in the world. In the disturbing international situation today, the need is greater than ever before to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

The first years following the adoption of that Declaration were years of hope. Following the agreements between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, confirming the inviolability of State frontiers, and the refusal to resort to force in relations between States, the Soviet Union and the United States then concluded important agreements on the limitation of arms and prevention of the danger of a nuclear war. Reference has also been made to the Helsinki Final Act which established the basis for a system for security and co-operation in Europe. This paved the way for fruitful co-operation between countries with different social systems.

Unfortunately, in the early 1980s, developments in international life took a turn for the worse. The imperialist forces, which then felt that the improvement in the international situation was a threat to their political and strategic positions, launched a broad-scale attack against détente. The countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), primarily the United States, indulged in a whole series of political actions designed to intensify confrontation with the socialist and other progressive and democratic States. Because of the policy of acquiring global military superiority of the current United States Administration, the arms race has entered a new and particularly dangerous phase.

As is known, the United States proceeded to create a new generation of nuclear weapons and strategic systems: for example, the MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, the B1 and Stealth bombers, the Midgetman mobile missiles, the Trident 2 submarine systems and a space-based anti-missile defence system of enormous proportions. Washington is building up its chemical weapons arsenal by adding new lethal binary weapons. In the laboratories of the Pentagon new, as yet unknown, weapons of mass destruction are being developed and there is also intensive work on the refinement of conventional weapons.

A particularly destabilizing factor was introduced into the international situation when United States medium-range Pershing 2 missiles began to be deployed, along with cruise missiles, in Western Europe very close to the countries of the socialist community. The deployment of these weapons demonstrates that the leading circles in NATO completely disregard the clearly expressed will of the peoples of Western Europe in adopting a policy directed towards breaking the nuclear balance and tipping it in their own favour and making practical preparations for a first nuclear strike against the socialist countries. The Government of my country published a declaration on this matter stating:

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

"The appearance of new United States missiles in Western Europe creates a completely different situation gravely increasing the dangers threatening the security of the socialist countries and peace in Europe and the world".

All of these destructive actions, far from contributing anything to the strengthening of international security, only serve to undermine very deeply the political, legal and moral bases underlying international relations

The achievement of true and complete security is a sacred purpose of mankind. The most urgent task in this area is the immediate halting of the arms race and the adoption of disarmament measures - primarily nuclear disarmament measures. Solving this problem is literally decisive and crucial for the survival of the human race. In this respect a particularly important role is played by the Soviet-American dialogue on limiting and reducing strategic arms, the results of which now depend on the sincere desire of the United States to reach an agreement based on equality and equal security.

We all witnessed the tremendous positive reception given recently to the idea of a mutual freeze on the strategic nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States as a first step towards their reduction. The international community rightly considered the idea of a freeze an effective prerequisite for a subsequent agreed reduction of nuclear weapons and a point of departure for true disarmament.

Through their many constructive proposals the socialist countries have time and again shown their sincere desire to eliminate the nuclear threat hovering over the world. The Soviet Union's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons was welcomed internationally. We urge the other nuclear Powers that have not yet followed its example to do so.

The provisions of the political declaration adopted at the meeting of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held on 5 January last in Prague, and the provisions of the documents of the meeting in Moscow on 28 June last and in Sofia on 14 October last constitute a considerable contribution to strengthening international security. All these documents have been issued as official documents of the United Nations, and representatives have already had an opportunity to consider them.

It is undeniable that improving the situation in Europe is a key condition for the strengthening of international peace and security. As I have just said, the current deployment of American medium-range missiles on the territory of certain Western European countries has sharply worsened the political climate on the

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

continent, and it is very dangerous to try to cover up, by artificial optimism, the true gravity of the situation.

However, we believe that it is still possible to find a way out. As has been emphasized many times during this debate, if the United States and the other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) return to the situation that prevailed before the new American missiles began to be deployed in Europe, the Soviet Union, true to its peace programme, will be willing to return to its earlier proposals on the question of limiting and reducing nuclear arms in Europe. In that event, efforts to reduce the military danger in Europe would once again rest on a good basis and have good prospects.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that the peoples of Europe sincerely desire the restoration of an atmosphere of trust and co-operation there. The Madrid meeting of the countries parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which ended this year, clearly showed that political reason continues to be a beneficial factor in international affairs. What was agreed at that meeting confirms again the fundamental truth that the difference between the social systems of States does not have to create insurmountable barriers when it comes to resolving the vital issues of safeguarding peace and preventing a devastating nuclear war.

While recognizing the paramount importance of the situation in Europe for world security, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is well aware of the explosive potential of various conflict situations in other parts of the world. The Bulgarian people has always expressed its solidarity with the just struggle of peoples subjected to aggression, colonial exploitation and foreign domination and humiliation. My delegation is convinced that the various disputes around the world can be resolved, however complex they may be, by peaceful means and on a just and lasting basis. However, if that is to be achieved a halt must be put to any attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of States and to stifle the right of peoples to self-determination and their right to decide for themselves on questions concerning their social system and their social development.

It is well-known that Washington's acts of aggression in Central America constitute not only a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of law and humanism but also a growing threat to international peace and security. A typical example was the United States intervention in Grenada.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

One of the most disturbing and burning issues of today is the problem of the Middle East. As the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held recently in Geneva, stated, what underlies this problem is:

"the denial by Israel, and those supporting its expansionist policies, of the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

(A/CONF.114/42, p. 1)

Tension in the region has been particularly intensified by the American-Israeli occupation of Lebanon, whereby an attempt is being made to establish a marshalling ground for the imperialist forces on the territory of that Arab country. The tension reached its height with the recent brutal acts of aggression by the United States against the Syrian Arab Republic. There is no doubt that the American bombing of the positions of the Syrian troops was only a first very significant expression of the new American-Israeli military-political agreement against the Arab countries, an agreement hammered out during the recent Reagan-Shamir meeting in Washington.

There are also many obstacles on the road to security and peaceful co-operation in South-East Asia. There has recently been a trend towards dialogue between the Indo-Chinese countries and those of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). This trend should be supported and encouraged.

The implementation of the United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace could have a beneficial influence on international developments in that region and throughout the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses its concern over the tactics of certain Western countries leading to the postponement time and again of the holding of a conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security raises the question of the final elimination of the after-effects of the infamous colonial system. A particularly pressing problem is the granting of independence to Namibia. It is imperative that certain States abandon their attempts to create artificial obstacles and that they abide by the spirit and the letter of United Nations decisions on the question. The actions of the racist régime of South Africa, encouraged by the same States, are a direct threat to international security.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

As a Balkan country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is vitally interested in peaceful and good-neighbourly relations in that part of Europe. We have on several occasions put forward various initiatives aimed at strengthening security in the area, including, for example, the proposal for the adoption of a code of good-neighbourly relations among all the Balkan States, the proposal for the declaration of the Balkans as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and many more. Since Bulgaria is also a maritime country located in immediate geographical proximity to the Mediterranean Sea, it sincerely aspires to the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean and is in favour of extending confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean, of an agreed reduction of armed forces in the region, of the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of ships carrying nuclear weapons, and of rejecting the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear-weapon States of the Mediterranean.

My country actively subscribes to the efforts of the international community to strengthen international security and to establish a climate of peace and fruitful co-operation among the peoples of our planet. In the spirit of that policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, along with other friendly countries, has sponsored at this session three draft resolutions dealing respectively with the World Disarmament Campaign, the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, and a halt to the arms race in the maritime environment. All those draft resolutions have just been adopted by the First Committee.

Our socialist concept of international security is based on the belief that there is a proportional and organic correlation between international security and disarmament and between international security and détente. The best and most viable way of guaranteeing the security of States is to halt the arms race, to implement measures to avert the threat of nuclear war, to restore and deepen détente and to settle disputes on a peaceful and equitable basis.

In the view of the Bulgarian delegation, there is no reasonable alternative to that option. The Charter of the United Nations calls on us all to join our efforts to preserve world peace, to strengthen international security and to save mankind and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Consideration at the present session of the General Assembly of the item on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is taking place in an extremely complex and difficult period for international

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

affairs. Events of recent days, particularly those involving the beginning of the deployment of United States medium-range nuclear weapons in some Western European countries, have very sharply highlighted the imperatives for the world today. These events have also highlighted the need for all States to join their efforts to preserve and strengthen international peace and security.

As was stated by the First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of Mongolia, Yumjagiin Tsedenbal, on 29 September last,

"In the present difficult situation there are, quite clearly, two approaches to problems of peace and war. The forces of imperialism - primarily the militaristic circles of the United States of America - are using their entire arsenal of means to whip up international tension, to intensify the spiraling arms race, and to increase confrontation in the world, so as to bring about a change in the strategic balance which would be to their benefit and so as to carry out their own imperial designs."

As Comrade Tsedenbal stressed, that policy is opposed by the active and constructive policy of the Soviet Union and of other countries in the socialist community. The efforts of the socialist countries are aimed at achieving the main tasks facing the world today: averting the nuclear threat, preserving general peace and curbing the most dangerous arms race.

It is almost superfluous to talk of the tremendous danger to international peace posed by recent events in Europe. In his statement of 26 November this year, our Head of State expressed his full support for the statement made by the Head of the Soviet State, Mr. Andropov, on 24 November, in which he outlined the firm position of principle of the Soviet Union and its unwavering determination to defend peace.

We note with satisfaction the willingness of the Soviet Union to return to its earlier proposals on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe if the United States and the other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) show a willingness to restore the situation which prevailed before the beginning of the deployment in Europe of United States medium-range missiles.

There cannot but be serious concern about reports that United States actions intended to achieve military supremacy are leading the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons in the same direction taken by the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. In these circumstances, we consider that



(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

the most urgent task of the day is to halt and reverse the present dangerous trend in the situation in Europe and throughout the world. In our view, this could be promoted by the conclusion of a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the one hand and the States members of NATO on the other hand, with such a treaty being open also to all other countries. The strengthening of mutual trust, which has been referred to so often of late, could be fostered by a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons - a commitment which has already been made by the Soviet Union.

The situation in Asia is extremely complex and tense. In that continent we see hotbeds of tension and armed conflicts, and that tension is on the increase. Enmity and distrust is being sown among the Asian States, which draws them into the vicious circle of the lethal arms race. Particularly dangerous is the deployment of United States medium-range missiles on various parts of the continent and in the waters surrounding it, which makes the threat of nuclear war an increasingly real one to Asia.

One of the deadly manifestations of this dangerous policy is the current sharp deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. Not only is the United States encouraging Israeli expansionism, but it has itself set forth on the path of direct armed intervention in the affairs of Lebanon and has begun to pursue an interventionist policy in the Middle East. This can be seen, inter alia, in the growing military pressure against Syria. We consider that a solution to the Middle East problem would be promoted by the holding as soon as possible of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The situation in South-East Asia too is difficult. There, imperialist and hegemonist forces are attempting to attain their own narrowly selfish ends by pitting one State against another. Attempts continue to set the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) onto a military path.

We are also seeing increasingly open militaristic trends, to such a point that a nuclear marshalling ground is being established for aggressive actions in Asia and the Far East.

An end must be put to intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and it must be allowed to take its rightful seat here in the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Republic considers the new initiatives

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

advanced in February this year at the Vientiane meeting of the three Indo-Chinese countries to be a positive and timely step designed to reduce tension in South-East Asia and to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding and the development of co-operation between the two groups of State.

An improvement of the situation in Asia would be promoted by a swift settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. Such a settlement can and must be achieved, taking account of the well-known and constructive proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981 by the Government of Afghanistan.

Particularly relevant today is the intensification of the struggle for the withdrawal of United States troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea and for the unification of the country on a peaceful and democratic basis. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the efforts exerted by the Korean people in their just struggle.

The situation in Asia urgently requires an intensification and unification of the efforts of the Asian States to preserve peace and security in Asia and to strengthen mutual understanding, trust and co-operation among the States there. A specific manifestation of such efforts was the proposal made by our country in May 1981 for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. The main purpose of our initiative is to rule out aggression and the use of force in inter-State relations - in this specific case, in the Asian and Pacific region - and to promote the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. We proceed from the basis of our conviction that putting into convention form the principle of the non-use of force in relations between States of the region is one of the most important prerequisites for establishing and laying a good foundation for security in Asia.

The region of Central America and the Caribbean has been the object of increasing attempts by the United States to crush the forces of national and social liberation. The open armed aggression by the United States against Grenada showed once again Washington's complete contempt for the right of peoples to self-determination. It was a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and of the universally recognized rules of international law.

The Mongolian People's Republic advocates the immediate implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Namibia, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We strongly support the just struggle of the Namibian people, under

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), for their freedom and independence.

In the Mongolian People's Republic we learned with great concern of the declaration by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus of the establishment of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the island. This separatist action is contrary to the true, basic interests of the Cypriot people and contradicts the relevant decisions of the United Nations. It is fraught with danger to peace and security in that region. The Mongolian People's Republic continues to oppose any kind of dismemberment of the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. We are in favour of the immediate and just settlement of the Cyprus problem through constructive negotiations between the interested parties.

In conditions where international tensions are once again being whipped up, strong and determined efforts and practical action by all the peace-loving forces are required in order to halt the adventuristic and senseless actions of those who oppose détente and disarmament. Here the United Nations can and should make a real contribution. We note with satisfaction the important decisions that have been taken by the First Committee at this session of the General Assembly. The declaration condemning nuclear war, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the resolution on a freeze of nuclear weapons, and many other resolutions have to a large extent helped to focus the attention of the international community on the most vital issues confronting the world today.

Mr. BHURGARI (Pakistan): I propose to offer brief comments this morning on the question of international security. For more than six weeks this Committee discussed the problems of disarmament, and representatives of many countries expressed their deep and profound concern about the arms race and in particular the nuclear arms race, which continues unabated. The growing possibility of an eventual nuclear conflagration has raised the spectre of human annihilation and global devastation. The danger of war has always been a major concern of mankind throughout history. But the threat of nuclear war has unfortunately introduced a qualitatively new and frightening element into our collective fear of armed conflicts. For that reason the arms race, which increases the possibilities of a global conflagration, this time likely to be marked by the use of nuclear weapons, has rightly evoked our deep fear and anxious concern.

(Mr. Bhurgari, Pakistan)

The arms race, however, is not an entirely autonomous phenomenon following its own independent dynamics. It is as much the product of a certain environment, the environment of uncertainty and fear. Disarmament, which is an imperative need, cannot in itself suffice to transform the environment of fear into one of peace and tranquillity. In our view, what is absolutely necessary for the attainment of durable and lasting international peace is the observance of the United Nations Charter and adherence to the principles enshrined in it. Both the attainment of meaningful disarmament and respect for the United Nations Charter would, together, transform this world into a safer place to live in. In this light, therefore, it is important for us not only to plead for nuclear and eventually conventional disarmament but, equally, to emphasize the enforcement of a régime of international peace and security as contained in the United Nations Charter.

It is a matter of grave concern that the world situation has taken a turn for the worse during the last few years. The deterioration in the relations between the major Powers, the exacerbation of various conflicts and disputes in the Middle East, Africa, Indo-China, the continued military intervention in Afghanistan and the failure of the United Nations General Assembly's special session on disarmament in 1982 have increased insecurity and tension, especially for the small and weak States which are most vulnerable to external threats against their security and territorial integrity.

Pakistan is a non-aligned country which is firmly committed to the objectives and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, that is, respect for the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. It jealously guards its own independence and territorial integrity and as the President of Pakistan has reiterated, just a few days ago, it will not permit any foreign military presence on its territory. Pakistan fully supports the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter as the basis for relations amongst States. It also feels that their proper observance would create the right environment for peaceful and co-operative inter-State relations. In such an environment the prospects of and progress in the attainment of disarmament would also increase considerably. The entire process would lead to the elimination of fear and the establishment of durable structures of peace and security.

(Mr. Bhurgari, Pakistan)

Pakistan believes that the United Nations Charter, based on the concept of collective security and the machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes that it has created, must be respected and utilized by all the Member States with a greater sense of commitment in these difficult times, when the international political and security climate is so frighteningly unstable. For small and medium Powers the moral authority of the United Nations provides the only viable assurance for their security.

It is our view that the big Powers also would find the reposing of confidence in the United Nations system more reassuring than a feverish stockpiling of weapons and armaments. We must realize that all countries, big or small, have much to gain from the observance of and respect for the United Nations and the principles and purposes of the Charter. Unless there is universal recognition of the principle of equality and common security, respect for the territorial integrity of States and scrupulous observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, there can be no lasting peace and security in the world.

For its part, Pakistan is sincerely pursuing the objective of creating a durable structure of peace and stability in its region on the basis of these principles. It has advanced several proposals to promote a system of security which would reassure all the States of the region, big and small. It has also proposed the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. Moreover, in order to ensure that the non-nuclear-weapon States in our region and elsewhere are assured against nuclear threats or blackmail, Pakistan has suggested that the security assurances extended to these States should be strengthened.

For the past many years resolutions based on these two proposals have been adopted by the General Assembly. These resolutions have received the support of a large number of developing and non-aligned countries. In the context of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region, Pakistan has suggested the establishment of a viable system of security to reassure States against threats from within the region, together with steps to eliminate the presence of the great Powers. Pakistan considers that the fulfilment of these proposals would be an important contribution to peace and security in the world.

(Mr. Bhurgari, Pakistan)

It is incumbent on the countries of the third world, with their common affiliation to the principles of world peace based on justice and equality, to work actively for the establishment of a more democratic world order, in both political and economic relations among States. Pakistan has contributed actively towards this end and has co-operated for the purpose with other third world countries. Progress towards this objective will, however, continue to be limited as long as those States which today possess the greater power and wealth persist in their efforts to perpetuate the present unequal world order.

The time has come to alter the prevailing situation, to abandon the use or threat of use of force in international relations, to seek security through disarmament and, above all, to make concerted efforts towards the establishment of a world order based on justice and equity among States.

Motivated by these ideas and views, my delegation sincerely hopes that the present discussion of the question of strengthening international security would help engender a renewed commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, which in our view provide the only basis for bringing about durable world peace and stability.

Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Consideration at this session of the United Nations General Assembly of the various items on the agenda has shown quite clearly the serious concern of the international community over the deteriorating situation in the world and the increase in the danger of a nuclear war. This most dreadful threat hanging over the world requires that all countries take a sober and responsible approach, in the interests of the entire human race, and primarily by the adoption of urgent measures for a radical improvement in the international situation, a halt in the arms race, a move towards disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and the strengthening of international security.

However, instead of this we are coming up against the senseless policy of Washington, designed for confrontation and an exacerbation of existing conflicts and the creation of new international conflicts. Claiming the role of world policeman, the United States is increasingly openly pursuing a policy from a position of force, and of gross intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States. The United States President has declared a crusade against socialism and all progressive forces. Bringing ideological contradictions into inter-State relations, the United States is thereby undermining the basis for peaceful

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

coexistence and international security and is destabilizing the situation throughout the world.

The particular danger of this policy is that, in this nuclear age, the policy of these new Crusaders threatens to turn into a catastrophe for the entire human race. The threat of nuclear war has increased particularly sharply as a result of the beginning of the deployment in Western Europe of the new United States missiles. Disregarding the wishes of the European peoples and the realities of the nuclear age, the United States is wildly trying to establish a qualitatively new military and strategic situation in Europe and deploying, at the borders of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, weapons designed for a first nuclear strike. The socialist countries cannot stand idly by doing nothing when faced with this real and direct threat to their security and are forced to take the necessary measures to defend their own security.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have for a number of years now insistently urged that such a new and dangerous spiral of the arms race should not be allowed. At the Geneva talks the Soviet Union has put forward one initiative after another calling for agreement so as fully to free Europe of nuclear medium-range tactical weapons and also to lower the level of nuclear confrontation, on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security. However, throughout these years at the talks in Geneva the United States has simply tried to gain time to deploy its new missiles and has been stubbornly putting forward in various forums the single demand for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union, which is of course completely devoid of any sense whatsoever. However, we believe that the world can still avoid this deadly danger if those who are pushing mankind to the brink in this dangerous arms race will now abandon such absurd calculations about military superiority and proceed towards co-operation to strengthen international peace and security.

As was emphasized in the joint statement of the socialist countries participating in the meeting held in Moscow on 28 June of this year, in the present circumstances it is imperative to take urgent measures to avert the threat of war and to turn world events in the right direction, towards detente and an improvement in inter-State relations.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

The adoption by the First Committee last week of such important documents as those on the declaration condemning nuclear war, the freezing of nuclear weapons, the banning of nuclear-weapon tests and other issues relating to disarmament convincingly shows that the overwhelming majority of States advocate urgent, realistic and practical measures to avert the threat of war and to reduce armaments. Those who so stubbornly oppose the adoption of such resolutions should now heed the voice of reason and join in these united efforts to defend and strengthen international peace and security. The strengthening and implementation of the declarations require the elimination of hotbeds of military conflict, reducing the level of confrontation and tension in various parts of the world and ending the policy of diktat and intervention in the internal affairs of States.

Recently there has been a marked exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East, the reason for this being the new Israeli aggression and the subsequent intervention by the United States and other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with the use of military force, in the internal affairs of Lebanon. Having imposed a cabal-like anti-Arab agreement with Israel on Lebanon, which has been firmly rejected by a majority of the Lebanese and the Arab countries, the United States is now trying to use national patriotic forces of Lebanon and occupy the country. This has in fact turned into a real tragedy for the Lebanese people and also for Lebanon as a State. If Washington earlier tried to achieve its goals in the Middle East by using the Israeli aggressors, it has now openly sent into Lebanon United States Marines and is moving into military action against other Arab States.

The tragedy in Lebanon and the continuing aggression by Israel against the Arab States have once again most urgently raised the question of the need to resolve the Palestinian problem swiftly, not through anti-Arab deals behind the scenes but through a comprehensive Middle East settlement. The way to a lasting peace in the Middle East involves collective efforts on the part of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; this goal would be served by the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

Unfortunately, the Middle East is not the only hotbed of military conflict. The interventionist activities of the United States in Lebanon form only part of the general militaristic policy of the United States, which has elevated international terrorism and subversive activities to the level of State policy and



(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

is using gunboat diplomacy. It is also making bandit-like attacks on small, peace-loving non-aligned countries, a primary example of which is Grenada. The tragedy of Grenada shows that the United States is increasingly making use of its weapons and military power against small, defenceless, non-aligned States.

As a result of the aggressive policy of the United States, a very dangerous situation has developed in Central America and the Caribbean. In this region the United States is openly trying to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua and to crush the liberation struggle of the patriots in El Salvador. Even United States officials and the United States Congress do not hide the fact that there is an undeclared war being waged against Nicaragua, the purpose of which is to force the Nicaraguan people to abandon the path they have chosen and to submit to United States diktat - this despite the fact that the Government of Nicaragua has quite frequently, even in the past few days, made constructive and specific proposals opening the way to a normalization of the situation in Central America. The Ukrainian SSR firmly opposes intervention by the United States in the sovereign affairs of the States of Central America and declares its unwavering solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of that region for their independent and free development.

There is hardly any part of the world which, no matter how many thousands of miles away it is from United States borders, has not been declared a United States zone of vital interests - or, rather, hegemonistic interest - where American military bases would be established, making a sort of band around the whole world and surrounding the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community on all sides.

In all the efforts that should be made by the United Nations in the interests of peace and the implementation of the Declaration, an important role undoubtedly belongs to actions to eliminate the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The international community continues to be deeply concerned over the situation in southern Africa and in many small colonial territories, in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean. The Ukrainian SSR strongly supports the demands of the majority of States for the application by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is essential to force the Pretoria régime to put an end to its abysmal practice of apartheid, to halt its aggression against neighbouring independent African States and to grant independence to Namibia.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to draw attention to the increasing tension in the Korean peninsula, which is also related to the hegemonistic policy of the United States and to the continuing and expanding United States military presence there. We consider it our duty to declare our solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the democratic reunification of its homeland without any intervention from outside and for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea.

There are many other international conflicts that call for a peaceful solution, because they are poisoning the political atmosphere of the world and making it difficult to normalize the international situation. If we are to achieve the purposes of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the United Nations must take specific measures to resolve these conflicts by peaceful means and to avert the outbreak of new hotbeds of tension. Particularly important to the cause of peace and the enhancement of the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding among peoples would be the implementation of the proposal made by the socialist countries on concluding an agreement between the States parties to the Warsaw Pact and the NATO States on the non-use of force in relations between them.

Although this measure is of particular relevance today in the situation in Europe, with the nuclear threat hanging over it, the United States and its allies continue to avoid responding to this initiative of the socialist countries.

In conclusion, the Ukrainian delegation would like to emphasize that the continuing dangerous deterioration in the international situation requires the most urgent measures to return to normal relations between States and bring about co-operation in resolving key international problems. It is only by taking this path - the path of peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament - and not by taking the path of confrontation and attempts to obtain military supremacy, that we shall be able to avoid slipping down the path towards the nuclear abyss. There is still time for this and we must not waste that time and lose the chance. Hence, as the instrument for the maintenance of peace, the responsibility of the United Nations increases. The resolution of the General Assembly on this item must be oriented towards specific and realistic collective measures to resolve the key issues of the world today - averting the nuclear threat and strengthening peace and international security.

The CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Committee wishes to make an announcement, and I now call on him.

Mr. RATHORE (Secretary of the Committee): I should like to inform the Committee that the delegations of Cyprus, Ecuador and Indonesia have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.83/Rev.1.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.