



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67 TO 69 AND 143 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): My country attaches great importance to the deliberations of the First Committee at this stage, which is the third and last of its programme of work, devoted to consideration of agenda items 67 to 69 and 143, on ways and means of achieving and strengthening peace and security in the world and deepening the foundations of international co-operation in all its aspects. We hope that our deliberations and resolutions this year, when we are on the threshold of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, will be a tangible and positive contribution to the progress of our march towards the achievement of the lofty principles and goals clearly etched in the Charter of this Organization, the foremost of which are the preservation of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations between nations and peoples, the realization and consolidation of international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields and the strengthening and safeguarding of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of all, without discrimination on the basis of race, language or religion.

The quest for peace and security and for closer co-operation and understanding in contemporary international relations should be accorded extremely high priority by the entire international community. The United Nations, through its main and subsidiary organs and through the specialized agencies, should redouble its efforts to achieve concrete results in this regard.

The international arena, as stressed by various speakers before the General Assembly during the general debate at this session, has been unceasingly fraught in the last few years with conflict, tension and instability, marked by a lack of confidence and good faith. This has not affected the great Powers alone, but has extended to include a large number of developing countries in many parts of the world.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

The international scene is also marked by a frightening slowing down in nations' rates of economic and social growth and development. This decline is aggravated by the squandering of large sums of money on the arms race at all levels, especially on very costly nuclear weapons. It has also been worsened in many parts of the world, especially on our continent, Africa, by natural disasters - drought, desertification and the creation of large numbers of refugees.

The deteriorating international situation is reflected in the present wars, acts of aggression and recourse to the use of force or the threat of force by nations and in foreign interference in the internal affairs of other countries, as well as in the proliferation of conspiracy, intrigue and sabotage and the training and assistance given to dissenting and divisive elements, both covertly and overtly. This is coupled with the concern caused by the feverish efforts of certain small and poor countries to acquire all kinds of weapons, many times more than they need for their self-defence. This expensive spiralling of arms purchases is carried out with no regard for the negative implications of such policies and practices for neighbouring countries and regions and for the attendant dangers and threats that impel those other countries, of necessity, to pursue the same path of acquiring means of destruction, instead of devoting their energies and abilities to development and reconstruction. It is most regrettable that all those grave practices should occur and worsen despite the existence of the United Nations and its resolutions, and when all of us in every international forum repeat our commitment to the Charter and to other international instruments, laws, declarations and norms.

There is no doubt that the serious work of achieving international peace and security in the face of the present international developments and realities requires a rational and strong political will, with realization of the great dangers to all countries and peoples if practices contravening the Charter and international law are allowed to continue.

The technological and scientific breakthroughs made by man in the past few decades has made the world a global village, where distances have shrunk considerably just as the destinies and interests of peoples have become closely interlinked in an unprecedented manner. This reality and common destiny make it incumbent upon us, on the basis of the logic of common interest, to grapple in a spirit of solidarity with all the economic and social issues disturbing the

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

international arena today. We must co-operate in finding suitable solutions if we indeed desire improved world peace and security and stability, in the interests of all countries and peoples.

Urgent and effective measures - individual, regional and international - are needed to ward off the danger posed by the serious practices and phenomena affecting international relations before it is too late. In our view, to prevent a worsening of the international situation, there are no urgent and effective measures to compare with a full commitment to the Charter, in both word and deed, and the implementation of resolutions on the preservation of peace and security adopted by the main and subsidiary organs of the United Nations - primarily, the Security Council.

Needless to say, the security and peace of peoples are compromised by the persistence of hotbeds of tension and conflict in the Middle East, caused by the aggressive, expansionist policies and practices of Israel and its refusal to comply with the international will; in southern Africa, owing to the practices and policies of the racist minority Government, and its insistence on applying a system of discrimination based on race; that Government's occupation of Namibia; and what is going on in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Gulf, the Horn of Africa, Korea, Central America, the Caribbean and other explosive areas. The persistence of those hotbeds also jeopardizes the life of peoples and their development in independence and sovereignty, with control over their own natural resources.

The only way to deal with those genuine dangers is for the Security Council to assume its important, main role, as defined by the Charter and agreed upon by the international community, in the maintenance of world peace and security. The members of the Council are collectively and severally responsible for the preservation of world peace and security, which makes it incumbent upon them all - especially the five permanent members - to work seriously and effectively, using all the means and methods defined by the Charter, to control those serious developments and to defuse them before they explode and engulf everyone. That should be done in preparation for finding peaceful, just solutions. We do not think that the Security Council can make serious efforts unless there is complete and sincere co-operation between the major countries, the permanent members, and unless that co-operation is based on the common interests of all peoples and

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nations in security, peace, stability and progress, unaffected by narrow national interests and ideological considerations.

We associate ourselves with what the Secretary-General has said in this respect in his three annual reports to the General Assembly at the thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions. We hope that the continuing efforts and good offices missions aimed at revitalizing this important international body will soon be successful and fruitful.

I do not need to over-emphasize my country's belief in the important role played by the United Nations in international relations or my country's unstinting commitment to the Charter and all its lofty purposes and principles. We are at all times guided by our firm commitment to it, and our faith in it, in planning our foreign policy and in conducting our internal and external relations, particularly in the fields of co-operation and integration with our neighbours, in our common interest.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

We advocate and sincerely work for observance of the policy of good-neighbourliness, notwithstanding differences in political and social systems, and for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States of the world and the inadmissibility of interference in their internal affairs. We call for the renunciation of the use or threat of force and for a halt to all kinds of aggression, conspiracy and overt and covert coercion designed to compromise the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, as well as for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We shall spare no effort to expand, through all means possible, the opportunities for fruitful co-operation in all fields with all friendly States, and especially with neighbouring States, in favour of our common benefit and to expand the bases of security, peace and stability that are indispensable if our region is to continue its progress and development. Our efforts, together with those of our neighbours, will continue. They have met with tangible and positive results, in spite of the many obstacles put in our paths as a result of the paucity of our resources and the lack of assistance, as well as the weak infrastructures in our own country and in those of our neighbours. These obstacles are increased by the negative effects of the international economic crisis and such natural disasters as drought, desertification and large numbers of refugees and displaced persons.

We are confident that such regional interdependence, integration and co-operation among States is the only way to create a climate that will be propitious for peace, security and stability. We hope that the international community represented in this Organization and in its specialized agencies will make a suitable contribution and provide all the necessary assistance and support to enable it to fulfil a realistic and practical role in bringing about security, peace, stability and progress in the world.

In concluding this brief statement, the Sudanese delegation wishes to express its gratification at the efforts that have been exerted for some time now by the members of the Security Council to conduct more consultations and discussions on ways to enable the Council to assume its responsibilities as set forth in the Charter. Those efforts are reflected in the reports of the Council President in documents S/15971 of 12 September 1983 and S/16760 of 28 September 1984. We hope that these valuable consultations and studies will continue and succeed in restoring the ability and effectiveness that body requires for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The maintenance of international peace and security is a primary goal of the United Nations. Indeed, the system of collective security is a basic element in the Charter.

Nevertheless, the evolution in world political conditions since the San Francisco Conference has contributed to the deterioration of the system of collective security. This has been the case not merely because of the consolidation of opposing blocs. Of equal influence in this process has been the tendency for controversies, conflicts and situations of a regional or even local character to become part of global tensions and confrontations, leaving them bound up with such larger conflicts and dependent upon factors that had nothing to do with them.

This has fostered the resurgence and persistence of many regional conflicts, almost endemic in nature, for which no solution is in sight. Indeed, it is in the developing world that the most dramatic outbreaks of hostilities and war have occurred.

Of course, such a state of affairs is unsatisfactory in that the system of collective security does not fully operate. There is a growing feeling on all sides that the United Nations must work more effectively and more decisively.

It would be naive to think that tensions and mistrust among Powers can be eliminated overnight. It is necessary to work patiently, and the super-Powers bear the main responsibility in this regard.

However, without depending solely on the course which this process is taking, it is possible to imagine actions and measures that can improve things, resulting above all in a greater measure of security for the less powerful States. In this connection the imaginative ideas put forward by the Secretary-General in his annual reports indicate a path that must be closely followed.

The Security Council is clearly the crux of the issue. Indeed, while problems continue to exist among members of the Council certain kinds of action by the Council will probably be impossible. It should nevertheless not inhibit certain other basic measures to halt conflicts and prevent them from spreading. The primary responsibility of safeguarding the peace should at all times be undiminished. One way of achieving this could be through prior agreement among members of the Council, who would decide in advance on certain cases that call for Council intervention with a list of the minimum measures to be adopted in such cases in order to preserve the peace.

(Mr. Blanco, Uruguay)

From another point of view, the Council could make greater use of the powers entrusted to it under Chapter VI of the Charter in working actively towards the peaceful settlement of disputes. In this connection the Council could steer such disputes towards a settlement before they proved impossible to control. This preventive function of the Council could be supplemented by its early investigation of disputes and the systematic consideration of situations that might endanger the peace.

Pursuant to Article 99 of the Charter, the Secretary-General could make a very effective contribution by bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which may threaten international peace and security. He could also contribute by submitting fact-finding reports to the Council and, in relevant cases, by playing an active part through his good offices.

With regard to the General Assembly, the valuable efforts made to achieve adoption of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes should now be continued and supplemented with other measures. For example, it would be interesting to explore ways of linking together the measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes contained in that document and to establish a time sequence for them in order to foster early solutions and ensure that States have available to them a whole range of possible peaceful procedures.

In the light of the agreement reached in the Manila Declaration we should consider the formulation of an international convention in this area similar to the one that exists in the inter-American system known as the Bogota Pact. Such an instrument would create among its parties a binding system for the settlement of disputes and conflicts. It would thus represent a major step towards the consolidation of peaceful solutions and the strengthening of international law.

(Mr. Blanco, Uruguay)

Peace-keeping operations and military observers constitute a keystone for the consolidation of security. The decisions of United Nations bodies should more frequently be accompanied by such mechanisms in order to create conditions for trust and tranquillity. The investigation of facts in the field should be conducted by military experts. The provisions of the Charter relating to these issues should be fully implemented.

To sum up, even though one is obliged realistically to recognize the existence of world-wide tensions and confrontations, nevertheless it is possible to expand the area of international security. To do this it is necessary to have solid political backing from the community of nations. Undoubtedly this is the appropriate forum for raising the matter. I think that Member States could encourage the Security Council, the Secretary-General and of course the General Assembly to work in that direction, with steps such as those suggested and similar measures.

The system of collective security foreseen in the Charter cannot be considered merely from a legal point of view. The capacity of the system to preserve international security is closely related to other factors, such as the general political situation, negotiations on disarmament and the credibility of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its purposes.

Accordingly, my delegation wishes to state that it is advisable, and indeed necessary, for the work of the United Nations in this and other areas to be better co-ordinated, without prejudice to the specific nature of those activities. I refer in particular to disarmament, security, the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and peace-keeping operations. It is possible to attempt to achieve a co-ordinated programme of measures in these areas which, taken together, would lead to progress in the general security situation, particularly to relieve pressures and uncertainties afflicting a large number of developing countries which wish to see themselves free from world tensions.

The major Powers bear the major responsibility here. This relates both to their reciprocal relations and to their projection of those to other areas and the linking of such tensions to regional or local conflicts or disputes.

The starting point for progress in this area should be a minimum agreement to enable the Security Council to act in the manner I have described.

(Mr. Blanco, Uruguay)

World public opinion could at the same time come to play an important role, emphasizing the need strictly to respect the norms of the Charter and generally calling on Governments to comply fully with international law, with particular stress on the principles of non-intervention and self-determination. Full compliance with these two principles constitutes the most effective and concrete way of promoting international peace and security. Consistent with the unswerving tradition of Uruguay, my delegation reaffirms its adherence to international law and expresses the firm conviction that only through strict compliance with it is it possible to create a climate of lasting peace.

Mr. WAHAB (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The discussion of the items which the First Committee is now considering provides us with an opportunity to focus our attention on the security situation in the world. For several years there has been a constant increase in international tension, which has led to an escalation of the arms race, particularly as concerns nuclear weapons. That is why man had to create murderous weapons and surround himself with an enormous quantity of weapons sufficient to destroy the planet entirely. All of that results from the disregard which is shown for the terrible negative consequences of this phenomenon for the lives of the peoples and the future of mankind.

Any responsible approach to solving the problem of international security must have as its starting point the fact that the most important problems of our century are preventing war and bringing about disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. That is why efforts to strengthen international peace and security must be based on radical measures to halt and reverse the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, and to reduce the arms stockpiles in the world. In this context, we must not forget that disarmament is linked in a complementary way with the theory of collective security and that the argument against the arms race is not only the fact that it could lead to war but also the fact that it is swallowing up enormous sums and resources, thus threatening the economic stability which is so necessary for peace in the world. As the founding fathers of the United Nations rightly stated in Article 26 of the Charter, there should be the "least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources".

It is obvious that efforts to halt and reverse the nuclear and conventional arms race must be speeded up for there can be no international security in the absence of progress towards genuine disarmament under effective international control. Such progress cannot be achieved without an effective international

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

security system based on the principles of the Charter and international confidence-building. The safeguarding of international peace involves positive action to achieve political, economic and social conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and to enabling each State to live in security. There can be no doubt that such a sense of international security would lead to improved relations among States and provide the necessary conditions for mutual co-operation.

Today the world finds itself in an acute crisis. It is not only a crisis of confidence but one of expectation and is clearly apparent throughout the world in the state of the world economy, which is deteriorating, and of international security and peace in the world.

The world economy is at a crossroads which affects the state of peace and security in the world and it is influenced by that state of affairs.

The disequilibria inherent in an essentially unjust system have increased as a result of the growth crisis, to which a whole series of factors have contributed; that has led to increased tension and the risk of collapse. That is why it has become necessary to restructure North-South relations, on the basis of a political and economic concept which takes mutual interests as the starting point for the effort to establish a new international economic order under which all States can endeavour to achieve development goals in a manner consistent with their possibilities and national priorities, as well as their political goals.

Security in the developing countries, as well as the developed countries, depends on their ability to realize their full development potential in conditions of peace. Thus, it cannot be denied that poverty and foreign economic control, political instability and the impossibility of achieving development goals are not compatible with security. For this reason, the Secretary-General has clearly indicated in his report that the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality and justice has become more urgent.

We remain convinced that peace is indivisible and that the security which makes it flourish, progress and endure must be achieved within this framework and must be sought in a collective effort. National security cannot be lasting so long as we do not seek to achieve it as an integral part of international security, that is to say that a given State cannot remain isolated and that its security can be ensured only within the framework of a stable climate and in the context of international security.

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

I shall speak of the concept of collective security, the causes of the present situation and the fact that it has so far been impossible to implement the provisions of the United Nations Charter efficiently and effectively.

The Charter places all coercive measures under the control of the Security Council by giving it the authority to determine who the aggressor is. The Council could mobilize the military forces which the Members of the Organization must make available to it in accordance with Articles 39 to 50 of the Charter.

Aware of certain gaps in the Charter, Egypt has participated in the Committee charged with revising it. It does not provide an ideal system for achieving collective security. The Charter assigns no priority to the agreed provision by States of the military units responsible for enforcing United Nations decisions. Therefore, the Charter offers no guarantee that disarmament and peaceful change, which are the two necessary conditions for collective security, can be brought about. But what is most important is that the Charter lays down the rule of unanimity among the major Powers in the Security Council.

The adoption of that text clearly reflects the determination not to try to find a system of collective security applicable to the major States, those which have the greatest power to threaten the security of other States. The effectiveness of the power given to the Security Council to take decisions is very restricted in view of the ability of the major States to thwart its resolutions. That is completely at variance with the requirements of the principle of collective security, which requires that States be given the right to count on the certain and assured support of the collectivity in opposing aggression and that the aggressors be subject to the opposition of the international community. These rules must be applied to all aggressors and victims without partiality.

In his two annual reports of 1980 and 1983 the Secretary-General questions the extent of the Security Council's obligation to defend anything other than the interests of its members. In 1983 the Secretary-General's report was notable for its extreme clarity when it stated:

"The Charter of the United Nations clearly gives priority to dealing with threats to international peace and security and to the commitment of all nations, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to co-operate within the framework of the United Nations towards this end. It is the weakening of this commitment that has, perhaps more than any other factor, led to the partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security." (A/38/1, p. 1)

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

Some have replied that pacts are one of the forms taken by the collective security system. But we see that pacts are a selective system based on the principle of some for some, whereas collective security embodies the concept of all for all. And that is what is required and must be brought about by the international community in the present state of international tension. To this end, the members of the Security Council, in a memorandum to the President of the Council, affirmed after unofficial consultations among themselves that:

"The primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as its responsibility for the prevention of international conflicts, and the Council's corresponding powers and functions under the Charter, were also emphasized." (S/16760)

The 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has clearly defined the relation between international security and disarmament on the one hand and disarmament and development on the other hand. The provisions of the Charter form the basic source material for the 1970 Declaration.

It should be pointed out, although it is repetitive, that the General Assembly in paragraph 1 of the Declaration:

"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)

Egypt is determined to see the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security implemented fully. that means respect for all the provisions of the Declaration since its objective can be realized only by implementing its provisions and doing so simultaneously. Egypt believes that we should not accept the present tense situation in international affairs.

My delegation would like to recall the suggestion which Egypt made during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and which shows the importance of making a serious assessment of the international political system and the role of the United Nations and its effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security. We request all countries to take account of the contents of Paragraphs 16 and 136 of the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, particularly:

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

"While the recent meetings between the two major Powers have generated some hope, the resumption of dialogue must be sustained and lead to a general relaxation of tension. They stressed that détente in order to be durable should be universal, cover all regions, address all issues and be open to participation of all States. The Non-Aligned Countries, on their part, were willing to make a positive contribution in this regard." (A/39/560, para. 136)

My delegation welcomes the announcement of the resumption of the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning disarmament at the beginning of January 1985. We hope that this encouraging trend will continue and will take the form of agreements on nuclear disarmament and on arms limitation, covering medium-range weapons, strategic nuclear weapons and weapons which can be used in outer space.

Egypt, which is situated at the heart of the Arab world, constitutes the link between Asia and the rest of the world, is located on the southern shore of the Mediterranean and is thus linked with Europe, welcomes the inclusion of the question of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in our Committee's agenda. We also welcome the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/39/517.

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

Egypt attaches particular importance to strengthening security and co-operation in this region and it participated in the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Valletta in September 1984. We affirm once again this year that the region's security encompasses the security of the neighbouring regions and that of the world as a whole. Thus we believe that the Middle East problem still constitutes a serious threat to peace and security, at both the regional and the international levels, since Israel is pursuing a policy of aggression, expansion and occupation.

We affirm yet again that the problem of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem and that, without a solution to that problem, just and lasting peace cannot be established in the region. Thus, the Palestinian people must be enabled to exercise its inalienable rights, including its right to self-determination, without outside interference, and its right to set up an independent Palestinian State, under the direction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative. We also demand the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon. We condemn all the actions and practices of the Israeli occupation forces aimed at expelling the inhabitants of this region and the usurpation of its resources. We condemn the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and other Arab territories and the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Egypt and the fraternal Mediterranean littoral countries aspire to peace through the establishment of law and justice and we wish to support co-operation and security in this region. We oppose expansionist policies, recourse to force, foreign occupation and the denial of the inalienable national rights of all peoples. The prolongation of the current situation in the Middle East and in Lebanon is without doubt fraught with harmful consequences for security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

Egypt has worked to reduce tension in the region and in the world and has taken an initiative in advocating the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. For the first time, the First Commission has this year adopted a decision concerning the establishment of the zone, giving the Secretary-General of the United Nations a role to play in this regard. The resolution has confirmed the essential role of the United Nations in the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and in operative paragraph 6 request the Secretary-General to seek the views of all concerned parties regarding the establishment of the zone.

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

The policy of force and the establishment of spheres of influence always fan existing hotbeds of tension and create new ones. The list of crises in the world, apart from that in the Middle East and in Lebanon, is long and they threaten international peace and security.

The problem of Cyprus has still not been resolved and constitutes a serious obstacle to the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean. An equitable solution must therefore be found to the problem of Cyprus, guaranteeing its national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status.

The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria continues and jeopardizes peace and security throughout the region of southern Africa. Egypt asks for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains a United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia based on the cessation of all acts of aggression by all parties and free and fair elections.

The solution of complicated problems in the Middle East region, in Africa and in Central America would contribute significantly to the promotion of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

As to the Indian Ocean, Egypt, together with the littoral and hinterland countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, expresses its disappointment that the convening of the Conference has been postponed until 1986. Egypt confirms its support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We have worked together with the non-aligned countries members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to draw up a draft provisional agenda for the Conference as a first positive step towards the desired goal.

In speaking of international security, we mean essentially the taking of measures at the regional level also for the promotion of international peace and security. We support the role of the regional organizations in the search for a better guaranteed and universally acceptable peace. At the same time, we believe that the use of force at the regional level jeopardizes international security. Therefore, in order to realize the ultimate objectives of security, the international community should overcome the obstacles to security at the regional level. If the international community does not make the necessary effort to support the right of countries which are not living in security and in peace, it will never be able to achieve the final objective, which is the strengthening of international peace and security.

(Mr. Wahab, Egypt)

It is high time to accept the fact that the United Nations is the only instrument which can save us from anarchy and war. We must make greater efforts to find specific measures which could strengthen confidence in the United Nations and enhance its credibility, particularly that of the Security Council. The permanent members of the Security Council should accept the idea that their responsibility with regard to international peace and security is a collective and individual one. They are responsible before all the countries Members of the Organization and before the international community as a whole for the use they make of the authority which is given to them.

In conclusion, the non-aligned countries invite the permanent members of the Security Council not to submit the role of the United Nations to a crisis of confidence, particularly as regards the accomplishment of its essential responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In their Communiqué last October, the non-aligned countries fully recognized the need to strengthen the United Nations to make it an instrument capable of fulfilling its primary mission of maintaining international peace and security.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The First Committee is at present discussing the agenda items relating to the strengthening of international peace and security. It is appropriate that this Committee should take this opportunity to identify and emphasize each year the threats to international peace and security that represent a violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations, which was established following the Second World War to put an end to the scourge to which peoples had been subjected and to maintain international peace and security, is today being subjected to great shocks by those who seek to weaken and undermine it.

The following principles have become an integral part of the life of the international community; commitment to their application and the observance of their provisions are extremely urgent to ward off the risk of war and ensure stability in the world. Therefore, if we are discussing these issues every year, it is because we all desire to emphasize the importance of these principles and the need to abide by them.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

The principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session in 1970, particularly those relating to non-use of force or the threat of force, refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States, and refraining from violating the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the right of peoples under occupation to self-determination, as well as the fulfilment of commitments by States under the provisions of the Charter, all these principles have become pillars of human life and a solid foundation for preparing communities to live in peace and security.

It is extremely regrettable that nowadays these objectives and principles are flouted. The provisions of the Charter are suspended and the resolutions of the highest political authority in this Organization are not implemented. This is in addition to numerous cases of violations of the simplest principles and rules of international law. It is also regrettable that the violations of these principles are carried out by States which undertook certain particular responsibilities under the provisions of the Charter to safeguard international peace and security.

What is also regrettable is that the suspension of the resolutions of this Organization, as well as the procedures for their adoption, is done by States which misuse their powers and competence under the Charter of the United Nations.

In this context, I will not refer to these States which render ineffective the provisions of the Charter and encourage other States to refuse to implement the resolutions of the United Nations, because these States are now well known to the international community.

The danger of the arms race, its escalation and the arms build-up, particularly that of nuclear weapons, has been pointed out in the deliberations of the First Committee when it examined the items on disarmament. The nuclear-arms race and attempts to arm and militarize outer space are serious issues which threaten humanity with annihilation. We have to bear in mind the connection between disarmament and international security on the one hand, and between them and economic development on the other. All these issues, if allowed to deteriorate and crumble, will pose a menace to international peace and security.

The hotbeds of tension in the world are expanding and the policy of maintaining spheres of influence and domination has become the subject of condemnation and is incompatible with the right of peoples to self-determination.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

Hence, what we witnessing today in the shape of increasing tensions, threats to use force and intervention in all their forms as well as the adoption of aggressive policies cannot be explained under the Charter of the United Nations or the principles of international law, except that they all constitute a violation of these principles.

If we look for a common denominator for all these violations, we find that they are committed in various forms, in many parts of the world, under different names. However, we find, behind them, one single State, namely, the United States of America. Destabilization in Central America and the Caribbean, attempts to topple régimes in that part of the world, the mining of the ports of Nicaragua, which is an act inconsistent with the most basic principles of international law, as well as the threats made from time to time against the progressive Cuban régime, are all acts committed by the United States of America.

The situation in the African continent and the attempt by the racist régime of Pretoria in South Africa not to recognize the independence of Namibia, are issues which threaten the peace and security of African States and expose African peoples to famine and massacre. We cannot find a justification for this anomaly except the desire on the part of the United States to co-operate with this kind of racist régime and aid and assist it in order to regain its domination over that part of the world.

This picture would be incomplete if we did not expose the attempts of the American Administration to support the racist régime of Israel. It is no secret that the Israeli régime's policy is based on expansion, hegemony, annexation of territories of neighbouring States, occupation of Lebanon and striking at its capital with cluster bombs; and all this is done with the full knowledge and support of the United States.

The displacement of the Arab Palestinian people was carried out with the knowledge of the United States of America, and it was done with the help of American arms and the American Air Force. The consolidation of the Israeli régime, which is daily subjected to economic jolts because of its policy designed to give it the largest military arsenal in the region, is due to the continuous economic support given by the United States to Israel. The strategic co-operation accords between the United States and Israel - which were condemned by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/180 E of 19 December 1983 - is an example of co-operation in order to displace peoples and legitimize the occupation of their States and the annexation of their territories in violation of all norms and laws.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

The United States falsely claims an interest in peace and security in the Middle East. Is it not strange that this State, which claims an interest in peace, together with Israel, rejects the invitation addressed to it to participate in the international peace conference on the Middle East?

In this connection we pay tribute to the efforts of the Soviet Union. We also thank the member States of the Security Council which expressed their support for the idea of convening the conference.

The Mediterranean region is among the areas of the world where tension prevails as a result of the presence of foreign fleets and military bases. My country, the Syrian Arab Republic, is among the non-aligned countries which have a stake in turning this area into an area of co-operation, peace and stability. My country has effectively contributed to the achievement of this goal. In this connection we contributed effectively to the preparation of the Valletta Declaration of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries. This Declaration is aimed at ridding the region of foreign fleets and military bases. Hence, we support any efforts made to this effect.

We are of the opinion that the question of Cyprus will be solved only through the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations in a way that will ensure to the Republic of Cyprus its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

As to the question of Korea, its unification has become an urgent necessity for international peace. The proposals submitted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are a sound basis for a solution.

(Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

Unless all efforts are geared towards strengthening the collective security system contained in the United Nations Charter, unless all efforts are directed to upholding the Charter of the United Nations as an international instrument for the safeguarding of international peace and security, we believe that the policy of aggression, interference in the internal affairs of States, dominance and hegemony will continue to prevail and cast its shadow on all relations between States. Thus my delegation stresses the importance of supporting our international Organization and according it the primary and basic role in the peaceful settlement of disputes and in safeguarding international peace and security.

In conclusion, I quote from the statement made by my Foreign Minister, Mr. Farouk Al-Sharea, before the General Assembly on 1 October 1984:

"The enhancement of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is an indispensable factor in building an international community in which justice and peace prevail and which is free from the evils of colonialism and from all forms of racism, aggression and hegemony." (A/39/PV.14, p. 38-40)

Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): The importance of our consideration of the items relating to international security at this session is increasing because this consideration takes place on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. The peoples of the world, which lost millions of their citizens in devastating wars which took place before the establishment of the United Nations, have been and are still looking forward to peace and stability, and they see in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter their legitimate hopes and ambitions of achieving those objectives.

However, the picture nowadays runs counter to the expectations we had in the United Nations concerning the strengthening of international peace. The provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security have not so far been completely implemented. The present tendencies in the international situation cause us concern because international relations are marked by increasing tension, confrontation, the revival of the cold war and the escalation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, to dangerous levels. There are also attempts to achieve military superiority, a fact which threatens international peace and

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

security as well as mankind itself. There is also an increasing trend towards the use of force or the threat of force and military intervention, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

The forces hostile to the emancipation of peoples and their progress continue to violate the independence of countries, their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to impede the realization of the legitimate rights of peoples oppressed by colonialism to self-determination and independence. The failure of the United Nations so far to play its desired role in strengthening international security cannot in any way be attributed to the inability of the Organization to discharge its responsibility. On the contrary, it is the result of a lack of political will on the part of certain States, particularly those which shoulder a special responsibility under the Charter to safeguard international peace and security. Foremost among those States is the United States of America. Those countries continually attempt to impede the work of the United Nations, and particularly that of the Security Council, through the misuse of the power of veto against the interests of peoples struggling for independence and freedom. Those countries are also subverting the necessary procedures under the Charter to deter racist, expansionist, aggressive policies adopted against independent countries and struggling peoples. What increases our concern is that those States are practising terrorism in their policies in order to undermine the socio-political system of other sovereign States. This is done through military action, direct and indirect acts of aggression and economic blockades against those countries which have chosen for their political, economic and social evolution an independent road opposed to imperialism, colonialism, racism and zionism. For this reason, those countries devote their military, material and information potential to doing everything possible to undermine the sovereignty and independence of independent countries, through financing acts of military and economic sabotage, undertaking ferocious propaganda campaigns and the formation of rapid deployment forces to be used against non-aligned countries. In addition they send their fleets thousands of miles to threaten the peace and stability of national régimes and they are expanding their military bases in various parts of the world.

This is coupled with their encouragement and support for Zionist, racist and fascist régimes in order to subjugate peoples which are struggling for their independence and liberty in Palestine, Namibia and the rest of Africa, Asia and

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Latin America. These acts, committed under false pretexts, are designed to return peoples and States to the era of colonialism, to reimpose hegemony and to plunder natural resources. On this basis, it is not surprising that the policies of the racist régimes in South Africa and Israel enjoy the support of the imperialist forces in their practice of acts of repression, suppression and oppression against the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa.

Democratic Yemen, like other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will pursue its efforts to strengthen international peace and security for all. This will be on the basis of achieving justice, disarmament and the universal application of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

To that we add the completion of the decolonization process and the democratization of relations between States, as well as co-operation between States on an equal basis.

We believe that the achievement of those great objectives calls for the renunciation of all destructive policies and concepts based on nuclear deterrence and theories of limited nuclear war. On the contrary, we must try to devote the resources now spent on increasing arsenals of nuclear weapons to development, particularly in the developing countries. Such a policy calls for strict compliance by States with their obligations under the Charter not to interfere in the internal and external affairs of other States and to desist completely from applying any pressures and carrying out acts of destabilization and acts aimed at changing or undermining the socio-political systems of States by force, as well as not obstructing the struggle of peoples for independence, freedom and their right to self-determination and the achievement of their legitimate aspirations.

Concerted efforts to put an end to all acts counter to the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and to entrench the policy of coexistence and co-operation between States, regardless of their economic and social system, their size or geographical location, will strengthen international peace and security.

The democratization of international relations has also become imperative in our age. It would lead to the achievement of genuine independence and development, free from any restrictions. This objective is gaining more momentum in the light of the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries. The developing countries are still deprived of effective, equal participation in the advantages of international development.

The final document of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, issued in March 1983, reaffirmed the right of all States to continue their economic development without intimidation, obstruction or pressures.

The achievement of that goal requires that all the major developed countries cease their intransigence and abolish injustice in international economic relations, instead entering into useful and meaningful negotiations to reach suitable solutions to international economic crises.

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We believe that if all the peoples of the world are to achieve peace and security and prosperity the present economic order should be restructured in such a way as to ensure real development for the developing countries and the establishment of the new international economic order.

The celebration next year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be an occasion for the reaffirmation by Member States of their obligations under the Charter and their full commitment to it, in addition to making every effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations and increase its effectiveness in the settlement of international crises. If we do so, we may be able to take urgent and effective measures to deal with the international situation, which is very serious. That alone can lead to the strengthening of international peace and the realization of the aspirations of our peoples to peace, stability and security. Can we hope for that before it is too late?

Mr. TSVEIKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The present session of the General Assembly has given further incontrovertible proof that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security of 1970 is even today pointing the way to improving the international climate. The lessons learned from the political-military confrontations of recent years confirm the continued validity of that document, which reflects mankind's profound awareness of the urgent need to take steps to eliminate the nuclear nightmare and preserve the peace, freedom and independence of countries and peoples.

It has always been a prime task of politicians and scientists to deal with the nature of the problem of international security, the interrelationship between its component parts and its overall importance in international relations as a whole. There are a number of ideas on how to guarantee international security. The United Nations itself has made a worthwhile contribution to developing a theory of international security in the present day. The important point is that considerable valuable practical experience has been gained, which will make possible fruitful research into the solution of such problems in the conditions of the nuclear space age. We are deeply convinced that we must start from the hypothesis, which has been confirmed by experience over many years, that disarmament is the key to security and that there is a direct relationship between international security in general and the national security of each State.

Both historical analysis and a logical analysis of the problem of security today clearly show that the vital need to prevent nuclear destruction is the heart of the problem. A nuclear holocaust would mean the deaths of hundreds of

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millions - indeed, billions - of people, and would endanger the biological foundations of life on Earth. Consequently, all the most important international political forums regard the elimination of the danger of nuclear war as the alpha and omega of international security. That danger stems principally from the arms race, which has led to a staggering increase in the potential for universal destruction. It is impossible for any State, any people, any individual to have a guarantee of security in the face of the growth of arsenals of apocalyptic weapons designed to deliver massive blows from the earth, the seas and the skies.

The general recognition of that fact should encourage all the countries and all the peoples to work together to prevent such a catastrophe. However, in practice, the United States and some of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies continue to regard nuclear weapons as an essential and sensible instrument for the implementation of their policies. The result is an impossible obstacle to the success of attempts to establish an effective system of international security. Indeed, that approach is seen to be the very negation of the idea of security.

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Only a decisive end to the arms race, the reduction of arms and genuine disarmament can provide a solid and effective bulwark against the threat of the outbreak of war. It is only in that way that the corner-stone of a system of international security can be laid, whatever form it may take. We do not think there is any need to indulge in linguistic exercises to spell out or clarify this prime truth of our era.

The position taken by the socialist countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty in this regard has been clearly set forth in the communiqué issued following the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs held on 3 and 4 December 1984 in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, which states:

"The countries signatories of the Warsaw Treaty consider the halting of the arms race and disarmament to be the paramount problem of our era. While there is still time everything should be done to reduce military confrontation and reorient international relations onto the path of détente and co-operation among States based on equality and mutual advantage."

The implementation of urgent disarmament measures would contribute to breaking the vicious circle of increasing nuclear capabilities and missiles and deepening mutual distrust. In achieving this the first essential step to be taken is the establishment of a simultaneous and general freeze on all nuclear arsenals with a resulting reduction of such weapons. The international community has already expressed its support for that constructive initiative advanced by the socialist and non-aligned countries. If we are to prevent any subsequent deterioration of the overall strategic situation we must immediately put an end to especially dangerous and destabilizing tendencies in the field of military technology, the most typical example of which is provided by the spread of the arms race to outer space. If that goal is achieved, in accordance with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Member States, a further source of insecurity would be eliminated and outer space could be exploited for the purpose of solving a multitude of humanitarian problems in the economic, social and cultural fields through the collective efforts of all the States of the world.

It is unthinkable that international security can be achieved without the gradual adoption of steps to bring about the limitation, reduction and eventually the complete elimination of various types of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, at the global, but also the regional, level. The material basis for war would thus

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gradually shrink and military structures would gradually give way to a system of agreements and actions aimed at strengthening peace and co-operation among countries. It is in that way and not by accelerating programmes for nuclear warfare - be they "lightning strikes," "limited," "protracted" or "star wars" in nature - that mankind will finally be able to breathe a sigh of relief and have a sense of security.

The creation of a climate of trust in the world requires States to take far-reaching political decisions, such as those proposed by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, such as the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons, the commitment not to use military force by the principal political and military alliances laid down in agreements open to adherence by all and the adoption of a code of relations among nuclear-weapon States that would make the prevention of nuclear war an essential objective of their foreign policy. Material steps to limit and contain the nuclear threat in conjunction with political and legal measures to consolidate the international effort to build peace would, in turn, yield genuine guarantees for the security of States and peoples.

Genuine security for States and, above all, safeguards against the outbreak of nuclear war cannot be obtained by seeking military superiority or world hegemony, which has in recent years been the main focus of the United States Administration. It is futile to hope to weaken the socialist countries by imposing a costly and exhausting race upon them. It is erroneous to hope to subject them to diktat through economic, technological or psychological warfare. Such notions are like a boomerang, which generally returns to strike the one who threw it. The world has had too many opportunities to realize that the trend towards guaranteeing one's own security to the detriment of that of others can only lead to an exacerbation of political and military confrontations, with all the unfavourable consequences that entails. For those who persist in regarding security as exclusively a matter of brute armed force it is high time this axiom was understood.

Indeed, those who bear the main burden of the arms race and who are the most directly threatened by any nuclear holocaust - the vast masses of the peoples of all countries - workers, employees, farmers, intellectuals - have for some time been engaged in an active struggle against the policy of preparing for nuclear confrontation. The anti-militarist movement against the plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to install nuclear missiles and in favour of a

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confrontation. The anti-militarist movement against the plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to install nuclear missiles and in favour of a freeze in nuclear weapons has demonstrated to the world that the most important factor that can save peace is men, hard-hats and white-collar workers, whose interests are radically opposed to those of the moguls of the arms industry.

The cause of international security makes it urgently necessary that relations among States be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, détente and inter-State co-operation irrespective of social systems. General Assembly resolution 38/190, adopted by an overwhelming majority last year appeals to all countries, urges all States, by their commitment to the Charter, to refrain from the use or threat of use of force, intervention, interference, aggression, foreign occupation and colonial domination or measures of political and economic coercion which violate the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and security of other States or their right freely to dispose of their natural resources. Unfortunately, the facts have recently been quite different. In the West certain circles continue to harbour hopes that some changes can be brought about in the socio-political systems of other States that they do not like. In order to achieve this they indulge in actions that fly in the face of the elementary norms of international morality. The very fact that a group of countries did not managed to see fit to support the resolution to which I have just referred is highly significant.

The Bulgarian delegation believes that the policy of intervention, destabilization and attempts to alter a State's socio-political system by force, which has quite rightly been termed State terrorism by the international community results in a serious undermining of international security and entails a direct danger of military conflict.

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Such policies, particularly the carrying out of overt military action in order to do this, not only endanger the freedom, the well-being and the lives of peoples but are particularly dangerous in this nuclear age. Their roots are to be found in the same causes as those of the policy of military superiority and hegemony. They are based on the same philosophy and pursue the same objectives. Nuclear blackmail and State terrorism are to be found in the same dwelling.

All of us in this Organization have shared anxiety and moments of tension because of terrorist operations which have taken place in various parts of the world. Those operations take the form of military provocation, economic boycott, sabotage, the use of mercenaries and undeclared wars against sovereign States. The most striking example of this is the constant brutal pressure exerted against an independent State, Nicaragua. All this has been done in flagrant contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations and in violation of the generally recognized principles of international law, as well as the decisions of this world Organization on inter-State relations.

For that reason, together with the other socialist countries and peace-loving countries, we insist that the methods of State terrorism should be resolutely rejected and that peoples should be left to take their own decisions on problems relating to their social system and their social development.

It flows from what I have just said that the Bulgarian delegation believes the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, drawing the attention of the international community to the fact that State terrorism is a phenomenon which is extremely harmful to international security, is both opportune and judicious. We share the view that the consideration of this item by our Committee will make possible an authentic political evaluation of it so that the necessary forces can be mobilized to combat this phenomenon. We subscribe to the language of the draft resolution and we firmly support it.

Like other Members of the United Nations, we are fully aware of the explosive potential which lies latent in regional conflicts. I think it can be said without exaggeration that some of these conflicts have sufficient charge in them to become themselves thermonuclear confrontations. On the other hand, we are convinced that however complex international disputes may be they can quite easily be resolved by peaceful means on a just and lasting basis.

The Bulgarian delegation has set forth in detail and in public its views on the problems of the Middle East, Central America, the situation around Afghanistan, South-East Asia and southern Africa when those particular items were taken up at

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the present session of the General Assembly or in the Security Council. I would merely like to emphasize here that the position of my country on those items remains unchanged and true to the principles of giving support to peoples struggling against aggression, expansionism, imperialist subversion, colonial oppression, racism and apartheid and in order to defend their independence and national sovereignty in conditions of lasting peace and security,

Situated as it is in the heart of the Balkans, Bulgaria will spare no effort to contribute to strengthening security and good-neighbourliness in that part of the world, which was known in the past as the powder barrel of Europe. This principle is the foundation of our bilateral relations with neighbouring countries. It also determines our attitude on important regional issues, such as the question of turning the Balkans into a denuclearized zone or the adoption of a code of conduct of good-neighbourliness among the States of the region. Bulgaria has more than once put forward proposals along those lines, the common denominator of all this being an attempt to strengthen peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

In this context we are particularly interested in the situation in the Mediterranean. Three Mediterranean countries are neighbours of ours and the Mediterranean is the natural and only way by which we carry on our exchanges with the countries of other continents. We quite naturally are seriously concerned by the persistent tension in that area as a result of American medium-range missiles being installed there and also the hostile acts of Israel against the Mediterranean Arab countries and the fact that the problem of Cyprus has not yet been resolved.

Nevertheless we believe that it is genuinely possible to overcome these problems and to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. Concrete proposals have already been made and we would venture to hope that, through the united efforts of the Mediterranean States and other States concerned, it will be possible to make tangible progress to that end.

My country has always stated that it supports efforts to normalize the international situation and has always made whatever contribution it could. We welcome any desire for sincere dialogue on an equal footing on any international question of importance.

We welcome the decision by the Soviet Union and the United States to open negotiations on the whole range of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons

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and, together with the other socialist countries, we would like to stress that the purpose and the subject of such negotiations should be specified from the very outset.

While attaching priority to the prevention of nuclear war, disarmament and the peaceful settlement of conflicts, among all the measures to bring about international security, we should not lose sight of a number of other aspects of this problem which have been the focus of attention in our Organization for some years now. We are convinced of the need to establish a new international economic order which would be responsive to the needs of justice and security; the need to cultivate ideas and intellectual values of humanism and peace, as has been emphasized by a number of preceding speakers; the need to develop co-operation in order to guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms; and finally the need to establish a new information order.

In conclusion I should like once again to emphasize the position of my country, which is that it is only by strict observance of the United Nations Charter, disarmament, peaceful coexistence and détente that it will be possible to lay solid and reliable foundations for a system of international security. That is a truth which has been corroborated by the results of the European process, whose further development was given a sound basis and constructive impetus in Helsinki and afterwards. True to that position, Bulgaria will continue in the future to work for the implementation of the principles and provisions of the Declaration of the General Assembly of 1970 and will lend its co-operation to the United Nations, whose *raison d'être* is to maintain and defend peace and security throughout the world.

Mr. KUNDA (Zambia): This year's review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security takes place on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which personified the system of collective security. However, although we are on the threshold of this momentous occasion, we are gravely perturbed by the realization that the hope and expectation that animated the General Assembly in adopting the Declaration in 1970 are but a mirage. This is evidenced by the resistance of the old problems to all manner of prescriptions for solutions and by the unrelenting proliferation of new international crises with increasing severity. These problems range from the arms race to regional conflicts and economic inequality.

The persistence of these problems has had a negative impact on the Declaration. It is therefore incumbent upon us all to utilize occasions such as this to recommit ourselves in both word and deed to the implementation of the provisions of that historic document of 1970. Allow me, therefore, to reiterate briefly my country's position in respect of some of these problems within the context of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

One of the stumbling blocks to the implementation of the Declaration is the existence of the unbridled arms race in its nuclear and conventional aspects. Nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to the survival of mankind and indeed to civilization as we know it today. In its conventional form, the arms race is a nightmare for the third world, which has been turned into the theatre of regional conflicts. It is therefore incumbent upon us all to continue with the efforts aimed at slowing down, stopping and reversing the arms race with the aim of general and complete disarmament. The primary responsibility in this endeavour devolves upon the two super-Powers, which have a virtual monopoly of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. They must, for obvious reasons, take the lead in the struggle for disarmament.

To begin with, the two super-Powers must put an end to their confrontation. They should also return without delay or pre-conditions to the negotiating table. In this regard, we hope that the projected meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, scheduled to take place on 7-8 January 1985, in Geneva, will pave the way for the resumption of the otherwise stalled, postponed and failed intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reductions negotiations.

Zambia is unreservedly committed to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. But nowhere has this commitment

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manifested itself so markedly as a focal point of Zambia's foreign policy as in southern Africa. In this region, the perpetuation of the obnoxious policy of apartheid by the racist South African régime has been solely responsible for the frustration of the Declaration. It is common knowledge, for example, that it is in defence of apartheid that racist South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia in flagrant violation of numerous United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

In this regard, we wish to reiterate our position that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only universally acceptable basis that guarantees a peaceful transition to the independence of Namibia, which has thus far unnecessarily suffered numerous inordinate delays. The introduction of linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and the granting of independence to Namibia is therefore unreservedly condemned.

In its commitment to peace and security in southern Africa, Zambia has consistently supported efforts aimed at the elimination of the anachronistic system of apartheid in South Africa. In the process we advocate the democratization of the political process to achieve the objective of majority rule in that troubled country.

Furthermore, the policy of destabilization of other countries in the neighbourhood of South Africa by the racist Pretoria régime is equally anathema to the promotion of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This destabilization is fostered in defence of the system of apartheid, which is a crime against humanity.

There are other hotbeds of conflict that require urgent attention by the international community in an effort to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. These include the question of a divided Korea, despite the wish of the Korean people to be reunited. My delegation supports the reunification of Korea and the withdrawal therefrom of all foreign troops. By the same token, foreign troops must be withdrawn unconditionally from Afghanistan and Kampuchea to give the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security a chance in those parts of the world.

My delegation further believes that the Declaration would be greatly enhanced if the Iran-Iraq war were to be brought to an immediate end to avoid further bloodshed.

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In Central America, we believe that there must be an immediate end to external intervention in the region. We support the Contadora Group's efforts aimed at stemming the tide of conflict in that area.

In regard to the question of the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, I can hardly overemphasize the strategic importance of this region, lying as it does as a link between Africa and the Euro-Asian continental land mass. The Mediterranean region is potentially the most volatile region because of the existence therein of nuclear and conventional weapons. Besides, the Mediterranean region is characterized by some of the most enduring hotbeds of conflict and tension, such as the Middle East and Cyprus crises.

In dealing with the Middle East problem, due cognizance must be given to the fact that the question of Palestine is the core of that problem. In order to resolve it, the Palestinian people must be allowed to exercise their inalienable rights and establish a State of their own in Palestine. There must also be an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied since 1967.

In regard to Cyprus, the events of the past year beginning with the unilateral declaration of independence on 16 November 1983 of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus only served to compound an already complex situation. It represents a step in the wrong direction in relation to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, since it struck at the heart of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

An adjacent area to the Mediterranean that requires most serious attention in pursuance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is the Indian Ocean. It is a volatile region because the two super-Powers have turned it into a theatre of fierce competition in the arms race, which, as already pointed out, is anathema to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

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We wish to reiterate our position in this regard that the Conference on the Indian Ocean scheduled to take place in Colombo could constitute a major step in the direction of establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. We regret, none the less, that some States Members of this august Assembly do not see it that way. Consequently, they have stubbornly blocked progress in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean aimed at preparing for the Conference by advancing frivolous pre-conditions before the Conference can take place.

In turning to the collective security provisions of the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, my delegation wishes to contend that the problems to which I have alluded are mirror images of the dismal failure of the collective security system proffered by the United Nations. The concept of collective security, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, has failed miserably to provide total immunity from attack, particularly for the weak and developing countries. In the process, the United Nations has failed to live up to some of its declared missions in the area of international security.

The failure of the collective security system is all the more baffling since we are in theory better equipped to make it work. The Security Council, for example, has very clearly defined responsibilities as custodian and keeper of world peace. Unfortunately, the Council is encumbered by a host of factors which have seriously detracted from its effectiveness.

To begin with, parties to a conflict hardly ever submit themselves in good time for peaceful settlement of their disputes under the auspices of the Security Council in order to defuse tension before it develops into a hot crisis. More often than not they seek the Council's intervention when it is too late for the Council to engage in any meaningful preventive diplomacy. Instead, the use or threat of use of brutal force as a means of settling international disputes is often resorted to. We all know too well that this course of action only serves to exacerbate the conflict situations.

Furthermore, the Security Council is encumbered in yet another way - by the misuse of the veto by some permanent members of the Council. The veto has been responsible on countless occasions for paralysing the Council in the discharge of its responsibilities, thus robbing that august body of an opportunity for its judicious intervention in conflict situations.

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All this points to the lack of effective utilization of the collective security provisions of the Charter, which has led to a serious erosion of confidence in the Security Council. We believe that the Council could regain some of its confidence by holding periodic meetings in specific cases to consider and review outstanding problems and crises, thus enabling it to play a more active role in preventing conflicts.

My delegation believes that it is the primordial right of every State to live in conditions of peace and security. The import of these conditions are especially more pronounced for developing countries, which cannot develop in the absence of peaceful and secure conditions. Their meagre resources cannot be diverted any longer to service the military requirements of their respective countries. But this objective cannot be achieved unless and until there is peace and security in the world. This situation makes it all the more imperative and urgent to pursue concerted action to reconstruct the machinery for a collective security system that will serve the needs of the international community, as envisaged by the founding fathers and as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): We have submitted the following amendments to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.86.

The fourth preambular paragraph would begin:

"Alarmed over the growing tendency of States to resort to the use of force, and interference in the internal affairs of States...";
the rest of the paragraph is retained.

The seventh preambular paragraph would be amended to read:

"Conscious of the important role with which the Security Council is entrusted in enhancing the collective security provisions of the Charter for the promotion of peace and security in the world, in accordance with the Charter".

Having said that, on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Uruguay and my own delegation, Sierra Leone, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.86, as amended, entitled "Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security".

In its preambular part the draft resolution reaffirms that the primary function of the United Nations, in particular through the Security Council, is the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, the sponsors of

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

the draft resolution are alarmed over the growing tendency of States to resort to the use of force and interference in the internal affairs of States, thus ignoring the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the fact that the Security Council has not always been able to take decisive action for the maintenance of international peace and security is a cause of concern to the sponsors of the draft resolution. The sponsors are of the view that the fundamental approaches to genuine security include the strengthening of the Charter system of collective security; regret that the provisions of the United Nations Charter relating to the collective security measures, that is, deployment by the Security Council of concerted diplomatic, economic and military action to deter or terminate all armed attacks by one State against another, have not been fully implemented; and are therefore calling upon this august body to approve the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee consisting of 54 members for the purpose of exploring ways and means of implementing the collective security provisions of the Charter.

The importance of this item can hardly be overemphasized. Our most urgent goal is to strengthen this Organization, if it is to maintain international peace and security; and, as the Secretary-General has put it, the most effective way of doing this is to construct the Charter concept of collective security action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function.

To strengthen the United Nations is to abide by the principle of collective security, which is a practical measure towards the security of all States. I therefore commend this draft resolution to the Committee, and it is the hope of the sponsors that it will meet with unanimous approval.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for having been so kind as to submit his amendments in writing to the Secretariat. We shall circulate draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.86/Rev.1, in which those amendments will be included, as well as the names of the other sponsors of that draft resolution.

Mr. NATORF (Poland): The General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace six years ago in 1978. At the time the spirit of détente, mutual understanding and co-operation released new energies in the struggle for a better and more peaceful world. The Declaration was the result of a multilateral effort undertaken in this spirit. Some of the provisions in the Declaration were already recognized as important principles of international relations, contained first of all in the United Nations Charter, and some were expressed in a United Nations document for the first time.

The main objective of the Declaration was to ensure that these principles will be incorporated into a broad process defined as preparation for life in peace. In the present complex world, lasting peace can be secured only through various, comprehensive actions taking into account not only military and political aspects of maintaining peace, but also economic, social and moral ones. Peace should be instilled into the social consciousness as a basic value. It should be promoted through concerted action by various institutions and organizations active in the fields of education, media, culture and science.

The General Assembly invited all States to contribute to the success of this process on the national and international levels. The continued preparation for life in peace will further reinforce the efforts to prevent war.

The long-lasting validity of the principles of this Declaration is underscored by the second review of its implementation. The dangerous deterioration of the international situation over the past three years serves to heighten the relevance of the eight principles contained in the Declaration and they require proper attention and adherence.

The Secretary-General, during his visit to Poland early this year, referred to the Polish initiative which led to the adoption of this Declaration as a reflection of Poland's keen interest in the success of the United Nations in fulfilling the mandate entrusted to it by the world community. It was in the same spirit of strengthening the United Nations and unifying all forces in the promotion of peace that Poland took part in the second review of the implementation of the Declaration.

(Mr. Natorf, Poland)

All Member States unanimously supported the preparations for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and for the observance of the International Year of Peace in the hope that the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace will also reflect the consensus among all delegations here.

My delegation is particularly grateful to all those Governments and organizations within the United Nations system which have provided the Secretary-General with information on the implementation of the Declaration as called for by the General Assembly resolution 36/104 of 9 December 1981. Their replies are annexed to the report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/39/143 and Add.1.

I should now like to draw the Committee's attention to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/39/L.89, by which the General Assembly reaffirms the purposes and principles of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and adopts a programme of action concerning its further implementation during the next three years.

My delegation has consulted with numerous delegations with regard to its contents and has taken many of their remarks into account. It is my privilege and honour to present this draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/39/L.89, to the Committee on behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Algeria, Benin, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Congo, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Hungary, Indonesia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mongolia, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Poland.

The draft resolution is largely self-explanatory. It reaffirms the continued importance of the preparation of societies for life in peace as part of all constructive efforts at shaping relations among States and strengthening international peace and security. At the same time it notes the links of the purposes of the Declaration with the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and with the observance of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the General Assembly for 1986.

Some provisions of the draft resolution were inspired by the important initiative of the late Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, which has been further developed by many leaders, including that of my own country. The draft recognizes the role and great historic responsibility of Governments, heads of

(Mr. Natorf, Poland)

State or Government, as well as other statesmen, for the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of a just and durable peace.

As in the previous resolution, the present draft invites all States further to intensify their efforts towards the implementation of the Declaration and reiterates its appeal for concerted action on the part of Governments, the United Nations, the specialized agencies as well as other international organizations.

Finally, the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly on the further progress made in the implementation of the Declaration.

It is the hope of the sponsors of the draft resolution that the text will commend itself to the Committee for adoption by consensus.

Mr. DARMOSUTANTO (Indonesia): In considering the international security items now before us, my delegation is reminded of the foreboding expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization two years ago that the world is inexorably drifting towards international anarchy. This profound and disturbing observation is no less true today than it was then. Indeed, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we not only continue to face protracted conflicts that have defied resolution, but we are confronted with new flashpoints of conflict and confrontation, both actual and potential. No region has been spared the trauma and turmoil brought on by strife and hostilities. The propensity to resort to the use of force in pursuit of questionable interests has become an all-too-familiar characteristic of the international landscape.

Furthermore, local and regional conflicts have become increasingly intractable owing to the marked tendency of the major Powers to view them from the perspective of their global rivalry and to link eventual solutions to their wider strategies of mutual containment. As a result, the risk that the non-aligned and neutral countries will be dragged into the East-West polarization has grown correspondingly.

(Mr. Darmosutanto, Indonesia)

The situation is further compounded by the big Powers regarding security primarily in military terms. Reality, however, belies this orientation. Indeed, political, economic and social dimensions are interrelated with the concept of security and in acknowledging this reality we are in fact also defining the comprehensive context of security, which is the only relevant context for peacefully resolving the growing insecurity and instability in the world.

In the present global setting, mutual interaction between political and economic problems is self-evident. And it is high time for all of us to recognize the truism that in an interdependent world the political stability and economic well-being of both the developed and the developing States are indispensable for common security. Therefore, a prerequisite for a just and equitable international order that can guarantee security for all is the establishment of a new international economic order.

It is our deep conviction that as long as the great Powers seek to enhance their security at the expense of the political and economic interests of small and medium States, the question of universal collective security envisaged in the Charter will continue to elude us. Clearly then, in seeking to promote the relevant collective security provisions of the Charter as well as in implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, there must be greater equality and a greater collective voice for all members in the decision making on the plethora of vital issues affecting the international security environment.

It is to be recalled that among the reasons the Non-Aligned Movement undertook the initiative almost a decade and a half ago to adopt the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was the inability of the Organization to carry out its functions in accordance with Charter obligations. It was envisaged that the Declaration would become a rallying point to exhort all Members to exercise their collective voice in demanding the establishment of an effective system of universal collective security. It set out a series of specific recommendations to facilitate the functioning of the Security Council in a more efficient and effective manner.

In order to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its mission in the maintenance of international peace and security, our first task must necessarily be to redouble efforts to achieve meaningful results in disarmament, especially its nuclear aspect, while at the same time ensuring an enhanced role for

(Mr. Darmosutanto, Indonesia)

the Security Council in conflict resolution. An essential component for such a role would be the establishment of workable machinery for the reduction of tensions and the conciliation of disputes before they become full-blown wars. But for this and for other improvements in the operational procedures of the Security Council to become feasible, there should first be a conscious readjustment in the nature and extent of the commitment of Member States, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to the wider global responsibilities inherent in our common acceptance of the Charter.

In the context of international co-operation, my delegation would now like to turn to those provisions of the Declaration dealing with regional and subregional arrangements for strengthening international security. It is pertinent to note in this regard that Indonesia has long practised and advocated the importance of regional approaches to arrangements for security and co-operation. Indeed, we have striven to give substance to the viability and utility of the regional approach as evinced by the progress made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) since its establishment.

At the core of the ASEAN approach to promoting regional co-operation is the cardinal principle of good-neighbourliness. ASEAN has given concrete expression to this concept through mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of States. We have recognized the right of every member State to lead its national existence free from foreign interference, intervention, subversion or coercion. We have solemnly renounced the use or threat of force in the conduct of our relationships. And in the economic sphere, for purposes of strengthening our national and regional resilience, the right to co-operate and trade freely with any country irrespective of differences in the socio-economic systems and with the international agencies has been explicitly recognized. While not precluding freedom of action by its members, ASEAN has bolstered its negotiating stance by adopting a joint approach in dealing with a growing number of issues.

The habits that have been nurtured on the basis of the proven advantages derived from co-operation in the social and economic spheres have also led to a growing convergence of perceptions in the field of security as well. Hence, there has evolved a common view of the basic nature of the threat to security in the region and the need to ensure peace and harmony in the South-East Asian environment, without which national development cannot proceed.

(Mr. Darmosutanto, Indonesia)

This inevitably led to the promulgation of the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPFAN) that would encompass all States in the region. ZOPFAN, as it is now known by its acronym, embraces a set of guidelines which would constitute a code of conduct governing relations among the States within the zone as well as with those outside it. It lists the measures and the voluntary restraints in policies to be commonly agreed upon and undertaken by the States of the region as well as the external Powers, and especially the major Powers. And, as a matter of course, it reiterates the strict observance of the basic principles of inter-State relations that I referred to, which govern ASEAN as a whole.

Ever mindful of the nuclear threat that confronts our strategically significant region, my Government has long advocated the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia as part of our regional approach to security and disarmament. In this regard, I am pleased to inform the Committee that the recent annual meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Jakarta endorsed this initiative as an essential component in the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region. The ASEAN Working Group created to promote the zone is undertaking a study to identify various aspects and modalities for the realization of the nuclear-weapon-free zone concept.

While my delegation has focused on the regional aspects of strengthening security, we are under no illusion that the ultimate forum for maintaining international security is the United Nations, which is the principal, collective instrument for Governments to control conflicts and work out solutions together. Therefore, if our Organization is to fulfil its role as the focal point for the global management of the critical problems of our time, it is imperative that a new sense of purpose be instilled in its mechanisms and procedures so as to prevent it from degenerating into a sterile debating forum.

(Mr. Darmosutanto, Indonesia)

My delegation further believes that in this effort the Non-Aligned Movement, to which Indonesia belongs, could and should make its important contribution, both at the conceptual level and in initiating concrete proposals, as it has consistently done in the past on the global issues of peace, security and international economic co-operation.

It is our hope that our deliberations on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization will make tangible progress towards the realization of mankind's hopes for international peace and security.

Mr. QIAN Jiadong (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The maintenance of world peace and the preservation of international security constitute a major issue that concerns the people of all countries of the world. Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, this Committee has reviewed the implementation of the Declaration every year and has adopted quite a few resolutions. Yet the stern reality of today shows that the international situation remains tense and turbulent and that there is still a universal lack of a sense of security.

In the past five weeks we have focused our discussions on issues related to disarmament. The escalating arms race between the two super-Powers and the growing danger of a nuclear war are doubtless important causes of the international insecurity. As so much has already been said here about the matter, there is no need for me to repeat it.

This year the Committee has again adopted many resolutions on halting the arms race, preventing a nuclear war and realizing nuclear disarmament. I only hope that, unlike previous years, this year will see at least some of the resolutions translated into action, which could truly contribute to relaxing the tensions and strengthening international security.

Another important, or more profound, cause of the current unstable international situation is the constant presence in international relations of acts that run counter to the Charter, such as infringement of the sovereignty of other countries, invasion and occupation of their territories and interference in their internal affairs, as well as the use or threat of use of force. In particular, the super-Powers, relying on their military and economic strength, continue to pursue hegemonism and power politics in many parts of the world, in an attempt to impose

(Mr. Qian Jiadong, China)

their own will on others. The many hot spots in the world today are the result either of the super-Powers' direct aggression or of their meddling and intervention or backing and manipulation. Needless to say, if this situation remains unchanged, there will be no international security to speak of.

China's experience over the years is that in order to strengthen international peace and security the principles of peaceful co-existence must be adhered to in relations between States. These principles are mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Jointly initiated by China, India and Burma in 1954, they fully conform with the spirit of the Charter and have since been affirmed in many international documents. They apply not only to relations between countries with different social systems, but also to relations between countries with similar social systems. The experience of the past three decades shows that whenever those principles are adhered to countries can live in amity and engage in friendly co-operation. If not, they may come into confrontation or even conflict. Recently, China and the United Kingdom have, through negotiations, agreed on a universally recognized optimal settlement of the Hong Kong question, a most complex issue left over from the past. This once again demonstrates the vitality of those principles.

There are scores of countries in the world with widely varying conditions. In contemporary international relations the practice of the big countries oppressing the small, the strong bullying the weak and the rich exploiting the poor should no longer be allowed to continue. International peace and security can truly be preserved only when the principles of peaceful co-existence are strictly observed, all forms of intervention and aggression against other countries are stopped, all foreign forces of occupation are withdrawn and the people of various countries are left alone to solve their own problems.

At our meeting several days ago the representatives of Viet Nam and Laos attempted to make unwarranted attacks on, and to vilify, China. Those attempts are, of course, completely futile. Everyone knows exactly which country is carrying out hegemonistic and expansionist activities in South-East Asia. The General Assembly adopted by an even greater majority this year a resolution on the question of Kampuchea that once again eloquently pointed out the truth of the matter.

(Mr. Qian Jiadong, China)

Though the First Committee is not a place for discussions on economic issues, the debate would be less than comprehensive if the relationship between international security and economic affairs were not pointed out here. The peace and stability of the world depend on the sustained growth of national as well as international economies. In the world of today the turmoils in certain regions and conflicts or disputes between countries are often linked to economic factors. Therefore, improving the economic situation of all countries, the developing countries in particular, reforming irrational international economic relations and establishing the new international economic order are not only necessary for the revitalization of the world economy but constitute essential conditions for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Last year our Committee adopted a resolution on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. This reflected the urgent desire of the countries in the region to turn the Mediterranean into a lake of peace. It is our consistent view that security in all the regions of the world is interrelated and that relaxation of tensions in various regions, elimination of local conflicts and settlement of disputes between countries in a region will contribute to safeguarding peace and security in the world as a whole. Last September the non-aligned countries in the Mediterranean held a meeting of Ministers at which a common position for strengthening peace and security in the region was reached. We support their efforts and welcome the progress they have achieved. Of course, to transform the Mediterranean into a region of genuine peace and security requires not only the efforts of the countries in the region but the co-operation of countries elsewhere, which should, first, respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries in the region and refrain from interfering in their internal affairs.

The United Nations and the Security Council bear great responsibility for the preservation of international peace and security. Regrettably, they have over the years been unable to perform their functions effectively. It has always been a case of having only deliberations and no resolutions or only resolutions and no implementation.

(Mr. Qian Jiadong, China)

In the tense and turbulent international situation as it now stands it is entirely understandable that the international community hopes, above all, that the United Nations and the Security Council will play a more effective part in preventing conflicts and resolving crises in compliance with the collective security provisions of the United Nations Charter. We share the view that in marking the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations next year it is necessary to review the work of this important international Organization in safeguarding peace and security and to look into its problems so that effective and viable measures might be taken to strengthen its role further.

Mr. CISSE (Mali) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like to share some of its thoughts on matters relating to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the implementation of the collective security provisions of the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

At the outset, however, I should like to express the gratitude of the delegation of Mali for the outstanding and effective way in which you, Mr. Chairman, have been conducting the work of the First Committee. Your experience, competence and wisdom have been very valuable guides for us in our work here.

Our congratulations go also to the other officers of the Committee, to the Secretariat and to all those who have contributed to the execution of your complex task.

At a time when our Committee is beginning its debate on the question of international security, we are obliged to note that in spite of our thoughts and discussions tensions, troubles, conflicts and armed confrontations continue to be typical of the international situation.

We are obliged to note the persistence of serious crises throughout the world which, directly or indirectly, threaten each of our States.

We are thus obliged to note, given the extreme gravity of this situation, the corresponding fragility of international peace and security.

Yet the strengthening of international security is and remains one of the fundamental goals in the establishment and maintenance of peace among nations. Moreover, the political will of States is manifested in many legal and other instruments. There is no need to repeat here, however, that peace is daily being

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

challenged by policies of intervention, interference, destabilization and aggression - in short, by conduct based on the use of force in international relations.

In addition, without minimizing the scope of the arms race - a competition that is leading mankind towards destruction - underdevelopment is also increasingly coming to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. If the third world continues to starve, the developed world will not long be able to rely upon the mere superiority of its weapons or the continuing deterioration in the terms of trade.

Interdependence of interests is thus a reality, a reality that must be taken into account as a sure and lasting foundation for peaceful and equitable, stable and fruitful relations among nations.

However, the interdependence of interests does not concern only the need to restructure international economic relations among the developed and the poorer countries. It is of equal concern to their mutual security. It governs the positive definition of the relationships between disarmament and development. The historic scope of this phenomenon was clearly perceived by our Committee in the course of the discussions that led to the adoption of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.72/Rev.1, which was initiated by France and co-sponsored by Mali. It involves the freeing of the sizeable resources currently earmarked for destructive purposes and their subsequent use for peaceful purposes and development to the ultimate benefit of the security of all nations.

In the view of my delegation such a phenomenon should be in the vanguard of any serious thinking about ways and means to use machinery to strengthen international security at the world, regional and local levels. It should also govern the concerns and activities currently under way to work out ways and means to restructure and improve the legal mechanisms for collective security contained in the United Nations Charter. In our world beset by wars, by overt acts of violence and by serious threats of all kinds to international peace and security, my delegation is firmly convinced that it is essential to take into account and, indeed, fully to recognize the interdependence of national interests and human solidarity in the face of impending or potential chaos.

It is that deep conviction that governs Mali's consistent approach to questions of peace and security at the local, regional and international levels.

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

In that connection it is clear that it is both easier and more necessary to protect international peace and security by means of effective machinery to prevent and resolve conflicts.

Indeed, the strength and credibility of our Organization depends upon the capacity of the Security Council to secure implementation of its decisions. Whence the importance and the need to reconsider the machinery whereby the Council maintains or can restore international peace and security. For it has become all too clear that breaches of the peace are so numerous, so dangerous and so persistent that it has proved beyond the capacity of the Council to deal with them appropriately.

In accordance with Article 41 of the Charter, the Security Council can decide upon measures to be employed, including complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations. Beyond those measures, which do not involve the use of armed force, the Council can also, in accordance with Article 42 of the Charter, take such action as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

In spite of that legal capability, however, the Security Council does not seem to have been able heretofore to implement any of those two categories of measures to restore international peace and security, for example, in southern Africa or in the Middle East. No one is unaware of the present difficulties in implementing the appropriate legal machinery.

Some of those difficulties stem from the weakening or disappearance of the solidarity that prevailed during the initial planning and creation of a Security Council. Others arise from national selfishness indulged through the exercise of the veto power by certain countries that do not shrink from defying the entire international community and others that result in the self-serving alliances of one or another great Power equipped with the legal power to block one or another sanction.

The rivalry of the super-Powers in all areas, including the nuclear area, is not unrelated to the deep-lying causes for the paralysis of the legal security mechanisms of the United Nations. It is not therefore surprising to note here and there serious and dangerous breaches of international peace and security that leave the United Nations powerless.

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

In southern Africa, for example, the racist minority régime in South Africa continues with impunity its illegal occupation of Namibia, notwithstanding the wishes of the international community and in violation of the relevant decision of the Security Council. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was unanimously adopted, is paralysed.

Outside Africa, international peace and security are seriously being affected in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. In Cyprus, the intercommunal talks have been broken off. The situation in Central America and in the Caribbean continues to cause concern because of interventionist actions there. Similarly, in the Korean peninsula senseless and artificial barriers have been raised against the wishes of the Korean people, threatening the peace and security of a nation that needs peace and security in order to devote itself to development.

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

Lastly, a fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran continues not merely to disturb the peace in our hearts but also to affect a sensitive region of the world. It is also contrary to the fundamental principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

An analysis of the crises shows more than ever, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of my country stated before the General Assembly, that it is necessary to:

"[rehabilitate] the world Organization in terms of scrupulous respect for the sacred principles of non-resort to force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the abandonment of all forms of political or economic domination." (A/39/PV.29, p. 21)

My delegation feels that, however acute the international problems, dialogue and negotiation must prevail and are the only means of resolving such difficulties, in the face of threats to the world and real breaches of the peace here and there.

My delegation would like to conclude these brief reflections by launching an urgent appeal to the international community to strengthen peace and security among nations. Let us ensure that our respective undertakings are not mere words, a ritual assemblage of past declarations. Among those undertakings one might mention the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life and Peace.

The implementation of the collective security provisions in the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security is more necessary than ever. My delegation therefore unreservedly supports and wishes to renew its commitment to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Implementation of the Collective Security Provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as decided by General Assembly resolution 38/191, to which we unanimously contributed. The Secretary-General has made commendable efforts, which must be encouraged, and he must continue to work to see that the Committee, the need for which has been recognized by all States, is truly set up.

The meeting was suspended at 6.05 p.m. and resumed at 6.20 p.m.

Mr. AL-MOHAMED (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): As soon as the Second World War ended, mankind agreed that it was important to establish an international system to ensure that such a bitter war would not recur and to ensure that all States, irrespective of size, social, economic or political system, would live in permanent peace and security.

That international desire resulted in the emergence of the United Nations, which, according to the Charter provisions on collective security, has been established in order to achieve a noble goal for which mankind is still striving, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security - the subject which we are now discussing.

Any observer of the present situation of international peace and security will notice the wide gap between the bitter reality and the aspirations of States following the establishment of this international Organization: the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, is at its height; security problems in the form of military conflicts and interventions in the internal affairs of others are continually increasing in such a way that their negative impacts are threatening all mankind, and as mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report in document A/37/1, we have come dangerously close to a world situation where anarchy prevails.

The questions which arise now are: Why has our Organization failed to achieve the objectives expected from it? What is the reason for the deterioration of international peace and security which is reflected in the tension now prevailing in many parts of the world and in the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, among States in general and between the super-Powers in particular?

There is no doubt that, in addition to the lack of political will on the part of many States, the non-implementation of the mainstays of collective security embodied in the Charter has led to the plight and wars from which the world is suffering today.

The Security Council, which is entrusted with the primary responsibility for the implementation of the collective security provisions, is unable to discharge its preventive role vis-à-vis the crises which threaten world peace and security, either because of disagreement among its members or the reluctance of parties directly concerned in a crisis to resort to the arbitration of the Council and their resorting instead to the principle of force to settle their disputes without

(Mr. Al-Mohamed, Oman)

paying any attention to the principles of the Charter or to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The present state of international peace and security prompts us more than ever to seek to improve and strengthen the role of the United Nations so as to ensure the survival and security of mankind and save the vast resources spent for military purposes. There is no doubt that that can be achieved only if we adhere to the principles of the Charter and dissipate the doubts and distrust that are among the reasons that led to the plight from which mankind is suffering at present.

More than 10 years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which is based, inter alia, on the following principles: refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States in any way, development of comprehensive international co-operation and sovereign equality. However, in the light of ongoing developments we reach the conclusion that this Declaration is still a dead letter.

The South African régime, despite international condemnation, persists in the application of its racist policies and prevents the black majority from exercising its most elementary national and human rights, not to mention the policy of "divide and rule" adopted by it so as to sow seeds of dissension and discord between the black majority, the Coloureds and the Asians. The South African régime, without paying any attention to the desire of the international community as expressed in the resolutions of the United Nations, continues its occupation of the Territory of Namibia and its exploitation of the people and resources of that Territory, putting all sorts of obstacles in the path of international efforts exerted to grant independence to Namibia - the last of those obstacles were those that led to the failure of the Lusaka and Cape Verde conferences.

I do not want to dwell on other areas of tension. Suffice it to refer to the situation in Central America, the continued foreign military intervention in Afghanistan and the situations in Africa and Indo-China. All those situations indicate that we are farther than ever from observing the provisions and requirements of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The question of the security of the Mediterranean region is one of extreme importance. In addition to its strategic importance, the Mediterranean is one of the most sensitive regions in the world: we find there the question of Cyprus,

(Mr. Al-Mohamed, Oman)

which still preoccupies the world; in the Eastern Mediterranean we witness the continued Israeli occupation of the Arab territories since 1967; and a major part of the territory of fraternal Lebanon is also still under occupation by the Israeli invaders. At the same time, Israel, despite United Nations appeals and resolutions, continues to prevent the Palestinian people from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State of its own.

I do not want to take up the Committee's time by dwelling at length on Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. Those practices are well known to all, and those who want to know more can simply refer to United Nations records on the subject.

My country's belief that the establishment of zones of peace in the world would strengthen international security prompted us to support the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and, consequently, to be among the members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. Despite the passing of many years since the General Assembly's decision to convene the Colombo Conference and owing to the attitudes of certain countries the Ad Hoc Committee has been obliged to postpone that Conference for one more year, as provided for in the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee a few days ago on the recommendation of the aforementioned Ad Hoc Committee.

On this basis - and I mean the strengthening of international security - the Sultanate of Oman has supported all initiatives to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, such as the Middle East, South Asia and other regions of the world.

(Mr. Al-Mohamed, Oman)

In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm the belief of my country in the role of the United Nations and the need to strengthen this role. Moreover, I would like to confirm our faith in the legitimate inalienable rights of all peoples, the right of all States to choose their political, economic and social systems without any external interference and the need to establish the new international economic order and to take measures for complete and general disarmament under effective international control.

Unless we seek to realize these principles, there will be no real easing of international tension and, consequently, there will be no real progress towards the desired maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. RAKOTONIAINA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): Speaking at a very advanced stage of the debate in this Committee, the delegation of Madagascar has in the interim been able to benefit from the detailed analysis and very pertinent remarks made by other representatives on international security and ways and means of strengthening it.

We associate ourselves with the concerns which have been expressed in the course of the debate on the state of international relations, and in particular we declare ourselves to be in solidarity with the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, and we reaffirm that international peace and security can be ensured only by general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective international control.

Many speakers are in agreement that the deterioration in relations between the two super-Powers and the resulting tension have simply increased the feeling of insecurity throughout the world.

Europe seemed to be the focus of a panic created by the possibility of a nuclear exchange, but in fact no continent felt immune to the fallout of a possible nuclear conflict since trouble spots exist everywhere in the world to some extent. The number of them has, furthermore, increased. Former trouble spots persist and are being exacerbated, while the new ones quickly tend to acquire equally disturbing characteristics and dimensions.

In Central America the wish of the populations to be free from a futile subjugation to outside interests is in conflict with the resistance within their

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

countries of those seeking to preserve the status quo and thus perpetuate their former privileges. Externally, the social and economic changes are scarcely to the liking of their neighbours. The result is acts of interference, which, to say the least, are incompatible with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the supreme mission of which is the maintenance of international peace and security.

In South-East and South-West Asia, mutual charges of interference precede and follow armed interventions.

In the Middle East, the primacy improperly placed on short-term political and military interests obscures the real benefits of a global, just and lasting peace.

The introduction of East-West rivalries gives free reign to adventurist initiatives which close the door to any possibility for a solution and thus create a great permanent threat to international peace and security.

Finally, Africa, which is experiencing acute economic difficulties, is more vulnerable to pressures of all kinds, to acts of destabilization and of interference, which threaten the independence and sovereignty of certain African countries. Moreover, the development of South Africa's nuclear programme remains a matter of legitimate concern for the African countries, when one knows from experience that the racist Pretoria régime will stop at nothing to delay the resolution of problems in southern Africa, namely, Namibia and apartheid.

We cannot sufficiently emphasize for those who sincerely desire stability in Africa that apartheid is inherently violent. Since violence breeds violence, it would be an illusion to expect lasting security in southern Africa until the apartheid system has been eradicated. Unfortunately, apartheid will survive there until Pretoria has been deprived of the support and means supplied by its traditional partners.

Where do the sources of these problems lie? In the refusal to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination, interference in the internal and external affairs of other countries, exaggerated primacy given to national security interests at the expense of all members of the international community and, finally, the systematic introduction of East-West rivalries in the perception and settlement of international problems. These are the factors which characterize the early stages of a breach of international security, while recourse to force is the culmination.

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

Indeed, political conduct based on such considerations is bound to clash with the aspirations of peoples and impedes the democratization of international relations. In order to prevail, a policy which ignores the views of the majority resorts to the use of force, with all that this implies in the form of damaging consequences for relations among States and international security.

In as heterogeneous an international society as ours in the nuclear era, it is extremely important to take into account the views of one's fellows and the interests of other nations. Nobody enjoys a monopoly of truth or of wisdom. An attempt to impose one's will on others would drag us down to the level of mediaeval societies where might made right.

With reference to measures to strengthen international security, we believe it is vital that States refrain from having recourse to force in international relations. This principle, although enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, would stand to gain, no doubt, by being examined and redefined where appropriate, because there is now a tendency to have other States accept, if not endorse, the baseless pretext put forward in an attempt to justify the use of force.

In the mean time we consider that strict observance of the principles of the Charter and respect for the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations would greatly contribute to dissipating elements of discord which threaten international security.

Likewise, we believe that individual or collective peace initiatives deserve to be taken into account without prejudging them and without partisanship. We have in mind here, inter alia, the recommendations of the Contadora Group, as well as the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the convening of a tripartite meeting so as to lessen tension in the region.

(Mr. Rakotoniaina, Madagascar)

Along the same line of thinking, my delegation believes that the peace efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General should be unreservedly supported so that the administrative and political capacity of the United Nations may be brought fully into play, in keeping with the central role it has under the Charter.

In conclusion, the best means to ensure genuine security would be to arrive at general disarmament; but since that constitutes a long-term undertaking, in the interim short-term steps and measures are called for, and when they have been adopted then it is up to States strictly to comply with them as commitments freely entered into. No doubt there are shortcomings in the United Nations Charter and its interpretations may give rise to different views, but my delegation believes that it is an invaluable instrument containing a set of principles which, if strictly adhered to, could promote international security.

Mr. MacFHIONNBHAIRR (Ireland): I wish on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community to address agenda item 143 entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States".

The Ten have carefully examined the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1 and have as a result considered it necessary to pose a number of serious questions.

The draft in our view focuses on only one aspect of the principle of non-intervention, namely, "actions aimed at undermining socio-political systems".

Of course the Ten agree that States must not undermine the socio-political system of other States in contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

In thus singling out, as does the draft resolution in document A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1, only one possible case of intervention, however grave such intervention may be, the Ten do not believe that other, even more serious forms of intervention, such as military invasion and occupation, can legitimately be omitted from a text to be adopted by the General Assembly.

Such an approach, stressing only one aspect of the principle of non-intervention, will tend to call into question the comprehensive nature of this principle. The principle of non-intervention is comprehensive precisely because it is designed to protect all, and in particular to protect smaller States, which rely for their existence on the upholding of international law. Were the comprehensive

(Mr. MacFhionnbhairr, Ireland)

nature of this principle to be eroded by selectively isolating particular aspects, we would progressively reach a position where the clear and unequivocal understanding of the Charter principle would be undermined.

The central position which is given in document A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1 to "undermining the socio-political system of States" needs to be scrutinized, in particular because this notion is not to be found in the United Nations Charter or in the friendly relations Declaration, which so clearly define the principle of non-intervention. Is this novel definition meant to replace or to re-interpret totally or partially this principle?

What precisely does it mean to undermine the socio-political system: does it include revolutionary activities or counter-revolutionary activities? Does it allow for the maintenance of a system against the will of a people or support of a people against a system?

Does the prohibition of intervention apply only to relations between States of different ideological camps, and not to those within a single ideological camp, as was implied in the original fourth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1?

It is not clear from the draft who determines whether an action undermines or not.

The Ten's concern, in short, is that the selective interpretation of generally accepted principles of international law coupled with vague notions open to subjective interpretation jeopardizes the comprehensive nature of universal principles of international law as well as the balances existing between them and thus places at risk the rule of law in international relations and may in the long run negatively affect the security of all States.

It is with these concerns in mind that the Ten would have preferred the General Assembly to be given more time to reflect on the political as well as juridical implications of this draft resolution and of the general question whether the United Nations Charter and the friendly relations Declaration need an interpretation in this context.

Should the authors of the draft resolution find it necessary to press for a vote, then the Ten will support the amendments contained in document A/C.1/39/L.91. We believe that these amendments have the merit of bringing the draft resolution into line with accepted principles of international law, in particular, the United Nations Charter and the friendly relations Declaration. Of

(Mr. MacFhionnbhairr, Ireland)

particular importance in this connection is that these amendments reaffirm the principles of non-recourse to the threat or use of force, non-intervention and the rights of self-determination of peoples. The amendments expand selective concepts to include all concepts which must be considered when dealing with the question of non-intervention. It finally replaces the unclear usage "State terrorism" by "policies of terrorism between States".

The Ten also note that other amendments to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1 have been submitted. These amendments likewise have the purpose, in the view of the Ten, of broadening the narrow and restrictive scope of the definitions contained in A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1 and make them compatible with the generally accepted principles of international law. We believe that these amendments complement those contained in document A/C.1/39/L.91 and the Ten support them.

Mr. ALI (Bangladesh): The Committee is now considering various agenda items on international security and my delegation takes this opportunity to express our views on them. For our deliberations, we have before us the latest reports of the Secretary-General on these items. May I take this opportunity to record our deep appreciation of his useful reports and also his untiring efforts for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Before commenting on specific agenda items, my delegation would like to make some general observations. During the current session a number of delegations, including my own, have expressed grave concern at the deteriorating international situation which prevails in the world today. The current situation, in both the political and the economic sense, has often been described as the worst in contemporary history. Tensions and mistrust among the major Powers have increased and consequently provocation and confrontations have spread to almost all fields of international relations. My delegation has consistently maintained that three principal factors, namely, the arms race, use of force and economic underdevelopment, have contributed to the aggravation of this dangerous situation. permit me briefly to focus on each of these factors.

(Mr. Ali, Bangladesh)

I begin with the arms race. It is apparent that lack of progress in reaching meaningful agreements on disarmament during the past two decades has led to an unrestrained armaments race between the super-Powers and also between other militarily significant States. The continued development and accumulation of the most sophisticated and lethal weapons, particularly the nuclear-arms build-up, clearly threaten not only international peace and security, but also the very existence of mankind. The arms race, in terms of both its conventional and its nuclear aspects, runs counter to the efforts to achieve a relaxation of global tension and the establishment of international relations based on peace, coexistence and trust between all States.

The second factor is the use of force. Despite our solemn pledges to abjure the use of force or the threat of the use of force as a means to solve international disputes, such acts continue with impunity all over the world. The General Assembly has at preceding sessions expressed its grave concern about the continued violation of these sacred principles, particularly those relating to the principles of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention and non-interference, and about recourse to the threat or use of force. The continued existence of crises and focal points of tension in various parts of the world is a matter of grave concern to us all. The General Assembly and the Security Council have in the recent past been seized of a great number of disputes and conflicts brought about by the failure of Member States to comply with obligations assumed under the Charter. Such ominous developments have undermined the role of the United Nations and reduced its effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The third principal factor that has contributed to the worsening of the present situation relates to economic underdevelopment. It is now well recognized that world peace and security cannot be maintained in existing conditions of economic disparities. The close relationship between disarmament, development and international security cannot be overemphasized. In this difficult and uncertain period in the international economic situation, the developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, are passing through a critical phase. Their development efforts have suffered a major set-back due to a number of extraneous economic factors. It is therefore imperative that concerted international action, on the basis of the International Development Strategy, be

(Mr. Ali, Bangladesh)

undertaken to reduce and eliminate the gap between the developed and developing countries, with a view to strengthening international peace and security. The present world economic crisis is global in nature. The interrelationship of issues and the interdependence of countries are so clearly established that isolated measures by any individual country or any group of countries cannot resolve the contradictions and difficulties that appear as a result of profound structural imbalance. We firmly believe that the present economic crisis can be overcome only through a global dialogue and concerted efforts by all countries.

Our comments on the specific agenda items before us should therefore be viewed against the backdrop of this overall development. The adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was regarded as an important landmark in the annals of the United Nations. This historic Declaration provided valuable guidelines and a broad programme for the strengthening of the United Nations as an important instrument for easing international tension and creating the necessary conditions for the attainment of a just and lasting peace. The solemn principles and purposes contained in that Declaration have been reaffirmed by the General Assembly at preceding sessions, and all States have been urged to adhere fully to the principles and purposes of the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration, as well as those of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as the basis for State-to-State relations, irrespective of their size, levels of development and political, economic and social systems.

We are all painfully aware that although the Declaration was adopted by virtual consensus it has not so far been possible to ensure full compliance with it. The present deteriorating international situation has, as evidenced in the recent past, conclusively proved that the lack of political will has been the principal obstacle to the full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. We shall observe the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration next year. The present international situation clearly calls for our renewed commitment to uphold all the provisions of that historic Declaration. In this context, my delegation attaches particular importance to this item, and we have sponsored the draft resolution on the subject (A/C.1/39/L.87).

(Mr. Ali, Bangladesh)

Bangladesh has always made a consistent effort to develop friendly and cordial relations with all the countries of the world and particularly with its neighbours. We have all along advocated the peaceful settlement of all disputes, in a spirit of co-operation and understanding, based on the principle of equity and justice. Our unrelenting efforts to promote peace and stability in our own region, through the creation of a climate of trust, understanding and co-operation, have largely succeeded. Bangladesh's joint initiative, along with six other countries of the region, led to the formal launching of the South Asian Regional Co-operation, which will undoubtedly usher in a new era of mutual co-operation and benefit in the region.

Bangladesh also firmly believes that regional and international peace and security would be promoted through the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapons-free zones in various regions of the world. As a littoral State, we have attached particular importance to turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and have lent our full support to the early convening of an international conference on the matter in Colombo. It is in this context that my delegation views the initiatives aimed at strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region as a positive step. The recent successful conclusion in Malta of the meeting of members of the Non-Aligned Movement from the Mediterranean region with the adoption of the Valletta Declaration on Mediterranean peace has already made an important contribution to the objective of peace and security in that region. We therefore feel that an effective and concerted effort should be made to reduce tension and promote security in the Mediterranean region.

Bangladesh has whole-heartedly supported the spirit of détente and the general relaxation of global tension, and we have always encouraged the gradual evolution of the process of democratization of international relations, with a view to facilitating the participation of all States, big or small, weak or powerful, developed or developing, in all international conferences, on a basis of equality. Bangladesh is firmly and irrevocably committed to the principles and purposes of the Charter. We view this world body as a unique instrument for promoting global peace and development, based on justice and equity. The prevailing global situation has demonstrated again that the complex and interrelated issues connected with international security and development can be addressed only in a multilateral context. Bangladesh has therefore fully supported all the efforts aimed at

(Mr. Ali, Bangladesh)

strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly by enhancing its peace-making and peace-keeping capabilities.

It is in this context that Bangladesh has fully supported the initiative aimed at the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter. It is a matter of deep regret that, owing to lack of political will, it has not so far been possible to make any substantial progress in this regard. It is our earnest hope that on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations greater imagination and wisdom will be demonstrated by all the parties, with a view to strengthening the United Nations in the interest of international peace and security.

Before concluding, I should like to make a few remarks about the new agenda item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States". As I mentioned a little while ago, Bangladesh is firmly committed to the principles and purposes of the Charter and to the principles of sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Ali, Bangladesh)

These cardinal principles constitute the fundamental norm affirmed by the international community. The violation or undermining of any of these principles, on one pretext or another, must be rejected in clear and categorical terms. My delegation therefore shares the perception that this newly introduced item should be given careful consideration and that all the basic principles sacred to the international community must be discussed comprehensively and in a broader perspective with a view to protecting the long-term interests of the international community as a whole. The issues involved affect the interests of all States, irrespective of social, political or economic systems. In view of the utmost importance of the question, we hope all concerned will demonstrate the necessary spirit of accommodation for the adoption of a draft resolution on the agenda item which will be widely acceptable to delegations.

Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): The policy of State terrorism and resultant actions aimed at undermining the socio-political system of sovereign States are flagrant violations of international law. In many international instruments, beginning with the United Nations Charter, which States parties have undertaken to respect, there are pertinent stipulations with regard to the inadmissibility of intervention and interference by any State in the internal affairs of another in violation of its sovereignty.

The policy of State terrorism is truly the expression of a policy of recourse to force and coercion in international relations. In this sense, from a historical point of view and, as proved by history, it was and is the fundamental policy of the imperialist States.

In the aftermath of the First World War the imperialist countries undertook direct military intervention against the world's first socialist State. After the Second World War the United States, practising its policy of the carrot and the stick, carried out a series of politico-military strategies designed to undermine and overthrow the socialist democracies and repress national liberation movements. In short, that foremost imperialist Power attempted to impose upon the world an American order, a Pax Americana.

Taking advantage, on a military level, of its monopoly and later its superiority in nuclear weapons, the United States pursued the so-called strategies of massive reprisals and brinkmanship to intimidate the socialist countries. They

(Mr. Hoang Bich Son, Viet Nam)

created military alliances and installed American military bases on every continent, creating bridgeheads for their acts of sabotage and aggression.

Further, exploiting their superior position in the areas of science and technology as well as their economic power and predominance, the United States employed the economic weapon to bring pressure to bear in order to compel the targeted countries to change their foreign and domestic policies. If the use of that pressure tactic failed to achieve the intended results, encirclement, embargo and economic sabotage were brought into play, presaging the possibility of a direct military intervention in the future.

What is more, which proved to be particularly dangerous, since the end of the 1970s, in addition to feverish efforts to acquire military superiority, the imperialist forces have assiduously practised State terrorism and intensified their actions to undermine the socio-political systems of sovereign States.

The United States is accustomed to regarding our world as a whole as something subordinate to its vital security interests. To that end, it has undertaken direct interventions or have lent a strong hand to their puppets in various regions of the world to oppose States that refuse to follow American policy - whether in Central America, in the Middle East or in southern Africa. Following the brutal armed aggression against Grenada came the encirclement and blockade on every level against the Republic of Nicaragua. The American threat still hangs over the security of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Syrian Arab Republic. Aided and abetted by the United States the racist Pretoria régime continues to intimidate the front-line States in southern Africa. In Asia, the United States, in collusion with the forces of international reaction, engages in attempts to overthrow the legal Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to sabotage the rebirth of the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea who have survived the horrors of genocide.

At this hour in the nuclear era, such acts give rise to extremely serious consequences not only for international peace and security but for the very existence of peoples as well.

In that context, the American allegations with regard to international terrorism are part of a smokescreen to camouflage its policy of State terrorism, on the one hand, and a pretext to enable them to intervene in any State, on the other hand.

(Mr. Hoang Bich Son, Viet Nam)

In the face of such a dangerous situation the struggle against the policy of State terrorism has become an urgent task for all peoples. The proposal to include on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States", which was submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, His Excellency Andrei Gromyko, is very welcome, timely and in keeping with the requirements of the present situation.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly believes that all peoples, and particularly those in developing countries, will more vigorously and with greater determination pursue their joint struggle against the policy of State terrorism in order to ensure peace and security in every region and for every country.

Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction that, as shown by the discussions that have been held, especially here in the First Committee, on the agenda item introduced by the Soviet Union at the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States," has drawn a great deal of attention on the part of representatives and given rise to a positive reaction on the part of a large number of States.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

Various statements have stressed the timely nature of the problems to which we drew the attention of the United Nations. Despite the variety of views about the concrete aspects of this question, practically all speakers agreed on the need to take practical steps to solve the problem. The Soviet delegation has carefully listened to and studied the views expressed during the debates and in unofficial consultations as well as the amendments introduced to our draft resolution by the delegations of Singapore and a group of other countries in document A/C.1/39/L.92 and the amendments in document A/C.1/39/L.91/Rev.1, introduced today by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of several Western countries.

We understand the wish of many States to consider the problem of the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States in the context of respect for one of the key principles enshrined in the Charter and in numerous decisions of the United Nations - the principle of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. This fully coincides also with our approach, which was reflected in the draft resolution introduced by the Soviet Union. The essence of our proposal consists in putting an end to attempts, ever more frequent of late, to use the policy and practice of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other States and peoples in order to subvert their sovereign rights, undermine the socio-political régime chosen by them and destabilize and bring down their Governments.

It goes without saying that the inadmissibility of undermining the existing socio-political system is indissolubly linked to the inadmissibility of the imposition from outside on States and peoples of an order alien to them, and the creation of obstacles to the free exercise by them, without foreign interference, of the choice of their own socio-political structure and their political, economic, social and cultural development.

The timely nature of this approach is determined by the peculiarities of the evolution of the present international situation. The General Assembly has often drawn the attention of Member States of the United Nations to the need to strengthen various concrete aspects of fundamental principles of the Charter, in conformity with the requirements of international life. We are convinced that this

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

is the way we should act this time. The adoption by the General Assembly of a decision about the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States will serve to enhance the effectiveness of key principles of the Charter, especially the principle of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

Introducing that proposal to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation stressed that it was aimed at contributing to uniting the efforts of States in order to restore trust and normalize the international situation.

It was in the light of that approach that we determined our attitude towards the proposals and remarks of other States. We strove as far as possible to take the maximum account of them in our draft resolution and that is reflected in document A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.2, which we are presenting today for the consideration of the First Committee and which, as I understand, is now being distributed to the delegations. We hope that this will remove the doubts expressed on behalf of the 10 members of the European Community by the representative of Ireland a short time ago.

It goes without saying that we took into account the fact that some of the amendments and remarks related to the very same clauses of the draft resolution and at times were incompatible with each other. In those cases we had to choose in favour of the views reflecting the overwhelming majority of views of the members of the Committee.

We assume that the revised draft resolution introduced by us will achieve wide support on the part of Member States of the United Nations. Approval of that decision would be most important for the creation of a sound international situation, the strengthening of the security of all States without exception, especially the less strong among them, the protection of the rights of peoples, the creation of moral and political barriers to aggression, intervention, interference in internal affairs and the policy and practice of State terrorism.

Mr. MAJOOD (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The international situation, which is beset by dangers and filled with contradictions, and where focal points of tension are spreading, clearly highlights the great importance and need for extensive and constructive discussion of the items placed before this

(Mr. Majood, Iraq)

Committee. Subjects as important as the maintenance of international peace and security, the implementation of the provisions of collective security, peaceful co-existence and the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations represent the core of the principles of the United Nations and the thrust of the purposes of its Charter.

(Mr. Majood, Iraq)

In fact, Article 1 of the Charter aims at the maintenance of international peace and security, the removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, in 1970, emphasizes, inter alia, the great importance of the principle of the peaceful resolution of disputes among States in a way that does not jeopardize international security and justice. It also emphasizes the importance of investigation, mediation, conciliation, juridical settlement and good offices, including those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Declaration also prohibits interference in affairs that come under the national jurisdiction of a State. It emphasizes the duty of every State to refrain from organizing acts of terrorism inside another State or inducing, participating in or assisting in the perpetration of such acts. In this context, we must refer to General Assembly resolution 36/103, adopted in 1981, which contains the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States.

Despite the provisions of the above-mentioned instrument and numerous resolutions and comprehensive international declarations, the importance of which was agreed upon by the international community, the current international situation is grim. There are flagrant violations of international peace and security and of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, perhaps the foremost of which is the nuclear build-up. The maintenance of international peace and disarmament are indivisible issues. No genuine disarmament can be achieved without considerable progress towards the achievement of a practical and effective collective security system based on the principles of the United Nations and increased international confidence. The serious situation which our world is now experiencing calls for the renunciation of the doctrine of achieving security only through military superiority and the development and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons.

Among the phenomena that jeopardize peace and security are the exercise of political, economic and military pressures and the refusal to recognize the inalienable right of self-determination, the independence of peoples and territories under colonial domination and apartheid, and the establishment of foreign military bases on the territory of other States. Moreover, foreign

(Mr. Majood, Iraq)

intervention by whatever means possible in the internal affairs of States and the fomenting of conspiracies and subversion and support for divisive elements have come to be overt practices without regard for the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In the Middle East the situation is being exacerbated as a result of expansionist and aggressive policies the failure to observe Security Council resolutions and the lack of respect for the will of the international community. The region of the Middle East is afflicted by many serious violations of peace as demonstrated by armed conflicts, acts of aggression, overt expansionist policies, foremost among which is the aggressive and expansionist policy pursued by Israel in that region, where there cannot be peace without the full and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return to its homeland, and its right to self-determination under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole and legitimate representative.

The Mediterranean basin has great strategic importance by virtue of its geographical location. There is a close link between security in the Middle East and the security of the Mediterranean region, which is fraught with tension and overburdened by the foreign military presence in it. Therefore, my delegation fully supports the conversion of this area into a zone of peace, security and co-operation, free from conflict and free from nuclear weapons.

In Africa, there can no be peace and security unless the growing military arsenal of the South African régime is removed and the oppressed people of South Africa is liberated under the leadership of the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, and unless the people of Namibia achieve its rights to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia.

With regard to the Indian Ocean, there is an urgent need to dismantle the foreign bases and military installations and to denuclearize the area. Iraq firmly believes that the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and its natural extension will contribute considerably to the promotion of international peace and security.

It is sad indeed that there is an ever growing number of focal points of tension in our civilized world, which include the tragic conflicts in Asia, Africa,

(Mr. Majood, Iraq)

Europe, Central America and the Caribbean. The policy of force and the creation of spheres of influence constantly heighten existing hotbeds of tension and create further areas of tension. This dangerous situation that is prevailing in our world today is not due to a lack of comprehensive international conventions and resolutions. Rather, it is due to the lack of political will on the part of the international community to implement those resolutions. International organs are also failing to fulfil their mandates because of the policies of aggression and expansion. Failure by the Security Council to use the mechanisms available to it in a way that would implement its resolutions renders ineffective the system of security provided for in the United Nations Charter. So much so that Security Council resolutions, including those unanimously adopted, are not only rejected because of opposition to one or more paragraphs thereof, or because of preference to use a different method to settle some dispute peacefully, but rather Security Council resolutions are rejected merely because they call for peace. That represents a clear violation of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

(Mr. Majood, Iraq)

The world expects us to take new, bold and comprehensive initiatives, not mere rhetorical ones. Such initiatives should examine, carefully and in depth, the root causes of the non-implementation of provisions of the collective security system set out in the United Nations Charter and should call for the removal of the obstacles to the achievement of international peace and security, general disarmament and social and economic progress for all countries of the world.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): We are speaking today to state our views on the agenda item on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and also to state our views on an item which is new to the General Assembly but which is old as a phenomenon which affects mainly third world countries struggling for independence and national dignity. I refer to the item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States".

Clearly, these two items are closely related. When we face a country which constantly and systematically violates the principles governing relations among States, when that country makes the use of force a considered State policy intended to overthrow Governments not to its liking, when that country systematically disregards and mocks decisions of the International Court of Justice and the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, then obviously we are not facing a mere violation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, but rather a terrorist State whose notions of power and international relations automatically place it outside the law and apart from the entire international legal order. Such are the cases of South Africa and Israel, and that of the super-Power which protects them and supports them in their policies of destabilization directed against neighbouring countries and of exterminating the Palestinian and South African peoples.

Since the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine - and in particular with regard to Central American and Caribbean affairs - the United States has pursued a policy intended to overthrow Governments and impose military dictatorships or puppet Governments, a policy intended to drown in blood just, popular uprisings through intervention and direct military occupation.

The old policy of gunboat diplomacy, which runs counter to the progress made in international law and to the principles upon which our Organization is based, has been updated by President Reagan and the White House and Pentagon hawks.

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Unable to base their policy on legal or moral grounds, these new "defenders of Western civilization" are seeking, by the reasoning of an axiological relativism, to violate the system of international law and the international order which are the product of 40 years of arduous labour, trying to limit the universal validity of these principles and norms to specific contexts. Thus, it is no surprise that such neo-cynics as Mr. Caspar Weinberger, United States Secretary of Defense, have elaborated a complete theory on the use of force, a theory in which the only important thing is the vital strategic interests of the United States, the support of the United States Congress and the determination to win. It is a theory where we find not the slightest reference to the law or to morality. Nor is it a surprise to see Mrs. Kirkpatrick, wearing the hat of a legal consultant, come up with fantastic interpretations of the concept of individual and collective self-defence in order to justify acts of piracy in Central America.

The international order and international law, which govern relations among civilized States, were the product of a terrible war in which millions of human beings gave up their lives. We cannot allow irresponsible adventurist positions cloaked in erratic sophistry and rationalizations to violate that order and that body of law, once again placing the entire human race on the brink of a new global conflagration.

When we addressed this Committee during the debate on disarmament items, we warned about the importance of approaching those items from the broader point of view of international security, without which disarmament is impossible. Hence, we attach enormous importance to this discussion and to the need to comply with the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We also attach enormous importance to the inclusion on the agenda of the new item on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States, because it reflects the gravity of our time, when a super-Power with irresponsible leadership has become an international criminal.

I shall not rehearse in detail the assassinations of innocent citizens and the damage to my country's economy resulting from the dirty war being waged by the United States Government against Nicaragua. Nor shall I refer to the lengthy list of actions and statements, threats and blackmail, hurled by that Administration not only against my country but also against all peoples and Governments which understand the injustice against Nicaragua and which support the positions of our

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people and our revolution. I shall refer to only three events which occurred during the past two years and which constitute tangible proof of the State terrorism practised by the United States against my country.

These events have been denounced by Nicaragua on several occasions in the Security Council and were broadly reflected in the international and United States press. It is worth while to refresh our memories, because the criminal is on the loose, pursued by justice. The gravity of its misdeeds has placed the Central American region on the brink of a regional conflagration, which poses a threat to international peace and security.

On 10 October 1983, mercenaries, led by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), attacked oil storage facilities at Port Benjamin Zeledon on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, causing the loss of 324,000 gallons of oil. On 10 October of that same year, a combined land and air attack destroyed five oil storage facilities at Port Corinto on Nicaragua's Pacific coast, causing the loss of 3.2 million gallons of petrol and diesel fuel, wounding 112 persons and forcing the evacuation of more than 20,000 citizens because of the danger of explosions and fire throughout the city.

What was the reply of the United States Administration to these acts of terrorism? On 19 October 1983, President Reagan, speaking at a press conference in reponse to the question of whether he considered it appropriate for the CIA to be involved in such attacks, answered:

"I believe in the right of a country, when it believes that its interests are best served, to carry out covert activities."

That "right" exists, according to President Reagan, because:

"covert activities have been a part of government and a part of government responsibilities as long as there has been a government".

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At the end of the month of March of this year, power boats of the "Pirana" type, protected and supplied by ships of the American Navy which are permanently stationed off our coasts, mined the harbour to the Port of Corinto, the principal port of our country. As a result of that action, in which personnel of the American CIA were directly involved, many Nicaraguan fishing vessels were destroyed or damaged. The mining also affected ships flying Dutch, Panamanian, Soviet and Liberian flags, which were damaged as a result of the explosions. The mining not only directly affected the ships and crews of other countries, but also interrupted international trade with Nicaragua by causing many ships to change course because of the panic.

This criminal action was widely condemned by the international community as is shown by the fact that a draft resolution submitted by my delegation to the Security Council received a favourable vote from 13 of its members, and an abstention by Great Britain, which did not fail to condemn the mining. The only negative vote was that of the United States.

The last aspect to which I should I like to refer relates to the document entitled "Psychological operations in guerrilla warfare". This document was made widely known by the American press, and my delegation even had it published as an official document of the Security Council and the General Assembly because we consider its content to be highly revealing of the philosophy which inspires the policy of the most powerful country on earth and the morality of its rulers, which is similar to that of the Wild West in the United States - trigger-happy Bible readers who cheat at cards.

The manual written by the American CIA and used in training Somozist and mercenary bands is an instrument which sets forth instructions for committing crimes against political leaders and defenceless people, for carrying out kidnappings and assassinations and for hiring paid assassins. The manual even recommends creating martyrs to the detriment of the counter-revolutionaries by means of assassination, the forcible recruitment of collaborators and, for terror propaganda purposes, the assassination of innocent persons.

As was stated by Senator Christopher Dodd of the United States:

"This Administration has been outspoken against State terrorism, but this document makes a mockery of that position. If this is not State terrorism, then I do not know what is."

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On the same occasion, Senator Claiborne Pell said:

"The Administration has launched an aggressive anti-terrorist campaign and, at the same time, seems to have become involved in the same terrorist activities which we condemn elsewhere."

Today, we read in the American newspapers that the Intelligence Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States concluded that the manual is in violation of a 1982 law which forbids the United States from attempting to overthrow the Government of Nicaragua.

I have in my hands the document entitled "Current policy No. 629" of 25 October 1984, published by the Public Relations Office of the State Department, which contains a text of a speech made on that same day by Mr. George Schultz at the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York, entitled "Terrorism in the modern world". In that document the Secretary of State of the United States, in trying to establish a moral difference between terrorists and freedom fighters, affirmed that:

"We cannot allow an Orwellian corruption of our language to obscure our understanding of terrorism."

In that same document he stated:

"Terrorists want people to lose faith in the ability of their Governments to protect them and thus undermine the legitimacy of the Government itself or its policy, or both. Our goal" - he said in another part of the speech - "is not to seek vengeance but to put an end to violent attacks against innocent people and to make of the world a more secure place in which to live."

The representative of the United States at the United Nations is also very much inclined to use metaphors of an Orwellian inversion. When I see the actions taken by the Government of the United States against my country; when I see the immense flames of oil tanks burning in Corinto and the defenceless population fleeing; when I see the explosions of ships as a result of the mining of our ports; when I see the instructions which the CIA gives to Somoquist guards - and certainly they need no further counselling in assassination since Somoza and the American military advisers formed and trained the national guard so very thoroughly - to assassinate innocent farmers and set fire to plantations and co-operatives, I wonder who is using Orwellian metaphor, who corrupts the language, who distorts words, who is seeking to undermine the legitimacy of our Government and overthrow it, who are the freedom fighters and who are the "terrorists". When I read the

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newspapers today and see that 21 Nicaraguan workers, most of them employed in telecommunications and in the post office, were assassinated in an ambush by President Reagan's "freedom fighters", when they were on their way to harvest coffee in the northern part of my country - I wonder who is assassinating the innocent? Who is on the side of truth and who lies shamelessly?

The international legal order and principles are quite clear. Article 2, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter states:

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

Paragraph 4 states:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

Equally clear are the principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States and in many other resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. So much so that my Government, as well as eminent international jurists, found sufficient cause to bring the Government of the United States before the International Court of Justice because of the military and paramilitary activities which that Government has carried out against Nicaragua in violation of the international legal order and constituting conduct which we can correctly term State terrorism.

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The Court at The Hague, on 10 May of this year, issued a provisional order which, among other things, sets forth:

"The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by the Republic of Nicaragua ... should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities which are prohibited by the principles of international law, in particular the principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, and the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a State." (S/16564, para. 41)

Later, on 26 November of this year, the Court pronounced a sentence declaring itself competent to deal with the matter, against all the ruses used by the United States Government to sidestep justice.

I need hardly say that the United States has continued to fail to comply with that provisional order of the Court. It not only continues by other means to advise and finance military and paramilitary activities against Nicaragua but it uses all means to block the peace efforts the Contadora Group has completed after two years of arduous consultations and negotiations.

The United States continues to arm Honduras, continues to build military bases and carry out intimidating military manoeuvres in the area and propaganda campaigns to sow terror among the population and continues its spying flights, and its false accusations and threatening statements against Nicaragua.

This same United States policy led that country to invade Grenada last year.

Similar behaviour by the United States, which supports Israel, makes a solution of the Middle East crisis impossible, a solution that would ensure the Palestinian people the exercise of their legitimate rights, including the right to establish their own independent State, and would guarantee that all States in the region could live in peace and security.

That same policy on the part of this great Power enables Namibia to remain occupied and apartheid to become constitutional and grow stronger in South Africa. It is the same policy that encourages South Africa in its illegal occupation of a part of Angolan territory and in its attempts to destabilize and overthrow the legitimate Government of Angola. That same policy encourages South Africa to attack the brotherly countries of the front line.

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A similar policy is bringing the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

For all the reasons I have explained, my delegation vehemently supports the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation on "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" and the draft resolution that this Committee adopts every year on "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", submitted by the delegation of Yugoslavia.

Mr. NANNA (Nigeria): When the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted in 1970, we shared the general view that every Member State of the world community, including mine, would have some relief in the hope that thereafter the conduct of international relations and diplomacy would be guided by the provisions of that Declaration, which were, in themselves, largely based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. There is no doubt that adherence to the provisions of the Declaration and indeed, the United Nations Charter, would greatly improve the deteriorating nature of inter-State relations, in particular East-West relations. In reality, the experiences of the past 14 years since the adoption of that Declaration confirm that the Members of the United Nations, particularly the powerful ones, have not upheld the unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter as the basis of their relations with other sovereign States.

This has led to a master-servant type of relationship rather than to the principle of equality enshrined in the Charter. Threats have not been limited to military might alone and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States has been perpetrated through transnational corporations using their immense economic power and financial strength spread over many countries. Besides this, various destabilization measures have been employed to undermine sovereign authorities, in particular in the developing countries.

Summing up our concern in this regard, our honourable Minister of External Affairs, His Excellency I. A. Gambari, in his address to this session of the General Assembly on 8 October 1984 stated, inter alia:

"Whether in southern Africa or the Middle East, whether in South-East Asia or Central America, whether in Korea or Cyprus, the resort to force or threat of the use of force, the violation of the right to self-determination, the

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violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, continue to pose a severe threat to international peace and security."
(A/39/PV.25, p. 56)

The economic recovery that is being noticed in some developed countries has yet to be experienced in almost all the developing countries. Reacting to the downward trend in the economies of most developing countries, domestic policies had to be reshaped to meet the changing trend in the world economy. These changes, in some instances, have been reflected in the foreign policies of these countries, in both the economic and the political fields. It is pathetic to note that some developed countries reacted adversely to those changes and those of us in the third world have been on the receiving end. A situation in which third world countries cannot determine their own destiny, whether economic or political, is hardly in accordance with the pursuit of the objectives of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. International relations should be conducted on a just and democratic basis. The world is not static. In the words of William Wallace in The Foreign Policy Process in Britain: "Foreign policy has ceased to be a discreet field, separated from domestic policies, both in the nature of issue and the management of policy."

Of striking significance in the Declaration is its operative paragraph 3, which:

"Solemnly reaffirms that, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter shall prevail". (resolution 2734 (XXV))

There is no doubt that States do not accord this provision the regard it deserves. There are instances when States have attached more significance to their various regional arrangements than to genuine pursuit of the objectives of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Thus more emphasis has been placed on regional security than on global security, and international security has become greatly eroded. The two super-Powers have engaged in an elusive search for military - indeed nuclear - superiority, although neither side will admit this fact. Self-interest and fear of attack has become the basic factor in their nuclear escalation. There is mutual distrust of each other's intentions and this has manifested itself in various United Nations forums, including various disarmament negotiations.

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For many years several resolutions on both conventional and nuclear disarmament have been adopted by the General Assembly, but no positive result has been achieved. The reason is lack of political will on the part of States Members of the United Nations, especially the two super-Powers, whose actions have thwarted effective implementation of these resolutions. The two super-Powers seem to be maintaining the belief that effective diplomacy should continue to be the outcome of some form of military power. Political communities, indeed, sovereign States, cannot continue to owe their existence to military might and warfare. To maintain such a belief is to relegate to the background the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace and security. The United Nations has been defied on several occasions by some Member States that frequently violate its resolutions while the Security Council, owing to vested interests, is unable to take effective enforcement actions. The United Nations as a body thus appears helpless, weakened and rendered ineffective, a situation that was not envisaged by the founding fathers.

The situation in southern Africa continues to pose threats to international peace and security, especially to the States of the continent of Africa. Despite yearly United Nations resolutions on termination of nuclear collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa, some States still engage in nuclear and military co-operation with the apartheid régime. This is a clear manifestation of utter disregard for the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in July 1964 at Cairo and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December 1965. In this regard it is particularly essential to strengthen the machinery of the United Nations so that the Organization can deal effectively with the problems posed to Africans by the apartheid régime of South Africa.

The current aggressive posture of the racist régime is at variance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the world community cannot continue to watch helplessly while the racist leaders in Pretoria continue with their inhuman policies against the majority population of South Africa and engage in acts of terrorism against neighbouring African States. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States are constantly threatened by the aggressive policies of racist South Africa.

The protracted issue of Namibian independence provides a vivid example of the violation of the trusteeship system provided for in Chapters XII and XIII of the

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United Nations Charter. Apartheid South Africa has not only refused to comply with the terms of the trusteeship agreement, but has constantly violated human rights and fundamental freedoms in defiance of Article 76 of the United Nations Charter. My delegation will continue to give its fullest support to the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) for its accession to its national aspiration, which is political independence for the people of Namibia under majority rule by the people of Namibia itself.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones should be seen not only as an important disarmament measure but also as respect for the wishes and aspirations of the States members of such zones. It is in this respect that we support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions of the world, including the Middle East, South Asia and the Balkans, including the Mediterranean region. The establishment of such zones and respect for such zones as nuclear-free areas would be in keeping with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

We believe that one major step to achieve international security would be the strengthening of the United Nations system so that it can deal effectively with ever changing world situations. In this connection, Member States also have a responsibility to enhance the effectiveness of the various organs of the United Nations, especially the Security Council, in accordance with paragraph 12 of the Declaration. The collective conscience of the international community would positively enhance the effective implementation of the various resolutions and declarations of the world body.

Mr. MURRAY (Trinidad and Tobago): In delivering my delegation's statement before this Committee one year ago on the "Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security", I said:

"... the year following the adoption by consensus of resolution 37/119 has seen no significant move towards strengthening international peace and security and, in fact, has seen a further increase in international tension and instability. We cannot continue to vacillate, and for this reason my delegation is again one of the sponsors of a draft resolution -

A/C.1/38/L.83/Rev.1 - which suggests the establishment of a special committee to explore ways and means of implementing the collective security provisions."

(A/C.1/38/PV.52, p. 19)

(Mr. Murray, Trinidad and Tobago)

I further appealed to all Member States to:

"... actively participate in finding ways to implement the collective security provisions of the Charter". (A/C.1/38/PV.52, p.20)

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.83/Rev.1 subsequently became General Assembly resolution 38/191, but, alas, it was, like so many of the resolutions of the First Committee, stillborn. I trust that draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.86 of this session will not suffer the same fate.

It is disturbing that after 40 years the collective security provisions of the Charter have not yet been fully implemented, but what is even more disturbing is the apparent reluctance to act to find ways and means of remedying this deficiency, and this despite the fact that each succeeding year sees further increases in international tension and instability.

My delegation again wishes to emphasize that one of the major attractions of the United Nations for many small developing nations is the system of collective security enshrined in its Charter. We are therefore desirous of having such a system fully operational and able to contribute to the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. While international peace and security is an important goal in itself, it is also an essential factor in promoting social and economic welfare. It is our firm conviction that development can best be pursued in a climate of peace and security.

There is little that can be added to what has already been said in the two years that this item has been debated in the First Committee primarily because procedural wrangles were allowed totally to divert attention from, and even stymie, the real issue. What is now needed is action, action first to explore ways and means of implementing the collective security provisions and then, having fully considered the ways and means, action to implement the machinery inherent in those provisions.

Let me reiterate that my delegation does not seek any radical changes in the Organization, but we are only too well aware of the urgent need to activate mechanisms to ensure that the Organization functions in such a way that the noble principles enshrined in the Charter find expression in the present political environment.

(Mr. Murray, Trinidad and Tobago)

Trinidad and Tobago will have the honour and privilege of serving on the Security Council for two years beginning on 1 January 1985. We face this challenge fully conscious of the responsibility entailed in membership of that body charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We intend to spare no effort in making our individual contribution to this end. We harbour no illusions, however, that any one Member State or even the 15 members of the Security Council alone can effectively bring about or maintain international peace and security. This is a goal that can be achieved only through the collective and co-operative effort of all Member States. Therefore, in addressing the question of the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter - which is one aspect of the maintenance of international peace and security - we call on all States to co-operate fully and work in harmony to ensure that the provisions of the Charter can be brought to life and contribute in a meaningful way to achieving the aims and objectives of the Organization.

As the work of the Committee at this session comes to an end, Mr. Chairman, my delegation extends its congratulations to you and the other officers on the manner in which our work has been effected; your guidance and leadership have indeed enhanced this work and we are appreciative of your untiring efforts.

Mr. MANDA-LOUNDHET (Congo) (interpretation from French): When one analyses the events occurring on our planet, one soon realizes that there are many "sensitive" points in regard to international peace and security. That proves that we have still not learned enough lessons from the past.

Indeed, after the slaughter of the last two world wars, it would have been logical for man to mobilize all his energy and intelligence in order to halt forever the suicidal ideas of war and to

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

It is true that efforts have been made. The League of Nations represents the first such effort. It died from the failure with which we are all familiar. Since its creation, the United Nations has at least been striving to achieve its

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purposes - that is, to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends.

Although the role of the United Nations in the search for international security has not yet led to the achievement of those objectives, we must admit that our Organization sometimes shows courage and perseverance. But can one say the same of the individual behaviour of each of its Members? No, because the fundamental ideas underlying peace, security and the basic principles of the United Nations Charter are constantly and deliberately contravened by some Members.

Peaceful coexistence and co-operation on the basis of equality, good-neighbourliness, non-use of force, the promotion of the economic and social progress of all peoples, have still not taken root in our world, after almost 40 years. On the contrary, serious obstacles are constantly placed on the path to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Imperialism in its most pernicious aspects, neo-colonialism and all forms of aggression and interference continue to characterize relations among States today. Scientific discoveries are misused. All this results in the appearance almost everywhere in the world of tensions and flashpoints which seriously endanger international security and the search for lasting peace.

In Latin America, Nicaragua, a sovereign and independent country and, what is more, a Member of the United Nations, is the victim of armed aggression and constant threats. In order to destabilize its legal Government, its main ports have been mined, in violation of international law, causing thousands of deaths and heavy economic loss. Attempts are made to impose on the Nicaraguans a political, social and economic model suited to the consolidation of the take-over of their country. With the same aims, all kinds of pressure are exerted on Cuba and other countries of the region. We think that the international community should be more vigilant and should mobilize public opinion to denounce, vehemently, these activities that are prejudicial to the security of States.

The Contadora Agreement is, in our view, an approach that is necessary to ensure peace and dialogue in Central America. Instead of torpedoing it, as some seem to want to do, it would be better to encourage this process. The delegation of the Congo fully supports the Declaration of the ministers of foreign affairs and

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heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries participating in the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, in which they call on all the States concerned to pursue their efforts to ensure that the process undertaken by the Contadora Group speedily bears fruit, through the signing of this agreement that could bring peace to the region.

The situation is not particularly peaceful in the Middle East, and the question of Palestine is still pending. So long as no just solution is found to this situation, so long as there is no settlement of the question of Palestine that takes into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in conformity with international law and the Charter, there will be no peace in that region. We must also note that our Organization's efforts are, here too, buried in a never-never land by the gravediggers of peace.

The Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean have become arenas for shows of force by the navies of the great Powers, in contravention of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 2832 (XXVI), of 16 December 1971, and the parts of resolutions 36/102, 37/118 and 38/189 relating to the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Manda-Loundhet, Congo)

We listened with great emotion the day before yesterday to the description in the statement by the Albanian delegation of the disturbing militarization of the Mediterranean. The non-aligned countries have unequivocally condemned that show of force. They noted with concern and alarm the constant escalation of the military presence of the great Powers in the area of the Indian Ocean, especially the expansion of existing bases, the search for new facilities for the building of bases and the establishment of new military command structures by the great Powers, contrary to the express will of the coastal and non-coastal countries of the Indian Ocean and of other non-aligned countries. These activities indeed threaten the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of the States of the region.

Southern Africa is another flashpoint on our planet. Recent events there clearly show that the racist Pretoria régime is resisting all change and pursuing its policy of government by the minority, resorting to colonial tyranny and apartheid in South Africa and in Namibia.

The strengthening of apartheid through brutal repression, exploitation, intimidation and constitutional fraud is the main cause of instability inside the country and of tension in the region. From the territory of Namibia, South Africa launches aggression on neighbouring countries, including Angola, part of whose territory it occupies by force. Linking the Namibian problem to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the racist apartheid régime has found a fallacious pretext to divert international attention. Its obstinacy in resisting resolutions and decisions of the United Nations is a blow to international peace and security.

The Congolese delegation is happy that the Korean people wishes to reunify its homeland peacefully without foreign interference. We support the efforts made by the Korean people to reach that goal.

The sombre picture we have just presented becomes even bleaker because of the mad arms race, especially the nuclear-arms race, engaged in everywhere by the great Powers. Steps are already being taken to militarize outer space. "Peaceful" statements made in this forum do not always sound very reassuring. Détente, as stressed in the declaration of the non-aligned countries, must be universal, applicable to all regions and to all questions and enabling all States to participate. To achieve lasting international peace and security, in the view of the delegation of the People's Republic of Congo, it is imperative to establish a

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new type of relationship among States founded on independence, equality, justice and peaceful co-operation among all peoples.

The CHAIRMAN: My list of speakers for the general debate on security items is exhausted. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. CLARK (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, it is not only your list of speakers that is exhausted. I think many of us are exhausted also. However, I wish to speak briefly in exercise of the right of reply to the attacks against my Government and my country and against individuals by the representative of Nicaragua. These attacks are totally unjustified, totally out of place and totally groundless.

Why has Nicaragua attacked the United States in this way? The Government of Nicaragua accuses others of terrorism. Yet the Government of Nicaragua practises terrorism against its own people. We are all too familiar with the sad story of the Miskito Indians within Nicaragua. The Government of Nicaragua practises terrorism against its neighbours. We are all too familiar with the sad efforts of that Government to destabilize its neighbours in the area and to export instability and insurrection to them. It is all too self-evident that what we are seeking is to enhance international security and our own security.

We should be happy if the Government of Nicaragua felt itself able to fulfil its own promises to its own people, to enhance its own security, by broadening the base of political participation in its own Government and in its own political processes. It is to be deeply regretted that it has not fulfilled its own promises.

We would also be happy if the Government of Nicaragua was better able to agree to address the complex and multilateral problems of the region and to seek a comprehensive solution to those problems through the multilateral Contadora process. That process, we continue to believe, is the best way to enhance international security in the area, including the security of Nicaragua.

Mr. TARI (Israel) (interpretation from French): First of all I should like to apologize for making this particularly heavy work day longer, but my delegation would like to exercise briefly its right of reply, following a number of statements made today in the First Committee.

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

Various delegations thought it appropriate to make use of the last days of work of our Committee to resort to their traditional attacks against Israel. On many occasions, at appropriate times, my country has expressed its position on the question of the Middle East. I shall not repeat that position at this late hour or in this forum. I would merely once again protest against the defamatory assertions against Israel. I would also express the wish, in conclusion, that the First Committee in future will be able to work without any diversionary tactics or sterile polemics in our work for disarmament and international security.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker in exercise of the right of reply, I wish to remind members of the Committee of the rules of procedure that apply in the exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): I shall not tire the representatives even more, since the hour is so late, but I wish to reply briefly to the statements by the representative of the United States. He wonders why Nicaragua attacks the United States in this way in the debate on this agenda item in this Committee. I should like to reply by saying that, as a consequence of the dirty war being waged by the United States on my country, more than 1,400 Nicaraguan citizens have died and more than 3,000 have been wounded and kidnapped, and 113,000 people have had to be displaced from their homes, and the economic losses caused by that dirty war against my country represent a cost of approximately \$200 million up to 1983.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

For those simple and clear reasons we maintain and affirm what we said in this Committee when we debated the item.

Secondly, the American representative speaks about the so-called export of our revolution to neighbouring countries. That argument has been used on many occasions by the American delegation to justify its dirty war against Nicaragua. It is an argument which is totally baseless in reality since, on the assumption that there was traffic in arms towards El Salvador, I need to remind the United States representative that in 1982 his country approved \$30 million for fiscal year 1983 and \$50 million for fiscal year 1984 for Central American Governments friendly to the United States, for the specific purpose of preventing the use of their territories for any kind of arms flow that could supposedly come from Cuba or Nicaragua. If there is such an arms traffic, for what have those millions been used? What proof has the United States given when precisely in the Fonseca Gulf and Tigre Island there is a sophisticated radar system permanently operated by 100 United States Marines? Where is the proof?

Thirdly, the American representative referred to the Contadora process. Yes, it is true, Nicaragua is the one which has given the most impetus to the Contadora process, because we are the ones who are suffering the consequences of the prevailing situation in Central America and the ones most interested in a peaceful solution to those problems. And I need to remind the American representative, too, of the existence of a secret United States National Security Council document in which the United States Government congratulates itself precisely for having frustrated the efforts of the Contadora Group.

The CHAIRMAN: Since no other representative wishes to speak, I declare concluded the general debate on all security items. In our meeting tomorrow we shall deal only with action on draft resolutions already submitted to the Committee.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.