GENERAL **ASSEMBLY**

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^{*} Resumed from the 79th meeting.

- (d) Paragraph 125 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session:
 - (i) Report of the Committee on Disarmament;
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- (a) Implementation of the Declaration: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Non-interference in the internal affairs of States

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/35/701)

AGENDA ITEM 121

Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war

- 1. Mr. KENSMIL (Suriname), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour of presenting to the General Assembly the reports of the First Committee on its work concerning agenda items 31 to 35, 37 to 46, 48 and 49 on the question of disarmament and item 50 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. At the 79th meeting, the Assembly adopted resolution 35/46 on agenda item 36 concerning the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and resolution 35/47 on item 44 (c) relating to the establishment of a Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In that connexion, a draft decision contained in document A/35/L.47/Rev.1, is before the General Assembly regarding the scheduling of the second substantive session of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session on Disarmament in accordance with previous General Assembly resolutions.
- 2. Regarding agenda item 121 entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war", I wish to state that the First Committee, which considered that item, had before it on 13 October, draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.1, submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the 42nd meeting of the First Committee, on 25 November, the Soviet delegation stated that it would not insist on a vote on that text since the basic provisions of the draft resolution had already been reflected in texts adopted by the First Committee under other items, namely draft resolutions A/C.1/35/L.36/Rev.1 and A/C.1/35/L.44.
- 3. Before introducing the reports of the First Committee, I also wish to report on item 47, which was allocated to the First Committee by the Genreal Assembly. This item relates to the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States and was the subject of a report by the Committee on Disarma-

ment. There was, however, no draft resolution submitted or considered by the First Committee on that item.

- 4. As at previous sessions, this year the First Committee held a combined general debate on the items relating to disarmament. A total of 47 draft resolutions were submitted, out of which four were withdrawn.
- 5. I shall now introduce the reports of the First Committee. The report on agenda item 31 is contained in document A/35/684 and the relevant recommendation is to be found in paragraph 8.
- 6. The report of agenda item 32 is in document A/35/685. The First Committee recommended two draft resolutions, which appear in paragraph 10.
- 7. The report on agenda item 33 is in document A/35/686 and the relevant recommendation is contained in paragraph 6.
- 8. The report on agenda item 34 is in document A/35/687 and the recommendation of the First Committee is to be found in paragraph 15.
- 9. The report on agenda item 35 is to be found in document A/35/688, and the recommendation of the First Committee is to be found in paragraph 11.
- 10. The report on agenda item 37 is contained in document A/35/689. The First Committee recommends the adoption of two draft resolutions, one on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa and the other on South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field, which are to be found in paragraph 9 of the report.
- 11. The report on agenda item 38 is contained in document A/35/690; the recommendation appears in paragraph 9 of the report.
- 12. The report on agenda item 39 is contained in document A/35/691, and the recommendation on this item can be found in paragraph 7.
- 13. The report on agenda item 40 is contained in document A/35/692, and the recommendation of the First Committee can be found in paragraph 7 of the report.
- 14. The report on agenda item 41 is contained in document A/35/693, and the recommendation of the First Committee can be found in paragraph 8 of the report.
- 15. The report on agenda item 42 is contained in document A/35/694, and the recommendation with regard to that item can be found in paragraph 7.
- 16. The report on agenda item 43 is contained in document A/35/695, and the relevant recommendation of the First Committee is contained in paragraph 8 of that report.
- 17. Part II of the report of the First Committee on agenda item 44 appears in document A/35/665/Add.1. Under that item, the First Committee adopted 10 draft resolutions dealing with the United Nations programme of fellowships on disarmament, nuclear weapons in all aspects, non-use of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war, the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session, the report of the Disarmament Commission, paragraph 125 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, the programme of research

- and studies on disarmament, the world disarmament campaign and the report of the Committee on Disarmament. The relevant recommendation under this item is to be found in paragraph 27 of the report.
- 18. With reference to this item, I wish to draw attention to operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution F where a blank has been left at the end of the paragraph for the insertion of the date for the beginning of the meetings of the Disarmament Commission at its 1981 substantive session. Since that date has still not been determined, pending further consultations, I propose the deletion of the words "beginning on" at the end of that paragraph concerning the report of the Disarmament Commission.
- 19. The report on agenda item 45 is contained in document A/35/696, and the Committee's recommendation is to be found in paragraph 7.
- 20. The report on agenda item 46 is contained in document A/35/697, and the recommendation of the Committee is to be found in paragraph 7.
- The report on agenda item 48 is contained in document A/35/699. Under this item the First Committee adopted 11 draft resolutions dealing with a study on conventional disarmament, confidencebuilding measures, the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present, the study on all aspects of regional disarmament, the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security, the study on nuclear weapons, the conclusion of an international convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons, the prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, the report of the Committee on Disarmament, disarmament and international security, and strategic arms limitation talks. The Committee's recommendation on this item can be found in paragraph 34 of its report.
- 22. The last report on the disarmament items is that on agenda item 49, and is contained in document A/35/700. The Committee's recommendation on that item can be found in paragraph 7 of the report.
- 23. As at previous sessions, the work of the First Committee reflected the General Assembly's deep concern at the pace of disarmament and expressed a definite desire for action, in particular for the implementation, on the eve of the second special session on disarmament, of the decisions and recommendations of the first special session. This year the First Committee adopted 20 draft resolutions by consensus and a large number by a substantial majority—indicating, let us hope, a trend, however slow, towards the enlargement of areas of agreement in the field of disarmament. Highlights of this session were the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament and the adoption of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. Many other draft resolutions laid stress on the need for action in the field of disarmament.
- 24. I wish now to introduce to the Assembly the report of the First Committee relating to agenda item 50 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contained in

document A/35/701. Disarmament is directly related to the principal objective of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. Ten years ago the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted by this body. As requested by the General Assembly in resolution 34/100, the Secretary-General has prepared, with the assistance of governmental experts, for this session of the General Assembly a report dealing with the extent of the implementation of the Declaration and actions to be undertaken in order to secure full compliance with its provisions [A/35/505 and Add.1-3]. The report, which also includes views submitted by individual Member States, is the first such analytical report prepared since the Declaration was adopted.

- 25. Although different opinions have been expressed in the First Committee on various aspects of the implementation of the Declaration, there is a clear general agreement on the need to use every opportunity to strengthen international security, and on the fact that the Declaration, despite its possible shortcomings, is a useful instrument to that end. The recommendation of the First Committee on this item is in paragraph 9 of its report.
- 26. May I also note that, although the recommendation of the Committee contains only one draft resolution, a second draft resolution was submitted to the Committee for consideration in document A/C.1/35/L.62, and appears in paragraph 7 of the report. Owing to the lack of time, however, the Committee could not take action on that draft resolution. Therefore, the Committee agreed on the procedure outlined in paragraph 8 of its report. That text has now been submitted to the Assembly for consideration and action as draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1.
- 27. On behalf of the First Committee, I commend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolutions that I have just outlined.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.

- 28. The PRESIDENT: I should like to point out that a draft decision has been submitted in addition under agenda item 44 and an additional draft resolution has been proposed under agenda item 50.
- 29. Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the First Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.
- 30. May I remind members that, in decision 34/401, the Assembly agreed that:

"When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, i.e., either in the Committee or in the plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee."

May I also remind members that, in accordance with this decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their places. 31. We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 31 [A/35/684]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 8 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/754. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/141).

- 32. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 32 [A/35/685]. The Assembly will now take decisions on the two draft resolutions recommended in paragraph 10 of the report.
- 33. The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution A, which was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to adopt it without a vote?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 35/142 A).

34. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution B. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears in document A/35/755. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon Lesotho, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Sao Tome and Principe, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 113 votes to none, with 21 abstentions (resolution 35/142 B).

- 35. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 33 [A/35/686].
- 36. The delegation of Guyana wishes to explain his vote before the vote. I call upon him.
- 37. Mr. THOMAS (Guyana): My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak to explain its vote before the vote on the draft resolution entitled "Implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/71 concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)".
- 38. Guyana has consistently abstained on draft resolutions relating to any aspect of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and, regrettably, we must do so again this year.
- 39. I hasten to add that this decision does not derive from any lack of appreciation for the objectives of the Treaty. In fact, my delegation's position on disarmament issues in general needs no further elaboration, for both within the United Nations system and outside it, we have always indicated our strong support for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones throughout the world and in particular in our own region, Latin America. We recognize that such measures represent an earnest attempt to reduce and limit the spread of nuclear weapons, the importance of which becomes even more evident as nuclear weapons assume greater sophistication.
- 40. In its efforts to make Latin America a nuclear-weapon-free zone, the Treaty of Tlatelolco also provides for co-operation in that endeavour from extra-regional Powers that possess such weapons and calls upon them to secure the objectives of the Treaty through ratification of Additional Protocol I.
- 41. Yet Guyana, a Latin American country, is prohibited by that very treaty from becoming a signatory to it through the provisions of article 25, paragraph 2, of the Treaty,² which exclude signature by Guyana and so discriminate against my country.
- 42. This is neither the time nor the place for my delegation to enter into any considerations about the paradoxical and contradictory situation created by a treaty which, on the one hand, requires the cooperation of all Latin American States in keeping the subcontinent free from the testing, manufacture, use and storage of nuclear weapons and, on the other, excludes one State of the region from making a legal commitment to that objective.
- 43. My delegation wishes merely to state that, while Guyana continues to be committed to the purposes of the Treaty, we cannot vote positively for any draft resolution that calls for support for a treaty that is inherently discriminatory. We shall therefore abstain in the vote.
- 44. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the

First Committee in paragraph 6 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libvan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Central African Republic, Cuba, France, Guyana, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 138 votes to none, with 5 abstentions (resolution 35/143).

- 45. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 34 [A/35/687].
- 46. The representative of Belgium wishes to explain his vote before the vote. I call upon him.
- 47. Mr. ELLIOTT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The evolution of draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.43/Rev.2 as adopted by the First Committee gave rise to a certain perplexity that Belgium was not alone in feeling.
- 48. My country took time to reflect before deciding upon its attitude with regard to the draft resolution that is now before the Assembly. The draft resolution contains several difficulties, not the least of which is its hybrid structure, which is the result of the, to say the least, surprising way in which it was conceived. It is also a fact that the text upon which we must take a decision is a mixture of two things.
- 49. Our concern here, and I believe this to be shared by all, has to do with the use of chemical weapons. That question is the subject of one of the most important international instruments drafted during this

¹ The delegation of the Dominican Republic subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

² United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 283.

century: the Geneva Protocol³, the preservation, respect and efficacity of which constitute an essential aim for Belgium.

- 50. In that context, the link the draft resolution establishes between this notion of use and the chemical military capacity of States does not seem to me at all appropriate. Nor is it appropriate that that reference to military capacity is confined to new types of chemical weapons. Does that mean that the sponsors are totally unconcerned about the other types of chemical weapons that are none the less widespread in some States?
- 51. Our concern with regard to the inappropriateness of that reference to the chemical military capacity of States and to the surprising gap involved does not mean, obviously, that Belgium does not give priority importance to the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive and verifiable treaty banning the production and stockpilling of chemical weapons and calling for their destruction. The conclusion of such an agreement would be the most appropriate way to consolidate the work that was begun more than 50 years ago.
- 52. The attainment of that goal, as well as the preservation of the Geneva Protocol, might be seriously jeopardized were the climate of suspicion that affects some of us at the present time to persist. I am referring to the rumours concerning the use of chemical weapons in various parts of the world.
- 53. It is time for the international community to take the initiative of adopting measures to re-establish trust among States and the credibility of conventions already concluded or in preparation on disarmament or arms limitation.
- 54. The draft resolution before us deals with such a measure—indeed, the most appropriate one—namely, the conducting of an impartial inquiry under the aegis of the Secretary-General, to whom I willingly concede a particularly delicate task is thereby being entrusted. That inquiry would establish the facts in an objective manner and thus eliminate any doubt, a factor in distrust that we should like to see banished from relations among States.
- 55. That clarification so necessary to future efforts leading to disarmament and trust among States seems to us more important by far than the faults of the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee. For that reason, Belgium will vote in favour of the draft resolution.
- 56. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 15 of the report. The First Committee adopted draft resolution A without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 35/144 A).

57. The PRESIDENT: The First Committee also adopted draft resolution B without a vote. May I again consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 35/144 B).

58. The PRESIDENT: We next turn to draft resolution C. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/756. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece. Guatemala, Guyana⁴, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Congo, Cyprus, Ecuador, Finland, Grenada, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Lebanon, Madagascar, Maldives, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Cameroon, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 78 votes to 17, with 36 abstentions (resolution 35/144C).

- 59. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 35 [A/35/688].
- 60. I call on the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon who wishes to make a statement.
- 61. Mr. TOWO ATANGANA (United Republic of Cameroon) (interpretation from French): My delegation spoke during the vote in the First Committee, stating that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution, but there had been a technical error and the machine had indicated a negative vote. We shal! of course vote in favour of the text that is now before us.
- 62. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 11 of its report.

³ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138, p. 65.

⁴ The delegations of Guyana and Mali subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as abstentions.

The Assembly will first vote on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles. Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 31 abstentions (resolution 35/145 A).

63. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines,

Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Irland, United States of America, Viet Nam.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 129 votes to none, with 16 abstentions (resolution 35/145 B).

- 64. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 37 [A/35/689]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended in paragraph 9 of the report.
- 65. First I put to the vote draft resolution A, entitled "Nuclear capability of South Africa". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears in document A/35/757. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zeland, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 132 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 35/146 A).

66. The PRESIDENT: Next, I put to the vote draft resolution B, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampu-Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Democratic Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 133 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 35/146 B).

67. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the First Committee is on agenda item 38 [A/35/690]. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 9. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. I hope I may take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/147).

- 68. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.
- 69. Mr. EILAN (Israel): Israel went along with the consensus expressed by the General Assembly in sup-

- port of the draft resolution contained in document A/35/690 because, like so many Member States, Israel holds that there is an urgent need to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Israel has joined the consensus despite our serious reservations as to the modalities of arriving at the establishment of such a zone as recommended in the draft resolution.
- 70. The introduction of nuclear weapons in the region can be effectively prevented only by means of contractual assurances freely arrived at, and not by obligations imposed from without. Israel has for the last five years not only supported the idea of establishing such a zone, but on numerous occasions—in the Assembly and in the First Committee, as well as in letters to the Secretary-General—offered proposals to that end.
- 71. It is essential that a nuclear-weapon-free zone be established in a manner most likely to assure each State in the region of the others' compliance with the terms of a freely negotiated convention on the model of the Treaty of Tlatelolco.
- 72. Israel has therefore proposed the conclusion through direct negotiations by all States of the region of a multilateral convention establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.
- 73. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic): My delegation joined in the consensus on the draft resolution contained in document A/35/690 without any reservations. We have done so out of our firm belief that the necessary elements for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East have been taken into account in that text.
- 74. However, voting in favour of a certain resolution is one thing, while fully and sincerely abiding by and implementing that resolution could be a completely different thing. As regards my country, our vote on this resolution is an accurate reflection of our position on it, and our readiness to implement it. Our main concern—in fact, it should be the deep concern of the Assembly—is whether the sole force obstructing the establishment of such a zone in our area in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution is ready without rhetorical demonstrations fully to implement the provisions of the resolution.
- 75. That, without any rhetoric or polemics, is the real test.
- 76. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report on the agenda item 39 [A/35/691]. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 7. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Roma-

nia, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bhutan, India, Mauritius.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malawi, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to 3, with 44 abstentions (resolution 35/148).

77. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the report on agenda item 40 [A/35/692]. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 7. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauri-Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco. Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, France, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain,

Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 26 abstentions (resolution 35/149).

- 78. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn its attention to the report on agenda item 41 [A/35/693]. The recommendation of the First Committee is in paragraph 8.
- 79. I call on the representative of Luxembourg, who wishes to explain the position of the members of the European Community.
- 80. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg): Speaking on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, my delegation wishes to make some comments on the draft resolution concerning the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace contained in document A/35/693.
- 81. Before doing so, we should like to extend our congratulations to Mr. Balasubramaniam and express our appreciation for the skilful way in which he exercised the chairmanship of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean during the past year. His persistent efforts resulted in the agreed recommendation by the Ad Hoc Committee of this draft resolution.
- 82. In this context, we should like to underline again the importance of the principle of consensus constantly being respected in the Ad Hoc Committee. The Nine feel encouraged that members of the Ad Hoc Committee, keeping this point of departure in mind, have shown the necessary flexibility in participating in the sometimes arduous negotiations leading to this draft resolution.
- 83. The work of the Committee has indeed shown, as the text rightly states, that progress toward harmonizing the differing approaches has been made but that a number of fundamental issues remain to be solved.
- 84. The Community wishes to put on record its common views on and interpretations of this draft resolution. We are not fully satisfied with all its provisions, and we understand that others too have reservations on the text.
- 85. By way of introduction, we wish to recall first of all that a number of important developments have taken place since the adoption of resolution 34/80.
- 86. First of all, the membership of the Ad Hoc Committee was expanded by, among others, some member countries of the Community. The nine members, as a Community and individually are bound to the countries in the region of the Indian Ocean through history and by strong ties of friendship and co-operation.
- 87. The Community shares a positive interest in the regional approach towards arms control and disarmament. Those member States of the European Community which are participating in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee intend to direct their efforts to defining the idea of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region in such a way as to meet the security interests of al' concerned, whether inside or outside the region.
- 88. This being said, the Community regrets to note that during the last year profoundly unsettling events have occurred, which present a threat to peace

and stability in the area. The armed intervention in Afghanistan, a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean, constitutes a clear violation of the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter; it has seriously affected the necessary climate of trust and confidence which forms the basis for any arrangement in the security field.

- 89. The nine members of the Community are of the opinion that the international security climate must of necessity be taken into account when considering the advancement of the idea of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean area.
- 90. At the same time, the Community is convinced that the idea of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace merits further elaboration and that a sufficient identity of views has thus far not been achieved. The text of the draft resolution reflects this state of affairs sufficiently clearly, we think. Allow me to specify a number of principles to which the nine members are committed in this connexion.
- 91. The prevention of an arms race in the region is clearly in the interest of both regional States and other countries. Any set of security arrangements must be arrived at through consensus and has to be based on the principle of undiminished security for all States. No future agreement could stand in the way of States exercising their right to make appropriate arrangements for individual or collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 92. The quest for peace and security cannot be said to be the sole responsibility of the major external Powers. It is essential that the regional States of the area of the Indian Ocean fully contribute thereto. It will be in the first place up to them to indicate the kind of relationship which they would wish to be constituted among themselves in the security field and which might provide the basis for the establishment of a zone of peace in the area.
- 93. In the view of the European Community, no such arrangements could, however, derogate from the freedoms of the high seas, including the freedom of navigation and of overflight as established by international law. We cannot support the creation of regionally confined sets of duties and obligations which would be at variance with rules recognized at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sa.
- 94. Proceeding from this, we have the following specific comments to make about the content of the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/693.
- 95. First, the nine members understand the reference to "other recent relevant resolutions" in the first preambular paragraph as including resolution ES-6/2 on Afghanistan. We wish to associate ourselves with all those who demand the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. As long as those troops are not withdrawn, it is hard to see how a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region could be established.
- 96. Secondly, the wording of the sixth and seventh preambular paragraphs does not adequately reflect, in our opinion, the point that the threat to the stability in the area of the Indian Ocean does not originate primarily in the presence of naval forces. In fact, the actual causes of tension are to be found elsewhere;

- I have already mentioned Afghanistan and we are all only too aware of other areas of conflict in the region.
- 97. Thirdly, we abstained in the vote on the text adopted as General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI). However, as stated earlier, we are ready to continue to participate in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. We feel that the Committee's efforts should focus, inter alia, on finding an adequate geographical delimitation of the proposed zone of peace, the elaboration of criteria with regard to categories of forces to be covered and the question of adequate verification.
- 98. Fourthly, references to resolution 34/80 B prompt us to recall our abstention on that text. The Members of the Community are of the opinion that it would be premature at this stage to commit themselves to attending a conference on the Indian Ocean in 1981. Those among us who are members of the Ad Hoc Committee are willing, however, to take part in further discussions—some of which will concern fundamental points of substance—on the necessary preparatory work for such a conference. Their decision on whether or not to participate in any conference will be taken at a later stage, in the light of the results of the preparatory work and of further developments.
- 99. On this understanding, the nine member States will join in the consensus on the draft resolution.
- 100. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/35/693]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/758. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/150).

101. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 42 [A/35/694]. The draft resolution recommended in paragraph 7 of the report was adopted in the Committee without a vote. I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/151).

102. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the First Committee on agenda item 43 [A/35/695]. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 was adopted by the First Committee without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/153).

- 103. The PRESIDENT: Now the General Assembly will consider part 'II of the report of the First Committee on agenda item 44 [A/35/665/Add.1]. In addition to the 10 draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee, the Assembly has before it a draft decision [A/35/L.47/Rev.1].
- 104. The Assembly will now take a decision on the 10 draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 27 of its report.
- 105. We turn first to draft resolution A, entitled "United Nations programme of fellowships on disarmament", which was adopted by the First Committee without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to do the same?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 35/152 A).

106. The PRESIDENT: Now we turn to draft resolution B, entitled "Nuclear weapons in all aspects". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Sy Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Brazil, Ireland, Israel, Malawi, Morocco, Spain, Zaire.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 118 votes to 18, with 7 abstentions (resolution 35/152 B).

107. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C is entitled "Nuclear weapons in all aspects". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mada-

gascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: France, Israel, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 124 votes to 4, with 17 abstentions (resolution 35/152 C).

108. The PRESIDENT: Now we turn to draft resolution D, entitled "Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, 5 Czechoslovakia, German

⁵ The delegation of Canada subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have it vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

Democratic Republic, Hungary, Malawi, Mongolia, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution D was adopted by 112 votes to 19, with 14 abstentions (resolution 35/152 D).

109. The PRESIDENT: Now we turn to draft resolution E, entitled "Implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session". This draft resolution was adopted without a vote in the Committee. I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution E was adopted (resolution 35/152 E).

110. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to draft resolution F, entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission". Here again, the Committee adopted it without a vote, and I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same.

Draft resolution F was adopted (resolution 35/152 F).

111. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution G is entitled "Paragraph 125 of the Final Document". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo,6 Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, ⁶ Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Burma, Chile, Fiji, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Malaysia, Morocco, Niger, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand.

Draft resolution G was adopted by 104 votes to 19, with 17 abstentions (resolution 35/152 G).

112. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution H, entitled "Programme of research and studies on disarmament". The First Committee adopted draft resolution H without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to do likewise?

Draft resolution H was adopted (resolution 152 H).

113. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution I entitled "World Disarmament Campaign". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears is document A/35/759. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Diibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa. Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, Colombia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 128 votes to none, with 17 abstentions (resolution 35/152 I).

114. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution J, entitled "Report of the Committee on Disarmament". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favou Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh,

⁶ The delegations of Togo and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as abstentions.

⁷ The delegation of Greece subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

⁸ The delegation of Togo subsequently advised the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libvan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico. Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Israel, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution J was adopted by 132 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 35/152 J).

- 115. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the draft decision contained in document A/35/L.47/Rev.1. I call on the representative of Nigeria to introduce that draft decision.
- 116. Mr. AYEWAH (Nigeria): The General Assembly, by its resolution 33/71 H of 14 December 1978, decided to convene a special session devoted to disarmament in 1982 and to set up at its thirty-fifth session a Preparatory Committee for that special session. During the current session, and precisely on 3 December 1980, the General Assembly established the Preparatory Committee [resolution 35/47] made up of 78 Member States. On 4 and 5 December the Preparatory Committee held an organizational session.
- 117. As a result of consultations during that session, my delegation, on behalf of the delegations of Cyprus, Costa Rica, the German Democratic Republic, Portugal and the Sudan, representing all the geographical regions, has been given the mandate to request the General Assembly to waive for its thirty-sixth session the provisions of paragraphs 24 and 34 of its decision 34/401 of 25 October 1979, which would have the effect of prohibiting the holding of the meeting of any subsidiary organ during any ordinary session of the General Assembly. In other words, the General Assembly is being requested to allow the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session Devoted to

Disarmament to hold its second substantive session from 5 to 16 October 1981.

- 118. We make this request on the following grounds.
- We look forward with great expectations to the second special session devoted to disarmament, to be held 1982. Therefore there is a need for adequate preparations. Secondly, there is a continuing nexus between the efforts at the Disarmament Commission in New York and the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and the processes of the Preparatory Committee. In view of this, it is considered necessary to avoid the possibility of parallel meetings, with consequent clashes in relation to dates. Thirdly, we have looked at the human factor and we retain the view that it would be too demanding physically for many of the experts attending these disarmament meetings as representatives of their Governments to commute, on the one hand, between Geneva and New York and, on the other, between their capitals and the respectives venues of the meetings and go back and forth without a breathing space, if they are to make any worthwhile contributions to the debates. Finally, a number of delegations, particularly from developing countries, can ill afford to undertake too many trips to New York too close to the session of the General Assembly.
- 120. In the light of those reasons, it is the hope of the sponsors of the draft decision that the General Assembly will find merit in this text and will adopt it by consensus.
- 121. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 35/430).

- 122. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 45, which is contained in document A/35/696.
- 123. I call on the representative of Albania in explanation of vote before the vote.
- 124. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): When draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.44 was put to the vote in the First Committee on 24 November, my delegation voted against it. That negative vote was a confirmation of its constant attitude towards the demagogic proposal to conclude a so-called international convention on what is called the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. My delegation voted against the draft resolutions adopted in previous years as well for the same reason—that they were demagogic and dangerous.
- 125. The two imperialist super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—have always speculated about the so-called negative guarantees to non-nuclear weapon States. It is precisely those two super-Powers that continue to increase and perfect their nuclear arsenals and maintain them as permanent blackmail against all peoples and countries.
- 126. A few days after the adoption of draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.44, it was announced in the First Committee that that draft resolution was intended to fulfil certain functions described in draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.1, which had been withdrawn because of the general discontent that it provoked. That is yet another reason for our delegation's opposition to the draft

resolution recommended by the First Committee in document A/35/696, and we shall therefore vote against it.

127. The PRESIDENT: May I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya. Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Albania, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to 2, with 31 abstentions (resolution 35/154).

- 128. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 46 [A/35/697].
- 129. May I now invite members to turn their attention to the recommendation of the First Committee in paragraph 7. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Indo-

nesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Central African Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 121 votes to none, with 24 abstentions (resolution 35/155).

130. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to agenda item 47. The Rapporteur of the First Committee indicated in his statement that no report on this item had been submitted by the Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of this statement?

It was so decided (decision 35/431).

- 131. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the First Committee on agenda item $48 \left[\frac{A}{35} \right] 699$.
- 132. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote.
- 133. Mr. CAMPOS (Mexico) (interpretat: 'n Spanish): In connexion with draft resolution C, et and "Non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present", I should like to state that my delegation will vote in favour of that draft resolution. But we wish to make it clear that our vote should be understood in the sense that we interpret the request made to the Committee on Disarmament in paragraph 1 to proceed to exploratory talks as being without any detriment whatsoever to the priorities which have been established or which may be established for the items which are already on that Committee's agenda.
- 134. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (interpretation from French): In the First Committee my delegation abstained in the voting on the draft resolution entitled "Report of the Committee on Disarmament" because we wished to have certain supplementary information. Having obtained that information, my delegation would like to indicate now its intention of voting in favour of draft resolution I.
- 135. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the 11 draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 34 of its report [A/35/699]. Draft resolution A is entitled "Study on

conventional disarmament". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/760. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Afghanistan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Bahrain, Benin, Bhutan, Cape Verde, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Iran, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Oman, Qatar, Sao Tome and Principe, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 101 votes to 14, with 27 abstentions (resolution 35/156 A).

136. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B is entitled "Confidence-building measures". The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to do the same?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 35/156 B).

137. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C is entitled "Non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia,

Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Algeria, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Central African Republic, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Peru, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Sudan, Sweden, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 95 votes to 18, with 27 abstentions (resolution 35/156 C). 10

138. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution D is entitled "Study on all aspects of regional disarmament". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in paragraph 3 of document A/35/760. The First Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution D was adopted (resolution 35/156 D).

139. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution E is entitled "Study on the relationship between disarmament and international security". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears in paragraph 3 of document A/35/760. The Committee adopted draft resolution E without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution E was adopted (resolution 35/156 E).

140. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution F is entitled "Study on nuclear weapons". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros,

⁹ The delegation of Japan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been against the draft resolution.

¹⁰ The delegation of Mali subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been an abstention.

Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Draft resolution F was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 19 abstentions (resolution 35/156 F).

141. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution G is entitled "Conclusion of an international convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons". The Committee adopted draft resolution G without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution G was adopted (resolution 35/156 G).

142. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution H is entitled "Prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapon purposes". A recorded vote has again been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauri-

Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique.11 Nepal. tius. Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger. Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela. Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bhutan, Brazil, Cuba, France, India, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution H was adopted by 125 votes to 11, with 8 abstentions (resolution 35/156 H).

143. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution I is entitled "Report of the Committee on Disarmament". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Diibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria. Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Oatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic

¹¹ The delegation of Mozambique subsequently advised the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 135 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (draft resolution 35/156 I).

144. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution J, entitled "Disarmament and international security". The First Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution J was adopted (resolution 35/156 J).

145. The PRESIDENT: Lastly, the Assembly will turn to draft resolution K, entitled "Strategic arms limitation talks". The first Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution K was adopted (resolution 35/156 K).

- 146. The PRESIDENT: We come now to agenda item 49. The First Committee's report is contained in document A/35/700.
- 147. I call on the representative of Israel who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.
- Mr. EILAN (Israel): Responsible and informed observers of the international community have long decried the growing politicization of the United Nations. Some have claimed that the United Nations itself has become the major obstacle to peace and stability in certain parts of the world—the exacerbator, not the mitigator, of conflict. Others have protested as one specialized agency after another—the ILO, WHO and UNESCO, among others—succumb to the plague of irrelevant and debilitating political machinations. The sad truth is that to the extent these supposedly technical and apolitical organizations have become entangled in United Nations politics, they have lost respect, expert personnel and vital funding. In short, their effective functioning has been sacrificed to the political manipulations of parochial interests.
- This time the poison of politicization has spread to another arm of the United Nations—the Centre for Disarmament. Two years ago the international community recognized the urgent need to set aside political differences in a common effort to confront the overriding dangers posed by the ever-increasing arms build-up. Accordingly, it convened a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Unfortunately, the constructive spirit of that historic endeavour was marred by an attempt to inject partisan interests into the session's universal goals and concerns. As the 1979 yearbook of the Swedish International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) recounts, this attempt was rejected because of the overwhelming feeling among representatives that the introduction of this highly controversial initiative "would diffuse the focus of the session and undermine the consensus on the Final Document".
- 150. These, then, are the origins of the Iraqi draft resolution on which the Assembly is voting today. This draft resolution, by its very terms, prejudges the outcome of the study for which it calls. The Centre for Disarmament, instead of being allowed to devote

- itself entirely to detached studies about armament and disarmament, is being asked by the Assembly to perform a task which would make it serve the narrow and militant ends of Arab States in their campaign of hostility against Israel. Beyond that, there are strong reasons to believe that pressures on and manipulation of the work of the Centre for Disarmament in furtherance of Soviet and Arab hostile designs have begun to mount. Their success in these efforts to distort the work of the Centre for Disarmament means that that institution will join the ranks of other United Nations agencies which have exposed the Organization to criticism, and even ridicule, in international opinion.
- 151. Last year the Permanent Representative of Israel cautioned the Assembly that the submission of the Iraqi draft resolution, and especially its first preambular paragraph, was nothing but a transparent attempt to divert the world's attention from the frantic efforts on the part of three countries—Iraq, Libya and Pakistan—to establish a new nuclear axis. Events since that time have fully vindicated our position. Those countries are still vigorously pursuing a viable military nuclear option. Details of their quest for nuclear weapons appear in the letters of the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General of 13 October and 10 December 1980 in documents A/35/537 and A/35/750, respectively.
- 152. This year, the First Committee was the scene of a rare occasion in the United Nations when Member States were witness to progress towards the achievement of the ideal of the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Responsible circles at the United Nations and outside took note and expressed support for Israel's initiative which called for the convening of a conference with a view to negotiating a multilateral treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.
- 153. Israel's offer to the Arab States of the region and to States adjacent to the region was, and is, an unlinked deal. Nevertheless, the offer was turned down. As one Ambassador, a prominent leader in the field of disarmament, noted with regret, Israel was compelled to withdraw its draft resolution. Nevertheless, as he correctly recognized, that withdrawal by no means indicated that Israel had changed its position on the subject matter. Israel, for its part, took note with satisfaction of the numerous and encouraging statements made in response to its initiative.
- 154. For these reasons, we urge all States genuinely concerned with achieving the ideal of disarmament to refuse to support this draft resolution.
- 155. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/35/700]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana,

Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Denmark, Iceland, Israel, Netherlands, Norway, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted by 99 votes to 6, with 38 abstentions (resolution 35/157).

- 156. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iraq wishes to exercise his right of reply. I call upon him.
- 157. Mr. AWANIS (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation listened to the statement made a few moments ago by the representative of the Zionist entity in which he tried to justify his vote on the draft resolution just adopted.
- 158. The representative of the Zionist entity attempted to deceive the international community and blatantay ran counter to the noble tradition of the Organization, by criticizing the views of 99 independent countries that freely voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.25.
- 159. My delegation, like delegations of other countries, has during the past three years in the General Assembly always wondered why the Zionist entity did not adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and why Israel has refused to submit its nuclear installations to full international control, including that of IAEA. Since the representative of the Zionist entity has no logical, rational reply to this question he attempts to ignore it every year, as he did a few moments ago, which constitutes in our view a recognition that the Zionist entity does possess the nuclear weapon. As usual he accused many countries, Iraq among them, of trying to obtain nuclear weapons, whereas in fact those countries adhere completely to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and submit to full international controls.
- 160. However the representative of the Zionist entity tries, he will not be able to convince the international community of the innocence of the military nuclear activities of his country.

- 161. While speaking of Israeli nuclear armament, my delegation has already proved, in a logical and scientific manner, that the Zionist entity possesses nuclear arms. We should like now to add a new and quite serious factor, namely, that the Zionist entity has undertaken to produce, in co-operation with South Africa, Cruise missiles equipped with nuclear warheads and having a range of 1,500 miles. This has been confirmed by journalist Jack Anderson in the issue of *The Washington Post* of 8 December 1980, which was circulated by my delegation a few minutes ago.
- 162. We should also like to recall that the Zionist entity has in past years opposed all resolutions aimed at creating a denuclearized zone in the Middle East. This year it was compelled to go along with the consensus on draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.6 which has made the Middle East a nuclear-arms-free zone.
- 163. We believe that the representative of the Zionist entity did not choose to go along with the consensus, as he stated just a few moments ago, but rather that, given the unanimous views of the international community in that connexion, he was obliged to do so, sensing that his abstention would run the risk of unmasking of his country's aggressive intentions and its possession of nuclear weapons. Perhaps, also, his aim was to make the group of experts believe in the innocence of the nuclear military intentions of the Zionist entity.
- 164. The PRESIDENT: Inasmuch as agenda item 121 also relates to disarmament, I suggest that we take it up at this juncture. As will be recalled, in his statement the Rapporteur of the First Committee indicated that no report had been submitted by the Committee on item 121. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of that statement?

It was so decided (decision 35/432).

- 165. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to explain his delegation's votes on all the draft resolutions on disarmament.
- 166. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its votes on the draft resolutions on disarmament matters that have been adopted today by the General Assembly. The Soviet Union supported the overwhelming majority of them since they are consonant with the task of maintaining and widening international détente, curbing the growth of military arsenals, and leading to disarmament.
- 167. Useful decisions of the General Assembly along these lines sound particularly relevant and important in present-day conditions, in which the international situation has become more complicated and, as a result of actions by imperialistic and hegemonistic forces, tension has been increased in various regions of the world, the arms race has gained momentum and the danger of war has grown. In this situation it is the duty of all who are interested in strengthening the foundations of peace to undertake new active efforts to stop the cold war f.om re-emerging and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. That is why the Soviet Union suggested the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Urgent measures to reduce the danger of war".

- 168. We note with satisfaction that our proposal has met with understanding and support from a large number of States Members of the United Nations. In view of the serious-minded and business-like discussion of the Soviet proposal, during which many constructive thoughts were voiced and useful draft resolutions outlining ways of reducing the dangers of war were adopted, the Soviet Union considers those decisions to be an important positive result of the work of the General Assembly at this session.
- In resolution 35/152 G, which has just been adopted, the General Assembly calls for the dissolution of existing military alliances and, as a first step, for refraining from actions conducive to the expansion of existing military groupings. The speedy implementation of that appeal would not only be very important in itself but would open up further possibilities for limiting the arms race and resolving the whole range of disarmament problems. That resolution contains an appeal to the States permanent members of the Security Council and the countries which have military agreements with them to resolve not to increase their armed forces and conventional weapons, effective from an agreed date. The task now is to translate the timely decision of the General Assembly into practical actions to be taken by States.
- 170. An important matter taken up during the session was the strengthening of the security of the non-nuclear States against the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union remains a staunch supporter of the conclusion of the appropriate convention on this matter with the participation of all nuclear and non-nuclear States. However, we are prepared, if other nuclear Powers wish to do so, to examine various other solutions of the question of strengthening the security of non-nuclear States.
- 171. On our initiative, the General Assembly called upon all nuclear-weapon States to make solemn declarations, identical in substance, concerning the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States having no such weapons on their territories. In resolution 35/154 the General Assembly recommends that the Security Council examine those declarations and adopt an appropriate resolution approving them. My delegation notes with satisfaction that at this session of the General Assembly the question of a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapons test has occupied an important place. On the basis of the recommendations contained in the First Committee's report, two resolutions on this matter were adopted. We should like to stress in particular the positive side of those resolutions and the demand they contain for a speedy conclusion of the treaty on a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapons tests. The conclusion of that treaty would mean that no State would ever conduct a single nuclear test explosion and that a serious obstacle would thus be created to the development of nuclear weapons.
- 172. My delegation abstained in the vote on the two draft resolutions on the cessation of nuclear tests only because we had reservations about certain specific provisions. In particular, we believe that the participation of all nuclear-weapon States is essential to a moratorium on experimental nuclear tests, and the moratorium itself should have a fixed time frame.

- 173. At this meeting, we should like to emphasize that the Soviet Union is a staunch supporter of a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapons tests. In the interests of attaining that goal, the Soviet Union has been conducting talks with the United States of America and the United Kingdom on a constructive basis. We consider that the conclusion of an agreement at those talks would be an important step towards curbing the nuclear arms race and would promote the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- 174. In conclusion, the delegation of the USSR notes that the work of the General Assembly at the thirty-fifth session shows that, in the present complicated international situation, the will to achieve concrete results in the field of disarmament has not decreased, but has grown. The Soviet Union is ready to promote most actively the practical implementation of the resolutions adopted by this session of the General Assembly with the aim of curbing the arms race and reducing the danger of war.
- 175. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda item 50, entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". The First Committee's report is contained in document A/35/701. An amendment A/35/L.48 has been submitted to the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee. An additional draft resolution has been submitted in document A/35/L.43 and Add.1.
- 176. I call upon the representative of Bangladesh to introduce the amendment contained in document A/35/L.48.
- 177. Mr. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): On behalf of all the sponsors, I have the honour to introduce an amendment to the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.
- 178. The new operative paragraph 7 proposed in the amendment reads:
 - "Reaffirms the decision, taken at its tenth special session, by which it called upon the Security Council to take appropriate effective measures to prevent the non-fulfilment of the objectives of the denuclearization of Africa, and notes with alarm that the nuclear capability of South Africa poses a serious danger to the security of African States and to international peace and security."
- 179. The PRESIDENT: I would like to remind representatives that except for an explanation of vote before or after the vote and the right of reply, representatives who wish to take part in the debate, or to submit documents, are not obliged to speak from their seats.
- 180. I now call on the representative of Guyana, who will introduce draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1.
- 181. Mr. SCOTLAND (Guyana): My delegation wishes to make some observations on the report of the First Committee. Specifically, we wish to refer to paragraph 7 of the report, where reference is made to draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.62, which was submitted by my delegation and others on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. As is stated in paragraph 8 of the report, because of insufficient time, the First Committee did not take a decision on the draft resolution, and it was agreed that the identical draft

- resolution would be introduced in the General Assembly for consideration and decision. It was felt that by that time all delegations would have had ample opportunity to reflect on the content and objectives of the draft resolution and to arrive at a conclusion.
- 182. I wish now formally to introduce to the General Assembly draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1 on behalf of the 11 delegations which are sponsors of that draft resolution.
- 183. The draft resoultion, which is purely procedural in nature, has a threefold objective: first, to ensure that the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States remains an item on the agenda as a matter of international concern; secondly, to ensure that the Ad Hoc Working Group of the First Committee charged with the elaboration of the declaration will continue its work; and, thirdly, to ensure that the facilities hitherto afforded the Ad Hoc Working Group will continue to be available for that purpose.
- 184. The reference in the fifth preambular paragraph to the report of the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group is to the report prepared by the Chairman of the Working Group and delivered to the First Committee, for which the reference has been given in the footnotes. It is the hope of the sponsors that, given its purely procedural and non-controversial nature, the draft resolution will be adopted without a vote.
- 185. My delegation would like to make some observations on the question of non-interference and nonintervention in the internal affairs of States as this relates to the consideration of that item during this session.
- Weak countries must rely for their protection on the legal and moral force of international instruments prepared and adopted by the international community to encourage restraint in the conduct of States. The differing interpretations to which, in particular, Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter has been subjected have introduced an uncertainty and a climate of doubt among small States as to the sanctity of their territorial integrity and political independence when they attract the attention of a disapproving larger and more powerful State. It is no secret that a large number of the members of that group of States have been victims of those new interpretations. There is need, urgent need, for some reassurance to be given to all States, but especially to those small States concerned about the evolution of what appear to be new interpretations, in practice, of States concerning the principle of noninterference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.
- 187. I make the point to emphasize the fact that the group of States making up the non-aligned movement, which has proposed for four sessions past the adoption of a declaration on non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, is committed to its adoption and sees the support of the remainder of the international community as being complementary to that end.
- 188. The hand of co-operation offered by the members of the non-aligned movement and their efforts to encourage the participation by all Members of the United Nations in the process of discussion and consideration aiming at a consensus should not con-

- tinue to appear to be subjected to rejection. The readiness of certain delegations to express reservations about the working paper which was presented to the Ad Hoc Working Group of the First Committee as an aid to its work is welcomed by all committed to the adoption of a declaration. However, the reticence shown by those delegations on the specific provisions of the working paper on which they harbour reservations, even in the face of direct requests to express those reservations, does not present the prospect of readiness to assist in the preparation of a declaration.
- 189. By maintaining that they have reservations on the working paper and at the same time not participating in the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group to identify the specific areas in which those reservations are held, those delegations withhold from the remainder of the international community their valuable contributions to the development of an instrument which must be of importance to the entire international community.
- 190. It seems to my delegation that the process of co-operation in drafting a convention on the inadmissibility of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States must encompass not only general criticisms of any working text but also constructive criticisms of specific provisions of that text and proposals for improving the particular provisions. As I have already observed, the second and third aspects of such co-operation have been singularly absent so far.
- 191. My delegation calls on those delegations which have so far excluded themselves from formal participation in the preparation of a declaration not to allow, through their non-participation in the process the adoption of a declaration from which their very valuable contributions would be missing.
- 192. I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the vote. I call on the representative of Luxembourg, who will speak on behalf of the European Community.
- 193. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg): Speaking on draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1 on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community and Greece, I should like to put on record the fact that we continue to have serious reservations about the proposal to have a draft declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States discussed in the First Committee.
- 194. Although the Community will not oppose the renewal of the mandate of the Ad Hoc Working Group, I should recall that for the reasons set out by Ireland on behalf of the Community at the 55th meeting of the First Committee, on 7 December 1979, they voted against the text adopted as Assembly resolution 34/101, which set up the Group in the first instance.
- 195. Certain States members of the Community participated in the Working Group when it met during the early stages of this session of the General Assembly. Their purpose in doing so was to suggest that the First Committee alone is not qualified to consider questions which impinge so widely upon the competences of other Committees, in particular the Sixth Committee.

196. It is for these reasons that the nine members of the Community and Greece will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): Before the General Assembly proceeds to the vote, my delegation would like to explain its vote on the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/701 relating to the strengthening of international security. My delegation will cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution because we believe that it contains crucial elements which, if observed, could strengthen international peace and security. Among those elements are the strengthening of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly as regards its provisions on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the strengthening of the role of the Security Council to enable it better to solve problems facing the international community, the settlement of local disputes rather than allowing them to develop into armed conflicts and, finally, concrete international action to achieve the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

Ghana attaches great importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 because, in our view, it provides an agreed political framework within which the objectives of international peace and security can be vigorously and realistically pursued. Its aims and the universality of its provisions have, in our view, acquired an even greater significance today in view of the current trends in the international climate. Perhaps at no time since the adoption of the Declaration have the prospects for world peace seemed bleaker than they are today. An objective assessment of the disarmament efforts, for example, shows striking contradictions between what we say here in the General Assembly and the reality of our actions concerning disarmament. Despite virtuous and professed support for disarmament, the arms race has continued to grow at an alarming rate. States have increased their military expenditures, the number and quality of their weapons and have modernized their armed forces at colossal costs. All those things have been allowed to happen while the majority of mankind lacks basic medical attention and shelter.

- 199. My country recognizes that those problems are the by-product of the growing mistrust between States, as evidenced by the daily reports of increasing areas of tension.
- 200. In our view, the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/701 and the report prepared by the Group of Governmental Experts, on which the draft resolution has been based, are timely in that they seek to remind us of our obligations and responsibilities under the Declaration, and have thereby helped to focus attention on crucial elements which should help in reducing tensions and in promoting world peace.
- 201. In this connexion, it must be pointed out that the one-sided yearly debates on this item seriously detract from the purpose of the exchange of views on the item. While some delegations are eager to speak on the item and have never failed to use the debates as a platform for projecting their own ideological propaganda, most delegations, regrettably, prefer not

to speak at all. The non-participation of those delegations in the debates, in our view, tends to deprive the First Committee of an opportunity to make a balanced and objective assessment of areas in international relations that most require urgent attention.

- 202. In the circumstances, it has become the traditional responsibility of the non-aligned countries to put forward initiatives, a task which I believe they have found not altogether rewarding. My delegation therefore hopes that the crucial elements identified by the sponsors of the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/701 would be given an in-depth study to improve the state of international relations where progress has not been made or where a code of conduct has been lacking.
- 203. It is for these reasons that the delegation of Ghana will vote in favour of the draft resolution.
- 204. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Albania already expressed its position on the problem of international security during the debate that took place at the 51st meeting of the First Committee at the beginning of this month. Our delegation did not participate in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.48/Rev.1, which was adopted at the conclusion of that debate.
- 205. The General As embly is now being called upon to take a decision on that same draft resolution which the First Committee recommends in paragraph 9 of its report. The delegation of Albania would like at this stage to make a few remarks in explanation of the stand it will take when that text is put to the vote.
- 206. It goes without saying that the establishment and safeguarding of genuine peace and security have always been the great aspiration of peoples throughout the world. Today more than ever before peace-loving peoples throughout the world are interested in and desirous of seeing peace and lasting security established. That is why anxiety and concern are increasing everywhere, in view of the existing tense and explosive situation in the world and by the dangers and threats created by the hegemonistic and aggressive policy of the super-Powers and imperialist powers, in their unprecedented arms race and their unparallelled preparations for war. That anxiety and concern are reflected to a certain extent in the text of the draft resolution now before the Assembly. That draft resolution, like previous texts, contains a certain number of considerations and conclusions that are accurate with respect to many aspects of the international security situation. The text also takes up principles and norms that are well known in international law and are included in the Charter. We support all that. But our delegation, on the other hand, does have comments and reservations to express on certain ideas and some of the wording of the text.
- 207. We cannot share the view that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has played an important role in international life during the past 10 years. During that entire period, peace and security have been further threatened and there have been breaches of the peace, more than in the past.
- 208. The preamble of that draft resolution admits that violations of the principles of the Charter and the principles embodied in the Declaration itself have been

- more numerous and more frequent. It notes with concern that détente has been limited. In our view, however, détente does not exist and has not existed. It is merely a slogan invented and used by the two imperialist super-Powers for the interests of their own policies and for their own demagogic purposes so that they can bargain between themselves more easily.
- 209. We disapprove of the appeals that are made to the permanent members of the Security Council in operative paragraph 6. The imperialist super-Powers will not heed that type of appeal, and will do quite the contrary of what is being requested of them.
- 210. Nor can we support the view expressed in paragraph 12 concerning what should be done to strengthen the effectiveness of the Security Council. We cannot expect a strengthening of the effectiveness of that body, since it suffers from the obstructionism of the imperialist super-Powers.
- 211. Serious events in the world this year, in Europe in particular, mean that paragraph 9 runs counter to the facts even more than might have been the case. We have seen a dangerous heightening of tension in Europe and have become more aware that there is no security or stability there. The second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, being held at Madrid, demonstrates once more the failure of the so-called European security system.
- 212. We have just listed a few reasons why the Albanian delegation cannot support the draft resolution, and why we shall not participate in the vote.
- 213. Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan will vote in favour of the procedural draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.43 and Add.1, because we attach the utmost importance to the adoption of a declaration on non-intervention and non-interference in the conduct of international relations.
- 214. The principle of non-intervention and non-interference is embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. It is a central theme of non-alignment, and it represents an imperative condition for the strengthening of international peace and security and for political world order based on respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States.
- 215. At the heart of the deepening political crisis in the present-day world is the increasing resort to use of force and military intervention by major Powers against the smaller and medium-sized nations. Pakistan, being a third-world country, preoccupied with safeguarding its independence and with the task of socio-economic development, has therefore a fundamental interest in the elimination of such intervention and interference from the international scene.
- 216. While underlining the importance of the need for early adoption of a declaration on non-intervention and non-interference, my delegation would wish to take this opportunity to make its position clear on one particular aspect of the procedural draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1. This draft resolution refers to the report submitted by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group of the First Committee at the 52nd meeting of the Committee. This report mentions

- an informal working paper contained in document A/C.1/35/WG/CRP.1. As the representative of Somalia explained in the First Committee, in view of the informal nature of that paper, it cannot serve as a basis for our future work pertaining to the elaboration of a declaration on non-intervention and non-interference. When the paper was first informally circulated, my delegation proposed on an informal basis extensive amendments to it. It is the understanding of my delegation that that informal paper, along with the amendments proposed by other delegations including those by Pakistan, will be discussed in the first instance within the non-aligned group. We would welcome such discussions, which should lead to the formulation of a working paper that can become a basis for the elaboration of a declaration.
- 217. In our view, the informal paper is inadequate in dealing with the important question of military interventions. It does not address itself to the urgent need for the elimination of such interventions wherever they persist, so that the declaration may acquire the necessary thrust and meaning.
- 218. Having stated these considerations, my delegation wishes to register its reservation on the fifth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1, which implicitly refers to document A/C.1/35/WG/CRP.1.
- 219. Mr. FLOWEREE (United States of America): The United States will abstain on draft resolution A/35/L.43 and Add.1. My delegation believes that this draft resolution perpetuates an exercise with unsound premises as did resolution 34/101. We do not believe that the adoption of a declaration on non-interference would accomplish the ends of its sponsors; indeed, we fear that the practical effect of adopting such a declaration would be to undermine the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 220. The draft declaration that was considered this year by the Ad Hoc Working Group in the First Committee gives rise to the same kinds of difficulties which my delegation had with last year's draft resolution, and which we articulated in our explanation of vote last year.¹² The draft resolution now before the Assembly in many sections seeks to reinterpret and rephrase—often inaccurately—previously agreed principles contained in the Charter, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 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 and in the Definition of Aggression. This is a practice which can only serve to weaken the fundamental principles involved.
- 221. My delegation believes that the problem does not lie in an insufficiency of commonly agreed principles, declarations and definitions. Rather, the problem clearly lies in the failure of some States to observe the principles, declarations and definitions to which they have agreed.
- 222. My delegation understands the very real concerns and laudable motives of the sponsors of the draft

¹² See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, First Committee, 55th meeting, and ibid., Sessional Fascicle corrigendum.

declaration. We note that many of the issues raised in the draft declaration are related to matters discussed by the Sixth Committee, and in deference to the views of those who believe that restatements will be conducive to greater world order, we were prepared seriously to consider proposals that the question of non-interference be remanded to the Sixth Committee for consideration. However, my delegation must reiterate its view that it does not lie within the competence of the First Committee to reinterpret, revise or elaborate in an unconsidered manner principles of the Charter or definitions agreed to in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the Declaration on friendly relations and in the Definition of Aggression.

- 223. Delegations will recall that my delegation voted against the text adopted as General Assembly resolution 34/101. We shall be able to abstain on this draft resolution, for it contains no reference and gives no status to the draft currently under consideration.
- 224. Mr. DABO (Guinea) (interpretation from French): With the amendment in document A/35/L.48, adding a new operative paragraph 7 taking into account the concerns of the African States and of the entire international community with regard to security and in view of the threat of the acquisition of nuclear arms by the apartheid régime of South Africa, Guinea is now able to support the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/701.
- 225. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/35/701].
- 226. In accordance with the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the vote the amendment contained in document A/35/L.48 which proposes the insertion of a new operative paragraph 7 in the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee. A recorded vote has been requested on that amendment.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorue an Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central Amean Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The amendment was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 25 abstentions.

- 227. The PRESIDENT: Before I put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, as amended, I call on the representative of Ireland, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote on the draft resolution.
- 228. Mr. MULLOY (Ireland): Ireland has always recognized the legitimate concern of the African States at the fact that the nuclear capability of South Africa continues to pose a serious danger to the security of African States and to international peace and security. Twice already in the First Committee and twice again here today in plenary meeting we have cast positive votes, on what has today been adopted as resolution 35/146 A, on the nuclear capability of South Africa, and on what has been adopted as resolution 35/146 B, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.
- 229. Document A/35/L.48 has been put forward as an amendment to the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, on which Ireland abstained [A/C.1/35/L.48/Rev.1], for the reasons given by the Netherlands delegation on behalf of the nine members of the European Community in the First Committee at its 52nd meeting, on 3 December.
- 230. Ireland would normally support an anendment to a draft resolution on which we had abstained only in circumstances where the effect of the amendment was such as to alter our over-all assessment of the draft resolution as a whole in a positive manner. We regret that this is not the case in the present instance, and therefore we feel obliged to abstain both on the amendment and on the draft resolution as amended.
- 231. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole, as amended by the adoption of the amendment in document A/35/L.48. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guine Bassau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India Indonesia, Iran, Iraq,

Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zeland, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution, as a whole as amended, was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 24 abstentions (resolution 35/158).

232. The PRESIDENT: I put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.43 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi. Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Comoros, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany,

Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg. Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 25 abstentions (resolution 35/159).

- 233. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.
- 234. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The consideration by the General Assembly of the item concerning implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is this year taking place in special circumstances. It is the tenth anniversary of the adoption of that Declaration. The resolution just adopted by the General Assembly correctly emphasizes the important role played by that Declaration in strengthening the peace and security of peoples and in promoting co-operation among States on the basis of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
- 235. During the past decade the Declaration has provided a broad programme of action to develop and implement international détente, to prevent the danger of another war, to adopt appropriate measures in the field of disarmament and to put an end to the policies of hegemonism, colonialism, racism and apartheid in international life.
- 236. The annual examination at sessions of the General Assembly on the situation with regard to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration has allowed all States to focus attention on the carrying out of the main task of the United Nations: to guarantee world peace and to develop all-round mutually advantageous co-operation among States with different social systems.
- 237. However, during this present discussion it was quite correctly noted that there are still hotbeds of tension and new conflicts between States have arisen which threaten international peace and security, and the arms race is continuing and is increasing. The profound concern is understandable since the process of international détente has met with serious obstacles. In this respect, we are satisfied that the General Assembly has quite definitely come out in favour of détente. It has urgently called upon all States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to take the necessary steps to prevent the weakening or wrecking of the process of détente and to refrain from any actions which might worsen the international situation or complicate the elimination of hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world.
- 238. As for Europe, the General Assembly in that resolution has expressed the hope that the second review session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, being held at Madrid, will promote the maintenance and progress of the process of détente in Europe, as well as peace and stability throughout the world.
- 239. The adoption 20 years ago of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has played an im-

portant role in destroying the colonial empires and in promoting the emergence of many young independent States.

240. In that respect, the appeal by the General Assembly for a speedy completion of the process of decolonization is particularly relevant. The Soviet Union consistently pursues a policy of strengthening peace and international security, a policy of excluding war from the life of man. The constant, active, peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union is borne out by the new proposals of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev, which are aimed at guaranteeing the sovereign rights and the security of States in the Persian Gulf area. Speaking on 10 December this year in the Indian Parliament, Comrade Brezhnev stated inter alia:

"We are proposing to the United States, other Western Powers, China, Japan and all States which show interest in this matter an agreement on the following reciprocal obligations: not to create foreign military bases in the region of the Persian Gulf and on neighbouring islands; not to station there nuclear or any other types of weapons of mass destruction; not to use or threaten to use force against the countries of the Persian Gulf area or to interfere in their internal affairs; to respect the status of nonalignment chosen by the States of the Persian Gulf area and not to involve them in military groupings with the participation of the nuclear Powers; to respect the sovereign right of the States of that region to their natural resources; not to create any obstacles or threats to normal trade relations and the use of maritime routes which connect States of that region with other countries of the world.

241. Mr. Brezhnev expressed the view that that type of agreement, in which, naturally, the States of that

region would themselves be full participants, would be consonant with their vital interests and would be a reliable guarantee of their sovereign rights and security.

- 242. Mr. ERSUN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): Two years ago, during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, my delegation voted in favour of a draft resolution entitled "Non-intervention in the internal affairs of States". That fact demonstrates our sincere and serious interest in the substance of the question. Last year, during the thirty-fourth session, we abstained on resolution 34/101, which was similar to that on which we have just voted, because we had serious doubts about the procedure proposed in that text.
- 243. The universal principles of international law are an integral part of an organic whole and, as such, they should be dealt with with great care, without losing sight of the possible implications that any exclusively political treatment could have for their effective implementation.
- 244. On the basis of those concerns, my delegation felt obliged to abstain again this year. We voted in favour of the amendment in document A/35/L.48 for obvious reasons, which I do not need to explain more fully in the Assembly. But, as far as the draft resolution on the strengthening of international security is concerned, although we fully appreciate the considerable effort made by the sponsors in order to prepare a generally acceptable text, I must say that certain elements, as for example those contained in operative paragraph 10, led us to abstain this year again, for reasons that I shall not go into as they have been explained in the two previous years in the General Assembly and the First Committee.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.