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New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 47TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 57: DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES:
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 58: REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (continued):

- (a) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY;
- (b) NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES;
- (c) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE PREPARATION OF SOCIETIES FOR LIFE IN PEACE: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

A draft resolution was introduced by:

Mr. Silovic (Yugoslavia) - A/C.1/36/L.60

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 57 AND 58 (continued)

DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/C.1/36/11, 13; A/C.1/36/L.59 A/36/358, 376 and Add.1, 457, 552 and 672)

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (A/C.1/36/L.58, L.60; A/C.1/36/3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, A/36/65, 68, 80, 83, 86, 97, 103, 106, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119, 133, 151, 170, 206, 223, 228, 233, 257, 332, 347, 348, 349, 358, 359, 365, 386 and Add.1 and 2, 388, 391, 396, 405, 456, 457, 465, 473, 481, 528, 552, 586, 616, 620, 650, 672)

- (a) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.
- (b) NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES.
- (c) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE PREPARATION OF SOCIETIES FOR LIFE IN PEACE: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Among the items on the agenda for the present session of the General Assembly, the topics we are now discussing relating to the strengthening of international security occupy an extremely important place. Attaching major significance to the consideration in the United Nations of a whole range of issues connected with this problem, the Byelorussian SSR has on frequent occasions already set forth its position, including in its replies to the relevant letters of the Secretary-General which this year are to be found in documents A/36/376/Add.1 and A/36/386/Add.2. In view of that, in the course of the present discussion the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR intends to dwell only on some of the fundamental aspects of the topics under discussion.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

The struggle for peace and international security, for development and the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between States is the very bedrock of the Leninist strategy for peace and of the policy of peaceful co-existence between countries with differing socio-economic systems, a policy which has been tirelessly and consistently pursued by the Soviet Union in the international arena from the very first days of its existence.

Thanks to the purposeful and consistent struggle of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, drawing on the support of all peace-loving forces, for the strict and unwavering observance of the United Nations Charter and in order to realize the aims which are contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and which is based on such important principles as the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of disputes among States, the development of broad international co-operation -- thanks to all this, a definite improvement in the international atmosphere was achieved in the 1970s.

In the last few years the Assembly has adopted a number of politically important documents aimed at promoting the implementation of the provisions to be found in that Declaration and thus of the main purpose of the United Nations as proclaimed in its Charter, namely, to ensure universal peace and international security. Let us simply recall a few of these documents. They include the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the prohibition for ever of the use of nuclear weapons, the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, the resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations and also a set of important decisions aimed at preventing and curbing the arms race and at implementing genuine disarmament measures.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

This includes also the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace which was adopted on the initiative of the Polish People's Republic. Essentially aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, this document won wide support from the majority of States and many international organizations.

The reply of the Byelorussian SSR to the letter received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding the implementation of the provisions of that Declaration demonstrates how in fact the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace are being implemented specifically and in full measure in our Republic and how emphasis is given to the importance of full and universal implementation and realization of these noble aims and purposes which are contained in that document.

In this context, therefore, we support the draft resolution on this item in document A/C.1/36/L.58, which refers to the further implementation of this Declaration and which was submitted to the Committee a few days ago by the representative of Poland, Mr. Wyzner.

At every stage in the struggle for peace in recent years the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has played and continues to play an important part and the implementation of its provisions is particularly timely at a time when, because of imperialist and hegemonist forces, the situation in the world is complicated and tense and the storm clouds which darken the political horizon, unless dispersed, are heavy with the potentially growing danger threatening the future of all mankind. As the Declaration of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in Delhi in February of this year states:

"The greatest peril facing the world today is the threat of destruction as a result of nuclear war". (A/36/116, para. 32)

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

In fact, heedless of the realities of the present-day world and alarmed at the success of genuine socialism, the national liberation movement and the growth of peace-loving, democratic and freedom-loving forces as a whole, the imperialists, especially the reactionary circles of the United States, have attempted to undermine détente, to further exacerbate the arms race and to disturb to their own advantage the military balance which has emerged in the world. They are pursuing a policy of threats and intervention in other people's affairs and stifling the national-liberation struggle.

Such a policy is clearly at variance with the resolution on this item which was adopted last year in which the General Assembly, in particular, urgently called on all States, especially the permanent members of the Security Council,

...to take all the necessary steps to prevent further erosion or disruption of the process of détente and to refrain from any act which may aggravate the international situation, impede the resolution of crises and the elimination of focal points of tension in various regions of the world and hamper the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly on halting and reversing the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, which are essential for the preservation of international peace and security" (Resolution 35/158 para. 6)

The fact that imperialist and hegemonist forces ignore and fail to observe these urgent demands voiced by the General Assembly is the real, and not an imaginary, cause of the exacerbation of the international situation.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

The efforts of the militarist-imperialist circles in the United States and their Peking allies, pursuing "parallel interests" in various parts of the world, have complicated the situations in Asia, Africa, the Pacific, Central America and the Caribbean. In the Middle East, in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and in the Far East there is growing tension in those already conflict-ridden regions. Armed provocation on the part of the Chinese military and their Pol Pot appendage on the borders of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea continues. An undeclared war is being waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. With the undisguised patronage of Washington, aggressive actions by Israel against Lebanon, Iraq and other Arab countries are continuing. Large-scale acts of brigandage against Angola and other neighbouring African States are being perpetrated by the Pretoria racists. The network of United States military bases is expanding in a number of areas around the globe. Attempts are being made to expand old and put together new military blocs. Pressure is being openly exerted on many new States in order to bring them into the orbit of the aggressive policies of Washington and the Peking hegemonists. They are lured with military assistance and encouraged to compete in the arms race.

The present United States Administration has proclaimed the attainment of military supremacy over the Soviet Union as the priority task for both its domestic and foreign policies in the coming years. At the highest possible level in the United States, for example, we have heard statements to the effect that there may be some argument as to what weapons the United States may or may not need, but by no means as to whether they should renounce a weapon because of agreements and treaties. Meanwhile, Pentagon expenditures are constantly accelerated, in an endeavour over the next five years to spend the super-astronomical sum of \$1.5 trillion, which is equivalent to what the United States poured out for armaments over the last 12 years; that is a remarkable fact. The United States Administration is openly set on the continual build-up of its nuclear muscle, armaments of all kinds, including the monstrous neutron weapon, the accelerated development and manufacture of ever new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

Whole regions of the world have unceremoniously been declared United States spheres of "vital interest" and armed intervention in those regions with the utilization in particular of the interventionist "rapid deployment forces" is not excluded.

The most dangerous aspect of Washington's present policy is that the unparalleled build-up of military might has been accompanied by a growing readiness to utilize it. Doctrines of the "admissibility" and "acceptability" of nuclear war are advocated; so are the ideas of a "demonstrative" nuclear explosion in Europe and a warning blow against the Soviet Union, and so on.

In seeking to justify such a dangerous policy, the whole gamut of entirely fictitious inventions about an imaginary "Soviet military threat", "Soviet military superiority" and Western "lagging behind" has been brought into play with increasing stubbornness. A hysterical campaign has been launched against détente and against normal, good-neighbourly relations with other States, in particular with the socialist States, a campaign of slander against national liberation movements in an attempt to associate them with "international terrorism".

In a situation where the imperialist circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are whipping up a dangerous state of tension, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community firmly and unwaveringly, have, everywhere and at all times, reaffirmed their principled devotion to the cause of fighting for the fundamental interests of peoples. The Soviet Union has constantly and consistently fought for the preservation and strengthening of international peace and security. It has come out in favour of halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament and in favour of social progress. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev, has stated:

"We intend to concentrate all our strength on two interrelated policies: one is communist construction and the other is consolidating peace."

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

The most striking corroboration of that is the Programme of Peace for the 1980s which was proposed at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, embracing the main fundamentals of international life. The programme includes measures for reducing both nuclear missiles and conventional weapons and proposals for settling existing and preventing new conflicts and crisis situations, and is imbued with a desire to strengthen détente and to develop peaceful co-operation among States on all continents. It also expresses the readiness of the Soviet Union to hold talks on all existing problems of peace and international security and to give full attention to any constructive ideas put forward by other countries. All of that is dominated by the main concern - to deliver peoples from the threat of nuclear war.

In providing genuine possibilities for finding mutually acceptable decisions based on equality and an equal degree of security, the major foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union contain nothing that would in any way be aimed at gaining unilateral advantages. As has been emphasized in the message addressed by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to the parliaments and peoples of the world, which was adopted in June of this year:

"Ensuring peace was, is and will remain the supreme goal of the foreign policy of the Soviet State."

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

We are gratified to note that the vast majority of States, which are concerned at the present state of international relations, which attach great importance to the strengthening of the political and legal foundations of peace and which have adopted a resolution on the subject at the present session of the General Assembly, have once again come out in favour of the early drafting of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. I would also again draw the attention of delegations to the proposal put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic, which we support, for the drafting and conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific.

At the centre of the problem of how to ensure lasting and just peace and to strengthen international security there is still the question of achieving progress in curbing the arms race and in bringing about genuine disarmament. During the present session the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has had occasion, elsewhere as well as in this Committee, to set forth its position on disarmament matters. Now, however, we should like to emphasize with satisfaction that a few days ago the First Committee adopted a number of important resolutions directly related to the problem of strengthening international security.

The first of them is the Declaration of the General Assembly on the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, which condemns the first use of nuclear weapons and the doctrine of the limited or partial use of such weapons. Also of major significance, we believe, is the decision which was taken to draw up a treaty aimed at averting the possibility of an arms race in outer space. Of importance in the context of the present international situation are the appeal to start talks as quickly as possible on the substance of the question of halting the production of nuclear weapons and of gradually reducing their stockpiles until they are completely eliminated, and the decision to continue efforts to strengthen security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

Of undoubted relevance for the strengthening of international security are the resolutions which emphasize the danger inherent in the actions that have been taken by certain States to develop the production of such barbaric types of weapons of mass destruction as neutron and binary weapons, the resolutions which call for the drafting of international instruments to avert so dangerous a development of events, and also a number of other resolutions.

In this year, the fortieth anniversary of the fascist Hitlerite perfidious aggression against the Soviet State, in which our Republic lost every fourth inhabitant and more than half of its national wealth, we should like once again to reaffirm the tremendous significance which the Byelorussian SSR attaches to ensuring lasting peace and security in Europe. We believe that this could be substantially furthered by the successful culmination of the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participants in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, by the adoption of a decision to hold a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

The imperative needs of the present day are loudly knocking on the door of contemporary international relations. In a relatively short period of history more than 90 new States have entered the world arena, and they must be given the opportunity to release their creative potential, to mobilize their natural resources without suffering from the diktat, exploitation, subversion, threats, blackmail or violence of the imperialists. In order to guarantee this, it is necessary fully and strictly to observe the principles enshrined in fundamental international legal documents - the Charter of the United Nations, the Final Act of the European Conference, and others. It is extremely important, at the same time, that relations between all States should be strictly and fully based on the principle of equality and the other generally accepted norms of international law. It is important that the non-aligned status which has been elected by a number of States of Asia, Africa and Latin America - indeed the majority - should be respected and that no attempts are made to involve them in military-political blocs.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

Thus this, as it were, code of norms, provided it is strictly observed by all States, would really help the world to become more tranquil and would enable peoples to look more confidently to the future.

In order to strengthen international security, efforts should be stepped up to settle existing conflicts by peaceful means, around the negotiating table. That is where we should try to untangle the knots of international politics. In the Middle East, this would involve the convening of a special international conference, with the participation of all the parties concerned - including the PLO - so that there can be a comprehensive settlement to the problems of Palestine and the Middle East as a whole.

In Asia this would mean putting an end to all interference and any kind of subversive activity against Afghanistan, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. It would also mean removing the obstacles that have been put in the way of the reunification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis, without any outside interference.

The United Nations should more persistently and actively promote the final eradication of colonialism, the attainment of genuine independence by Namibia and the transfer of complete power to SWAPO, the sole, lawful representative of the Namibian people, the elimination of the vestiges of racism and apartheid and the solution of the urgent problems connected with the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and fair basis.

In the present complicated international situation, despite the intrigues of aggressive circles of all hues against peace and détente, the will of the peoples for peace, again powerfully demonstrated by the mass marches that have taken place in various countries, their will to defend the primal right of mankind - the right to life - shall prevail and, we are sure, shall triumph.

At the present time, in the 1980s, there is indeed a growing responsibility of the United Nations to prevent a catastrophic nuclear conflict and to do everything to implement the main task for which the United Nations was founded - namely, to spare succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

For its part, the Byelorussian SSR, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, will continue purposefully and firmly to struggle for lasting peace and international security, and for social progress.

Mr. ERSUN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): Turkey was one of the sponsors, with Romania, of resolution 34/99, adopted by the General Assembly by consensus in 1979. We co-sponsored that resolution not only because of our spontaneous sympathy with that initiative by Romania, a friend and neighbour, with which we enjoy fruitful co-operation in many areas as well as traditional friendly relations, but also because we felt, on the basis of long experience, that that initiative in a relatively unexplored but very important and at times vital field deserved the attention of the international community.

An analysis of the substance of the concept of good-neighbourliness may seem, at first sight, a particularly difficult task. The Turkish delegation would like today to present a few preliminary thoughts on the nature, content and possible scope of this concept, which appears in international relations as a rather geographical and political idea.

At first sight, good-neighbourliness represents a physical and geographical condition. The qualification of the noun by the adjective "good" lends it a moral connotation.

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

The first of these elements, geography, is at the basis of a complex network of concrete relations, whereas the second adds a value judgement having to do with the conduct of States, which by definition should be in keeping with the fundamental principles and generally recognized rules of international law. Moreover, the concept of good-neighbourliness is often used together with the concept of friendly relations among States.

In the preamble to the United Nations Charter we have pledged to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". In Article 74 of the Charter, in a somewhat special context, Members of the Organization also agree "that their policy ... must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness".

The ninth principle of the Declaration on the Principles Governing Mutual Relations of the Participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, concerns co-operation among States. It states that States

"will endeavour, in developing their co-operation as equals, to promote understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighbourly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice."

Setting aside these references to norms, it is rather difficult in a multilateral context to understand and define the political and legal contents of the concept of good-neighbourliness. In a world that is constantly shrinking thanks to the scientific and technical revolution of the twentieth century, the traditional concept of good-neighbourliness has expanded and goes well beyond geographical proximity, which obviously complicates our task.

That summary introduction prompts us to draw a distinction between two levels of analysis as we approach this complex problem. The first concerns the fundamental principles that should govern the conduct of States if the community of nations is not to be an anarchic ensemble but a human society based on a code of conduct and certain ethics. The second level of analysis has to do with identifying complex and diversified problems concerning geographical proximity or, today, by extension, the many physical and human contacts that result from technological progress.

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

I should like first to dwell on the most important aspect of the matter, that is the principles that should constitute the backdrop to all relations among States. As a notion distinct from other kinds of relations among States, good-neighbourliness requires a certain stability or minimum of harmony among the partners in the absence of which it would be absurd to speak of such a concept. First and foremost, then, it presupposes co-operation; fortunately, the principle of co-operation is better defined in international relations.

May I now quote the ninth principle contained in the Final Act of Helsinki, entitled "Co-operation among States":

"The participating States will develop their co-operation with one another and with all States in all fields in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter. In developing their co-operation the participating States will place special emphasis on the fields as set forth within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, with each of them making its contribution in conditions of full equality.

"They will endeavour, in developing their co-operation as equals, to promote mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighbourly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice. They will equally endeavour, in developing their co-operation, to improve the well-being of peoples and contribute to the fulfilment of their aspirations through, inter alia, the benefits resulting from increased mutual knowledge and from progress and achievement in the economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural humanitarian fields. They will take steps to promote conditions favourable to making these benefits available to all; they will take into account the interest of all in the narrowing of differences in the levels of economic development, and in particular the interest of developing countries throughout the world.

"They confirm that Governments, institutions, organizations and persons have a relevant and positive role to play in contributing toward the achievement of these aims of their co-operation.

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

"They will strive, in increasing their co-operation as set forth above, to develop closer relations among themselves on an improved and more enduring basis for the benefit of all peoples."

Similar language may be found in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States:

"States have the duty to co-operate with one another, irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems, in the various spheres of international relations, in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress, the general welfare of nations and international co-operation free from discrimination based on such differences.

"To this end:

"(a) States shall co-operate with other States in the maintenance of international peace and security;

"(b) States shall co-operate in the promotion of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and in the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and all forms of religious intolerance.

"(c) States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention;

"(d) States Members of the United Nations have the duty to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

"States should co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields as well as in the field of science and technology and for the promotion of international cultural and educational progress. States should co-operate in the promotion of economic growth throughout the world, especially that of the developing countries." (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV))

Here an observation of primary importance is necessary. When we are speaking of the fundamental principles of international law it is a mistake

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

to treat it in isolation and to omit the context in which it attains full significance and can be implemented. I should like to quote the language of the general provisions of the Declaration on Friendly Relations:

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

"2. Declares that:

In their interpretation and application the above principles are interrelated and each principle should be construed in the context of the other principles.

"3. Declares further that:

"The principles of the Charter which are embodied in this Declaration constitute basic principles of international law, and consequently appeals to all States to be guided by these principles in their international conduct and to develop their mutual relations on the basis of the strict observance of these principles. (Ibid.)

It might also be relevant to mention the concluding paragraphs at the end of the Declaration of Principles of the Final Act of Helsinki:

All the principles set forth above are of primary significance and, accordingly, they will be equally and unreservedly applied, each of them being interpreted taking into account the others.

The participating States express their determination fully to respect and apply these principles, as set forth in the present Declaration, in all aspects, to their mutual relations and co-operation in order to ensure to each participating State the benefits resulting from the respect and application of these principles by all.

The participating States, paying due regard to the principles above and, in particular, to the first sentence of the tenth principle, 'Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law', note that the present Declaration does not affect their rights and obligations, nor the corresponding treaties and other agreements and arrangements.

"The participating States express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of normal and friendly relations and the progress of co-operation among them in all fields. They also express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of political contacts among them which in turn would contribute to better mutual understanding of their positions and views.

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

"The participating States declare their intention to conduct their relations with all other States in the spirit of the principles contained in the present Declaration.

The Final Act of Helsinki does not create legal obligations but only moral and political commitments. The Declaration concerning friendly relations, as it is frequently called, while being a document of primary importance because it was adopted by the General Assembly by consensus, certainly does not constitute an amendment to the United Nations Charter. Nevertheless, one must admit that on the "multilateral level", those two documents have contributed substantially to the clarification of the delicate problems of the entry into force of the fundamental principles of international law.

The Final Act of Helsinki, more recent than the Declaration concerning friendly relations and the product of long negotiations, could be considered as a basic model for the establishing of relations of good neighbourliness, since it was the charter of the process of détente. Therefore, reference to "good faith" in the concluding paragraphs of the Declaration of Principles is very significant. Obviously sovereign equality, the non-use of force, territorial integrity and the other relevant provisions constitute a sine qua non for the establishment of relations of good neighbourliness. But the positive connotation of the concept of good neighbourliness, even in its normal usage, finds its full significance in the principle of co-operation, conceived and interpreted in the light of the principle of implementation in good faith of the obligations assumed under international law. In conclusion, we therefore believe that those two elements constitute the very essence of the notion of good neighbourliness.

At the second level of analysis, relating to specific problems arising from geographical proximity, the diversity and complexity of the numerous special cases are discouraging. Consequently, generalization on this level seems to us to be rather difficult. Nevertheless, we should like to stress that we have considerable experience in this area because the foreign policy of modern Turkey has been based all along on the need to establish the best of relations among all States, and in the first place with our neighbours. For more than half a

(Mr. Ersun, Turkey)

century all the Turkish Governments have followed the same policy in a consistent and continuing manner. As our collective thinking on the matter develops, the Turkish delegation will not fail to make its contribution in this latter area also.

In conclusion, the very nature of our intervention prompts us to say that we hope that this question will be dealt with in the future within the framework of the Sixth Committee, which seems to us to be a more appropriate forum for such discussion.

Finally, I should like to announce that, on instructions from my Government, Turkey has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.59.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): The exceptional importance which Romania attaches to ensuring and strengthening international security is dictated by the profound concern of the Government and people of Romania over the deterioration in recent years of the situation in the world and the danger of a conflagration which threatens the very future of mankind. In these circumstances, it is our firm conviction that sustained efforts are necessary at present on the part of all States and all peoples, who should act together in order to put an end to the dangerous arms race, in order to revive the policy of détente, co-operation and good understanding, and to bring about a climate of true international security, in which all peoples can develop in freedom and sovereignty, safe from terror and the monstrous spectre of war.

The Romanian people, fully aware of the serious danger which at present looms over Europe and the entire world, has resolutely associated itself with the powerful demonstrations occurring throughout the European continent against war, missiles and the neutron bomb, and in favour of disarmament and peace. In the disarmament and peace appeal which was made at the end of October, and which appears in document A/C.1/36/8 of 4 November 1981, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, which represents all political organizations in Romania, urged the Romanian people and all other peoples of the world, to act together before it is too late in order to restrain the arms race, to prevent a new world war, to safeguard peace in Europe and throughout the world and to ensure the fundamental right of people to life, to peace and to national independence.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

In the same spirit, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which met at its regular session on 27 and 28 November, addressed a pressing appeal to the parliaments, Governments and peoples of the European countries, United States of America and Canada. Deeply concerned, and in a spirit of responsibility for the highest interests of the Romanian peoples and for the security, peace, life and tranquility of the other nations, the Romanian Parliament expressed its profound concern at the worsening of the international situation, which has been caused, above all, by the acceleration of the armaments race, particularly in the nuclear field.

A clear and realistic analysis of the world conditions in which we live shows that mankind is going through a period of marked deterioration of the economic crisis, which has spread to practically every continent, of intensification of action to consolidate and set out zones of influence and of a speeding up of the arms race, particularly nuclear arms. Military conflicts are being waged and serious contradictions are emerging between various States and groups of States. All this has resulted in a continued deterioration of international relations and has increased the danger of new conflicts and military confrontations and, indeed, of a nuclear war. International security has therefore been seriously threatened.

Furthermore, international life is being marked by the strong expression of the desire of peoples completely to end colonial domination, imperialist policies of force and diktat and to consolidate their independence and national sovereignty, which have been won by a difficult struggle and with great sacrifices. At present the struggle of peoples against armaments, primarily, nuclear weapons, and for disarmament and peace is developing on an unprecedented scale.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

Romania recognizes that, in the confrontation of those two diametrically opposed tendencies, the people and anti-imperialist and progressive forces who wish to see a return to and continuation of the policy of détente, the solution of sources of contention among States by means of negotiations, the promotion of a new democratic policy based on the principles of the full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, are becoming increasingly active.

As a European country, Romania is deeply concerned by the unprecedented accumulation of armed forces and modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, in Europe, where the two alliances confront each other. What are we witnessing? Europe, which is already surfeited with armed forces and weaponry, is gradually being drawn to an ever greater degree into the vortex of the arms race, which represents a serious threat not only to the peace and tranquillity of the peoples of that region, but also for world peace and security. At the present time, the peoples of Europe are facing the real and extremely serious risk of a new military rivalry as a result of the decision to deploy and develop on that continent medium-range nuclear missiles and to manufacture the neutron bomb. For the Romanian people, as for those of other European nations, it is absolutely clear that unless they act urgently and in a spirit of responsibility to reject this new phase of the arms race, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe that could destroy the age-old civilization of Europe and that of the entire world will only loom larger.

In fact, the danger of a nuclear war and of the destruction of Europe has never been so great or so real as it is today. It is precisely this growing awareness of the seriousness of that threat that has given rise to a particular awareness on the part of European public opinion and of peoples in all parts of Europe, who have energetically come out against the policy of nuclear armaments and in favour of negotiations to prevent, reduce and eliminate such weapons. It is for the same reason that Romania and its President, Nicolae Ceausescu, have staunchly favoured the conclusion of agreements on the non-

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

deployment, withdrawal and reduction of medium-range missiles by both sides as a first step towards the total elimination and destruction of such weapons. There can be no doubt that the problem of forgoing the deployment of medium-range missiles and the withdrawal of those already in place is one that is vital for peace in Europe. That is why it is of such great importance to all the peoples of the region and to all States in the world.

Keenly aware of its responsibilities with regard to the highest interests of the Romanian people and to the security, peace, life and tranquillity of other nations, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania issued an Appeal to all the organizations belonging to it and to all the country's citizens to make their voices heard by holding large public demonstrations calling for intensification of the actions by all States and peoples to prevent the expansion of the arms race and the growth of the military arsenal and for the adoption of specific steps in the field of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, in order that mankind might be delivered from the nightmare of a new war.

For its part, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania addressed an appeal to all the peoples, Governments and parliaments of Europe, the United States of America and Canada, to act energetically and without delay, united and in close co-operation, to bar the road to war and to stop the dangerous course of international life so as to revive the policy of détente and co-operation and in order to halt the armaments race and go on from there to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

As was emphasized in statements made recently by the Romanian Chief of State:

"It is now, before the missiles go into action, before atomic bombs are dropped, while we are still alive—in a word, before it is too late—that an end must be put to nuclear weapons, and disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, must be achieved. After the atom bombs have been dropped, it will be too late. There will then no longer be anyone left

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

to judge the guilty, there will be no guilty parties and no one left to judge them. It is now that we must act, together, in order to save mankind from atomic war and to preserve life on our planet."

In the documents adopted by the Romanian parliament and by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stress is laid on the fact that the Romanian people are aware that the achievement of their goal of bringing about higher degrees of progress and civilization, as well as realizing the aspirations of all peoples to well-being and progress, are vitally linked to eradicating the threat of war and the creation of a lasting peace. The cause of peace and co-operation is an inseparable part of the Romanian people's conception of life and of the society we are building and is identified with the noble ideals of socialism and peace.

Believing that peace-loving forces everywhere and the peoples of the world should exert the greatest energy in order to persuade Governments, parliaments and State leaders to embark on a constructive policy, the appeal issued by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania calls upon all mass and civic organizations and the popular masses of all the countries of Europe, America and all the other continents to act in the strictest unity to ensure the realization of the pressing objectives of security, détente and international co-operation.

During the month of November, and at the present time, as a result of that appeal, large mass demonstrations, peace marches, meetings and other actions are taking place in which tens and hundreds of thousands of citizens, virtually the entire population of Romania, are expressing their firm determination to struggle against the policy of pursuing the arms race and in order to create a climate in which all peoples can develop, in full freedom, sovereignty and tranquility, and safe from any outside interference or aggression. Those who have participated in such actions have thereby demonstrated their serious concern about the accumulation of vast quantities of armaments in Europe, including nuclear weapons that could destroy mankind many times over.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

They are also asking that it be agreed, within the framework of the current negotiations, to halt the production and emplacement of new medium-range missiles and, at the same time, to proceed to the reduction and dismantling of those that already exist and upon their elimination. The Romanian people have said a firm "No" to the neutron bomb and are unswervingly in favour of the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction.

In the document adopted on 28 November, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania welcomed the initiation of the Geneva negotiations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union on halting the emplacement of medium-range missiles in Europe and on the withdrawal of those already in place. We consider it our duty, as well as the duty of all people living on the continent of Europe, to speak out openly and clearly to the two States negotiating in Geneva and to tell them that the statements made by their two leaders during the period preceding those negotiations have aroused great hopes in European and world public opinion that practical and concrete measures and decisions will be taken to find a positive solution to this problem that is so vital to our continent, to security and to world détente and peace.

In this connexion, I should like to emphasize that in the appeal that was adopted by the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, mention is made of the fact that the Romanian people noted with satisfaction, welcomed and expressed great appreciation of the statements made by Chairman Leonid Brezhnev that the Soviet Union wishes to reach agreement on the complete abandonment by both sides, East and West, of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe and to make Europe a nuclear-free zone. The Grand National Assembly also took note with interest and appreciation of the statements of the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, that the United States is willing to go so far as to cancel the emplacement of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and to reduce strategic armaments, and that it is ready to negotiate on the Soviet proposals. Although there are

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

fundamental differences between the statements made by the two Chiefs of State, European and world public opinion realizes that they express the wish of both States to conduct negotiations and nourishes the hope that they will lead to an agreement on the elimination of medium-range weapons and of all nuclear weapons in Europe.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

We believe that it must be made clear that, as Romania sees matters, it would be particularly important to agree, at the very outset of the Soviet-American negotiations, to halt the deployment and development of new missiles, to reduce the number of those already in place and at the end of the negotiations to reach agreement on the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons to the lowest possible level, so as to proceed gradually to the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons and eventually freeing the European continent from the atomic weapon.

Since all the problems to be taken up in the Soviet-American negotiations are of direct concern to all European peoples, Romania considers that there is a natural, objective need for all States on the continent to assume greater responsibility in working for disarmament. Therefore, we believe that all European States should participate, through procedures to be determined, in the negotiations to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles, should explain their positions and should contribute to the reaching of agreements acceptable to all. That could make a positive impact, we feel, since these are matters of vital interest to the peoples of Europe, and in the final analysis these problems can be resolved only if the European States are involved.

Socialist Romania is doing its best to ensure that the Madrid meeting ends in the best possible results, that a conference is held on disarmament and the strengthening of confidence in Europe, and that broad economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation is developed among all the States of the continent without any distinction as to social systems.

The Romanian people and President Ceausescu are consistently working for overcoming the division of the European continent into military blocs and opposing economic groups, for co-operation based on equity and equality, and for a united Europe, in conditions which would ensure respect for the social order and independence of every country. Romania considers that it is imperative for the cause of peace to ensure the continuity of meetings on security and co-operation in Europe. My country is very desirous of playing host to the next meeting at Bucharest and pledges to do everything possible to ensure the best working conditions for it.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

Romania is firmly in favour of the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe and the establishment of new relations in the Balkans based on co-operation and friendship, so that nuclear missiles and weapons will not be stationed in that region.

Romania considers that the requirements of international security impose the ending of all demonstrations of force, of military manoeuvres at the borders of other States, of large-scale manoeuvres and indeed of any acts that might engender tension or mistrust between States.

As representatives are aware, my country has put forward specific proposals on the freezing and reduction of military budgets, since it is convinced that the adoption of such measures would contribute to the strengthening of international security. Like many other peoples, we consider that the tremendous funds wasted on armaments should be utilized to implement economic and social development programmes in every country in order to support the efforts being made by the developing countries for further progress and in order to build a better and fairer world. The policy of disarmament should contribute to the elimination of the gaps between States and should help to bring about a new international economic order, which is an essential condition for peace and security and world political and economic stability.

In view of the need for the parties concerned to bring about a balance which would ensure security conditions for every country, we want this balance to be achieved not by raising the ceiling of armaments but by gradually reducing them until they are completely eliminated.

In the opinion of my country, it is particularly important for peoples and for democratic forces that genuinely cherish peace not to lose sight of the particularly dangerous nature of the ever more active part being played by the military-industrial complex in various countries, particularly in the field of foreign policy. The fundamental interests of all peoples require that we work to prevent those trends towards giving priority to military force and militarizing international life.

It is the profound conviction of my country that peoples have the necessary strength and the ability to change the present course of international life

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

and to give to impose on events a new democratic direction towards détente, security and peace. Therefore, in the demonstrations in Romania, it is firmly demanded that an end be put to the policy of armament, the use of force and the threat of force, the violation of the independence of peoples and interference in their internal affairs, so that all contentions problems can be resolved exclusively by peaceful means through negotiations. As we have frequently stated, we are convinced that the strengthening of international security means that the United Nations and the other international bodies and organizations will have to play a more active role in uniting and securing the participation of all nations in the efforts for peace, disarmament and international co-operation.

The two documents concerning peace, disarmament and security in Europe and throughout the world and the large demonstrations to which we have referred, reflect the desire and the unshakable will of the Romanian people to make its full contribution to the efforts being made by peoples and by the international community as a whole to prevent the outbreak of a new world war and to realize their aspirations to live in peace and tranquillity in a world of peace and progress where security is guaranteed to all countries.

We consider that, in order to intensify and to guide those efforts, the United Nations must play a primary part, since its main reason for existence is the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. By the present debate our Committee has an opportunity and at the same time a duty to contribute to affirming even more strongly this central role of the United Nations.

Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian): A few days ago there was a meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the leading force in our State, which carried out a detailed analysis of the international situation and the way in which it was developing. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Honecker, said:

"Since the Second World War the world has never faced so much danger as at the present time. It would be suicidal to fail

(Mr. Florin, German
Democratic Republic)

to note this. We consider that no one should agree with a policy that aims at accustoming mankind to the idea that crossing the threshold from peace to war and perishing in a nuclear inferno are inevitable. There are ways and means to counter this danger; they must be used."

(Mr. Florin, German
Democratic Republic)

The United Nations also has the duty of resisting the danger which threatens peace by all means available to it, and this is the purpose of our discussion on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

A matter which is constantly in the forefront is the question of equality and mutual respect for the legal security interests of other States. The foundation of the United Nations Charter is the principle of collective security, particularly the right to one's own security, together with a commitment to respect other people's security. Therefore the German Democratic Republic will continue unswervingly to conduct a policy of peaceful coexistence.

However, anyone who neglects this principle, anyone who interprets it one-sidedly -- that is, who virtually falsifies it -- threatens the cause of peace and international security and thereby creates a threat to their own security. No State is entitled, under the guise of so-called interests of national security, to implant military bases throughout the world, to declare whole regions of the earth a sphere of their vital interests, or to attempt by super-armament and unambiguous declarations about being the first to deliver a nuclear strike, to nudge the world to the brink of war, which would undoubtedly be a nuclear war.

The main way of preserving peace and strengthening international security is by means of dialogue, by serious negotiations. The 1970s, with their positive results in the field of détente, have proved this to be so.

International security and disarmament are very frequently mechanically divided or even contrasted with each other. Such discussions are abstract, academic, and really distract us from the point at issue. International security comprises steps to reduce armaments and to bring about disarmament. The removal and the prevention of international conflicts enable the peoples to enjoy their right to self-determination and also involve fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation. However, the decisive crux of the matter is the restriction and halt of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

(Mr. Florin, German
Democratic Republic)

May we once again emphasize that at the present time there is no task more vital than the prevention of a thermo-nuclear war. We have heard a great deal said in this Committee about the reasons for the arms race and who is responsible for it. The behaviour of certain States during the voting has shed light on their attitude to détente, more than any declaration they could have made. Despite all the efforts made to gloss over the matter it has become clear that, whereas the majority of States Members continue to bend their efforts to restricting armaments and bringing about disarmament, and aspire to a more effective use being made of the United Nations in this connexion, certain States seek to exclude the Organization from this process and fail to heed the demands of peoples for disarmament. The Committee acted in accordance with the present situation by preserving and expanding what has already been achieved. A massive attack on the Final Document of special session of the General Assembly on disarmament was rebuffed, and the main guidelines were laid down for the forthcoming second special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Constructive actions are now needed on the part of all States to ensure that its results are successful.

All the States represented in this Committee have welcomed the start of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States: there were absolutely no exceptions. However, statements which were made by certain notables in the United States prompt us to assert once again that we expect that these talks will be held on the basis of equality and equal security, in a spirit prompted by a desire to achieve positive results. Readiness for such talks should not simply be used to mislead the peoples of the world or to create alibis for the further stepping up of armaments.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, Mr. Brezhnev, at meetings held when he visited the Federal Republic of Germany, once again expressed his firm desire for constructive talks, and this is an attitude which is fully upheld by the German Democratic Republic.

(Mr. Florin, German
Democratic Republic)

A second way to consolidate international security, which should be made use of simultaneously, is that of resolving conflicts and of preventing new sources of tension arising. The German Democratic Republic would like to commend the efforts made by the Arab States, seeking for a durable and peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict. The foundation for this has been clearly spelled out by the United Nations, and this also is supported by the German Democratic Republic. May I, however, make one point. The militarization of the Near East, which is being stepped up at an unprecedented rate, is aggravating the situation. I am not only referring to extensive use being made and manoeuvres being conducted by the rapid deployment forces and the race for an ever-increasing number of military bases, but also the setting up of so-called international forces for the Sinai which may virtually turn into simply a further extension of the radius of activity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This fact cannot be altered by any half-truths or political clarifications or conditions. We very much fear that such a development of events will involve serious consequences, and not only for that part of the world. At any rate, it will not further a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

The same should and indeed must be said about the new American-Israeli agreement. Leaders in both of these States have taken on the functions of international policemen in that part of the world. We are certain that other States will draw the necessary conclusions from this.

A contribution to the strengthening of international security and universal peace could be provided by efforts to bring about détente and stabilization in a number of areas of the world, in order to establish sound, good-neighbourly relations between States, based on trust. This is true of the efforts being made by States in the Indian Ocean area, in order to turn that region into a zone of peace. It is a matter of reducing military presence and military bases and of the stabilization of relations between States in that region. The fact that these legitimate desires go to further peace and security cannot be denied. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic supports the view of the littoral States. Unfortunately, here again, in this part of the world we see efforts being stepped up by the imperialist circles to block these legitimate desires.

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(Mr. Florin, German
Democratic Republic)

They wish to flaunt their military might there and to use it to serve the interests of international monopolies.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

The States of the Caribbean area are deeply concerned and the German Democratic Republic shares their anxiety. It is obvious that preparations are being made to export counter-revolution by means of massive intervention, even going so far as threats of military invasion in order to prevent the free development of the sovereign States of the area. We stand fully behind the peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua who have been suffering from the imperialist policies of boycott and threat. We also demand that an end be put to the intervention of extremely aggressive imperialist circles in El Salvador.

The German Democratic Republic is fully on the side of the Angolan people, which has itself selected the way in which it should develop. This cannot in any way be altered by certain forces which are waging an undeclared war against that country. The policy of terror, occupation and aggression pursued by the apartheid régime indeed represents a serious threat to the cause of peace and international security. For the last three years there has existed a specific plan for the exercise of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, in the form of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Its implementation would also lead to a state of détente prevailing throughout southern Africa. However, instead of this, attempts continue to be made to subordinate developments in that area to the demands of Pretoria. Let us call a spade a spade: an attempt is being made to impose a neo-colonialist status on the people of Namibia, without even enquiring whether they wish to be under the guardianship of other countries.

The German Democratic Republic supports the proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a reduction of tension in that part of the world. A prerequisite for this would be the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. Despite the legitimate demands which have been voiced by the Korean people, the military presence there has been intensified even further. Reference has even been made to the idea of emplacing neutron weapons in that part of the world. This not only helps to heighten tension further, but at the same time represents a serious threat to international security.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

Among the ways and means of strengthening peace we should include also the adoption of fundamental declarations on various aspects of the struggle for international security.

It is known that certain States reject this aspect of the Organization's activities and even attempt to slander it. This in itself shows that the documents to which I have referred are perhaps not so insignificant as is asserted in some quarters.

We are convinced that if the United Nations were to express a clear political will to give principled guidance to the conduct of States, this would prove an important and effective factor in international life. Those documents, however, also have to meet one other very important requirement: they must be in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Any attempt to circumvent the Charter would do this cause only harm. We were very interested from this point of view to study the draft declaration on non-interference. We support this initiative. The draft deals with elementary questions of inter-State relations which are taking on more and more significance in the light of present imperialist and hegemonist machinations. We consider that the draft shows us the right course. In the course of our future work the delegation of the German Democratic Republic will actively promote the completion of this draft. We also favour the extension of good-neighbourly relations with all States. The German Democratic Republic is maintaining and developing such relations on the basis of socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence.

Enhancing the security of all States means that exhaustive use must be made of all possibilities available to the United Nations. Here we should like to recall the proposal made by the Soviet Union that a special session of the Security Council be held at the highest level in order to find some solution to the most pressing problems. The German Democratic Republic favours acting on this initiative, which would have a continuing positive impact on the entire international situation. It would provide us with an opportunity by means of constructive dialogue to find a decision in the quest for a reasonable balance.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

I should like in conclusion to state that the international situation has considerably deteriorated. Undoubtedly, there are very powerful forces standing behind the policy of confrontation. However, those who favour peace, détente and disarmament will prove the stronger if they act in concert. In this connexion, may we point out the mutual response between the striking demonstrations against nuclear war and the desires expressed by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations. This shows that the United Nations is on the right path.

Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia): The question of the strengthening of international security has recently acquired an added urgency. Its solution for the benefit of the peaceful development of world affairs has to have priority among the tasks set by our Organization.

We are debating the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted 11 years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union in a complicated international situation which has markedly deteriorated because of the forces of imperialism. Tensions have grown also in the military sphere and, in particular, the threat of a nuclear conflict has increased. The imperialist circles headed by the United States are striving by military and other means to negate the positive results achieved in the process of détente. Above all, they are striving to change the existing balance of forces in the world and to gain military superiority that would enable them to dictate the conditions of the further dialogue with the socialist countries, to continue the practice of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, to erect a barrier to progressive national liberation and social movements and to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist and developing countries. To attain that objective the imperialist forces have brushed up and further developed the theory of the so-called Soviet threat and the aggressiveness of the socialist States. That theory became a magic formula frequently used by the decision-making bodies of the Western world to justify the initiation of a new round of the arms race. Systematic repetition of this idea in all the media of the advanced Western propaganda machinery serves to justify the anti-peace measures of the governments to their own populations and to world public opinion.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

Under the pretext of a non-existent threat from the socialist States - but, in reality, in the interest of implementing its own imperialist ambitions - the United States has embarked upon the road of an unprecedented growth of military expenditures. It has switched on the green light for the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, including offensive nuclear missiles and the neutron bomb. The thesis of the alleged military superiority of Warsaw Treaty countries is used to substantiate the decision of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to deploy new United States medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe which, if implemented, would substantially increase the danger of an outbreak of a global nuclear war.

The same false theory has been used by the United States in an attempt to justify its negative and unconstructive approach to the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and its refusal to ratify the SALT II treaty. This course of action by the NATO States has resulted in the interruption of bilateral and trilateral talks on other questions of arms control by the nuclear Powers and deadlocked the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The NATO States are deliberately creating artificial obstacles to progress in on-going disarmament negotiations and do not show sufficient political will for the constructive consideration of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries.

The foreign policies of the socialist countries offer irrefutable proof that the propaganda theory of a threat from the socialist countries is without any foundation. Those policies are consistently based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation of States with different social systems. Their primary objective is the preservation of peace throughout the world. Along with other peace-loving States, the socialist countries are systematically and actively struggling against escalation of tension and striving for the revitalization of disarmament talks and the elimination of hotbeds of tension. The numerous proposals and initiatives that are being submitted and promoted by the socialist States in the interest of maintaining peace throughout the world

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

represent a counterpoise to the attempts aimed at initiating a new round in the arms race and a further deterioration of the world situation.

In recent times the socialist countries have submitted a number of significant proposals for the solution of the most pressing issues in the current international situation. I wish to recall, first of all, the proposals advanced from the rostrum of the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and supported by Czechoslovakia and the other countries of the socialist community. As was stated at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by its Secretary-General and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, those proposals as a whole represent a concentrated reflection of our own vital interests also. They comprise a broad spectrum of questions, starting with measures for limiting and reducing nuclear-missile weapons, through action aimed at eliminating the hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world and up to practical and constructive ways and means of deepening the process of détente and developing peaceful co-operation among States. Above all, the proposals relating to disarmament are of exceptional importance. The proposal to halt the manufacture of nuclear weapons and gradually to reduce their stockpiles until the complete liquidation of that most destructive type of weapons of mass destruction is a comprehensive one.

Important proposals have been addressed to the States of the European continent, where the two world wars were unleashed: proposals to conclude a treaty prohibiting the first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons; to impose a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles, including the forward-based nuclear systems of the United States; and for both substantive and territorial expansion of confidence-building measures among the European States. The appeal not to expand the existing military blocs and not to establish new ones is addressed to European and other States of other continents. Several of those proposals were further specified in a creative way in the recent interview granted by the leading Soviet representative, Leonid I. Brezhnev, to the magazine "Der Spiegel".

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

We regard the initiative of the Soviet Union to hold a thoroughly prepared special series of Security Council meetings, with the participation of the highest representatives of its members and leading representatives of other interested Member States, as an effective proposal designed to alleviate international tensions, improve the international situation and reduce the danger of war.

In their totality the proposals advanced at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union form a comprehensive peace programme for the 1980s. Its implementation would be an effective way to reduce and eliminate the danger of war and to safeguard a peaceful future throughout the world. The numerous proposals by the socialist States and the organs of their defensive alliance, the Warsaw Treaty, submitted in the past, continue to be valid.

The socialist countries' striving for peace is furthermore attested to by their proposals and initiatives considered and adopted by this Committee in the course of the current session of the General Assembly. In the current situation of an increased danger of nuclear war, we regard as particularly important, useful and timely the Declaration on Preventing the Danger of a Nuclear Catastrophe, adopted by this Committee last week, which denounces the inhuman war doctrine of the first strike, as well as the protagonists of that pernicious theory.

There is no doubt that the present situation also urgently requires the actual implementation of the principles contained in the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, adopted by the General Assembly on Czechoslovakia's initiative in 1979.

The efforts of the socialist States aimed at revitalizing disarmament negotiations and achieving tangible results meet with a broad response from progressive mankind, including the population of the Western countries. We should like to believe that Governments of Western States too will seriously consider the proposals that have been submitted and will set out on a course of constructive disarmament negotiations, in the interest of reducing the danger of a nuclear war. The path to a constructive and

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

mutually beneficial dialogue on those questions has been indicated in the conclusions of the recent visit to Bonn by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and in his talks with Federal Chancellor Schmidt.

We welcome the start of talks between the USSR and the United States of America on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. We, along with the entire international community, hope that the United States will approach those talks constructively, realistically and with respect for the basic premise of all similar talks - the principle of equality and equal security for both sides. We expect also that, in keeping with the desire of the peoples of the entire world, the United States Administration will realistically approach the negotiations on strategic arms, with the preservation of everything that has already been achieved.

Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are taking an active part in all measures aimed at improving the international climate and strengthening peace and international security. They strive for the successful conclusion of the Madrid Meeting of the signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the adoption of concrete and positive decisions. It is our purpose that the conclusions of the Madrid Meeting should reaffirm the continuity of the process started at Helsinki and contribute to the strengthening of the process of détente and peaceful co-operation among European States, as well as to a more profound implementation of the Final Act as a whole. We support the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe and believe that that conference should lead to the curbing of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the revitalization of the process of détente both in Europe and throughout the world.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

The strengthening of détente and international security would also be facilitated by tangible progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which we, together with our allies, have been seeking from their very inception, but which through no fault of ours have been deadlocked for several years now.

Together with other socialist countries, we encourage measures to strengthen international security in other continents and geographical regions. We support the idea of Asian security and the proposal by the People's Republic of Mongolia for the conclusion of a treaty of non-aggression and the non-use of force in mutual relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific region. We encourage the establishment of a zone of peace and good neighbourliness in Asia and the Pacific region. We welcome the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and we encourage the establishment of such zones in Africa, the Middle East, in the Mediterranean, Scandinavia and the Balkan region. We follow with concern the expansion of United States military presence in the Indian Ocean, including the establishment of huge military bases, and we denounce the negative approach by the Western States to negotiations on the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

We support the efforts of the developing countries aimed at restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and at the establishment of a new economic order and a new information and communication order. We regard the implementation of the requirements of the developing countries, among other things, also in the context of measures enhancing the development of peaceful co-operation among States and the strengthening of international peace and security throughout the world.

In reviewing the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we are obliged to reiterate that the aggressive policy of the imperialist forces leads to the creation of hotbeds of tension and to armed conflicts in various parts of the world. Foremost among them is the Middle East, where, despite condemnation by the entire international community, Israel continues a policy of aggression against the Arab States. Its strategic alliance with the United States and the political patronage by

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

the United States have enabled Israel to wage extensive attacks against the territory of Lebanon, to launch an air raid against a peaceful Iraqi nuclear research centre, to violate the fundamental rights of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and to prepare conditions for the annexation of those territories. The aggressive policy of Israel has brought about a further increase of the danger of an escalation of the Middle East conflict, with incalculable implications for peace throughout the world. The tension in the critical area of the Middle East has, no doubt, been increased also by the act of military provocation by the United States against Libya. Czechoslovakia supports the efforts of the Arab States and of all progressive forces for a comprehensive and just settlement of the situation. The convening of an international conference, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, would, in Czechoslovakia's opinion, constitute an effective measure towards such a peaceful settlement. We favour a settlement that involves the withdrawal of Israel from all the unlawfully occupied Arab territories and the implementation of the right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

As a result of the aggressive policies of imperialism, the situation created around Afghanistan has developed into a hotbed of tension. Czechoslovakia is in complete solidarity with the endeavours of the Afghan Government aimed at repelling foreign intervention and aggression. We fully support the constructive Afghan proposals for the settlement of the situation through negotiations among the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, as they were submitted last August. At the same time, we refuse any attempts to misuse the forum of this Organization for interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Czechoslovakia is in full solidarity with the struggle of the socialist States of Indo-China - Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos - against hegemonistic pressures, against threats to their independence by China, the United States and other reactionary forces.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

We support the efforts by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea aimed at the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and at the peaceful reunification of the two parts of the country without foreign interference.

We also stand for solution of the question of Cyprus on the basis of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the State of Cyprus, while preserving its status of non-alignment.

With regret we follow the continuing armed conflict between two developing and non-aligned countries - Iraq and Iran - which in its implications plays into the hands of world imperialism. We encourage a settlement of this conflict by negotiations and we welcome the efforts by the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to this end.

We are profoundly concerned about the situation in southern Africa where the racist Pretoria régime persists, with the overt or covert support of the United States, in the inhuman policy of apartheid, in the unlawful occupation of Namibia and in open military aggression against neighbouring States.

Czechoslovakia firmly supports the determination of the people of South Africa to fight against the infamous system of apartheid and for national liberation. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the South African occupiers from the Territory of Namibia, and we actively support the struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO as its sole legitimate representative, against their Pretoria oppressors. We fully side with Angola and the other front-line States in their struggle against the acts of armed aggression by South Africa.

As a result of aggressive steps by the United States, a tense situation exists in Central America and in the Caribbean region. We forcefully denounce the efforts to reverse the direction of the revolutionary changes embarked upon by Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada to interfere by means of economic as well as military pressure in the internal affairs of El Salvador in order to suppress the struggle of the patriotic forces for democratic change and social liberation. We denounce the United States consistent refusal to negotiate about the dismantling of the military base in Guantanamo,

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

the location of which on Cuban territory against the will of the Government of Cuba is an example of the imperialist practices of trampling down the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

In the implementation of both its foreign and internal policies, Czechoslovakia proceeds in full compliance with the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted on the initiative of the Polish People's Republic by the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We consider the Declaration to be an effective instrument in the endeavours to improve the international climate and in the struggle for peace throughout the world. We fully support the appeal to all States for the consistent implementation of that Declaration as contained in the draft resolution submitted on Item 58 C by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic, which Czechoslovakia has the honour to co-sponsor.

We furthermore welcome the progress reached in the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. We fully support the elaboration of the Declaration in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the relevant generally recognized rules of international life. We regard the Declaration as an important measure within the framework of the efforts aimed at strengthening international security.

In my delegation's view, our present deliberations should contribute to the denunciation of the forces responsible for the current stagnation in the development of détente and for the growing danger of war, as well as to outlining ways and means to promote the cause of peace, international security, disarmament, peaceful co-operation and good neighbourliness among States. May I in conclusion, also express the conviction that a consistent implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the strengthening of International Security in the practice of international relations constitutes an ever-valid instrument for achieving the basic peace-making objectives of our Organization.

Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): Eleven years have passed since, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted. Thanks to the joint efforts of all the forces in the world that are devoted to peace and national independence and in favour of détente, the 1970s recorded positive results in negotiations on limiting the arms race, in the peaceful settlement of certain international disputes and in making the international political climate more healthy. All of this confirms that there is a real opportunity to strengthen international security and to maintain and preserve world peace and the value and effectiveness of the Programme of Action set forth in the Declaration.

However, at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly speakers deplored the turn of events towards the end of the decade, which in point of fact was at the beginning of 1978, when the United States decided to send the first rapid-deployment units to the Gulf region. In May of this year it launched its intensive arms programme for the NATO countries, which was followed by the unilateral suspension of all negotiations with the Soviet Union on disarmament and the arrival of Mr. Brzezinski in Peking to seal the ever closer collusion between the United States and China. If I am reverting to that point in history it is in order to mention the heavy responsibility that the leaders in Washington have to bear and to show up their slanderous campaign blaming the deterioration of the international situation on events a year later in other parts of the world.

Under the new Administration this new orientation of United States policy, which is harmful to international peace and security, is being asserted with ever greater arrogance and an ever increasing inclination to use force, and that can only arouse even further the just concern and disapproval of the international community.

The arms race being pursued frantically by the United States and its close allies constitutes a major obstacle to détente, a specific and very serious threat to the security of States. My delegation has spoken on this matter in an earlier statement to this Committee. We should like to confirm our strong position that this adventuristic and warlike policy must be banned,

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

as must the directives regarding the new strategy for limited nuclear war, the manufacture of new weapons of mass extermination, use of the neutron bomb and the binary weapon. We support the initiatives of the socialist and non-aligned countries to limit arms and to promote disarmament, in particular the important proposals by the Soviet Union on this question. Together with all peaceful forces, we shall continue to persevere in our efforts to limit weapons and to promote disarmament, which is the essential guarantee of international peace and security, and together with it we shall work in the United Nations to strengthen political and legal guarantees.

Regarding this latter point, my delegation wishes to place fundamental stress on the system of international security, on the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of States and respect for the right to self-determination, which is the corner-stone of the edifice of a just and lasting peace in the world. This has been stressed in many resolutions of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement in the past few years.

The United States and its allies have attacked these principles in particular, by engaging in a military build-up all over the world, by intensifying their interventionist activities and by engaging in pressure and destabilization in different forms, even going as far as armed aggression or undeclared war against sovereign peoples and States that are pursuing a struggle or path of development that is not pleasing to the United States. The facts are known. One need mention only the more striking ones.

In the Near and Middle East, there was the commando raid, which ended in fiasco, against the new Iranian régime; the deliberate attack against the Libyan aircraft in the territorial waters of the same country; and support and encouragement of Israel in its acts of aggression against Lebanon and Syria; its terrorist repression of the people of Palestine; and the pre-emptive bombing by the Israeli air force of the peaceful nuclear research centre in Iraq.

In southern Africa, there is the strategic alliance, which goes even as far as nuclear collaboration with the racist régime in Pretoria. Pretoria has been incited to perpetrate the unlawful occupation of Namibia and to engage in armed incursions, which are increasingly bold, against the front-line

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

African countries, with the constant threat of escalation into a veritable undeclared war against sovereign countries. Mercenaries of UNITA have been supported in their undermining of the independence and territorial integrity of Angola, and recently there was an attack by South African mercenaries against the Republic of the Seychelles.

In Central America and in the Caribbean, there have been attempts at armed intervention in El Salvador and bacteriological and chemical warfare against Cuba, and there is the current campaign of cynical threats of force against Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba, accompanied by military naval and air manoeuvres offshore and preparations for a complete blockade against those States.

This long list of obvious facts indicates that the present policies of the United States show little regard for the sovereignty of States or for the right to self-determination. The practices of that country in the aforementioned areas and even in Asia denote an arrogant determination to use and to threaten to use force, a return to the gunboat policy of colonial times, to the big-stick policy now turned into a modern version - the nuclear big stick - and a return to that chronic disease, namely, big-Power arrogance. Yet the United States does not realize that its ability to play the role of international policeman is being ever more limited because of the development of peace, independence and progress-loving forces throughout the world. Finally it should be pointed out that these policies and practices, which can only be called institutionalized international terrorism, are a direct and very serious threat to the security of States, especially the newly independent States, which are still exposed to attempts at recolonization by imperialist circles. These circles have only with great difficulty resigned themselves to each step forward in the process of national liberation, and they still feel, as their representatives proclaim, that they have lost positions and interests that are vital to them because of these advances.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

The recrudescence of aggressivity on the part of the United States against the security of the States of the third world - a new aspect which deserves to be stressed at this session, against which our peoples must be vigilant and which they must oppose - and the ever closer collusion between Washington and Peking are typical features of the present international situation, first and foremost in Asia, whether it be in South Asia, South-West Asia, South-East Asia and even in North-East Asia.

In South-West Asia there is collusion between the imperialists, hegemonists and regional reactionaries to wage an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a subject which I have already touched on in the plenary Assembly.

In South Asia there are the considerable increase in military assistance to a neighbouring country of India and the less overt assistance to so-called minorities on the borders of certain countries, the growing sophistication of the Diego Garcia base and the obstruction of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. All of that has created a constant threat to the security of the States of the subcontinent as well as of the Asian and African littoral and hinterland States.

In North-East Asia there is the obstinate refusal to withdraw United States troops from South Korea, which constitutes the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea and which perpetuates tension in that region.

I should like to deal at some length with the situation in South-East Asia and expose a certain type of propaganda aimed at sowing confusion, alleging that Washington is no longer interested in having a military presence in the area and Peking is in favour of the independence and security of the peoples and countries of the region. What has been the reality of the past few years?

In order to restore in South-East Asia the influence which was shaken by its defeat in Indo-China the United States - and particularly the new Administration - is determined to push its policy of collusion with hegemonist China, which they call the co-ordination of their parallel strategies in South-East Asia against the three countries of Indo-China.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

The living expression of that Chinese-American joint strategy has become well known: the two-pronged war of aggression, one through the Pol Pot troops in 1978 and the other by China's own troops against Viet Nam early in 1979. Then there came the present war of attrition against the three countries of Indo-China at all levels in order to "bleed Viet Nam", to destabilize Laos and to reverse the situation in Kampuchea in their favour. Realistic political leaders of certain countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have recently stated that the hegemonistic and expansionist policies of the authorities of China constitute the main danger to the security of the countries of the region. What needs to be stressed is that the new host of the White House wants to threaten us with the clicking of weapons, when he says that "our friends in ASEAN know that we have the same relations with them as we have with our allies in Europe", i.e., with the United States partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Washington has accelerated the delivery of weapons, and is giving generous military assistance to certain South-East-Asian countries, amounting over the past three years to about \$2.46 billion, more than twice the amount given during the seven preceding years. Special attention has been focused on a neighbour of the three countries of Indo-China, and it is used as a staging-area for intervention against those three countries. There have been repeated visits by military leaders, a build-up in weapons and war technology, and finally the Pentagon has begun to reopen former American bases in that country by sending technical staff and instructors.

In the face of the recrudescence of this counter-offensive of the reactionary forces acting in collusion against the right of peoples to independence, sovereignty and self-determination - which is one of the essential causes of insecurity in the world today, in particular in our newly independent countries - my delegation believes that in addition to joint efforts to bring about disarmament and to prevent a third world war, it is of the utmost importance for international peace and security to require all States, and particularly the Powers connected with imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism, and

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

hegemonism, strictly to respect the independence and sovereignty of States and the right to self-determination of peoples, and strictly to observe the principles of the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations, and of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. My delegation cannot accept the slanderous allegation in their propaganda which states that the struggle of peoples for the right to self-determination, the solidarity of peoples and States in that struggle and in legitimate collective and individual defence against armed intervention and undeclared wars by those Powers, is a cause of or an obstacle to the maintenance and strengthening of international security. On the contrary, my delegation believes that by repelling colonialism, imperialism, Zionism, racism and hegemonism, the national liberation struggle of peoples and their fight to defend the sovereignty of independent States is a force which, together with the forces of socialism and peace, contributes to the maintenance of world peace and the strengthening of international security. The increasingly important role of the Non-Aligned Movement may be found in its devotion to precisely those objectives and principles. The experience of many countries demonstrates this truth of our times, namely, that real and lasting peace can exist only on the basis of respect for the fundamental rights of each people.

Whether in the hotbeds of tension in the Near East, southern Africa or the Caribbean, the just settlement of the problems of Palestine, apartheid, Namibia or El Salvador, can be found only on the basis of implementation of the right to self-determination of peoples, their accession to real independence through the transfer of all power to their authentic representatives while preventing any pseudo neo-colonialist solution.

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

Whether it be in connexion with tensions in South-West or South-East Asia, the solution can only be found in strict respect for the right of the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to pursue the path of development each has freely chosen and, therefore, in the cessation of all intervention, armed or otherwise, by the imperialists, hegemonists and reactionaries. Similarly, an end must be put to threats of war and blockade against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as against Angola, Mozambique, Libya, the Republic of the Seychelles and other African and Arab States.

In the same spirit, we support the proposal by the People's Republic of Mongolia that a treaty of non-aggression and on the non-use of force in their mutual relations be concluded among the States of Asia and the Pacific.

We also support the draft resolution prepared by by the working group under the leadership of the representative of Guyana, and already approved by the non-aligned countries, on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We hope that that draft resolution will be adopted by the Committee and the General Assembly.

With regard to our own region of South-East Asia, we are resolutely opposed to any policy of intervention, threat of aggression or aggression by the imperialists and hegemonists against our country, as well as against the other two States of Indo-China, with whom we shall continue to forge ever-closer links of solidarity in our common struggle to safeguard the respective independence and sovereignty of each of our three countries.

We shall, moreover, pursue the search for a peaceful settlement with our neighbour to the North in order to normalize relations and maintain friendship between the peoples of our two countries. With regard to the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the three countries of Indo-China have put forward just, reasonable, realistic and constructive proposals. At this session, while rejecting anything imposed from outside, we have put forward seven principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the two

(Mr. Ha Van Lau, Viet Nam)

groups of States and have renewed our invitation for dialogue and for regional consultations, without prior conditions and on an equal footing, on an open agenda, employing varied and flexible approaches. We are convinced that this is the path towards the stability and security of all States of the region. For any country concerned about its own independence the need for security cannot be put in other terms. Sooner or later, the movement towards dialogue will come about and will finally prevail.

Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted by the General Assembly. Ever since, an analysis of the results of the Declaration and the applicability of its principles has been carried out year after year. Those principles, were they to be applied according to the wishes of the international community, would create a real turning point in the present balance of relations between States and would thereby strengthen peace and security throughout the world.

The present situation is a complex and disturbing one. The process of détente has been paralyzed and there is a desire to reverse it and to return to the years of the Cold War and of threatening language. The build-up of nuclear arms, the production of the neutron bomb, the cost of the arms race, all are factors that conspire against a world of peace and international security. The aggressive nature of imperialism is constantly increasing throughout the world. The imperialist policy of threats, provocations, blockades and interference in the internal affairs of States has been intensifying daily. This year, it has been characterized by a series of actions on the part of imperialism and its allies that have marked the period as one of threats to international security and world peace.

The Israeli attack against the peaceful nuclear facility of Iraq, the impunity and effrontery with which the Israeli Zionists have systematically

(Mr. Sola Vila, Cuba)

bombed Lebanon and constantly threatened Syria; the criminal attacks by South Africa against the front-line countries, in particular its criminal invasion of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola; the persecution and murder of Namibian patriots by the racist régime in Pretoria; the economic and military support being given the bloody régime of South Korea in order to forestall the just demands of the Korean people for the reunification of their country; provocations against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and provocations, aggression and threats against the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos by imperialism and the reactionaries in Peking; support of the counter-revolutionary mercenary bands in Afghanistan; threats and provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by imperialism and its allies in the Middle East; threats against the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba in Latin America -- all these events, which are the most salient that have occurred this year, have given rise to a new clamour being raised by all the peoples of the world for general and complete disarmament, for international peace and security.

The situation in the Caribbean and in Central America is tense.

The threats made by imperialism against the revolutionary processes in Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba, the intervention in El Salvador to shore up the genocidal junta, the support of tyranny in Guatemala, are all factors that weigh against international peace and security. Respect for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States must be a reality if the Caribbean and Central America are to be a region of the world in which people can live in peace and dignity. Over the past 22 years my country has experienced every form of aggression, sabotage, blockade and invasion, all conceived or carried out by successive United States administrations. Cuba will maintain its revolution. Our people will continue to work and to fight to overcome the underdevelopment that we inherited from Spanish colonialism and American domination. Neither threats nor provocations will divert us from our socialist path leading to a world of peace, progress, dignity and friendship with all the peoples of the world.

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(Mr. Sola Vila, Cuba)

Concrete and effective action is needed to strengthen international security, to make the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security a reality and to lead to a lasting, permanent peace.

(Mr. Sola Vila, Cuba)

For that, in the opinion of my delegation, the following must be put into effect. An end must be brought to the arms race, and negotiations for general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, must be speeded up. Colonialism and its evils must be eradicated once and for all, and independence must be given without conditions to Namibia, to Western Sahara and to Puerto Rico, as the most typical cases of colonialism in the world today. There must be a radical transformation of the present structure of international economic relations and there must be a programme to establish a new international economic order, one which would allow the underdeveloped countries to attain decent living standards, which most of the people in the world today do not have. All acts of aggression must end, including all forms of intervention, subversion, destabilization, blockades and so on. The conflict in the Middle East must be resolved through recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and through withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab territories. The racist apartheid régime must be eliminated. If progress is made in those areas, unquestionably conditions can be created making possible real and effective international co-operation, and the cause of peace will be strengthened.

The peoples of the world wish to live in peace and wish to devote their efforts to development and to the building of a more just society based on the right to be free and to determine their own future. Cuba is and always will be firmly on the side of those who are fighting for international peace and security. No aggression or pressure will divert us from that principle. After our experience during the past 23 years, we have concluded that no force in the world is capable of making a people retreat when it has the course of its history in its own hands and therefore the key to its future.

Mr. SILOVIC (Yugoslavia): As I indicated in my statement during the debate on items 57 and 58, a group of non-aligned countries has prepared a draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the meantime this draft has been circulated as document A/C.1/36/L.60.

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

As was the case in previous years, this draft resolution is a reflection of the particular attention that the non-aligned countries pay to the question of the strengthening of international security in general and, in particular, to the question of the implementation of the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly 11 years ago. This draft resolution points out again the duties of all members of the international community deriving from the Charter of the United Nations and from the Declaration as regards the maintenance of peace and security and also the consequences resulting from non-adherence to the basic rules of international behaviour. The sponsors of this draft resolution express their concern over the aggravation of the international situation, the more and more frequent use of force or threat of the use of force, interventions and interference in the internal affairs of States, aggression and foreign occupation, the failure to resolve focal points of crisis in various regions, the continuation of the arms race and the increased rivalry among great Powers and blocs, policies tending to divide the world into spheres of influence and domination, the persistence of colonialism and the lack of solutions for the economic problems of developing countries. Such an assessment of the international situation was expressed in most of the statements during the general debate at the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly.

I should like to mention that this draft resolution does not deal specifically with some situations of crisis and other problems already considered or soon to be discussed as separate items on the agenda of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Special attention is being paid to the use of force, aggression, foreign occupation and all other forms of pressure and coercion. The sponsors of the draft resolution consider that it is necessary to emphasize particularly the need to reject and not to recognize situations created by conduct contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and international law in general.

The struggle of peoples under colonial domination, foreign occupation and racist régimes, as well as their inalienable right to self-determination, is stressed again as one of the basic issues with which the international community has been faced for years. Member States are called upon to support and

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

express their solidarity with the struggle for the national liberation of peoples under colonial and foreign domination.

Furthermore, the draft resolution points also to some specific questions which have broader international implications, such as the grave danger of the nuclear capability of South Africa, the question of the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the importance of providing continuity for the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and, in this context, of the successful outcome of the Madrid meeting, and also the continuation of efforts for the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

In order to achieve these goals and fully to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the draft resolution stresses the role of major United Nations organs and particularly calls upon the Security Council to consider ways and means for ensuring a more active role for that Council in the fulfilment of its main task, that is, the maintenance of peace and security.

I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fifth preambular paragraph of this draft resolution, which has been changed in the process of consultations. The paragraph would now read:

"Stressing the need for the main organs of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, particularly the Security Council, to contribute more effectively to the promotion of international peace and security by seeking solutions to the unresolved problems and crises in the world".

A few other changes that would improve this draft resolution and would secure wider support are still being considered by the sponsors, and I should like, on behalf of all them, to thank those countries that have contributed to the draft by their constructive suggestions.

I should like now, on behalf of Algeria, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Malta, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Zambia and Yugoslavia, to submit this draft resolution for the consideration of the Committee.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.