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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 48TH 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

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 11 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, L.61; A/C.1/36/3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15; A/36/65, 68, 80, 83, 86, 97, 103, 106, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119, 133, 151, 170, 206, 223, 228, 238, 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

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform the Committee that the Bureau has just had a consultative meeting and decided that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions on agenda items 57 and 58 would be 1 p.m. today.

Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): At the outset I should like on behalf of the Mongolian delegation to express to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the delegation of Yugoslavia our deep condolences on the tragic catastrophe that has cost many persons their lives.

For six weeks now the Committee has been engaged in intensive work, giving detailed analysis to a large number of vital problems relating to disarmament that are directly related to an item now under discussion -- "Review of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". There has been active discussion of new

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

proposals and initiatives, and important decisions have been taken on them. Quite naturally, particular attention has been paid to the most urgent task of the present day, the prevention of nuclear war.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union, the First Committee has adopted a draft General Assembly declaration on the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. We believe it to be a document of tremendous political moment that is in full accord with the requirements of the present day.

We consider important the adoption of the draft resolution prohibiting neutron weapons and reflecting the general concern of world public opinion regarding the manufacture and planned deployment of that inhuman weapon of mass destruction.

The real danger of the extension of the arms race to outer space and the need for effective steps to prevent such a turn of events is reflected in the new Soviet proposal on the conclusion of a treaty that would prohibit the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space, which engendered lively discussion at this session of the General Assembly.

A number of other important draft resolutions have also been adopted on various aspects of the curbing of the arms race and on disarmament.

As is obvious from the statements made and the draft resolutions adopted in the First Committee, the main theme underlying all of them is the idea that it is not military superiority but rather a balance of forces that is the bedrock on which States should base their approach to tackling the problem of disarmament.

The present international situation, which is deteriorating dangerously, is one that more than ever before requires the sort of approach that is based on strict observance of the principle of equality and an equal degree of security. In fact, if we do not wish to drag the world into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe, we must first and foremost divorce ourselves utterly from any adventuristic concepts of military superiority, limited nuclear war, and so forth.

The arms race is being stepped up because of imperialistic and hegemonistic forces, bent on the manufacture of new and even more

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

destructive weapons systems and plans to deploy them throughout the world, and is increasing many times over the danger of the outbreak of war. This is particularly true of the European continent, where the density of military confrontation has already reached inconceivable proportions. We cannot, therefore, fail to welcome the beginning of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear weapons in Europe, which we hope will lead to fruitful results.

Of great significance also is the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participants in the Helsinki meeting on security and co-operation, which is now discussing the question of convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

One of the main facets of the strengthening of international peace and security is the elimination of existing sources of tension and efforts to prevent the emergence of new such sources. As is known, as a result of the increased aggressive action by the United States of America, which has declared whole regions of the world spheres of its vital interests, the situation has deteriorated considerably in Asia, Africa, Central America and the Caribbean. Attempts are being made to extend old military blocs and to forge new ones. Pressure of all kinds is being exerted in order to incorporate other countries in the orbit of the military and political partnership between the United States and China.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

That is particularly true of the problem of the Middle East. In its efforts to establish a so-called strategic alliance, the United States has further worsened the situation in that part of the world. We believe that a comprehensive settlement of that problem can be achieved by the convening of a special international conference with the participation of all parties and countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The situation which has evolved around Afghanistan as a result of continuing aggressive sorties against that country remains complex and tense. The way to resolve the international aspects of that problem, we believe, resides essentially in implementing the constructive proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 24 August 1981.

Attempts to restore the régime which was overthrown by the Kampuchean people, the armed provocation of Chinese military forces on the borders of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea seriously complicate the situation in South West Asia, making it difficult for dialogue to take place between the countries of Indo-China and those of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and action to be taken on the proposals to turn South East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

The Iran-Iraq conflict requires a speedy political settlement. That fratricidal war simply plays into the hands of imperialist circles which are trying, for their own narrow and selfish purposes, to exacerbate further the situation in that part of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently favoured the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and of removing the military presence of imperialist States from that part of the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic continues to support the struggle of the Korean people to satisfy their national aspirations for the peaceful and democratic reunification of the country, without any outside interference.

Serious concern has been caused by the situation in Central America, where the United States is stepping up its hostile actions against the Republic of Cuba and is indulging in acts of blackmail and threats against Nicaragua, Grenada and the national liberation movement in El Salvador.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in its recent declaration expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Cuba and other countries in that part of the world and demanded that an end be put urgently to the aggressive actions which are threatening the peace and security of the countries of the Caribbean and Latin America.

The undisguised acts of aggression by the South African racists against the People's Republic of Angola and other neighbouring African States, their illegal occupation of Namibia and the problem of granting that people genuine independence require that forthright steps be taken against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Mongolian People's Republic has always attached and continues to attach great importance to the United Nations as an instrument for preserving peace and security. In present conditions, the role of this world Organization is becoming even more prominent. In this connexion, I should like to emphasize the importance of the documents which have been adopted in recent years and which are of great political significance. I shall mention only some of them: the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, and many others. We believe that this is essentially the impulse which underlines the present draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. My delegation regards this as an important complement to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

We believe that the proposal of the Soviet Union on the convening of a special meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations, with the participation of the leaders of member States of the Council at the highest level is fully commensurate with the task which the United Nations Charter has given the United Nations and specifically its principal organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In conclusion, I should like to dwell briefly on a matter of particular importance for our country, as the initiator of the proposal. I am referring to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to draw up

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

and sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in international relations in the Asian and Pacific region, and to that end to hold a conference among the countries of that region to which all States permanent members of the Security Council would be invited. In connexion with that initiative, the Great People's Parliament, on 29 June, sent a message to the parliaments of the Asian and Pacific countries. It is our belief that if we were to enshrine the principle of refraining from the use of force in relations between States in that convention it would provide a further guarantee which would consolidate the foundation of security in Asia; in other words, the purpose of that initiative would be essentially to rule out aggression and the use of force in international relations in the Asian and Pacific region, thereby removing the reason for any sources of tension or armed conflict. The convention would also include as norms the universal principles of relations between States which are reflected in such documents as the United Nations Charter, the Bandung Declaration and others.

In making that proposal, the Mongolian People's Republic believes that it is in fact a feasible one. We believe that it is possible to achieve mutually acceptable agreements by means of a far-reaching and constructive dialogue between the States of that area. Naturally, time and goodwill would be required to do that as well as tremendous effort of the part of the States involved.

I should state that the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic follows in the wake of the recent Soviet initiative to draw up, devise and utilize confidence-building measures in the Far East and is also very closely related to the question of concluding an international treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which is the subject of very intensive discussions here at the United Nations. We hope that this proposal will receive support and sympathy on the part of Member States.

In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation would like to express its gratitude to all those delegations which at the present session gave their support to this initiative.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to express my deep appreciation for the words of sympathy extended to the delegation of Yugoslavia and to me with respect to the air disaster in which many of my compatriots lost their lives. The Yugoslav delegation will certainly see to it that that expression of condolence will reach the people of Yugoslavia.



Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): Now that we are considering the question of the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States and reviewing the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security under agenda items 57 and 58 at this session, we must endorse what has been said by preceding speakers in this Committee, namely, that international relations in today's over-all context are deteriorating day by day. Indeed, today we are faced with such deficiencies, deteriorations and imbalances at the international level that they represent a genuine threat to the security and safety of all countries and peoples, whether large or small, poor or rich.

During the present session, we have dealt at length with the escalation of international tension, not only because of the arms race, the contentious conflicts and rivalries between the major blocs, alliances and forces and their persistent efforts to control certain spheres of influence and to impose their domination and exploitation, but also because we are witnessing an increasing use of the threat of force or the actual use of force in certain cases where there has been recourse to aggression, occupation, intervention and interference, explicit or implicit, in the internal affairs of other countries, and not only by the major Powers, but sometimes by certain small, poor and developing countries. This is highly regrettable. It is a phenomenon that requires serious study and rational as well as urgent treatment by the international community, as represented by the United Nations, lest such evils be intensified. It is our firm conviction that the deteriorating international situation will not be remedied until all countries have deepened their belief in, and adherence - by word and deed - to, the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, as well as international law and the international conventions and norms that govern international relations and call for co-operation between countries and States, regardless of their social systems, on the basis of justice, equality, and mutual respect for sovereignty and independence.

Today, we are witnessing a consistent deterioration in international relations. This is ample evidence of the decline within a large number of countries, and I

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

refer here to their States and not to their peoples, and of non-adherence to the sublime objectives to which we so often refer in international meetings and forums at various levels. Those countries conduct themselves vis-à-vis other States with no respect whatsoever for those sublime objectives and principles. Indeed, today we are facing a real tragedy in the conduct of States, when we compare the slogans employed by countries with the conduct they follow in their international relations. There are numerous examples in this regard, and they can be drawn from several parts of the world. We need not dwell upon such matters here.

This bitter international situation will, in our opinion, not be changed by resolutions or declarations, no matter how many, so long as countries, and particularly the major Powers of the world, lack the necessary will and determination to engage in mutual and fruitful co-operation in the interests of mankind, without any discrimination as to geographical location, religion, ethnic origin, colour or other considerations. It is the responsibility of all major countries, and particularly the developed and wealthy countries, to put an end to all manifestations of international tension in order and to work for a better future, in which all countries and peoples can enjoy security, peace, stability, equality and progress.

In creating this better future, we believe that the responsibility does not fall on the major and wealthy countries alone. Indeed, it is the responsibility of all the countries of the world, whether developed or developing. The developing countries must shoulder their responsibility for maintaining world safety and security and must strive to create an atmosphere propitious to confidence, co-operation and mutual respect. This atmosphere could be created by solemn adherence to the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the system we have developed for international relations. Those countries must see to it that relations of co-operation and interdependence in all spheres are reinforced on the basis of justice, equality, mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, and of the right of all peoples to self-determination and to manage their own affairs without any foreign interference,

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

and by the settlement of all disputes and conflicts among countries by peaceful means. It is also necessary to eschew international rivalries and competitions, and the blocs and alliances of the major Powers. These must be rejected, and countries must refuse to become the tools for realizing the aims and strategies of the major Powers, which are only seeking their own interests and domination, as well as the exploitation of the material and human resources of the developing countries to promote their own national interests.

In this context, we believe that the Non-Aligned Movement has a fundamental and important role to play. Indeed, that role must be strengthened and reinforced by all possible means. We have every hope that the States members of the Non-Aligned Movement, which constitutes more than two thirds of the international community, will continue to advance, regardless of the arduous path and obstacles they face, in full respect for the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and with emphasis on the importance of co-operation and interdependence among all countries and peoples so that all may live in peace and security.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

On various occasions Sudan has reiterated its complete adherence to and respect for all the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and international law as well as the conventions governing regional organizations to which we belong. This conviction maintained by Sudan is particularly reflected in our internal and external policies. In fact we will adhere to such international conventions regardless of any obstacles or any resistance. We shall continue to struggle against imperialism and exploitation. We shall continue to be against aggression and occupation, regardless of the source. We shall continue to be against intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries and against recourse to force in international relations. We shall continue to be against discrimination on the basis of colour, religion or race. Sudan will continue to call for the peaceful settlement of all disputes through dialogue, consultation and arbitration, for the strengthening of solidarity and co-operation among all countries and peoples that adhere firmly to the United Nations Charter, international law and conventions, in order to consolidate friendly relations so that we can all promote the interests of all our peoples and the right to live in peace, friendship and brotherhood.

Sudan has been endeavoured to strengthen the efforts made to uphold such principles at both the internal and external levels. Internally, Sudan has been able to bring about domestic unity through dialogue, understanding and national reconciliation. Thus we have given a vivid example to all our neighbours of the possibility of utilizing intrinsic national potential for the solution of internal disputes particularly the minority problems which face a large number of countries in various parts of the world. Sudan has been able to do a great deal in strengthening its national unity by establishing a regional government system, whereby we have done away with a centralist authority so that each community in its region could fully control its resources according to its free will.

As for our relations with neighbouring countries, Sudan has always maintained good-neighbourly relations, which are based mainly on respect for the national independence and sovereignty of other countries, non-intervention

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

and non-interference in their internal affairs and the peaceful settlement of disputes, which is required by good mutual relations in various fields. We have maintained solidarity at the regional and continental levels. We have supported the national liberation movements. We have opposed imperialism, racism and Zionism.

Sudan's achievements at the internal level and the fact that we have been able to bring about a national reconciliation in our country have led to further co-operation with African and Arab countries, This has strengthened our relations with all these countries and reinforced the good-neighbourly and co-operative relations with all these States. This has helped to promote relations with several neighbouring African countries. It has helped towards promoting peace, security and stability in the area.

Perhaps we should state here that Sudan, along with its neighbours, such as Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Zaire, have established joint ministerial committees to carry out the planning and supervision of all collective ventures in various political and security fields, as well as in the solution of problems relating to refugees. This has helped to promote economic, cultural and artistic co-operation among all these countries. We have also held summit meetings with the Heads of State of the neighbouring countries to promote better opportunities for co-operation, good relations and the development of common potential in the interests of all peoples.

Furthermore, as mentioned in our statement at the eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly, concerning international economic co-operation for development, held in 1980, Sudan has always, in working out its plans and development priorities, taken into consideration not only the conditions in Sudan but also those in the neighbouring countries. We believe that this will have a great influence on the realization of the aspirations of the neighbouring African and Arab countries to bring about integrated regional development and establishing regional economic entities capable of ensuring the necessary progress for those peoples and countries, which have greatly suffered from under-development and poverty.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

The fact that we have adhered fully to international conventions and norms regulating international relations and respected the principles of independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and also observed good-neighbourly relations has dictated our position in regard to the conditions faced by the neighbouring country of Chad on our western border, as well as the negative results which have adversely affected stability and peace in the immediate area, which includes Sudan and other African countries. Sudan, together with the rest of the African family, has endeavoured to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Chad and to ensure friendly relations, religious, cultural and otherwise, with Chad. Sudan has experienced internal conflicts similar to the one faced by Chad today. Therefore Sudan is one of the African countries which fully understands the nature and dimensions of the conflict in Chad. Now, with the withdrawal of the Libyan troops from Chad and the formation of the African peace-keeping forces to maintain stability, security and legitimacy in Chad in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the African summit conference and the Lagos agreement, Sudan is interested in strengthening these genuine African efforts by every possible means so as to establish peace and security in Chad and to help the brotherly people of Chad to enjoy the fruits of peace.

Sudan, represented by our President, has given its blessing to the African efforts and is fully prepared to help promote such efforts in order to strengthen the independence, security and unity of Chad.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

A few days ago the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, in a statement to the press, announced that the Government of the Sudan is in maintaining contact with the Chad Government, in order to set up a joint committee to supervise our borders. We have also contacted the current President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), requesting that African forces be stationed along the Sudan-Chad borders, in order to prevent any incursion across those borders. By these efforts Sudan is reaffirming its full interest in the unity, stability and security of Chad and its willingness to co-operate with the Government of Chad, as well as with other African countries, to put an end to negative aspects which are threatening the peace and security of all.

We fully support what has been said by several speakers to the effect that strengthening of international peace and security requires that we should eliminate the hotbeds of tension which are increasing day by day, and curb the arms race, particularly in the nuclear domain, both quantitatively and qualitatively, an arms race which is being pursued without the least regard for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international forums.

Now that we are endeavouring to maintain peace and stability in the world, it is necessary to find just and peaceful solutions to problems which have been dealt with by this Organization for a number of years, particularly the question of disarmament, the Middle East, the Palestine cause, Namibia, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Cyprus and the Korean issue. It is necessary to put an end to the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa. We must deploy serious efforts in order to help the developing and poor countries to achieve their development. We believe that there will be no justice or stability as long as these peoples, which constitute the major part of humanity, are suffering from poverty, famine, disease and underdevelopment. Here lie the reasons for aggression, intervention, the use of force and other evils and adverse practices, for they cannot create propitious conditions for peace and security in the world. We believe that it is necessary to initiate serious action in order to put an end to all these tragedies.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

We support the idea of establishing zones of peace in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, and we hope for the success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe being held in Madrid. We consider that these are all steps along the right path, and we hope that all these initiatives will be implemented without the least impediment.

In conclusion, I wish to affirm once again that we believe that real action does not lie in resolutions, declarations and other manifestations by our Organization or any other organization. It is necessary that all major countries, and other countries, should understand the reasons which have led us to adopt such resolutions and declarations. It is necessary to show objectivity and rationality, as well as the necessary political will to implement these declarations and resolutions, before it is too late and before we all face disaster.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania wishes to express its views and opinions on items 57 and 58 of the agenda before us.

The establishment and the safeguarding of genuine peace and real security have been the dream of mankind since time immemorial. This is the great aspiration and major concern of sovereign, democratic and progressive peoples today. There has been a far-ranging debate on these problems in our Committee. The draft resolution entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" is renewed every year, and every time the debate begins again the question arises: What has been accomplished during the past year to strengthen international security?

The events which have taken place since last December do not indicate any progress towards the strengthening of international security. The general situation in the world has become more tense and more complicated. Elements of explosion are accumulating. New conflicts and tensions have been added to those already in existence. None of the burning problems of the day in the world has been resolved.



(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The serious situation in the Middle East persists and imperialist-Zionist aggression continues. The interventions of the imperialist super-Powers have created new hotspots in that part of the world. The armed conflict in the Persian Gulf is still claiming victims and inflicting damage. Afghanistan is suffering under the iron heel of the Soviet occupiers. The explosive situation in South-East Asia has not been defused. The racist régime of Pretoria with its policies of apartheid is brutalizing the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and engaging in ever more frequent provocative and aggressive acts against African countries. In the Indian Ocean, in various parts of the African continent and in Latin America there are hotbeds of tension and interference by the imperialist Powers is spreading. The arms race and preparations for war have reached hitherto unheard of levels. Deceitful slogans and chicanery go hand in hand with policies of blackmail and diktat.

Because of all this, the struggle of the peoples of the world and of progressive forces for genuine peace and security is being pursued in very complicated and difficult international circumstances, and the dangers to freedom and independence multiply. Despite appeasing slogans, imperialist and social-imperialist demagogic bluster regarding the relaxation of tension, disarmament and European and international security, the peoples of the world and persons who are sincere realize that there is no real peace and security. Democratic and progressive peoples and countries want genuine peace and security, because they need it in order to devote themselves entirely to their development. But the enemies of peace and security - imperialism, social-imperialism, racism, Zionism and other reactionary forces - are making general peace and security very precarious and fragile, and often cause breaches of the peace.

Those primarily responsible for the dangers jeopardizing international peace and security are the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which have been pursuing an aggressive, hegemonistic, neo-colonialist policy. They have espoused the mad ambitions for world domination of the fascist Powers of the past. The hand of imperialism and social-imperialism is to be found wherever there is a conflict, aggression or a local war. In the

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

report presented to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour early in November, the leader of the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are pitted against one another. They are engaged in a race for aggression and invasion of other countries."

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

In many areas of the world the struggle between the two imperialist super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, without excepting imperialist China and the other capitalist Powers, has assumed vast new proportions. Each of these Powers is trying to secure economic, political and military superiority over the other, to occupy new strategic positions. Although a world war has not yet been declared, simmering local conflicts are dangerous and could burst into flames and into a major imperialist worldwide conflagration. The Middle East and once again Indo-China prove this very clearly. This rivalry, these policies of the super-Powers, are complicating the situation even more and bringing into international relations an element of tension which is fraught with serious consequences.

The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, who are the major enemies of the peoples of the world, are engaging in more and more relentless rivalry and are even now plotting against sovereign States and peoples and becoming more of a threat to international peace and security.

American imperialism which, at the end of the Second World War, acquired pre-eminence over the other imperialist Powers and became the main candidate for world domination and which has since engaged in successive acts of aggression, is continuing to intensify its activities to achieve its objectives and has intervened brutally in the internal affairs of sovereign peoples and countries. This form of imperialism has covered the world with its military bases and has dispatched and established its armies and naval and air forces in all corners of the world. Now it is trying to take a harsher, more aggressive and reckless line in its foreign policy. In its most recent political and military doctrines, stress has been laid increasingly on the need to "increase American power and superiority" in the world on the defence of the so-called "vital interests of America" in all continents and oceans and in particular in the oil-rich areas of the world and those of strategic importance. The efforts made by the United States to gain military superiority over its Soviet rival at all costs has given new impetus to the militarist spirit in leading American circles and is cultivating among them the idea that war is not only inevitable but even necessary.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The same is true of the Soviet social-imperialists who also rely on military might and force of arms to attain their hegemonist and neo-colonialist aims. The policy of the Soviet Union has since the occupation of Czechoslovakia, taken an increasingly marked militarist line and aggressive, expansionist and adventurist features identical to those of the United States. The Soviet Union too is establishing military alliances all over the world and is trying to consolidate or set up its own military alliances, to create and extend its network of military bases throughout the world and to intervene in various countries so as to hold them in its grip.

The growing American-Soviet rivalry, the ups and downs of collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union, have always served their global strategy as they try to dominate and divide the world and this has been a threat to the freedom of the peoples of the world. The super-Powers are speaking about peace and security in order to play the role of supreme arbiter over the destinies of the world.

The interests of the imperialist super-Powers have clashed and will always clash. It is this kind of confrontation that makes the balance, such as it is, that the super-Powers have thus far tried to cultivate begin to be upset. There is no more room for easy, unhindered expansion. Each time one of the super-Powers takes a step in this direction, the other feels it is threatened and affected and does not fail to react. The way that it reacts is not always predictable and this can create situations which might lead to armed confrontation and might also increase the risk of widespread imperialist war. Thus far, the two imperialist super-Powers have managed to avoid actually coming to blows but they are, on the other hand, constantly provoking disturbances, conflicts and local wars.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The arrangements that they have agreed to in dividing up spheres of influence are no longer stable for long, especially when all the contradictions and all the inter-imperialist quarrels become aggravated. Centrifugal forces are more and more active within the alliances, particularly those of the West. The participants in the blocs and alliances controlled by the two super-Powers are increasingly desirous of avoiding some of their commitments, while the super-Powers are trying harder to strengthen their grip.

In Europe, which is often portrayed as the model of co-operation and security, the rivalry between the two super-Powers and inter-imperialist contradictions have recently taken a turn for the worse, thereby increasing tension and insecurity. The Soviet Union and the United States have taken advantage of the disturbances that they have stirred up and each has used threats from the other side to intimidate the European countries and to preserve their own dominant positions. The United States wants to use the constant threat of economic crisis and the fear aroused by the danger of the Soviet army, tanks and bombs to draw their partners around them. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, uses the American and Western peril to justify its hold on many countries and asks them to do as it says under the threat of being crushed by Soviet armies.

A great deal has been said and written about the spirit and the Charter of Helsinki and on so-called European security and détente. But the promised miracle has not come about and Europe has not benefitted at all. The guarantees that the spirit and the Charter of Helsinki should have given for the maintenance of stability and security in Europe have already proved to be illusory. The imperialist super-Powers have from the very outset waged this campaign of alleged European security to achieve their objectives, to force the European peoples in the name of some hypothetical security to mortgage their future, to accept the loss of their security today, to have their sovereignty truncated, and their freedom of action reduced.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The American and Soviet tutelage and the umbrellas they have offered to or imposed upon European countries are very harmful to the peoples of that continent. The participation of the majority of European countries in the aggressive political and military blocs of the two super-Powers constitutes the great misfortune of Europe and creates division and discord. The so-called European security system has not been worked out to protect the sovereignty and borders of States but to preserve spheres of influence. Its failure is no longer a source of surprise and the Madrid meeting confirms this.

The super-Powers have made much of the slogan of détente, bandying it about even now when tears are being shed over its demise. The so-called détente, whose champions the social-imperialists claim to be, is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony between the great Powers. Under the cover of détente much American-Soviet bargaining has taken place at the expense of others. Recently we have heard appeals urging that détente be rescued, for sacrifices to be made so as not to let the détente process perish, a détente which was once proclaimed to be irreversible.

The change of leadership in the White House has dimmed the false lustre of détente and given the United States an opportunity to turn arguments against the Soviet Union, all of which is leading to an exchange of harsh words between Moscow and Washington. Intransigent positions have been taken on both sides to convey the impression that this time they are not negotiable. A sustained propaganda campaign has been waged to make people believe that the worst will happen if the two super-Powers do not return to dialogue and to the practices of détente.

In spite of the accusations which have been levelled and the reciprocal warnings, the United States and the Soviet Union have at the same time managed to find subjects for discussion and they have seized on a number of opportunities to exchange visits and messages and to organize meetings, including those of their diplomatic leaders, and now we have the Geneva talks.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

History and present reality show that the rivalry and the tendency towards confrontation on the part of the imperialists have always really been attempts to reach accommodation at the expense of the peoples of the world. When the super-Powers want to they know how to talk the same language, they know how to bring about compromise or temporary alliances, even when their campaign of mutual recrimination reaches its height. It seems now that the two super-Powers have found enough time and opportunity to take each other's pulse by means of stern and inflammatory public declarations and have decided little by little to put into practice the machinery of their collusion. As usual, the United States and the Soviet Union will use their Geneva talks once again to pose as defenders of the peace and at the same time to activate their old plots and to hatch new ones. Never have the talks and meetings of the super-Powers benefitted real peace and security. After each round of negotiations between them, new conflicts have broken out, other hot points have emerged, tension throughout the world has increased, the arms race has gained in intensity and blackmail and pressure have multiplied. We are sure that nothing resulting from the Soviet-American talks in Geneva will benefit Europe. We remain convinced that only determined opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the elimination of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign armies from Europe can assure peace on that continent.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

It is by the same means that the still-tense situation in the Mediterranean too can be improved. The aggressive activities of the two imperialist super-Powers, and especially the presence of their war fleets, are constant sources of danger in the Mediterranean basin. Those fleets are there not to maintain stability and tranquillity but to engage in acts of blackmail, provocation or aggression.

American and Soviet ships are floating military bases for the super-Powers, and every time they move in the Mediterranean or sail into the ports of various countries, it is to practice gunboat diplomacy or to perfect tactical war-operations. When those warships enter or anchor in certain ports it is not to pay friendly visits or to admire the historical and cultural monuments of antiquity. Hospitality and friendship extended in those ports to the aggressive fleets of the super-Powers go against the interests of friendship among peoples and the general security.

We consider it essential to strive to make impossible the stationing of American and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean. To that end, their support bases must be eliminated; they must be denied port and anchorage facilities, as well as arrangements for re-supply and for rest for their crews; those fleets must not be allowed to pay so-called friendly visits. The proposals made from time to time by the imperialist super-Powers concerning the Mediterranean are aimed solely at legalizing their military presence there and at arrogating to themselves the role of policeman and arbiter in the Mediterranean basin.

The situation in the Balkans is not tranquil either. The problems are the same as those besetting Europe, but here, because of the geographical position of the peninsula and because also of former quarrels, the conflicts are more acute, and the dangers more serious.

In the past, the major Powers, in pursuit of their imperialist interests, created disturbances and dangerous situations which led to the Balkans' reputation as a "powder-keg". Nowadays, the imperialist super-Powers, prompted by expansionist ambitions, would turn the Balkans into an area of permanently explosive potential. They seek to inflame chauvinistic feelings and passions, to set the peoples and countries of the area one against the other and to



(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

prevent the normal development of good-neighbourly relations. The Soviet social-imperialists, competing with the United States, use the most dangerous techniques to hatch plots and intrigues in the Balkans.

The situation is also complicated by the participation of certain countries of the area in the military and economic blocs of the super-Powers, by the existence of foreign bases, and by the authorization given to the American and Soviet fleets to enter the ports and territorial waters of the region. All these factors, and many others, are a threat to peace and security in the Balkans and prevent the creation of favourable conditions for strengthening friendship among peoples. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always stressed that in the present circumstances the best way of serving the interests of the Balkan peoples is to develop good-neighbourly relations by bilateral means. We have also expressed the opinion that existing dangers cannot be removed and the threat of weapons cannot be eliminated from the Balkans merely by declaring that peninsula a zone of peace or a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The peoples of that part of Europe cannot feel free from danger if American and Soviet missiles cast their long shadows over their countries. As the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, told the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour:

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The Socialist People's Republic of Albania believes that at the present time the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans for peace and stability in this region cannot be better served than by preventing the imperialist super-Powers from intervening in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete, constructive steps towards the positive development of relations based on the policy of good-neighbourliness. The situation in the Balkans would improve considerably if the Balkan countries officially undertook not to allow the super-Powers to use their territories to threaten or endanger any neighbouring country. Socialist Albania, will in the future, as in the past, consistently pursue this policy and will spare no effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding guide its relations with neighbouring States."

Good-neighbourliness is one of the fundamental principles of international law. Good-neighbourliness implies the scrupulous application, in good faith, of all the norms and principles of international law to relations between bordering countries. For neighbouring countries, the establishment and development of relations based on the good-neighbour policy are a necessity, despite social differences or differences in level of development, type of régime and the political or ideological options that may exist.

The establishment and development of good-neighbourly relations benefit both regional and general peace and security, and contribute to bringing and preserving friendship among peoples and to eliminating and preventing the causes and likelihood of tension and conflict. It is the duty of every State to strive sincerely and in good faith to cast aside everything that could endanger the establishment and normal development of good-neighbourly relations. It is especially important that a firm attitude be taken towards any attempted interference or intrigue on

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

the part of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers that practice the sadly notorious policy of "divide and rule" and constantly try everywhere to undermine good-neighbourly relations the better to pave the way for their intervention.

The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always most seriously and consistently implemented the policy of good-neighbourliness. The Albanian Government has always taken particular care and has demonstrated its goodwill, to ensure the fruitful development of good-neighbourly relations with bordering States. It has responded sincerely and correctly to useful initiatives and has welcomed constructive results achieved on the basis of bilateral arrangements in trade, and cultural and other exchanges.

The Albanian Government will continue in the future to show the same goodwill towards the development of good-neighbourly relations, and we would hope that Governments of other countries might act similarly and with the same sense of responsibility for the mutual benefit of peoples and of peace in the Balkans.

Albania adheres firmly to its publicly declared position that no harm shall ever come to neighbouring peoples and countries, either from or through Albania. The Constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania clearly stipulates that:

"The establishment of military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territory of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is forbidden."

That constitutional norm, which consecrates the determination of the Albanian people to exercise total and complete sovereignty over its territory, is also the expression of the friendly, principled policy pursued by Albania towards neighbouring peoples and countries. It also makes its modest contribution to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean and in Europe.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

Albania and the Albanian people continue, now as in the past, firmly to oppose all imperialist practices - inequality, discrimination and diktat - in international relations. We are in favour of fair and free international relations based on respect for the sovereign equality of all States, large and small. We advocate the strengthening of friendship between peoples - first and foremost, between neighbouring peoples - but we shall always adhere firmly to the view that the development of inter-State relations, regardless of level, cannot and must not prevent any State from freely expressing its opinions concerning the policies and positions of another State or from speaking out to denounce activities that are against the interests of peoples and good-neighbourliness.

Mr. RACZ (Hungary): First of all, Mr. Chairman, I should like to join the previous speakers in extending condolences to you on the sad occasion of the recent accident involving a Yugoslav airliner.

In 1970 the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic sincerely welcomed the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security because it was convinced that consistent implementation of the principles enshrined in the Declaration would greatly contribute to the positive development of international relations, to the strengthening of international security and to maintaining world peace for present and future generations of mankind. The purposes and objectives set forth in the Declaration corresponded to the priorities of our foreign political course.

We noted with satisfaction that the then international situation, which was the direct source of the said Declaration, had produced a series of positive phenomena and a great number of practical achievements, as well. Mutual understanding among nations developed; international co-operation widened and deepened; positive tendencies were prevailing; the process of détente was gaining ground. But that process, which served the interests of all nations and was favourable to the whole of mankind, has, after some time, slowed down and come to a standstill.

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

At present the international situation is alarming, and it gives us cause for concern. The manoeuvres of the extremist imperialist circles are poisoning the international atmosphere and jeopardizing world peace. The present Administration in the United States has embarked upon a policy openly aimed at upsetting the prevailing military balance of power, at stepping up and escalating the arms race and to superiority of force. The concrete steps taken in order to implement these plans and to realize these aims have considerably increased international tension and have been detrimental to relations among States of different social systems. In its objective effect the policy of the Chinese leadership strengthens these negative tendencies.

This political course threatens international peace and security as a whole and at the same time constitutes a direct danger to the independence and sovereignty of a number of progressive nations. It generates new conflicts and confrontations, hinders the elimination of the old hotbeds of tension and impedes the solution of long-standing problems. It also encourages the stooges of world imperialism to pursue their policy of aggression and expansion.

Under the present circumstances the sense of responsibility of individual nations and the international community as a whole is of particular significance. Nobody can be indifferent when the question of peace or war is at stake. Concerted efforts are needed to prevent a world-wide catastrophe. Not a single sober-minded person can accept the idea of producing and deploying neutron bombs or the doctrine advocating the possibility of a limited nuclear war. It is in the vital interest of all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the differences between the social systems in which they live, to halt the dangerous tendencies now prevailing in world politics.

In settling the burning issues that face us today we attach particular importance to the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the two great Powers that bear special responsibility for the future of mankind. Being aware of the decisive impact that those countries' relations have on the development of the international situation, we sincerely welcome all efforts aimed at revitalizing in a

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

constructive spirit the negotiating process and other kinds of contacts between the Soviet and American Governments.

Nevertheless we hold that each and every country of the world should take an active part in promoting the cause of world peace and international security. That relates to my country, Hungary, as well. It is our firm conviction that all the efforts we make in the international arena to attain these noble goals directly serve our national interests too. The highest priority in our socialist foreign policy is given to ensuring favourable external conditions for the work of socialist construction in progress in our country. The only way in which we can do that is to contribute actively, together with the other socialist countries, to the maintenance of world peace, the strengthening of international security, the stabilization and intensification of the manifold relations and constructive co-operation among States and peoples.

Our positions of principle in regard to the major international issues are well known to everybody present here. We have repeatedly stated them on several occasions in various international forums. We resolutely condemn the imperialist manoeuvres aimed at speeding up the arms race and heightening the danger of war. We wholeheartedly support all genuine disarmament proposals, and we endorse the idea of denuclearizing Northern Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean, and what is more, we hope to see other regions of Europe transformed into zones free from nuclear weapons. We demand the immediate cessation of the threat or use of force against any country and of the interference, which we can witness almost every day, in the affairs of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America that are struggling for consolidation of their independence along their own path of progress. We urge a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis, the establishment of peace and stability in South East Asia on the basis of the initiative taken by the Indochinese countries, the restoration of peace in other parts of the Asian continent and in the Persian Gulf area, and the consolidation of security in those regions. We support the proposal made by Mongolia for the conclusion of a convention on the mutual non-use of force among States of Asia and the Pacific, and we stand for the reunification of Korea in the spirit of the

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

suggestions presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We support the struggle for the final liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system and for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Being a European State, Hungary is especially interested in preserving and forwarding the process that began in Helsinki. We sincerely hope that the Madrid meeting on European security and co-operation will complete its work successfully and reach an agreement on the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, thus paving the way to consolidating the achievements of détente in that part of the world.

The Hungarian People's Republic maintains a wide range of co-operation with a great number of countries not only of Europe but of other regions as well.

Our efforts towards the broadening and intensification of the relations of co-operation among nations are clearly shown by the series of personal contacts that the Hungarian leaders have had recently with high-ranking representatives of other States from all the corners of the world. It is our intention to continue to establish contacts and to broaden existing ones with every country without exception that is ready for the dialogue, because we are firmly convinced that these contacts have greatly contributed to the strengthening of mutual understanding, have resulted in a number of concrete agreements and joint practical steps and have in their own way also strengthened international peace and security.

Let me conclude by emphasizing that, in full harmony with the main guidelines of Hungarian foreign policy, which I have just tried briefly to outline here, my delegation is in favour of all the initiatives taken by the United Nations with the sincere aim of promoting the cause of world peace and international security. In this spirit we wholeheartedly support the Soviet proposal regarding the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, as well as other suggestions before us aimed at promoting the development of various aspects of inter-State relations.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Hungary for the condolences he expressed on the occasion of the air disaster involving a Yugoslav aircraft.

Mr. BENDAÑA RODRIGUEZ (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish):

The items on non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the development and strengthening of relations of good neighbourliness among States are today of primary importance for Central America and for Nicaragua in particular.

The international community is deeply concerned over the serious nature of the situation in our region and the growing danger to world peace and security caused by the threats of aggression by the Government of the United States against sovereign countries of our region, and in particular against Nicaragua.

There are clearly some historical principles and some principles of international law of which the United States seems to be ignorant. History shows us clearly that the peoples of the world will inevitably exercise their right to self-determination and genuine independence. That right has been recognized internationally. The United Nations Charter also mentions the obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, political independence or territorial integrity of other States. As stated in the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries on non-interference in the internal affairs of States:

"... the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security are founded upon freedom, equality, self-determination and independence, respect for the sovereignty of States ..." (A/C.1/36/L.61, Annex, p. 1)

The disturbances in Central America and the Caribbean show that those foundations do not yet exist.

There is no reference in the United Nations Charter to any alleged vital interests which the United States is now invoking in order to impose its will on Central America and the Caribbean. The principles of the Charter are inconsistent with paternalism, sheltering behind strategic considerations or ancient history in order to deny the right of peoples to self-determination. The geographical position or political nature of a country cannot affect the purposes and principles of the Charter or the inalienable rights of peoples.



(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez, Nicaragua)

On 19 July 1979, the people of Nicaragua, after a bloody and destructive war of liberation, achieved true sovereignty and genuine independence. Availing ourselves of our sovereign rights, our country immediately and in a responsible manner carried out the major transformations which were required by the dependent structures and did so in the context of independence, not of alignment. The United States, far from accepting the sovereign will of the people of Nicaragua, was worried by it. But that should not cause surprise, since we have never assumed that we would receive the blessing of Washington - nor did we seek it - before bringing about the changes that our people wanted. The only thing that we requested was that our sovereignty be respected and that, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the United States should refrain from interfering in the internal and external affairs of our country. In keeping with those principles, we hope today to develop good neighbourly relations on the basis of mutual respect, which is the condition that should prevail between two sovereign States equal in law.

We seek the same with our sister countries of Central America. With Costa Rica and Panama, whose Governments and peoples supported our liberation and still do, we have the best of relations. With respect to Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, we repeat our desire to maintain good relations and to work together to promote our regional economy,

We do not believe that the present political and social crisis in Central America can be attributed exclusively to social factors. From the very beginning we were aware that the most reactionary local elements affiliated with Somozaism would not rest in their desire for revenge as a result of the triumph of the Sandinist Popular Revolution, beginning with the very Somosan counter-revolutionaries who are receiving local help in their attacks along our northern border. Those elements constituted a minority compared with the great wave of popular sympathy for the Sandinist struggle. Even in the sister nation of El Salvador, where a people's war is being waged against genocide and exploitation, Nicaragua is sparing no effort to put an end to the bloodshed.

(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez, Nicaragua)

Internal social tensions exist in the area, but that does not mean that a modicum of stability and security between States, based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, cannot exist, and in particular, it does not mean that there cannot be complete respect for the right of peoples to live in peace and recognition of the fact that the Sandinist revolution is irreversible.

Within that difficult context, Nicaragua has promoted a dialogue at all levels, notwithstanding the reluctance of some to participate in certain meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Central America. We have called for a peace dialogue in El Salvador, supported the Franco-Mexican Declaration and transmitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council the just and concrete proposals of the Salvadorian patriotic forces. We have also sought a continuing dialogue with the sister republic of Honduras, and have urged joint action to put an end to border incidents which have been provoked by interests alien to those of the people and to peace. We have pointed out the threat to normal relations, which we seek, by the activities of Somozan terrorist bands operating from Honduran territory with the complicity of certain elements of the Honduran army. There is evidence of our concern in document A/C.1/36/13, which we circulated under the agenda item on the development and strengthening of good neighbourliness between States. We trust that that sister nation will continue to maintain its honourable support of the principle of non-interference.

With respect to El Salvador, we have called for the political settlement of a war which affects the entire Central American region. There will never be stability in Central America until peace is brought about in El Salvador. The peace proposal of the Salvadorian patriots expresses their wish to hold discussions without prior conditions with the representatives of the Salvadorian Junta. That proposal, regrettably, has been rejected by the Military Junta, as it had earlier rejected a proposal of mediation submitted by the Government of Panama. We are very forthright in stating that our country urgently needs a reduction of tension in the area. Nicaragua needs peace in order to devote its energies to the economic reconstruction of our country, to bring

(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez, Nicaragua)

to our people the social achievements for which they have asked, in short to consolidate our revolution. Any war or intervention could jeopardize our hopes.

The people of Central America are the only ones entitled to solve the problems of Central America. If the situation in the area is critical today, it is because of the interventionist and imperialist role which the present Government of the United States is playing in the area. Superimposing a simplistic East-West scheme on Central America; the insistence of the Regan Administration on using Central America to demonstrate its virility to the world as a major Power; drawing the line in El Salvador and more recently in Nicaragua; reducing the complexity of the struggle of the peoples to dangerous notions of the flow of weapons and the manipulation of foreign Powers; the ever greater flow of military and economic resources, including military advisers to the Junta of El Salvador - all of that has brought Central America to the brink of a catastrophe.

Today the Reagan Administration, in the face of the failure of its strategy in El Salvador and of the determination of the people of Nicaragua not to sacrifice their revolutionary victories, has threatened a war in Nicaragua. The highest officials of the Government of the United States have stated repeatedly that they are planning to undertake military action against Nicaragua and they have orchestrated a strong campaign to tarnish the prestige of our country. Although President Regan assures us that he will not send United States servicemen the insistence of Secretary of State Haig and others that they would not rule out the defeat or destabilization of Nicaragua does not inspire confidence on the part of my Government.

(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez,  
Nicaragua)

We are being threatened by a naval blockade; that is an act of war. My Government would be irresponsible were it to underestimate this threat and to consider it as merely intimidation, as if our people had not, two and a half years ago, demonstrated that they could not be intimidated in the defence of their rights. At the present time, a United States fleet is carrying out manoeuvres in the Caribbean, and the recent reorganization of the United States military command in the Caribbean has prompted us to take every precaution and to take all the necessary steps to repeat these doings, as we have done to the Security Council. Many countries - Venezuela, Mexico and Costa Rica in our region - have expressed their opposition to any form of armed intervention against Nicaragua.

A generalized war in Central America could result from indirect as well as direct intervention. Central Americans have not forgotten the Central Intelligence Agency operation which, with the co-operation of the Somoza dictatorship, led to the overthrow of the nationalist Government of Guatemala in 1954. We are also very familiar with the way in which the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba was prepared and executed, again with the logistical support of the defeated Nicaraguan régime.

Nicaragua is well aware of the direct relationship that exists between Reagan's threats, on the one hand, and the increase in the number of border acts of aggression of which our country has been a victim. At the very least, the most reactionary sectors in Central America have felt themselves emboldened by United States aggressivity. Local counter-revolutionaries are well aware of the fact that, acting alone, they cannot dream of a return to power. It is for this reason that they need allies and encouragement. This is why they need to resort to provocations, such as those we reported in the document to which we have referred, and why they are trying to promote conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua. They are attempting to justify the formation of the so-called Northern Triangle of Military Co-operation between Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala against the Government of Nicaragua and/or the people of El Salvador. According to the Washington Post of 26 October and The Christian Science Monitor of 5 November, the Government of the United States is encouraging that co-operation.

(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez, Nicaragua)

Is indirect intervention being sponsored by the United States Government?  
Is that the reason why Presidential Adviser Edwin Meese revealed on  
22 November that there is a United States plan to mobilize pressure by  
neighbouring countries against Nicaragua? In this context, Nicaragua  
supports the appeal by Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus of Costa Rica, who  
called upon

"all Governments in Central America to make all possible efforts to  
prevent impetuous, thoughtless conduct from leading to events that  
will bring grief and bloodshed to the greatly disturbed region of  
Central America."

In the interests of peace, progress and stability in our region of the  
world, the Government of Nicaragua once again urges the Government of the  
United States publicly to declare its adherence to the principles of the  
Charter, to accept the principles of the non-use of force in international  
relations, non-intervention and non-interference and the peaceful settlement  
of disputes between States. On the basis of those principles, and never on  
the basis of military, political or economic pressure, Nicaragua reiterates  
its preparedness for dialogue aimed at preventing an explosion in Central  
America. The United States, as a permanent member of the Security Council,  
should refrain from threats which, far from helping to create a climate  
propitious to political negotiations, rather promote an atmosphere in which  
a regional confrontation could easily come about.

Finally, we call upon the Government of the United States to be  
consistent, in Central America, with what was said by President Reagan  
on 18 November:

"We must also help to bring peace and security to regions now torn by  
conflict, external intervention and war... There is no reason why  
people in any part of the world should have to live in permanent fear  
of war or its spectre. I believe the time has come for all nations  
to act in a responsible spirit that does not threaten other States. I

(Mr. Bendaña Rodríguez, Nicaragua)

believe the time is right to move forward on... the resolution of critical regional disputes at the conference table." (The New York Times, 19 November 1981, p. A17)

While he did not refer directly to Central America, we hope that those principles can be applied to our region and that those intentions will become a reality to the benefit of regional and international peace and security.

Mr. MEGALOKONOMOS (Greece): Before beginning my statement, Mr. Chairman, I should like to express my delegation's deep sympathy for the tragic catastrophe that has struck hundreds of families among the friendly people of Yugoslavia. The sharing of feelings at times of natural catastrophes and mutual help in such unfortunate cases are spontaneous reactions of good-neighbourliness that have always been standard practice between our two countries and peoples.

The work of our Organization has, over the course of its history and day by day, been amplified and multiplied. Thousands upon thousands of words have been accumulating year after year in relevant documents. Their gist, their primary and central meaning, is the anxious search by - and for - our peoples of means to live in peace and security. All these commendable texts, declarations, resolutions and proclamations we adopt year after year would be unacceptably superfluous if there were a general political will fully to apply all the principles and Articles of our Charter and if this Organization were able fully to implement the resolutions and decisions of its main organs. That point of view is corroborated by numerous sources, among which I shall mention the following.

The report we examined some weeks ago under the first item on our agenda concerning the relationship between disarmament and international security contained the following consideration:

"Achieving a state of reliable and lasting peace and security...must include the full implementation of the security system of the United Nations Charter and general and complete disarmament." (A/36/597, para. 42)

(Mr. Megalokonomos, Greece)

In this context, we also stress the idea, expressed in the Declaration contained in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, that peace and security

"can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example." (Resolution S-10/2, part II, para. 13)

That ideal situation not yet being possible, we are still obliged to try to find crucial points of special interest in order to stir the political will of Member States to adopt a certain conduct we believe would help in attaining the generally accepted objective of our Organization, namely, the creation of prerequisites for security. There is no doubt, in our opinion, that security, like disarmament, cannot exist without, again, the political will of the States. We are bound eventually to invoke that political will in order to create conditions for security. However, that political will is not a floating element in the international picture. It is linked to and can more easily be expressed if it is related to, norms that objectively regulate our world, generally accepted and applied norms that are contained in the Charter of the United Nations and in the decisions of its organs, as well as in international law, contractual or customary.

(Mr. Megalokonomos, Greece)

In 1957 the General Assembly dealt for the first time with a problem which, without being, properly speaking, a separate security item, constitutes the origin and the source of many serious conflicts in the world. There have been only too many examples in history and in modern times of regional disputes among neighbouring countries which, because they were not resolved in time and in keeping with the principles of international law, degenerated into open conflicts. Thus it is an essential factor for security to create the best possible conditions for living alongside and co-operating peacefully with one's own neighbours. Greece was very eager to approve the Romanian initiative in 1979, not only on account of its own merits but also because the main inspiration came from the delegation of a country belonging to the same geographical region and, what is more, of a country maintaining with Greece very close friendly relations. As the representative of Greece said in the First Committee at the thirty-fourth session in explaining our adherence to the consensus on resolution 34/99

"The merits of the draft resolution have served as a springboard to give us the necessary impetus for its adoption." (A/C.1/34/PV.55, p. 6).

Having in mind the foregoing considerations, I should like now to develop our ideas about the elements of good neighbourliness, ideas which Greece has long applied. We only now find the opportunity to refer to them, as the matter is now being examined in a thorough way. We believe that the best way to deal with matters of security in general is to examine them in a knowledgeable, frank and practical way. This is the only method by which any international organ may achieve a solid result. Otherwise, we are afraid, it is only a game of an abundance of words creating an illusion of security.

In our opinion, the elements regulating good neighbourliness could, for practical reasons, be distinguished - and not necessarily for establishing priorities - by being placed into three phases or categories. The first phase concerns the cessation of every act that has a negative effect on good neighbourliness. Then come all the positive steps which a State could take in order to develop good relations with its neighbours. Thirdly, we have the phase of close co-operation for the benefit of all peoples concerned.



(Mr. Megalokonomos, Greece)

The first phase is crucial and decisive. It is also the most unpleasant to examine, but we have to deal with it if we want to work in a constructive way in search of a realistic and practical outcome. We believe that the first duty of every State towards its neighbours, and towards every other country as a matter of fact, is to respect scrupulously their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This duty entails in particular the obligation to refrain from any act which might be regarded as a violation of or threat to violate frontiers; and we mean by that not only land frontiers but sea and air-space areas as well, as defined in bilateral or multilateral treaties and by international law. Among acts to be avoided we should also like to mention any threat or use of force, intervention, invasion or occupation and also any act which might reasonably be interpreted by the country concerned as a threat to its national interests and therefore hindering the promotion of co-operation between neighbours.

There is an inevitable possibility that neighbouring States may have differences and disputes. This is a fact of history. In such cases the principles of our Charter and international law, contractual and customary, are, we think, an invaluable source of wisdom providing answers as well as a generally acceptable security assurance to smaller nations for the attainment of an objective and not a dictated solution.

Good relations among neighbours are, however, not created by merely avoiding acts such as those I have mentioned. They also demand, as a second phase, positive and dynamic movement towards increasing reciprocal confidence among neighbouring countries. The principle of equality and of respect for sovereignty among States is a predominant factor for the creation of understanding and frankness in their relations. This is all the more true for neighbouring States. Agreements concluded among these States seriously promote mutual understanding, while at the same time the modalities of these agreements should not interfere with the individual economic development of every State or its own security considerations. On the contrary, we believe that a higher stage of development and security

(Mr. Megalokonomos, Greece)

in neighbouring States facilitates building confidence and paving the way towards common projects of bilateral or multilateral co-operation.

These thoughts bring us to the third phase of good neighbourliness which we consider to be the stage of close co-operation and which should, without doubt, be the ultimate aim of our present exercise. If neighbouring countries have more than their share of differences, they at the same time possess broader possibilities for co-operation. This is due to their geographical proximity, which creates opportunities to be encouraged for close economic and technical co-operation. We used to say that interdependence among the countries of the world had been intensified during recent years because of the evolution in technology and communications. This is of course true, and it is still more obvious in the case of neighbouring countries. We realize that in this context there are new dimensions for co-operation not only in the fields I have mentioned but also in questions concerning pollution, shared rivers and other matters of common interest among neighbours.

Apart from bilateral treaties and exchanges by way of co-operation in general, we consider that there is much to be done also through the regional programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and other organizations. We have a good example in our region in this field: the Anti-Pollution Mediterranean Action Plan adopted several years ago by Mediterranean States under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Programme, which, we are certain, has contributed effectively to the protection of the environment and the common physical heritage of the countries in that area.

My country belongs to a region characterized par excellence by a multiplicity of systems in its political, economic and social structure. We have never regarded this fact as a disadvantage in the development of good neighbourly relations. On the contrary, it has proved to be an area where in most cases exchanges took the form of economic complementarity.

(Mr. Megalokonomos, Greece)

During the past few years my country has taken many initiatives which have yielded tangible results in the fields of understanding and economic co-operation in our region. Numerous exchanges of visits by both high-level governmental officials and experts between Greece and most of its neighbouring countries have increased the extent of close and friendly relations in our area.

Greece is among those States which responded to operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 34/99 and submitted to the Secretary-General its remarks concerning good neighbourliness and the means of enhancing it with a view to preventing conflicts and to increasing confidence among States. We have been glad to see that the replies submitted by countries in our region contain ideas and principles often very similar to ours. We think that this is an encouraging element. If a compilation of the replies from States is to be made in the future, we are sure that all the views and opinions will be included in the relevant report. As this is a matter of security, we think that neighbourliness has to be dealt with on the basis of the free will of all nations concerned and the safeguarding of the undiminished security of each and every one of them.

In conclusion, I should like to state that the delegation of Greece will be glad once again to support the follow-up on this item in the form of draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.59.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Greece for his expression of solidarity and condolence on the occasion of the air disaster of the Yugoslav plane.

Mr. DABO (Guinea) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, in connexion with the death of more than 270 of your compatriots in the air disaster yesterday, I should like to express my sincerest condolences on behalf of the delegation of Guinea.

(spoke in French)

"National independence is a door open wide to the world." Those were the words used by President Ahmed Sekou Touré when he proclaimed the birth of the new State of Guinea. Therefore, it will be easy to understand the importance of the struggle of peoples for their national independence and the high value they attach to their relations with other States. Indeed, since our country acceded to full sovereignty, Guinea's policy has been to transcend the Africa of nations and rather see the Africa of peoples. This option has taken the form of fruitful bilateral co-operation with all neighbouring countries. It has taken the form of the creation of regional organs of co-operation with other African States. Many disputes which beset the West African sub-region have found their solution by peaceful negotiations on the basis of the following fundamental principles:

First, giving up once and for all the threat or the use of force, and hostile propaganda by the mass media in the settlement to disputes;

Secondly, promoting mutual confidence by practical actions, particularly by avoiding stationing troops along frontiers;

Thirdly, maintaining and observing agreements reached between neighbouring countries, and maintaining a dialogue between leaders of States in conflict, at the highest possible level.

Who more than the developing countries benefit from practising such a policy - the developing countries which are suffering from economic and technological backwardness imposed on their peoples for centuries by colonial and foreign domination, the developing countries which must work to reconvert their minds, to strengthen national unity and to lay the foundations for an

(Mr. Dabo, Guinea)

independent economy? Who more than they need to develop and strengthen good-neighbourliness among States? The reply is self-evident.

Our Organization has adopted many texts - inter alia, resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, which contains the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; resolutions 31/91 of 14 December 1976, 32/153 of 19 December 1977, 33/74 of 15 December 1978, 34/101 of 14 December 1979 and 35/159 of 12 December 1980 - all relating to non-intervention in domestic affairs, in order to improve the international climate and to promote the advent of fruitful co-operation on an equal footing among all nations.

But as it happens, the colonialist relations which existed before the crumbling of the colonial empires are cropping up again in new forms, and seriously threatening the stability and independence of our countries. The intention of certain Powers to deny to peoples the right of self-determination, and particularly the peoples of Palestine and Namibia, as well as their right to equality and sovereignty, which takes the form of support for the apartheid régime and its natural ally, the perpetual division of nations such as the Korean nation, the subversion, intervention or threat of military intervention against sovereign States, is precisely the kind of behaviour which calls into question the spirit and letter of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, which contains the definition of aggression.

The events at Victoria Mahé in the Seychelles last week have shown by concrete facts that the enemies of the independence of peoples are not giving way. As in Angola, Nigeria, Guinea and Benin, similarly neo-colonialism has launched an act of mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, using the South African apartheid régime as its tool. As in the case of previous mercenary aggression, they were crushed by the valiant people of the Seychelles.

(Mr. Dabo, Guinea)

That is why our delegation attaches great importance to adoption by our Committee at this session of a draft Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. The international state of affairs being what it is, this would represent a very useful legal instrument for the security of our States. Nevertheless, if we are to be realistic, we should never lose sight of the fact that besides these enactments of the international community, the only final court of appeal is that of the peoples, alert and organized as supreme judges.

The CHAIRMAN: I deeply appreciate the touching words of condolence of the representative of Guinea, reflecting the long-standing friendship between Guinea and Yugoslavia.

## ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to share with the Committee some views about how we are going to deal with our work in the remaining two and half days.

Members are very well aware that the target date for completion of our work is Friday 4 December. This morning we fixed the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions on the strengthening of international security at 1 p.m. today.

I should also like to say that the list of speakers for those delegations that would like to address themselves to draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.54 on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons will be closed tonight at 6 p.m.

I should also like to ask for the indulgence of the members of the Committee in requesting them not to put themselves down to speak at any specific meeting. We would like merely to draw up a list of speakers on that item whom I shall call upon to speak in the order in which they are inscribed.

In addition, I should like to ask all delegations that intend to circulate views on any of the remaining items after the one on the strengthening of international security - that is, views on the draft resolutions A/C.1/36/L.42 and L.54 - to do so on Thursday, which would allow the other members time to consider their proposals. It would not be wise to choose to work under unnecessary time constraints on the last day of our work, which I hope will be Friday, so I would respectfully submit to the Committee that it bear this in mind.

On Thursday afternoon the Committee will, I hope, take action on all draft resolutions submitted to the Committee under agenda items 57 and 58 and it will, I hope, conclude its consideration of these items then.

This is the considered opinion not only of the Chairman but also of the other officers of the Committee, who have been helpful in advising me on this subject.

(The Chairman)

On Friday 4 December, after having exhausted the list of speakers, the Committee will proceed to take action on draft resolutions A/C.1/36/L.42 and L.54. These refer respectively to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and to chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. The representative of Mexico has just informed me that he has submitted to the Secretariat the revised draft of A/C.1/36/L.42.

If I hear no objection to these considerations on the part of the officers of the Committee and myself I shall take it that the Committee consents to these ideas, which will help to bring us to a successful conclusion of our work as scheduled, that is, on Friday 4 December.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.