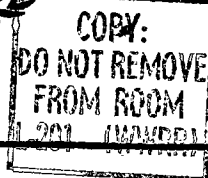


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FIRST COMMITTEE
50th meeting
held on
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at 3 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 50TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)
(Vice-Chairman)

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ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 48, 58, 59 and 137 (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: This afternoon the Committee will continue its general debate on the agenda items relating to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I am taking the floor late in the course of our meetings at this session; therefore it is with a feeling of even greater satisfaction, because of proved expectations, that my delegation compliments the Chairman and his colleagues on their election. Perhaps as never before, in our long travail for disarmament, he eloquently represents both the fears of mankind over the danger and folly of the arms race and our collective endeavours to reverse it and bring it to a halt. At the same time, he brings to us the essential experience and realism which could give expression to our dwindling hopes.

I also wish to associate myself with those who have congratulated two of the legendary figures in disarmament negotiations, Mrs. Myrdal and Mr. Garcia Robles, on their merited awards. Their labour at least has been recognized, even if their proposals, which invariably echoed widespread aspirations, so far remain largely unfulfilled.

We are sobered by the knowledge that our expressions remain high-sounding words until they become, as we remain convinced they must eventually become, demonstrable deeds. Success, however, can be secured only through a collective effort, with every nation pulling in the same direction. So far we are not doing this, as we can all see. Indeed, tension is rife throughout the world, and actual warfare has raged and still rages in many areas, with our Organization a helpless witness.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

It is precisely because we are so conscious of the passage of time, and also because we share so much in what has already been ably stated by others by our Chairman and by the representatives of Sweden, Mexico, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Austria, Romania and Algeria, to mention but a few - that we will not repeat the gist of their arguments nor elaborate what we ourselves have detailed in the past, most recently by my Foreign Minister in the general debate. We can therefore be relatively brief on this occasion.

Despite all frustration, we still intend to continue to press resolutely for general and complete disarmament under effective international control and for a collective security system which really responds to the needs of small countries such as mine, which number nearly a third of the world community of nations and whose number gradually increases with each passing year. We recognize our limitations, but we know also we have great responsibilities.

Consequently, Malta has always given in this forum a faithful account of what we have managed to do unilaterally in the past decade to reduce tension in our region. We pride ourselves on being one of the very few countries whose national expenditure and manpower devoted to armaments has been constantly on the decline. We are about the only country that has recently successfully accomplished a deliberate and planned transformation from a fortress economy to one based exclusively on peaceful occupations.

Again, I will not repeat the details. I will only say that it was a formidable task, but we accomplished it against all odds after having openly announced our intentions, both internally and externally, and sought the help of anyone willing to share our objectives.

In fact, today our policy of neutrality, based on the principles of non-alignment, is recognized by countries far and wide, east and west, north and south. In this we know we are responding to the wishes not only of our own people but of people in our own region and throughout the world.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

This is not, unfortunately, the case elsewhere. Even as we talk in this hall about how we all desire disarmament, and even as those who have most armaments blame their predicament on others, we know -- and in many instances at least we can read openly -- of new weapons systems being devised and commissioned by the major Powers and their military allies. Without minimizing in any way the complexity of disarmament negotiations, the arguments and counter-arguments put forward by both sides are beginning to appear less and less persuasive in the light of economic and political analysis. They become even less convincing as they are repeated with monotonous boredom with each passing year. The major Powers hardly bother to talk to each other these days. They seem to play to the gallery in the presence of others. There was perhaps a time when we in these halls used to lead and to educate the public at large on disarmament. It seems now that our roles have been reversed. We are on the defensive, and the world outside is telling us what to do. Their disenchantment with us is shown by the declining attendance in the public galleries.

Veteran disarmament negotiators will readily admit that although we may have tardily improved our disarmament machinery, our thinking, and even our methods, have remained unchanged over the past three and a half decades, especially since nuclear disarmament became a priority item in our debate.

For instance, it has been asserted as a comforting thought that man has always considered himself on the brink of catastrophe in the past, yet somehow he survives and even flourishes today. It has also been considered encouraging that the man in the street is, figuratively speaking, "up in arms" over our dismal failure in disarmament negotiations and is now insisting on results as he has never insisted before.

This, however, is very small comfort, I submit. It is really a form of escapism. It does not tackle squarely the heart of the matter. Because the advent of atomic weapons and the subsequent military advances made has changed the very nature of conflict. In Einstein's words:

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

"it has changed everything but our thinking, and thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond comparison."

Weapons invented in the past throughout the course of history have invariably been commissioned and put to actual use eventually. There is no law on earth -- not even man's strong instinct for self-preservation -- that has prevented this process in the past. Each war has of course been more devastating than its predecessor, although mankind eventually recovered and even prospered.

And yet the tragic pattern is being followed again. Although nuclear weapons are allegedly only for deterrence, they are still being produced in larger numbers, in better quality and with more destructive power long after a plateau of mutual deterrence has been reached. We are now, in fact, embarked on strategies which envisage "limited" use of nuclear weapons and "winnable" nuclear wars.

Thus Einstein is being proved right. It is not a pleasant scenario to contemplate today. The alarming truth is that nuclear weapons are spreading so rapidly that they are now uncomfortably close to practically all populations, even those in countries which have never sought either to acquire or to be in any way associated with such weapons. We may justifiably ask whether we will still be around tomorrow to contemplate the next generation of nuclear weapons.

Surely it is time to set ourselves a new course. It is essential that national Governments heed the appeal of their own people, scientists, philosophers and labourers alike, all toiling under the burden and the danger imposed by excessive armaments while social services decline and deteriorate. We must -- and the sooner the better -- direct our efforts to common security for survival in replacement of competing national security, which has been proved to be as elusive as it is dangerous. It is simply suicidal to continue arguing that mutual security can only be found through the continuing mad momentum of the nuclear-arms race. It is also about time that we lower the tone and frequency of the hostile outbursts that the major Powers now direct towards each other.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

We recognize that in the present precarious international climate there cannot be a very great expectation of immediate substantive progress. But there is still a lot we can do, even here and now, at least to improve our working methods. For one thing, if we cannot as yet obtain an effective moratorium on nuclear-weapon testing .. overdue as it undoubtedly is .. can we at least not agree on a moratorium on resolutions which deal with identical subjects?

We seem to have acquired an irreversible tendency to gain new agenda items every year, yet each is but one aspect of the same problem, namely, the nuclear-weapon competition between the major Powers despite their solemn commitments **legally** assumed under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We only avoid the main issue if we try to separate discussion into several interdependent phases, each dealing with the same problem.

It is also time we attempted to replace high-sounding declarations by concrete actions. The latter carry so much more conviction, which can turn the present acute state of tension and suspicion into one of verifiable and universally applauded arms-control and reduction measures. One concrete achievement is more valuable than a thousand declaratory statements.

And so my delegation has selectively acted as a sponsor to only a few disarmament draft resolutions placed before us, those that, in our view, really strengthen the gathering and dissemination of factual information, that open up possibilities for new techniques of verification, that strengthen the machinery for disarmament and that urge a freeze on nuclear-weapons testing, among others.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

The arms race, especially its nuclear component, is of course a malignant sore on the body politic of international relations. It is a symptom, however, of a more insidious malady: that is, the ideological gulf that separates the major alliances, which has progressively undermined the premise on which the Charter was founded and has hence paralyzed our Organization. It is here that the major effort for change must be made, and it is only recently that this realization has dawned on the advocates of change.

We have therefore taken note of and will carefully study proposals designed to strengthen the role of the Security Council. As non-permanent members of the Council for the next two years, and with the humble aspiration really to serve the cause of peace, we will do our utmost to contribute objectively to a greater co-operative effort and a better anticipation of conflict by the Council. In this connection, we particularly welcome the ideas advanced by the Palme Commission and by Sierra Leone and Cyprus, as well as the observations which we ourselves, and so many others before us, have made in the course of our past and present debates.

The draft resolution now before us on the strengthening of international security has many positive elements, but it is nevertheless beginning to look and to sound more and more like a repetitive litany of good intentions. It has, of course, the merit of reminding us of our obligations, and perhaps also of reminding us of how often and to what degree we may have transgressed them. But here, too, we must go beyond mere generalities to concrete action.

As I have already explained, Malta has responded to this call, both nationally and internationally. We undertook a thorough and fundamental reappraisal of our options. For centuries, we had snuggled in the security of a fortress mentality, serving the militaristic ambitions of more powerful nations and subordinating our own national interests to the strategic calculations of others. All this has now changed at home, and we have turned our attention to wider horizons.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

Our action at home was inspired by and firmly founded on the needs of regional security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. In the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, we insisted on, and after great difficulty finally obtained, with the help of others, the Declaration on the Mediterranean, which is one of the principal provisions among the chapters of the Helsinki Final Act. In the Non-Aligned Movement, we raised - and there was an immediate and favourable response to - the concept of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

Individual Mediterranean countries, including my own, have often and repeatedly made solemn declarations at the highest level concerning the need to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation and have put forward concrete ideas as to how this can best be accomplished. In our own case, we have followed up our declarations with concrete action. We have also taken careful note of the replies contained in the report of the Secretary-General in document A/37/355. All this is sufficiently encouraging for us to look further ahead.

It is of course in the primary interest of Mediterranean countries and in the best traditions of good neighbourly relations that we not rest on our laurels and that no more time be lost before we ourselves take the initiative and together set in motion a process of consultations on what more can be done and where and when further steps can be implemented, working if necessary in stages and in ever-widening concentric circles, seeking progressively to secure the final objectives we set ourselves. There is of course an equal obligation on all non-riparian States to encourage and respect the efforts of the Mediterranean States in promoting entente and to refrain from any action that is likely to frustrate prospects for progress.

There should additionally be a reciprocal flow of information between individual Members and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, so that

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

progress will be evident, widely known and highlighted. We know we can confidently rely on a thorough study by the Secretariat to set the process in motion and to render assistance when requested. But that will only be a first step.

It will be necessary to go further and to review progress from time to time, and machinery for step-by-step advances should therefore be envisaged. We invite Mediterranean countries to join us in taking the lead and setting an example, so that we can turn the tide away from the present state of armed vigilance and confrontation and achieve an actual reduction of tension and the promotion of new sectors of co-operation. In short, we wish to reverse the drift towards disaster that has been the main feature of recent events. Where one nation on its own can succeed against great odds, others can attain much more acting in concert; thus, success is multiplied immeasurably, with the approval of all and to the detriment of none.

With these considerations in mind, we will naturally vote in favour of the draft resolutions before us, which give expression to those thoughts. We wish to thank the sponsors for having submitted them.

Mr. IJEWERE (Nigeria): My delegation joins others that have congratulated the Chairman and the other officers of the Committee for leading us and guiding us successfully through the first part of our work.

We are sure that with the same tact and skill, he will see us through the remaining part of our work, dealing with international peace and security.

The Charter of the United Nations provides as its basic purpose the maintenance of international peace and security through such means as the development of friendly relations among nations and co-operation in solving international problems. Pursuant to this objective, during successive sessions of the General Assembly Members States have endeavoured to address the subject both as a goal in itself and as a function of the prevailing international climate.

(Mr. Ijewere, Nigeria)

In both cases, the record of achievement of the world body has been a dismal disappointment, particularly for an international community that is eager to secure its continued survival as a civilization but sees itself in the throes of self-extinction because of frenzied recourse to armaments.

The current debate represents an exercise which seeks to further the concepts and understanding of Member States on the important question of peace and security.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is seen by my delegation as an outgrowth of a crisis of unfulfilled expectations in the conduct of inter-State relations. In the first place, it has become increasingly clear that many States do not feel themselves bound by the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the relevant instruments of international law. Yet, when they find it convenient and to their advantage, those same States are quick to have recourse to those provisions and instruments as a point of reference and source of refuge.

Secondly, there is no doubt that the Charter concept of collective security has failed to provide sufficient assurance to States, particularly the weak and developing ones among them, that they will not be victims of the use or threat of use of force.

Thirdly, the basic provision of the non-use of force in international relations, on which the prospects for disarmament truly rest, has failed to win universal acceptance - at least, it seems so judging from the actions of States. What is evident, and sadly so, is that on the part of some States, the use or threat of use of force has become an instrument of policy to sustain self-imposed world-wide interests and responsibilities.

(Mr. Ijewere, Nigeria)

This has led to an incidence of armed aggression against sovereign States, intervention or interference in their domestic affairs, in the non-respect of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and in the denial of the inalienable right of other peoples, particularly those still under colonial or foreign domination, to self-determination.

The encroachment on basic freedoms and fundamental human rights at the level of States cannot but have repercussions on the collective psyche of a people in its effort to be a part of a process which seeks to establish and secure a stable society. Such infringements of and departures from the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the relevant instruments of international law have adverse implications on the basic beliefs, acceptances, and expectations of Member States which see the United Nations as the bastion of hope of humankind in the solution of the complex problems facing our contemporary world.

The most visible index of the security perceptions of States lies in the recourse to armaments as an instrument of national defence. Unfortunately, the current arms race, both in its nuclear and conventional aspects, as well as in its qualitative and quantitative dimensions has far exceeded the requirements of defence. This establishes a case for disarmament based on the principle of undiminished security. This implies that the arms race cannot be solved in a vacuum. It is a task that must be performed within the framework of a collective system of international security, made possible by universal respect for the Charter provisions and the effectiveness of the Security Council in enforcing its decisions.

President John Kennedy once said, "those who make peaceful resolutions impossible make violent resolutions inevitable". We agree with the late President of the United States that much merit resides in the peaceful resolution of disputes. This accords fully with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter and provides the solid basis for inter-State relations.

(Mr. Ijewere, Nigeria)

Aside from the requirement of strict respect for the provisions of the Charter, it is undeniable that improvements in relations among States at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels contribute to the strengthening of international security. Once the element of mutual trust and confidence is restored in inter-State relations, the inclination towards suspicion or fear of the unknown motivations of the other side which usually provide grounds for insecurity and consequent disposition to armaments will be removed. We must retain as an enabling basic premise in the development of healthy inter-State relationships the acceptance and development of good-neighbourliness. "Charity", they say, "begins at home". The biblical injunction which states that you should be at peace with your neighbour retains continuing validity in the development of international relations.

In an interdependent world no conflict can be localized. There are bound to be spin-offs or spill-overs. That is why we think that such concepts as limited nuclear war, or crescent crisis, are extremely dangerous and at variance with efforts at collective security.

The triangular interconnection between disarmament, development and international security is underscored by the readiness of States to perceive security not only in terms of its narrow confines of defence but as extending to political and economic security. The concept of political security seeks the goal of universality of membership of the United Nations, while the concept of economic collective security finds reflection in the effort to establish a New International Economic Order through global negotiations between the North and the South and between the rich and poor nations, based on justice and equity.

The crisis of the world economic system continues to assume ever-growing proportions. Unfortunately, the developing countries which form the majority of the human race are permanently at a disadvantage. They are crippled by diminishing returns of income, increasing debts, trade deficits and, consequently, a progressively falling standard of living. International security cannot be based on this glaring disequilibrium in the expectation patterns between the developed and developing countries. The yawning gap between them must not only be narrowed but securely bridged.

(Mr. Ijewere, Nigeria)

We think therefore that the initiative which has been submitted by the delegation of Sierra Leone as a follow-up to the pertinent observations of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization is not only timely but should find maximum support, since it addresses the root cause of the inability of the world body to respond to the security aspirations of Member States.

We hope that the General Assembly will suggest a time frame to the Security Council within which the latter should study the question in substance and in depth and submit recommendations for implementation.

Mr. BALETA (Albania): The discussions resumed every year here at the United Nations and the resolutions adopted on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security have not led to any positive result. The development of events in the world shows, on the contrary, that from one year to the next the international situation has become ever more serious and complicated. What we are witnessing is the permanent deterioration of world security and the appearance and increase of new dangers. None of the existing international problems has found any solution this year. Alarming new problems have been created.

In the Middle East the situation has become even more violent and serious. The unfold massacres carried out against the Palestinians in Beirut after the occupation of the western part of this city by Zionist forces indicate that the enemies of peoples, peace and international security do not stop at crimes. In the Middle East, other hotbeds of tension are kept aflame. The armed conflict between Iran and Iraq is causing great damage and new victims. In Afghanistan, the Soviet occupiers have for three years waged an aggressive war but are not able to crush the liberation struggle of the Afghan people.

In South-East Asia we see no improvement of the complicated situation created by the imperialist super-Powers. There, the danger of new complications with grave consequences remains. In the Indian Ocean, in the Horn of Africa and other parts of the African continent, tensions, conflicts and insecurity

persist. The racist régime of South Africa continues its policy of apartheid and aggression. A complicated situation exists in Central America, where the American imperialists and the reactionary régimes in their service create continuing tensions and undertake aggressive actions against the peoples of this region.

This year a very grave situation was created in the South Atlantic as a result of the aggression perpetrated by Great Britain against Argentina. Peace and international security are threatened by many dangers as a result of the unbridled arms race and preparations for war by the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers. They have not decreased but have continued to rise. The question arises: why do such things happen? The answer is neither difficult nor unknown.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

These situations occur not because progressive and democratic peoples and States do not understand the importance of strengthening international security, or that they do not want to live in peace and security but because the enemies of peace and general security - imperialism, social-imperialism and other world reactionary forces - always incite and create grave situations in order to realize their aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic aims and ambitions. The chief responsibility for such serious world situations, for the breach of peace and for endangering international security, falls on the two super-Powers - the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Even this year, the Soviet-American rivalry and bargaining for hegemony and division of zones of influence, have helped to keep aflame many hotbeds of war. At present American imperialism, seeing that its leadership in the capitalist world is not what it was two or three decades ago, is increasingly becoming even more aggressive and adventurous, not to mention its hysteria to prepare and incite war.

The United States of America has proclaimed publicly and with arrogance that it has the right to intervene and use force when and where it considers that its interests are not respected. In consonance with its pretensions to rule and control the world, it has invented different sorts of political and military theories and doctrines. It is pursuing an ever-more aggressive course in its internal and foreign policy, increasing its military budget, strengthening and improving its monstrous military machinery. It seeks American superiority everywhere, in every field, be it of their policy, economy, army, etc. Its aggressiveness and imperialist logic has gone so far as to speak openly and present as possible, acceptable and justified even the outbreak of nuclear war.

The same increase in aggressiveness is seen in the policy and activities of Soviet social imperialism. In the Soviet Union, life itself is rooted in militarization. Use of military force lies at the base of Soviet foreign policy, which is as imperialist, adventurous, dangerous and threatening as

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

that of the United States of America. The continuation of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, the numerous threats toward other countries, the increased Soviet domination of the so-called socialist community, are facts which testify to the brutal course of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

While, on the one hand, the Soviet social imperialists protest against the aims and endeavours of American imperialism for world domination, especially in the fields of armaments and military might, they do their utmost to ensure domination for themselves in the same fields, and more specifically in certain regions of the world. The aggressive global strategy and the unceasing rivalry between the United States of America and the Soviet Union for domination and world division, has been and remains the main source of danger, tension, local conflicts, numerous wars and aggressions which have taken place till now, and which can bring about a world conflagration with serious consequences.

In order to justify their unrestrained arms race the two super-Powers offer the excuse that as long as no agreement is reached between them to keep the world in the sort of peace they want, the increase and perfection of their nuclear and conventional stockpile of weapons should be seen as a guarantee for peace. Consequently, they arrogate to themselves the right to act without any restraint, to extend the range of their military bases in the world, to maintain and increase the occupying armies in the territories of many countries, especially in Europe, to organize ever larger aggressive military manoeuvres, or go so far as to incite other countries to engage in armed conflict. Although for the time being the United States of America and the Soviet Union have not come to blows, they have caused others to be killed or injured for them. As soon as an armed conflict dies out in one region, another stronger one breaks out in another.

How much has been spoken and written about European security since the Helsinki Conference, and how many promises have been made for a so-called change in the situation in this region, the cradle of two world

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

wars during this century, are common knowledge. The enemies of peace and security in Europe - the imperialist super-Powers - have tried endlessly to exploit all the processes connected with the Helsinki Conference to cover up their aggressive aims and activities. For a time they tried to spread various illusions, but from year to year it has become ever more clear that Europe remains a continent of great insecurity, of dangerous confrontations, of real and serious threats to the freedom and independence of peoples, to general peace and security.

The complete failure of the meeting held in Madrid - not only now but most surely in the future as well - shows clearly the invalidity and fallacy of the so-called system of European security worked out by the Helsinki Conference and publicized as a safeguard for Europe. While the Vienna meeting called for a reduction of troops and armaments in Europe, allegedly to fill the gaps in the system of European security, those aims have been cast into oblivion. People no longer bother when they hear or read that one or other of the aggressive blocs has submitted yet another proposal, that the other is studying it or is simply ignoring it.

Europe continues to carry the heavy burden of the threats of the aggressive military blocs - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact - and of the American and Soviet armies which have at their disposal tens of thousands of aircraft and tanks, missiles, different kinds of bombs and systems of weapons for mass destruction. History has never seen such things and in such numbers. The participation of many European countries in the aggressive military blocs controlled by the United States of America and the Soviet Union increases the dangers and insecurity in Europe and helps the super-Powers to impose their policy on a larger scale. In a speech addressed to the electors on 10 November this year, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stressed:

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

"The opinion of our Party is that the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, in the Mediterranean or in the Middle East, the development and prosperity of European countries, the protection of their culture, traditions and civilization, will be achieved and consolidated by opposing the hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, by giving them no possibility whatsoever of exploiting their political, economic and other links with these countries, in order to attack other countries, to jeopardize the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security.

"Neither NATO, the Warsaw Treaty, the military bases established in various countries, nor the super-Powers' atomic weapons, guarantee the defence of the European countries, their free and independent development, their sovereignty and territorial integrity. These are secured by breaking up those pacts and by sending the American and Soviet soldiers back to their homes, by breaking up and smashing the political, economic and military chains with which Washington and Moscow have bound Europe".

Great insecurity and a threatening situation continue to exist in the whole Mediterranean basin which, apart from different hotbeds of conflict, suffers from the presence and activity of the aggressive naval forces of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Their warships sail around that region to pressure and blackmail, making it possible for the super-Powers to launch attacks and direct aggressions against the peoples of the region whenever it suits them best.

The landing of American marines in Lebanon to bolster the anti-Arab aims and plans of imperialism and zionism gives clear expression to the threat which the presence of the American and Soviet fleets and foreign military bases constitute in the region of the Mediterranean. Whatever the reasons for it, the dispatch of some European military units to Lebanon constitutes a very dangerous precedent of direct interference in the internal affairs of independent States.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

We continue firmly to hold the view that the presence of aggressive American and Soviet fleets in the region should be opposed. The warships of the super-Powers should not be allowed to enter the ports of Mediterranean countries for temporary stays, for supplies or for so-called friendly visits. No military bases should be provided for the super-Powers. Proposals of the kind often made by one or the other super-Power on the so-called improvement of the situation are aimed at legalizing their military presence there and coming to terms for the conditions of this presence. It is for that reason that the role of gendarme or arbiter they want to secure should be strongly opposed.

The imperialist super-Powers have always tried and still try to impede the creation of conditions for developing and strengthening relations of good-neighbourliness among Balkan States and for maintaining and strengthening peace and stability in the Balkans. Intrigues and interventions by American imperialists and Soviet social imperialists to the detriment of the Balkan peoples are numerous and continuous. For their own purposes the imperialists also make use of the fact that certain countries of that region are members of the aggressive NATO or Warsaw Treaty blocs. For their own purposes the imperialist super-Powers try to incite old quarrels and grudges in the Balkans, to incite chauvinistic feelings and passions and to muddy the waters in that region.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has consistently made clear its stand as to the dangers threatening the Balkan countries, and it has with great determination opposed the intrigues and the hostile policy of the imperialist super-Powers. It has always clearly stated that peace and stability in the Balkans can be secured only if we impede the imperialist super-Powers' interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region, and show goodwill and take concrete steps scrupulously to apply the policy of good-neighbourliness. The provision of military bases and various facilities for the United States and the Soviet Union threatens the peace and security of the Balkans, and so does increasing indebtedness to the super-Powers, which entails many dangers not only for the independence of the debtor country but also for its neighbours.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

In his report submitted a year ago to the eighth Congress of the Labour Party of Albania, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Hoxha, pointed out that:

"The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspiration of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist super-Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of a good-neighbourly policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertook officially not to allow the super-Powers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with neighbouring States."

We want once again to reiterate our well known stand that the dangers of war and weapons cannot be kept away by merely advertising ideas on the Balkans as a zone of peace or a nuclear-free zone. The imperialist super-Powers make every effort to create the illusion that through various American-Soviet talks to be continued or started better conditions will be created for the revival of détente and the solution of international problems. The fact is that all the talks and discussions held between the super-Powers have ended in new bargaining to the peoples' detriment and the creation of even more tense world situations.

Therefore we are fully convinced that peace and general security can be ensured only by opposing with great determination the aggressive activities and preparations for war of the super-Powers and their artful manoeuvres and their agreements, which adversely affect the freedom and independence of sovereign States. As long as imperialism and social imperialism exist there will be no real and guaranteed peace and stability. Therefore the world's peoples should be vigilant and prepared to face up to their enemies.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): My delegation would like to offer its comments on the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean contained in document A/37/29.

We are aware of the lengthy consultations undertaken by the Chairman of that Committee in recent weeks which have resulted in the consensus embodied in the recommendations in the report. For this achievement we wish to pay a fully deserved tribute to the great patience, diplomatic skill and wisdom of Ambassador Fonseka.

We have noted that the consensus formula is almost identical to that adopted last year, with a new time frame for the convening of the Indian Ocean conference to be held in Colombo, which has now been postponed to the first half of 1984. The critical factor in the holding of the Conference in that time frame will be the accomplishment of the necessary preparatory work in the Ad Hoc Committee, which will be the focus of my remarks.

As a littoral State of the Indian Ocean, we regard the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region as an important element in our quest for regional security and stability. At the heart of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace lies the desire of the peoples of the region to strengthen the fabric of peace and security so that they can devote their collective energies to promoting their economic well-being and ensuring a future of progress and prosperity.

The security of the entire region is indivisible, and the questions relating to it will have to be faced squarely in a comprehensive manner.

The threat to the security of the States of the Indian Ocean region has two aspects: a non-regional aspect and a regional aspect. When we speak of the non-regional threat, we have in mind all manifestations of great-Power rivalry and confrontation in the region, the presence of foreign military forces and bases within the region or its vicinity and all those doctrines which attempt to justify foreign military presence in the area or military intervention in the affairs of the States there on one pretext or another. In its regional aspect the threat to security arises from resort to the use of force and to policies seeking military preponderance and regional hegemony. Unless we address ourselves to both these aspects the goal of establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean will remain elusive.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

It must be recognized that the climate of peace and security in the region has deteriorated sharply in recent years. The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan, a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean, is a case in point. It is our belief that a political settlement of the Afghanistan question consistent with the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations is indispensable for a meaningful advance towards the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region. For its part Pakistan is co-operating with every international endeavour, particularly the initiative of the United Nations Secretary-General for a just and honourable political settlement of the problem.

We perceive an integral relationship between the improvement in the political and security climate in the Indian Ocean region and the expectation of positive results from the Colombo Conference scheduled for 1984. For us this linkage is self-evident. It remains our fervent hope that in the next one and a half years peace in the region will be strengthened and a climate of trust and confidence created to ensure that the Colombo conference will become an important milestone in transforming the Indian Ocean region into a zone of peace.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

The convening of the conference within a particular time-frame has been the subject of intensive discussion in the Ad Hoc Committee for the past two years. On the one hand, there is the view that the conference should be convened only when the political climate in the region has improved and when it is assured that the conference would produce substantial results. On the other hand, there is the view, shared by a large majority, that the early convening of the conference is essential and is bound to have a salutary impact on the political and security climate of the region.

We believe that the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is a process, and that any static concepts or the imposition of preconditions will not advance that process. The conference would be a positive step, even if our expectations from it are modest. We are, therefore, of the opinion that during the next one and a half years the Ad Hoc Committee should focus on the preparatory work for the conference.

In this context, we are ready to consider all ideas before the Committee, including the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and the 1979 report of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, and any other contributions which might be relevant to the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. We are confident that the substantive work accomplished in the Committee can become a sound basis for ensuring the successful outcome of the Colombo conference. I wish to take this opportunity to pledge to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee our full co-operation for the achievement of that objective.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 19 of document A/37/29, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. The financial implications of that draft resolution are set out in document A/C.1/37/L.76.

The sponsors of the draft resolution have expressed their wish that the draft resolution be adopted by the First Committee without a vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Committee wishes to adopt the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on those representatives who wish to explain their position in connection with the decision just taken.

Mr. THORNE (United Kingdom): My delegation welcomes the fact that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean has once again achieved consensus on the text of a draft resolution for the General Assembly. That the Committee managed to conclude its work successfully was once again due, to a large extent, to the skills of its Chairman, Ambassador Fonseka of Sri Lanka. All of us here owe him a particular debt of gratitude for his patience and his determination.

As in recent years, my delegation has been forced to conclude that no real progress has been made in the Ad Hoc Committee on the harmonization of the views of delegations on those fundamental questions which must be resolved before it would be appropriate to convene a conference on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Nor has there been any improvement in the political and security climate in the region. The relatively minor changes in the draft resolution which we have just adopted, contained in document A/37/29, compared with that of last year, General Assembly resolution 36/90, reflect this lack of progress and, indeed, the realities of the situation.

My delegation remains convinced that all concerned in the Ad Hoc Committee do wish to see progress, but it remains our view that the best way of achieving this would be to broaden the present focus of attention in the Ad Hoc Committee. During the course of 1982, my own delegation was associated with the submission of a paper setting out some new ideas designed to encourage the elaboration by the Committee of a set of principles or a code of conduct, acceptable to all, which might guide relations among the littoral and hinterland States, as well as relations between those States and States outside the region. We hope that further progress will be made on the discussion of these ideas during the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee in 1983. I should add that in the view of my delegation three two-week sessions of the Committee will be adequate for this purpose if all concerned adopt appropriately constructive attitudes and recognize that the realities of world politics have changed since the adoption of the very limited definition of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace contained in resolution 2832 (XXVI).

(Mr. Thorne, United Kingdom)

My delegation hopes that progress will be made in the Ad Hoc Committee during 1983. But if we are to move forward, the security climate in the region must improve. It is self-evident to my delegation that a Committee dealing with questions of peace in the Indian Ocean region cannot simply ignore the presence of some 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. It is impossible to reconcile the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and in such circumstances it is not surprising that the Ad Hoc Committee was unable to agree to hold a conference in 1983. It remains the view of my delegation that in the absence of any real progress on the harmonization of views on the issues before the Ad Hoc Committee, and while the tragedy in Afghanistan continues, it would be inappropriate for a conference to be held.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): My delegation has joined in the consensus on the draft resolution concerning the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, contained in part III of document A/37/29.

As a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, my delegation has, on many previous occasions, made its position clear with regard to the convening of the Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean. We strongly believe that such a conference is an essential step towards the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean area.

As a littoral State, Indonesia continues to attach very great importance to the implementation of the Declaration. Although we are aware of the unfavourable circumstances that have engulfed the region during the past few years, we believe that the conference on the Indian Ocean should none the less be convened so that these developments in the region, and other relevant issues as well, might be discussed.

It is against this background that my delegation is not fully satisfied with the draft resolution, which, in effect, once again inordinately delays the convening of the conference. However, my delegation did not wish to stand in the way of a consensus on the draft resolution, as we believe that a co-operative approach is the only way to achieve our objectives on this complex issue.

Mr. ADAMSON (United States of America): I should like to begin by noting that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean has again this year recommended by consensus for adoption in this Committee a draft resolution on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. As is well known, my delegation has, since joining the Ad Hoc Committee in 1980, attached fundamental importance to the Ad Hoc Committee's consensus method of decision-making. Any attempt to disregard or circumvent that procedure, in the Ad Hoc Committee itself or in the organs to which the Ad Hoc Committee reports, notably this Committee, would be a most serious development. In this connection, I should like to allude to a matter raised by the delegation of Iraq in its statement to the First Committee on 29 November 1982. My delegation was concerned that at the final meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on 23 November 1982 the delegation of Iraq had threatened to press an amendment to the draft resolution then being considered for adoption. That draft resolution had emerged only after what the representative of India in his statement of 29 November 1982 quite rightly termed the "agonizing negotiations" of the past three months. The delegation of Iraq, like all other delegations, had the opportunity to participate in those negotiations, and yet sought to press the amendment in question, which in any event was not of a nature that could command consensus, only at the eleventh hour. In these circumstances, it should have been no surprise that other delegations could not accept the amendment in question.

It goes almost without saying that in the text of any consensus resolution there are bound to be elements that some delegations find less than fully satisfactory, as a number of the statements already made this afternoon have indicated. I should like to indicate now some of our difficulties with the draft resolution we have just adopted.

The principal flaw of the draft resolution as we see it is a continuing preoccupation, reflected in several paragraphs, with means rather than ends. To be specific, an Indian Ocean conference is not an end in itself, but a means to establish a zone of peace. For a conference to succeed, agreement on the substantive content of such a zone would be necessary, as would a suitable political and security climate. Both are manifestly lacking today. It would behove us, then, to focus on these realities rather than endeavour to set arbitrary and unrealistic target dates for a conference.

(Mr. Adamson, United States)

For our part, the United States would be prepared to attend a conference once we have agreed in the Ad Hoc Committee on the substance of a workable zone of peace concept and when the political and security climate has become propitious. For the second of these necessities to become a reality, the Soviet Union will have to withdraw its occupation forces from Afghanistan. Much could be said about that brutal occupation. For example, in his statement of 29 November 1982 before the First Committee, the representative of the German Democratic Republic accused the United States of engaging in an "undeclared war against Afghanistan". This is the kind of Orwellian inversion of the truth that we have come to expect during the discussion of Afghanistan in international forums, including the Ad Hoc Committee. Suffice it to say that delegations are not fooled by such falsehoods, as was demonstrated by the General Assembly's adoption on 29 November 1982 of its resolution on Afghanistan by the overwhelming margin of 114 votes to 21, with 13 abstentions, despite strident Soviet opposition.

I should like now to speak to certain significant positive elements in the Indian Ocean draft resolution that we have just adopted in this Committee. In the seventh preambular paragraph the progress made by the Committee in 1982 is duly noted. That progress derived notably from an initiative taken by a group of Committee members, including my own delegation, and embodied in document A/AC.159/L.44 of 21 May 1982. That initiative calls for the elaboration by the Committee of a set of principles or code of conduct acceptable to all Committee members and that would guide relations among the littoral and hinterland States of the region as well as relations between those States and States outside the region. Document A/AC.159/L.44 itself contains a model set of principles. This initiative is designed to break the current impasse in the Committee on fundamental issues, such as the terms of reference that should guide the Committee's work, the causes of tension and instability in the region, the future direction of the Committee and the question of an Indian Ocean conference.

(Mr. Adamson, United States)

The initiative is designed to foster the creation of a zone of peace by stimulating, as preambular paragraph 12 of the draft resolution just adopted states:

"...full co-operation among the littoral and hinterland States, the permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users to ensure conditions of peace and security based on the purposes and principles of the Charter as well as the general principles of international law,"

(A/37/29, para. 19)

It is our hope that the initiative reflected in document A/AC.159/L.44 will form the basis of the Ad Hoc Committee's work in 1983.

Of paramount importance in the draft resolution is the emphasis placed on the necessary harmonization of views on the relevant unresolved issues which, as I have indicated, are highly significant ones, as well as on the need for an easing of tension in the region. These essential considerations are reflected in operative paragraphs 4 and 5, as well as in the preamble of the draft resolution.

I have already foreshadowed what my delegation believes should be the thrust of the Ad Hoc Committee's work next year. Allow me just one further comment on the Committee's work programme and schedule, as set out in operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution before us. That paragraph requests the Ad Hoc Committee to hold three further sessions in 1983 of a duration of two weeks each. We take it that the Committee will thus hold its usual winter, spring and summer sessions. Further, operative paragraph 7 refers to the possibility of considering a fourth session as required. We take this to be a reference to the possibility of a brief fall session, as has occurred each year since 1980, because of the regrettable inability of the Committee to finish its work on schedule. We hope, however, that there will be no need for such a brief fall meeting, since three regular sessions should be sufficient to accomplish the Committee's tasks if delegations work earnestly with an eye to present realities and the need to forge a consensus embracing all delegations.

(Mr. Adamson, United States)

In commenting on the draft resolution, I have touched on a number of fundamental considerations that shape my delegation's approach to the question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. However, now is not the time to develop at length our position, as we have done most recently on 6 August and 20 August 1982 during the Ad Hoc Committee's summer session in Geneva.

I would be remiss if I did not pay homage before concluding to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Mr. Fonseka of Sri Lanka. His leadership, patience and talent for compromise catalyzed the breakthroughs that brought us the draft resolution just adopted. We therefore applaud Mr. Fonseka.

Mr. HARASHIMA (Japan): I should like first of all to express the sincere gratitude of my delegation to Mr. Fonseka of Sri Lanka. Without his remarkable leadership as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, without his strenuous efforts and admirable diplomatic skill, it would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, successfully to have adopted the draft resolution by consensus.

My delegation joined in the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace as contained in document A/37/29. We did so because we support its objective as envisaged in the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

(Mr. Harashima, Japan)

In recent years the Ad Hoc Committee's deliberations on many fundamental questions have been stalemated. In the view of my delegation, this stalemate reflects a very serious doubt as to whether the political and security climate of the region is suitable for the holding of a conference. This doubt stems particularly from the Soviet Union's military invasion of Afghanistan and its continued military presence in that country. The stalemate also reflects a failure to achieve the necessary harmonization of views on the basic issues related to the convening of the conference.

My delegation believes it is desirable that the Ad Hoc Committee continue to elaborate the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace with the objective of making it a truly viable one and rendering it more acceptable to all the States concerned, not only those within but also those outside the region. In this connection, we stress the necessity of continuing the process of harmonizing the views of nations on the basic principles related to the concept of the zone. My delegation intends to continue its efforts to achieve that end.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The Albanian delegation would simply like to state that, as in the past, it dissociates itself from the consensus on the draft resolution just adopted on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The reasons are well known, and we are not going to repeat them or elaborate upon them further. We simply wish to state that our assessment of the dangerous situation that persists in the Indian Ocean and the factors underlying that situation is still the same.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has thus completed its consideration on the draft resolution contained in document A/37/29.

I should like to propose to the Committee that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions on agenda items 58, 59 and 137 be set at 1 p.m. on Monday, 6 December. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.