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Chairman: Mr. BOATEN (Ghana)
(Vice-Chairman)

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The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The strengthening of international security is the fundamental objective of our Organization. Accordingly, the annual review of the measures which can contribute to the strengthening of international security is of some importance, as is generally recognized.

In recent times there has been undoubted progress in international relations and this has helped to create more propitious conditions for the consolidation of peace and security throughout the world and the extension of the resulting benefits to all peoples without any exception. The holding of the Conference on security and co-operation in Europe opens up perspectives to consolidate peace on that continent, which has been the scene of successive armed conflagrations, and is of valuable encouragement in seeking similar results elsewhere. Our triumph of undeniable historic importance is the result of the consistent policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist States, which have spared no effort to promote international co-operation and avoid the danger of a new war.

The advances in the process of decolonization have made possible the inclusion in the international community of new independent States in Africa which bring a positive impetus to contemporary reality and the territorial scope of colonialism has been substantially reduced in a comparatively short period. At the present time, colonialism and racism on the African continent are concentrated in several isolated pockets and their internal structures are being shaken by the growing popular struggle. The victory of the People's Republic of Angola against South African aggression have caused the imperialists and racists to retreat. It

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serves as an inspiration to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and brings nearer the hour of the total emancipation of the African continent. The States that have recently become independent in Africa, Asia and Latin America today co-ordinate their international conduct in a more dynamic and coherent manner, so that they now play a more influential role in the international situation. That co-ordination is channelled mainly through the movement of the non-aligned countries which is expanding its anti-imperialist strategy and wisely promoting joint action with the socialist countries and other forces devoted to peace and to progress. With growing forcefulness, the under-developed countries are undertaking the struggle to claim their due from their natural resources, to achieve full exercise of national sovereignty and to attain economic and social development.

These are unquestionably encouraging signs in the present situation but they should not serve as factors for complacent contemplation but rather as spurs to pursue the course of positive transformation in the structure and direction of international relations. Building a just world where all peoples can enjoy the benefits of development, in conditions of peace and security, is a still distant goal. Imperialism, colonialism and racism continue to be facts of life, and the fight against them cannot be halted. Aggression, interference in the internal affairs of States, and the threat or use of force are still with us and menace the integrity of many countries and the efforts of their people to attain better living conditions.

In order to strengthen international security, effective measures must be adopted simultaneously in four important fields: we must put an end to the arms race and speed up negotiations for general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament; there must be a prompt eradication of colonialism, in particular, in southern Africa; there must be a radical transformation of the present structure of international economic relations and the provisions set forth in the Programme for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order must be applied; and all aggressive action must stop, including all forms of interference and subversion, which the imperialists carry out to thwart the efforts of various States to attain sovereign and independent development. Were significant advances to be made in these four fields, then propitious conditions could be

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established for real and effective international co-operation and the cause of peace would be substantially strengthened. If, on the contrary, substantial negative trends persist, existing tensions will continue to pile up and represent a threat to peace.

It is the obligation of the United Nations to adopt all measures that may be needed to put an end to the oppression of the peoples in southern Africa. Were the Security Council to be paralysed once again by those Powers which uphold the racist régimes, the only consistent response to be adopted by the States which constitute the vast majority of their Organization would be to redouble political and material assistance to the national liberation movements in order to give a vigorous impetus to armed struggle until total victory is won. The imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues in regard to Zimbabwe and Namibia are proof that certain ruling circles in the West do not yet realize that it is too late to deceive the African peoples and that it is no longer possible to perpetuate colonial exploitation nor racist predominance. But imperialist machinations in Africa include an aspect which is a direct threat to peace and security for all the States on that continent and a danger to world peace. Trapped by history, the régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury are undertaking an irresponsible and frenetic aggressive policy manifested in constant attacks and armed provocations against the neighbouring African States. It is the duty of the United Nations to grant all its support to the Governments and peoples of Mozambique and Angola, the constant victims of racist aggression. The use, for these purposes, of the Territory of Namibia, which is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, confers an additional responsibility on the Organization and makes the conduct of South Africa doubly illegal and inadmissible. The most urgent matter must be total prohibition of trade in arms with South Africa and halting any kind of military co-operation with that régime. The international community must demand of the Security Council that it adopt the relevant provisions to that end, with no further delay.

We must with the utmost firmness denounce the expansion of military and other ties between the Pretoria clique and other régimes of identical moral status. These ties, evident mainly in the alliance of the régime of apartheid with the bloody and reactionary tyrannies which have come into power in Chile, Uruguay and

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Paraguay, are a threat directed at the same time against the peoples of Africa and against the peoples of Latin America, and represent a senseless defiance of international opinion by the Latin American petty tyrants. A recent document published by the Committee against Apartheid draws the attention of the international community to that problem and proposes measures to face it. The matter requires careful attention by all peace-loving States, bearing in mind the expansionist designs of the Vorster régime and its insertion in the global aggressive policy of imperialism.

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The economic crisis of world capitalism weighs every day more heavily on the developing countries which are not oil producers. The Paris Conference does not seem to hold out cause for optimism and, therefore, no positive changes can be foreseen in this field. It is essential to strengthen unity among all the under-developed countries so as to face the crisis with a genuine spirit of solidarity and to redouble the struggle to establish a new international economic order. The establishment of conditions which will promote the development of all countries and take into account the needs of millions of impoverished human beings in three continents is an essential factor in strengthening international security.

Imperialism continues to practise international subversion and to intervene in the internal affairs of States in an attempt to preserve the interests of its monopolies and to prevent peoples from exercising full sovereignty over their natural resources. At times the techniques of interference include the use of sophisticated devices in an attempt to conceal their origin. At other times interference is open and flagrant. The entire arsenal available to imperialism is used to prevent many peoples from attaining full economic independence: the manipulation of international credit institutions to promote economic blockades, hostile and slanderous propaganda by the major information agencies on behalf of imperialism, so-called military assistance, the financing of local agents, and subversion. The overthrow of the popular Chilean Government of President Allende added to the political vocabulary a new term which is used by the imperialists themselves to describe their intervention in Chile - destabilization. The term, prompted by the persistent subversive action of imperialism, has already entered into world-wide use without having lost its original expressive force. Today there are many peoples which have to face destabilization campaigns promoted by the same interests which three years ago cast Chile under the heel of fascism.

We must draw the attention of the Committee to the intensification of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of the Caribbean. It has attained extremes of barbarism with the terrorist groups which the United States Central Intelligence Agency uses in a systematic campaign against Cuba and other countries of the region. That campaign found its most cowardly and infamous expression in the sabotage on 6 October last of a Cuban commercial aircraft which was destroyed while in flight and caused the death of the 73 people on board.

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North American imperialism has brought back to Caribbean waters the times of piracy, assaults on ships and hand-to-hand armed combat against innocent civilians. Its pirates have the criminal complicity of the North American authorities and some Latin American régimes, especially the Nicaraguan tyranny and the Fascist Chilean junta.

Another current form of imperialist interference is the formation of supranational armies, with the purpose of repressing popular movements and propping up wavering puppets in the service of their monopolies. The clearest example of this was the so-called "Eagle 6" operation which the "Council of Central American Defence" carried out recently on Nicaraguan soil under the direction of officers of the United States armed forces.

The cessation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of States is an inescapable need if we wish to promote international peace and security. It is called for by all peoples desirous of achieving an international order conducive to development, independence and equality among States. This is why particular attention was given to this problem at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo last August.

Drawing their inspiration from the concern expressed by the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, a group of delegations has submitted for the consideration of this Committee draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41 on non-interference in internal affairs of States. My delegation wishes to inform the Committee that it has decided to join the co-sponsors of that draft resolution, which we hope the Committee will adopt by a large majority.

The CHAIRMAN: I take note of Cuba's decision to become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41.

Mr. AL-SUWEIDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): There is no doubt that the agenda item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" which our Committee is discussing is one

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Emirates)

of the most important questions being considered by the United Nations, because the hopes of mankind are to attain that objective. The noblest goal of man is to achieve world peace and security based on justice and legality. This is one of the purposes laid down in the United Nations Charter. We therefore believe that this item deserves careful consideration in this Committee. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has special legal and political characteristics, since it contains provisions similar to those of the Charter in regard to world peace and security. This is a ruling principle for relations among States in order to ensure world peace and security and make those provisions a reality.

(Mr. Al-Suweidi, United Arab Emirates)

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in 1970. It reflects the firm will to co-ordinate efforts in order to bring about a more just international order and yet another objective is to make of the United Nations an instrument at the service of all mankind.

The United Nations Charter would bring mankind into a new historic phase based on the prevention of war, respect for the aspirations of people to social justice and the establishment of relations of co-operation and friendship among people, with a view to strengthening peace and constant and mutually beneficial exchanges.

This was as clear as daylight when the United Nations Charter was adopted at San Francisco. However, historical realities have shown that the conduct of certain countries after the entering into force of the Charter tended to impose their domination on the United Nations so as to make of it an instrument for the interests and objectives of those countries. We are pleased at the attainments in the liquidation of foreign domination and decolonization in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but the process is hampered by major barriers created by the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes which strive to keep the African peoples under their abject régime of racial discrimination.

International security will be threatened as long as the question of Palestine is not settled. And the Middle East question will not be resolved until Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories, since the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people cannot be exercised. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of my country, His Excellency Mr. Ghobash, dealt with this question on 13 October when he addressed the General Assembly and he stated:

"The maintenance of international peace and security is the most important objective for which the United Nations was established. In our statement to the General Assembly last year, we pointed out that our Organization is facing grave problems and challenges; and we considered the continuation of these problems and challenges without a radical solution to be a matter endangering international security.

(Mr. Al-Suweidi, United Arab Emirates)

"These problems and challenges, still loom in the foreground at this thirty-first session. It may even be said that the continuation of these challenges without radical solutions has led to the eruption of new serious situations, as witnessed in the Middle East and Africa. Thus, we see that the arrogance of Israel, and its non-compliance with United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian problem and the Middle East question have led to persistent and unceasing tension in that region." (A/31/PV.29, p. 52)

The fact that the Palestinian question has still not yet been solved is a genuine tragedy. The State of Israel was created by foreign elements coming from various parts of the world who were settled there to replace the Palestinians to whom the land of Palestine belonged and where they have lived throughout centuries of history. The Israelis were implanted there and the Palestinians expelled from their homes.

My delegation believes that as long as the Palestinian people is unable to exercise its right to self-determination, security will be in jeopardy. The fact that Israel refuses to recognize the right of the Palestinian peoples to create a State and its refusal to implement United Nations resolutions on the subject will no doubt lead to a new war in the Middle East region.

This war will then not be limited to the Middle East but will be extended to other parts of the world and may even be the point of departure for a third world war. The strengthening of international security will continue to be measured by the progress made in disarmament and economic development for the benefit of all countries and in particular for the benefit of the developing countries.

The sixth special session of the General Assembly emphasized the injustice and inequity of the present order and the threat this represents to international peace and security. It also brought to light the widening gap between the developed and developing countries, and this is why the seventh special session established the necessary dialogue between the parties concerned with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order, which we consider to be a crucial element for the establishment of peace and security throughout the world. The resolutions which were unanimously adopted at this session must be implemented.

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My country, like all peace-loving countries, is working within the framework of the United Nations and outside it to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security. Proof of this are the contacts between persons of responsibility in my country and a growing number of world leaders, and our participation in various international conferences and meetings under the auspices of the United Nations, as well as those held by the specialized agencies. We were the host country for one of the Arab-European dialogues.

In conclusion, I should like to quote the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who said during the Fifth Summit Meeting of Heads of State of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo in August of this year:

"There is a new awareness of the fact that prosperity and well-being of States Members of the United Nations are interdependent. We must guarantee a life of dignity for the individual so that we can make the world we live in a better place to live in. The time has come to make greater use of the means available to resolve conflicts and impose respect for the rights of man and ensure social justice."

We are determined to co-operate with other countries in order to obtain these objectives.

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The First Committee is now concluding its work by discussing one of the important items on the agenda of the General Assembly -- the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Since this declaration was adopted, six years have gone by. In a historical context this is not a very long time but in the course of that period the Declaration has proved its worth. It has become a powerful, moral, instrument for all progressive forces in their struggle for peace and security and for the social and national progress of the peoples of the world. Every year we discuss the question of the implementation of this Declaration and we take decisions which confirm and develop its provisions. In this process the delegations of countries representing all groups of States and all geographical regions take an active part.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

But it is worth pointing out that when the Soviet Union at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1969 proposed the adoption of a document on the strengthening of international security, there were speakers who asserted that there was no point in adopting such a document since, as they saw it, what was contained in the United Nations Charter was enough. Indeed, one representative spoke in the First Committee and said that the approval of the declaration "would not only be a gratuitous exercise but would not serve any of the purposes of the United Nations".

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To the credit of the General Assembly, it did not allow itself to be swayed by such arguments and in 1970, at its twenty-fifth anniversary session, almost unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Experience is the best teacher and it has shown that the Declaration is by no means a "gratuitous exercise", but an important international document actively promoting the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter. It would seem that even those who had been skeptical before now no longer dispute its importance. It is worth remembering this because in the discussion at this session of the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, some say that there seems to be no need for such an agreement as it is enough that the principle of the non-use of force is laid down in the United Nations Charter. But we are sure that here again the facts of life will prevail and the treaty on the non-use of force will be concluded and will serve the attainment of the main aim of the United Nations -- strengthening international peace and security.

In the years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, significant positive changes have occurred in international relations. It has been the beginning of the process of détente, there has been confirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of States regardless of their social systems. In Europe, as a result of the success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation, important problems have been solved by peaceful means, problems which remained unresolved after the Second World War. Relations among European States are more and more coming to be based on the sound basis of equal co-operation. The efforts of the Soviet Union, the active policy of the States of the socialist community, acting harmoniously and in solidarity, grow increasingly stronger in alliance with all those fighting for progress and freedom of the peoples, their business-like co-operation with peace-loving forces and realistic circles of capitalist countries, are yielding positive results.

The strengthening of the foundations of just peace and reliable security of the peoples of the world will be served by the implementation of the programme put forward at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the further struggle for international peace and co-operation, for freedom and independence of the peoples of the world, and this is a realistic plan of action for

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solving urgent tasks of the day. As was pointed out by the candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the CCCP of Byelorussia, Comrade Masharov, this programme "raises even higher the prestige of our Party and the Soviet State as the standard-bearers of the policy of peace and as the genuine guarantors of the movement of the peoples for national political, social and economic liberation".

A noteworthy event of recent times was the holding this June in Berlin of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, the final document of which testifies to their determination to strive for broadly based solidarity on the part of the political and public forces in the struggle for specific measures to promote détente, to reduce the danger of war, to bring about disarmament and strengthen peace on the continent.

Of great significance were the results of the Conference held on 25-26 November this year in Bucharest of the Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The Conference considered topical questions of the further struggle for peace and the further promotion of international détente, the strengthening of security and the development of co-operation in Europe. Its participants approved a draft treaty among the signatories of the Final Act of the European Security and Co-operation Conference on the principle that no State should be first to use nuclear weapons against another and proposed an all-embracing programme of agreed action on the part of all European States in accordance with the Final Act of the Conference.

The positive contributions to the improvement of the international political climate made by the non-aligned movement are well-known. The principles upon which this movement is based, the strengthening of peace and peaceful coexistence, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the consolidation of national independence for peace and social progress, have successfully stood the test of time. An important milestone in this was the Fifth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo.

Détente is now a tangible reality. It has put down deep roots and there are grounds for assuming that it has become irreversible. We take an optimistic view of the development of the fundamental trends of the contemporary changing world. But such historical optimism requires not passivity, but active struggle against the darker, disturbing aspects of the international situation.

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The forces of reaction, militarism and revanchism, far from disappearing, have recently become even more active. It is the fault of imperialistic circles that we still witness the continuation of the arms race. A number of conflicts remain unresolved and there are unceasing attempts to impose a diktat, pose threats and intervene in the internal affairs of other States and peoples. In the West forces are still actively at work to whom the smoke of war is far more pleasant than the fresh air of détente and peace. They are striving to cast doubt on everything that is positive in the development of the international situation and are attempting to sow doubt and mistrust and they are trying thus to impede the improvement of the international situation. Everything always has been done so as to preserve conditions for the earning of super-profits by means of exploiting their own lot of peoples in order to create pretexts for suppressing the aspirations of the peoples of the world to freedom and social justice. Furthermore, they are having recourse, for the purposes of misleading the peoples of the world, to fantastic fabrications, falsifications and slanders against the forces of peace and progress. Therefore the supreme task today is once and for all to isolate the forces of aggression and reaction and to proceed to practical steps to intensify and extend the process of détente, and also to call a halt to the arms race and reduce armaments and armed force.

The Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community have demonstrated by deeds their sincere desire to solve this problem, and they have done this also at the present session of the General Assembly. It was the Soviet Union which proposed the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and it was the Soviet Union which made the important proposals contained in its memorandum on questions of halting the arms race and disarmament (document A/31/232).

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Mankind has before it other important tasks: the elimination of remaining hotbeds of war and above all the bringing about of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East; the total elimination of all the remnants of the system of colonial oppression and anything detrimental to equality and independence of the peoples of the world and all the hotbeds of colonialism, apartheid and racism; the restructuring of international economic relations on a basis of equality and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of developing countries by capitalist States; and, finally, the promotion of international détente, its extension to all parts of the world and its embodiment in concrete forms -- co-operation among States and the development of equal, mutually advantageous relations between countries with different social systems. In this regard we must unswervingly observe and put into effect in all its parts the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The experience of the post-war years has convincingly demonstrated that international security cannot be reliably guaranteed in circumstances of political and military confrontation. All of this experience suggests that it is precisely the policy of peaceful coexistence, the halting of the arms race, a reduction of armaments and disarmament, and the non-use of force which alone can prevent the danger of war. All States should strive to reach this goal. In the 1970s, the United Nations, on the initiative of the socialist and non-aligned States, adopted a number of important documents which are aimed at facilitating the solution of contemporary international problems in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Positive decisions have been taken in the course of this session of the General Assembly as well. They include, inter alia, resolutions on the preparation and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and also on questions of disarmament. Among the decisions on disarmament problems we should stress the particular significance of the fact that the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques has been opened for signature and ratification. This means the blocking of one more aspect of the arms race in addition to existing treaties which are being observed and other conventions in the field of arms limitation and individual disarmament measures.

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Another important accomplishment in the adoption of the resolutions with regard to the need for preparing agreements providing for the total elimination of all forms of chemical weapons, the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing and the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. It is also important that, in pursuance of efforts to convene a world disarmament conference, it has been decided to prepare and hold a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to the problem of disarmament. And a number of other resolutions on disarmament questions have been adopted.

We attach great significance to the positive resolutions of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly on the Middle East and Palestine, on Cyprus, on combating apartheid, on the violation of human rights in Chile, on the world social situation and other social questions, and on the problem of decolonization. We also hope that on those questions which have not yet been considered, including economic problems, constructive decisions will be adopted in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The task of enhancing the effectiveness and the authority of the United Nations in performing its major function, the maintenance of international peace and security, would be served by the total implementation of its most important positive decisions, which include the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

As is pointed out in our reply to the questions circulated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, "The Byelorussian SSR will continue to work consistently and steadfastly to intensify United Nations efforts aimed at implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict compliance with its Charter." (A/31/185, p. 6).

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar): For more than six years now part of the work of the General Assembly has been devoted to consideration in this Committee of the agenda item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". The main purpose of this consideration is to review international relations in the light of this Declaration, which was adopted at the

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. This Declaration contains a series of principles which are supported by the majority of States Members of the United Nations, and these principles, if implemented, would beyond doubt create a new balance in relations among States and would thus lead to the strengthening of world peace and security.

The security of States and of peoples, small or large, can only be guaranteed as provided in the Declaration if States commit themselves to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of all other States and not to act in any manner incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations. States must undertake to refrain from interfering in any matter that is within the national sovereignty of another State in accordance with the Charter. To ensure security States must observe the principle of complete equality among peoples, and their right to self-determination and détente are obligations under the Charter.

Furthermore, the occupation of territories conquered by force is contrary to the spirit of the Declaration, which provides that the territory of any State cannot be the subject of military occupation resulting from the use of force. The Declaration recognizes the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force or the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity of other States.

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

Thirty-one years have elapsed since the United Nations came into being and six years have gone by since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Most of the noble principles which have been accepted and recognized by the countries of the world are far from being applied in many regions of the world. There are countries which still suffer from colonization, there are imperialist countries, headed by Israel and South Africa, which continue to be Members of this Organization and obstinately reject the principles recognized by the international community and defy the General Assembly and all the humanitarian, political and legal principles recognized by the United Nations. These countries pursue their policies of aggression and racism.

Israel continues to occupy the territories of Arab countries which are Members of this Organization and to deny the right of the Palestinians to self-determination recognized by United Nations resolutions, the latest of which was resolution A/RES/31/20, adopted by the General Assembly at this session on 24 November 1976. Accordingly, my delegation considers that as long as Israel refuses to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and persists in denying the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination, as long as Israel continues its policy of settlement and modification of the demographic and geographical structure of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem and the other Moslem holy places, as long as all this continues, the strengthening of international security will not be achieved and the situation will provoke an explosion in the region which will cause much loss and damage to the people of the region and will no doubt pose a threat to international peace and security. Non-compliance by Israel with the principles of the Charter and the rules of international law, the confirmation of its occupation by force of the Arab territories and its attempt to change the structure of the occupied territories threaten world peace and eliminate the possibility of achieving peace and stability in a region which, more than any other region of the world, has suffered from war.

The only course which will lead to the strengthening of international peace and security is the just and durable solution of the Palestinian question, which is at the very core of the Middle East question. This could be achieved by

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putting an end to the occupation by Israel of the Arab territories and ensuring that the Palestinian people recover their national rights in accordance with international legal instruments. The racist laws applied by Israel against the Arab minority in Palestine, in the Arab territories occupied in 1948 and 1967 and in other territories with the purpose of depriving the true population of their goods and lands, the establishment of Jewish settlements and the repeated appeals of zionism for the immigration of Jews to Palestine will in due course lead to the intensification of tensions in the region and jeopardize peace and security throughout the world. Thus, Israel is acting in defiance of all United Nations resolutions and the Charter. The policy of racial discrimination practised by Israel, the occupation by force of the Arab territories, the deportation and expulsion of the Arab population, the seizure of their goods and property, and the denial of the right to self-determination are a constant threat to peace. We therefore consider that the international community and the United Nations must make the necessary efforts to impose strict sanctions against that racist entity in order to compel it to implement United Nations resolutions for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East before the present situation leads to another war in the region.

The United Nations has had many successes in eliminating colonialism, granting colonial countries and peoples independence, guaranteeing their freedom to choose the economic and social system suitable for them and admitting the newly independent States to membership of the Organization. All of this is bringing us closer to the true application of the principles that will lead to the strengthening of international security. Nevertheless, there are still Territories and peoples suffering under the yoke of colonialism -- Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The situation in those Territories reminds us of the constant threat to peace that they represent. As long as these situations persist and as long as the peoples of these Territories continue to suffer, world peace and security are in jeopardy. The racist Government of South Africa continues to apply its racist, inhuman policy of apartheid, in contradiction of the rights of the overwhelming black majority. This racist clique maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues to oppress the people of that Territory and to prevent them from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

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Thus, southern Africa will remain a hotbed of tension and jeopardize world peace and security. The United Nations should make every possible effort to exert pressure on the South African régime so as to find a solution to this problem which is in accordance with the aspirations of the majority and with the decisions of the United Nations and the provisions of its Charter.

My country attaches great importance to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We have said so many times, because the achievement of this objective represents an effective contribution to efforts to create peace and a new world order free from military alliances which will strengthen international security and co-operation among countries in the region. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Sri Lanka in August of this year declared that one of its primary objectives was to establish zones of peace. In operative paragraph 5 of its resolution 11, the Conference called "on the great Powers to desist from any activity that would obstruct the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, to halt the senseless escalation of their military rivalry, to remove their military and naval bases, facilities and installations from the Indian Ocean and its natural extension and to cease deploying nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in the area".

The policy of détente has a positive effect on all countries without distinction, because this policy leads to the establishment of economic and political relations based on equality and could create conditions more conducive to the solution of the major international problems. Nevertheless, we are deeply concerned over the existence of many other conflicts which still jeopardize world peace and security. A policy of détente remains limited in scope because tensions and conflicts still exist in many regions of the world. Colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of other States, racial discrimination, the policy of apartheid and zionism still prevail in many parts of the world.

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

The elimination of international tensions cannot be based on a policy of balance of power or spheres of influence or on military rivalries, military alliances or the arms race. This objective can be attained only through the participation of all States on an equal footing in the solution of international problems in accordance with the commitment formally entered into by all countries of the world to strengthen international security in pursuance of the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly. This position of principle is mentioned in paragraph 19 of resolution 2734, adopted at the twenty-fifth session, which emphasizes the close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries, so that any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them.

Among the important questions which still threaten world peace and security is the question of Cyprus, which is so strategically situated in the Mediterranean. The talks initiated between the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus have not produced any concrete results and, accordingly, my delegation calls upon the United Nations to make greater efforts to solve this problem so as to guarantee the territorial integrity of Cyprus and its independence in accordance with General Assembly resolutions on this question.

My delegation supports every effort to solve the question of Korea by peaceful means, in accordance with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security.

The problem of the arms race, disarmament and the expansion of military budgets are some of the aspects which threaten peace and hamper the strengthening of security. We believe that it is the duty of every State of the world to take immediate steps to put an end to the nuclear and conventional arms race with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament and strengthening of world security.

An immediate practical step necessary for the strengthening of international security is that all States Members of the United Nations and, in particular, the great Powers should strive to liquidate colonialism in all its forms, old and new. In particular, I should like to mention the liquidation of colonialism

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in the Middle East, the occupation by Israel by military force of Arab territories, the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the implementation of their right to self-determination and to return to their homes and recover their goods and property. We must also put an end to the policy of racial discrimination in southern Africa, Azania and Namibia in accordance with United Nations decisions and establish a democratic régime in accordance with the aspirations of the population of those Territories.

My country has placed all its hopes in United Nations discussions on all these aspects, which cannot be dealt with separately from the questions of the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, the liquidation of imperialist, colonialist and racist domination, the pursuit of efforts for disarmament throughout the world and the establishment of new international economic relations based on equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States or threats to their sovereignty.

Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter calls on States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Instead of co-operation among States, we note that there is confrontation between the developing countries, which are striving to ensure economic independence and sovereignty over their natural resources, and the industrialized countries. Among reasons why we need a new international economic order based on equality is the lack of balance in relations between industrialized and developing countries; this, too, is a threat to peace and security in the world.

In conclusion, I should like to state that my delegation hopes that, when consideration of this item is completed, new results and new ideas will be forthcoming so as to enable us to attain our objectives: world peace and security. These must be established in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. They can be attained only by the elimination of any political, military or economic pressure exerted by one country against others. World peace and security cannot be guaranteed for as long as certain countries resort to force and fail to respect the sovereignty of other countries over their natural resources and for as long as the rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence are not recognized.

Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The development of events in the international arena in the year since the adoption at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security confirms the validity and importance of this extremely important document for the purpose of achieving the goals of the United Nations Charter.

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The systematic consideration of progress with regard to the implementation of the Declaration at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly has undoubtedly proved useful, because it has made it possible to assess the course of events, to identify positive trends and phenomena in international life and to indicate ways and means of overcoming difficulties which have arisen with regard to solving urgent and acute international problems.

And if the years which have elapsed since the adoption of the historic Declaration have been a period of fundamental changes in international life where the dominant feature has been the confirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between States with different systems, the consolidation and extension of the process of détente, this in our view very clearly demonstrates the results of the efforts of States to implement the fundamental provisions of this Declaration.

It is undeniable that the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have a leading role in the universal struggle for international peace and security. New and clear evidence of the deep devotion of the countries of socialism to the cause of peace and the progress of peoples can be seen in the directives of the congresses of communist and workers' parties with regard to the foreign policies of these countries. The programme for the further struggle for peace and international co-operation, for freedom and the independence of peoples, put forward at the twenty-fifth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is of great international importance.

Our delegation shares the view that one of the most important tasks today is to consolidate and further international détente and extend it to all parts of the world so as to make this process irreversible. For this we must, we feel, above all extinguish the remaining hotbeds of international tension and take effective measures to limit the arms race, bring about disarmament, confirm the principle of the non-use of force as an immutable law in relations among States and eliminate the remaining outposts of colonialism and racism.

One of the most important achievements of recent years has been the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which so convincingly demonstrated that any problems, however complex and difficult

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they may be, can be settled if all interested parties display the necessary goodwill. A decisive role in improving the international climate has undeniably been played by the improvement in relations between two Powers representing the different social and economic systems -- the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet-United States agreements and understandings on the most important problems in bilateral and international relations, particularly the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, the limitation of strategic armaments and a number of others, have been a major contribution to the elimination of the danger of nuclear war and to restraining the arms race.

In circumstances in which positive changes in the international situation are occurring, the provision of the Declaration concerning the importance of new initiatives promoting peace, security and disarmament in the interests of the whole of mankind have taken on particular relevance and importance. In this regard, the Mongolian delegation would like to stress the timeliness and importance of the major new initiatives of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, put forward at the conference in Bucharest on 25 and 26 November of this year. The documents adopted by the conference represented an extensive programme of practical measures designed to further the process of détente. They reflect the crucial problems of ensuring peace and security not only in Europe but on all continents. The proposals put forward in these documents are noteworthy for the constructiveness of their approach and the breadth and range of the vital problems which await solution. Pride of place is given to the problems of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament and also the lessening of military confrontation in Europe, without which there can be no lasting peace. We view the new proposal of the socialist countries for the assumption by all States signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe of the undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, as one more extremely important initiative which, if put into effect, will contribute to the elimination of the risk of world nuclear war.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in its statement of 2 December this year whole-heartedly supports the initiatives of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty designed to bring about qualitatively new results and the

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consolidation of international peace. Our delegation believes that the realization of these proposals will genuinely promote the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

We believe that the implementation of the proposal of the Soviet Union to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations will be a concrete measure for averting the threat of world war and implementing the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The entry into force of the Convention on the prohibition of military or other hostile use of environmental modification techniques recently adopted by the First Committee, is an important step towards curbing the arms race.

The process of détente has of late become increasingly concrete and specific in its content and has come to embrace different areas of international relations. Proof of this is the fact that since the last session of the General Assembly there has been considerable progress in the field of decolonization.

The victory of the Angolan people has provided new encouragement for the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their selfless struggle against racist régimes and for the total elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic notes with satisfaction the favourable changes which have occurred in recent years on the Asian continent. The victorious end to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have put an end to the dangerous hotbed of tension in South-East Asia and have brought about an improvement in the situation both in Asia and throughout the world. We think it appropriate to point out here that we must as soon as possible correct the abnormal situation where the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has made such a tremendous contribution to the strengthening of international security, still remains outside the United Nations because of the discriminatory policy pursued by a certain Power.

Now, more favourable prospects are opening up for the consolidation of peace in Asia, which in recent years, as a result of the aggression of imperialism, has frequently been the scene of local wars which have threatened to grow into widespread conflict. The logic of events urgently requires efforts designed to eliminate the hotbeds of international tension which still persist in Asia.

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The Mongolian People's Republic consistently advocates a comprehensive political settlement for the protracted Middle East crisis on the basis of the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab States. The main condition of such a settlement would be the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories seized in 1967, the guaranteeing of the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the creation of conditions for ensuring the security of all States of the region. In our view, in order to solve these problems we should, as soon as possible, resume the work of the Geneva Peace Conference, at which, on an equal footing with others, representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization should also take part.

A positive solution to the Korean problem is of great importance in the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The presence of United States troops in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations flag is a major obstacle to the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea. We believe that the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX), which provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in the south of Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and also the replacement of the temporary armistice by a permanent peace agreement, could create the necessary favourable conditions for a solution to the Korean problem.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that lasting peace and security in Asia can and must be ensured by the concerted efforts of all States of the continent. In this regard, we feel the experience of Europe is very instructive, where, as a result of consistent effort, it proved possible to achieve a historic break-through in solving the problems of security and co-operation on the continent, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. And in Asia, too, provided that there is a persistent search for ways and means of eliminating the stumbling-blocks which prevent progress in settling conflicts and controversies and given a general desire and aspiration for mutual understanding and co-operation among States, there is no doubt that it is possible to lay a sound foundation for the security of all States of the continent, without exception.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, stated that "The Mongolian

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People's Republic, as a peace-loving Asian State, sincerely wishes to see lasting peace established on this continent, which would ensure favourable conditions for the attainment of social and economic progress for all Asian countries and peoples.

Against the background of a general improvement in the international climate, we cannot fail to see the danger of the designs and intrigues of reactionary forces, which are doing everything in their power to undermine détente, to whip up tension, to step up the arms race and to revive the spirit of the cold war. In the circumstances, it is more than ever urgent to pursue the task of intensifying the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving forces for the practical implementation of the fundamental goals and principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and for the consolidation and further development of new positive changes and trends in contemporary international relations. An important role in performing these tasks falls to our Organization, which, in accordance with the provisions of its Charter, is meant to serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States in the interest of peace and security.

Our delegation hopes that a review of the results and progress in the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at this session of the General Assembly will provide further encouragement for ever more active efforts on the part of the United Nations and its States Members to settle urgent international problems and to bring about a further improvement of the political climate in the world.

Mr. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): Six years ago, the Assembly adopted as one of several solemn Declarations, resolution 2734, on the Strengthening of International Security. It constituted a basic reaffirmation of the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter towards the creation of a more durable structure of world peace and the evolution of a more stable, equitable world political and economic order. The Declaration by elaborating and elucidating Charter principles became an important blueprint for governing the conduct of international relations. The annual consideration of the progress of its implementation serves as a useful gauge of the achievements and failure of the world community in its continuing search for peace and the maintenance of international security. The Declaration is thus not only an important guideline governing actions of Member States but provides that essential barometer for measuring the past performance and future potential of the United Nations in fulfilling its primary function.

While the validity of the principles and purposes of the Charter remain enduring, their practical manifestation, as seen in the conduct of Member States, and the institutional operation of the United Nations during the 25 years prior to the adoption of the Declaration left much to be desired. The ideal of collective security through collective responsibility of Member States working in unison was never translated into practice. The Security Council for much of this period remained muscle-bound and hamstrung by the veto. The General Assembly, asserting its secondary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, momentarily thrust itself forward only to relapse once again into ineptitude as the changing composition of its membership conformed to the shifting pattern of alliances in an essentially bi-polar world. The role of the Secretary-General and his quiet personalized diplomacy now assumed certain prominence, and were followed by the first glimmerings of what has today become the peace-making and peace-keeping operations. This role too followed an inevitable decline, with the crisis of the United Nations over the financing and control of such operations. Thus in the first quarter century of its existence the thrust towards strengthening security through the collective will of Member States -- the mainstay of the United Nations Charter -- never generated that momentum necessary to make its provisions a reality.

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Meanwhile, a second and parallel priority to international security was rapidly emerging into prominence, inherent in the principle that peace and prosperity are indivisible. The cause of economic development, the link between under-development and political insecurity, between poverty and violence, began increasingly to be recognized and the role of the United Nations assumed a striking new validity and potential.

These in essence were some of the compulsions that led the General Assembly at its historic twenty-fifth session to adopt, in addition to resolution 2734, the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Decade. In its Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the General Assembly was to affirm that there was a close link between security, disarmament and the economic development of countries.

In the past six years since its adoption, the guidelines and principles incorporated in the Declaration have brought into defined focus the actual performance of the world community acting through the United Nations. It has brought into sharp relief some of its achievements and its ability to act in certain critical situations and to dampen and contain potentially dangerous situations. Today, the direction and broad outline of the future are somewhat more perceptible. A certain measure of relaxation of tension has taken place among the great Powers. The process of détente has been continuing and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe stands out as a milestone in this direction. The gradual diffusion of the world power structure, the emergence of a "balance of prudence", the disinclination of the major Powers to engage in direct confrontation, have all contributed to a certain plateau of stability which can positively influence the affairs of the international community as a whole.

However, the debate on the implementation of the Declaration has also highlighted the continuing failure of the United Nations to muster that necessary collective will to deal with some of the most vital and crucial issues affecting peace and security and the economic and social well-being of mankind. The restriction of détente to only one continent while tension and conflict abound elsewhere, the dismal progress towards disarmament, the inability to contain vertical

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and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons and the consequent snowball effect on the race for conventional arms; the persistence of the last remaining vestiges of colonialism entrenched in southern Africa and the growing North-South confrontation over the lack of progress towards a just co-operative and equitable world economic order are too well-known to bear repetition.

But perhaps more than any factor affecting the future potential of the United Nations is the emergence into independence of some 100 countries newly liberated from the shadow of colonial subjugation. The importance of this historic change in the global society cannot be underestimated. Their presence and their struggle to consolidate their freedom and develop their destiny as sovereign and equal members has added a vital new dimension to the role of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its fundamental function of maintaining peace and security. For it is these States, collectively constituting the third world, who today pose the greatest hope as well as the greatest danger to the creation of a stable and equitable order. It is here that all the regulatory principles underlined in the Declaration are apparent more in their breach than in the fulfilment of obligations -- the injunction against the non-use or threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, the non-acquisition of territories by force, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, equality of rights and self-determination of peoples. It is these States that have become the principal victims of aggression and the threat or use of force both overtly and covertly as well as the use of other measures -- economic and political -- to coerce them into the subordination of the exercise of their sovereign rights. In the changing context of international relations and the diffusion of bloc polarity, the most disturbing phenomenon in contemporary international relations is the problem of unequal relations among States, often amounting to hegemony and domination. In the constant flux of preserving and consolidating their hard-won independence, threats to their national sovereignty through open and covert forms of interference carry the danger of friction and confrontation with inevitable global repercussions. It is these States too, who collectively opting for an independent political orientation outside the bi-polar system of military alliances, and who through co-operation and

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solidarity among themselves have provided a new focus, a stabilizing balance in the conduct of international relations. The community of their interests, as represented through the non-aligned movement, have significantly contributed to strengthening international security and promoting peaceful co-operation.

The current global society, therefore, reflects a very different picture than it did 31 years ago. Today, we have a world of independent sovereign States representing near universality, in which the classic relationship of the domination of the many by the few is greatly diffused. Today, the factor of interdependence and interrelationship of all nations big or small is increasingly being recognized. There can indeed be no islands of security, as the representative of Malta underscored. While the crucial issues affecting peace and security still remain dominant on our agenda, while there is oppression, exploitation and aggression prevalent in the world and wars continue to be waged, there are also important positive indications that the move towards collective responsibility can be sustained. The impetus for such a move is aptly highlighted by the Secretary-General in his introductory report when he stated and I quote:

"The destructive potential both of armaments and of uncontrolled science and technology is a factor which we continue to ignore at humanity's peril. The persistence of widespread and grinding poverty is a sure recipe for increasing political instability. The international community must develop the collective capacity to meet such challenges."

It is obvious that there are no quick and easy solutions in this direction, but there are certain vital areas for gathering momentum in the collective will to meet these challenges.

First and foremost the move towards détente among the major Powers and the relaxation of tensions logically point to the assumption of the Security Council of greater collective responsibility, thus keeping actions within the fold of the United Nations and not among themselves.

Second, the role of the Secretary-General and the peace-keeping and peace-making functions of the United Nations have assumed particular importance and validity in containing conflicts and tensions and in policing breaches of peace. The prophylactic functions of conciliation, mediation, good offices and the

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like also perform a vitally important function. The regrettable stalemate among the major Powers over the question of control and financing of such operations can and must be overcome in the larger interests of the world community.

Third, a vital corollary to the renunciation of the use or threat of force is the concomitantly greater need for reliance on pacific settlement of disputes. This in turn requires the augmentation of international responsibility and moral pressure and concern in promoting the settlement of disputes through such means. Movement in this direction will bolster the ideal of collective security.

Fourth, the historically important North-South debate on the new economic order through constructive dialogue and accommodation can provide the essential foundation on which to build a stable peace in which economic disparities in the world can be reduced and interdependence of all States can rest firmly on equitable relationships.

Fifth, the principle of universality of membership must be recognized so that all nations of the world come within the confines of the United Nations and are bound by its Charter obligations.

Sixth, institutional arrangements of the United Nations must be strengthened, particularly to give effect to the moribund articles provided for in Articles 28, 29, 43 and other articles of the United Nations Charter.

Seventh, there can be no international security without an international legal order. There is growing concern for the progressive development of international law and this has been specifically recognized in the Declaration itself. This remains an essential priority and indeed prerequisite for the strengthening of coexistence.

Finally, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, there has been increasing willingness of the international community to tackle global problems through the United Nations. These conferences, touching as they have done on such crucial issues as the environment, population, industrialization, food, the status of women, law of the sea, trade and development and human settlements, underscore the desire and ability of nations to act collectively in reaching solutions, and while they may not lead to early results, they do provide an essential framework for joint responsibility and co-operation. The global conference on world disarmament and security will, we believe, contribute to the promotion and strengthening of international security.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The item before us is one of the most important items -- I would say the most important item -- on the agenda of the General Assembly. It is important because it touches upon and deals with the core of the problem of the United Nations and its very existence. The maintenance of international security is the primary and paramount purpose of the United Nations according to the Charter. This is stated in Article 1 of the Charter, and it is necessarily so because the United Nations was established in order to bring about in the world international security through an organization, a universal and international organization, in place of an armaments race and balance of power.

Now if we look at the agenda items of this Committee we shall find that it has been dealing continually until now with various disarmament questions in order to try to curb the arms race, which in spite of the efforts made to curb it has been escalating over the years and has now reached a cost of \$300 billion in a continual escalation, because there is no sense of international security. We cannot have disarmament without international security and I have to say these things because otherwise, unless we grasp the meaning of international security, we cannot deal with the item before us. We cannot have disarmament unless we have the international security which is the subject of this item, and without it all the efforts that are made in this room for disarmament, are in vain.

It would be unnatural and illogical to expect disarmament in a vacuum in the absence of any international security through the United Nations.

So long as we base ourselves on the balance of power inherited from an outworn past, we cannot have in any real sense international security through the United Nations. There is a way to supplement the balance of power by international security, if the international community conforms with the Charter. Article 2, paragraph 4, which prohibits the threat or use of force, is vital and fundamental. In order to comply with that paragraph we have to establish effective international security through the United Nations, because it would be futile to say that it prohibits use of force without actually prohibiting it by some system of enforcing that prohibition.

The Security Council, in deciding on cases of aggression or other breaches of the peace, is expressly required by Article 39 of the Charter to act in accordance

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with Articles 41 and 42 in order to maintain or restore international peace and security. Thus the Charter prohibits the use of force but also tells us how to prohibit it effectively by enforcement action against any aggressor who will not comply with the resolutions of the Security Council.

This part of the Charter has been ignored. Until now, no measures have been taken to implement Articles 41 and 42, which necessitate that Article 32 be applied first, stating namely that "All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance and facilities," and so on, in order to make enforcement action possible.

The possibility of such United Nations enforcement action through the existence in readiness of a United Nations peace force would make all the difference by bringing a realistic sense of international security, mainly among the smaller and small States, in order to prevent armed conflicts and the present-day brushfire wars by establishing some system of international security and legal order. It would not perhaps be realistically applicable to the prevention of a nuclear war between the super-Powers. But they are restrained as a result of the threat of nuclear catastrophe for themselves and everyone else with mutual suicide in prospect. But when a measure of international security through the United Nations is thus initiated and promoted less of the resources of the developing countries would be wasted on armaments and the general situation would definitely improve.

The Declaration is the most significant document since the Charter. It covers the whole range of the Charter, throws light on the important parts of it and insists on what should be done in order that there can be effective international security.

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In the Declaration, the General Assembly lays emphasis on the urgent need to make the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security and urges Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Charter provides in Article 33 for such means of peaceful settlement of disputes, and they are enumerated therein as negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement etc. But these means require the relevant methods, rules and modalities to be developed. No committee has been set up to develop such modalities for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Declaration, in paragraph 6, refers to the need to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Thus, we have been negligent all this time in providing the facilities for the peaceful settlement of disputes by denying the modalities. And we see that the usual means that is sought for peaceful settlement is negotiation. As far as negotiation is concerned, rules could provide that negotiation, in order to be effective, must have certain basics -- that is, there must be a common purpose, and there must be good faith. We see negotiations carried out at cross-purposes and without good faith constantly failing.

Further on -- and this is the more important part -- the Declaration recognizes the need for effective, dynamic and flexible measures, in accordance with the Charter, to prevent and remove threats to the peace and to suppress acts of aggression. To that end the Declaration recommends that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Therefore, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security of 1970, considered Article 43 as practical, necessary and applicable and called upon the Security Council to proceed to those measures as provided for in the Charter. The Security Council has so far failed to do so. It has failed to create an awareness that there is a Security Council whose resolutions may be

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enforced because the necessary arrangements for enforcement exist. The very fact that such arrangements do exist would render these resolutions more substantial than they now seem to be and makes aggressors think twice before violating such resolutions. That is why there is the sense of a declining United Nations and deteriorating security in international life.

Further on, the Declaration recommends that all States contribute to the efforts to ensure peace and security through a system of collective security and invites Member States to do their utmost to enhance by all possible means the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council. This resolution, as we say, was adopted unanimously, and the Secretary-General was requested to report on progress in its implementation. What has been the implementation so far of this Declaration? None at all. Have the modalities been created for the peaceful settlement of disputes, as required by the Declaration? No! Have we had effective measures for the enforcement action needed to make effective Security Council resolutions and to give authority to the United Nations? No! Year after year has passed. We have seen in the world cases of unprecedented aggression since the adoption of this resolution, and the whole international community has been undisturbed by those cases of aggression and those violations, both of the Charter and of the Declaration. Yet we discuss this item every year in a very perfunctory way and adopt a resolution on the strengthening of international security without any result towards the effective implementation of the Declaration of 1970.

Therefore, our problem is and remains a problem of implementation. We may go on piling up resolutions. We may pile up declarations. But if we fail to see to their effective implementation, then we are failing to act logically, or even rationally. The human being is supposed to be a rational being -- homo sapiens. Where is the homo sapiens, if he acts irrationally?

Having said this, which had to be said, and having emphasized the need to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, I shall come to the subject before us, and will say that the fact that there has been no functioning international security because there was no enforcement action to give substance to the resolutions of the Security Council has for many years been concealed by the fact that owing to the cold war, there was hardly any possibility of having any effective resolutions at all adopted by the Security Council.

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Therefore, the failure of the Security Council to provide security in the world was attributed to the impossibility of having any decisions -- either because of differences or because of vetos. But when some measure of détente was achieved and resolutions by the Security Council became possible, and when we even reached the stage where resolutions were unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and then endorsed by the Security Council and there was no further obstacle to the resolutions, we waited for implementation but there was none. And what was the reason? Implementation procedure was lacking, we were told, because arrangements had not been made to have resolutions enforced, and there lacked the means of implementing the resolution. And so, as long as there is disagreement in the Security Council the inability of the United Nations to have an effective resolution is not manifest! But once you get unanimous resolutions, then the whole situation of the inability of the Security Council to give effect and meaningfulness to its decisions becomes manifest, and therefore the United Nations loses its authority as an instrument of international security and peace as long as the resolutions of the Security Council remain inoperative. That is why I hold that this item is most important -- more important than any disarmament items because you cannot have disarmament without international security -- and I hope that we can move forward towards achieving international security as provided by the Charter and the Declaration.

I should like now to refer to the draft resolution before us, which is an improvement upon previous drafts, because, among other things, it deals with the core of the matter. I refer to the draft resolution (A/C.1/31/L.42) which I have the honour to introduce on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, India, Iraq, Malta, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia. It will be recalled that, ever since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the twenty-fifth session, it has been the practice for the non-aligned countries to prepare and present a draft resolution on this item. The underlying concepts of the resolution reflects the main preoccupations of the international community and is based on the demand to implement the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and other relevant documents.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The resolution calls upon States to eliminate dangerous focal points of crises, to eradicate the last remnants of colonialism, which is a related problem in a sense, and to give their full support to peoples under colonial and other foreign domination in their struggle for self-determination, independence and freedom, because this is also closely related to security and peace as eliminating causes of friction and fighting.

I should like to lay particular stress on one of the more important elements of the resolution, namely, the close interrelationship of the strengthening of international security, development and disarmament. It is obvious that international security is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of international peace and also contributes towards economic development.

It is well known that the non-aligned countries have always attached great importance to the establishment of zones of peace and to respect for the zones as such. In this context, the resolution proposes that States consider the possibility of establishing a zone of peace in the Mediterranean, including the Middle East, one of the most sensitive areas today. Within the region of the Mediterranean there are problems such as the Middle East which pose a constant potential threat to world peace and to the security of the peoples not only in that region but also in the world at large. Therefore, the Mediterranean, extending from its eastern borders to the west, is a most important zone which should be converted into a zone of peace.

I should like now to refer to the part of the resolution which deals with the relaxation of tensions. The relaxation of tensions is a most important aspect of international security. There has been a relaxation of tension, but we feel that it has not gone far enough; we want it to be extended even further; we look forward in these times to encouraging signs that the relaxation of tensions will improve, and particularly that it will improve in such a way as to include international security through the United Nations; we hope that we have reached a time -- and the signs of the time are favourable -- when there will be a deeper understanding of the problems of the world and of the United Nations, and that it will be realized by the super-Powers that they must come to basic agreements on the halting of the arms race and the establishment of those requirements for international security through the United Nations that will bring peace to the smaller countries and encourage and facilitate further disarmament towards the desired objective of complete relaxation of tension in a peaceful atmosphere.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The draft resolution (A/C.1/31/L.42) reaffirms that there should be no "measure or pressure directed against any State while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources".

Finally, we come to the most important part where the draft resolution recommends to the Security Council that it take the necessary steps towards effective international security as contained in paragraph 9 of the original Declaration, which recommended that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order to provide the United Nations with the capacity for enforcement action in accordance with the Charter. Thus this draft resolution, in its paragraph 7, recommends to the Security Council

"that it consider appropriate steps towards carrying out effectively, as provided in the Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international security and peace".

We hope that this draft resolution comes at an appropriate time and is in line with the earlier Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. I may be allowed to say that Cyprus is not taking this view only now; we all know that Cyprus has been the victim of violations of the Charter and of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

I want in this respect to recall that in 1968 -- before it was the victim of invasion -- Cyprus had introduced a draft resolution in this Committee (A/C.1/L.449), which, in its preambular paragraphs referred to the need for a reappraisal of the interrelated problems of disarmament, international security through the United Nations, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development, and which expressed the belief that an opportune time for such an appraisal would be the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which was the following year when the Declaration was adopted.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The concepts of the Declaration were contained in that 1968 draft resolution which requested the Secretary-General

"to appoint a Committee of international experts to prepare a comprehensive study of official and unofficial proposals for an integrated solution of the interrelated problems of disarmament, collective security through the United Nations, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development".

Such a study is still wanting. I express the hope that the effort for the strengthening of international security, which became the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will be concluded by proceeding further with the draft resolution (A/C.1/31/L.42) that we have just introduced.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Cyprus for introducing draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.42.

Mr. YOOSSEM-KONTOU (Chad) (interpretation from French): It is appropriate that the United Nations and particularly our important Committee be the forum for the discussion of implementing the application of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This item, which for seven years now, has enjoyed a privileged place on the agenda of sessions of the General Assembly is now particularly acute and relevant because it is in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter and indeed with the very purposes for which our Organization was set up.

Indeed, in order "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", and "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained", are we not solemnly and firmly committed to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used"?

The interest of all delegations in this item on the agenda no doubt reflects a unanimous awareness of the need for collective reflection on the means of strengthening international security. This need is particularly timely now because it arises at a time when the international situation remains tense and unstable. In various parts of the world, hotbeds of crisis and tension persist which endanger international peace and security. Accordingly, recourse to the threat or use of force and foreign occupation and domination remain the principal impediment to the strengthening of international peace and security.

In accordance with paragraph 7 of the operative part of resolution 3389 (XXX), we have before us a report from the Secretary-General and other documents relating to the item under discussion. These documents contain the views and suggestions of various Governments about the strengthening of international security. Chad has made no comments on this problem so far, and my delegation proposes at this meeting of our Committee to make some preliminary comments pending the announcement of my Government's views and suggestions.

(Mr. Yoosseme-Kontou, Chad)

In the opinion of my delegation, international relations to safeguard the security to which we all so aspire should be maintained on the basis of universally recognized principles in a climate of understanding, sincere co-operation, mutual respect and peace. Thus, as to the question of how he views the policy of co-operation between two sovereign States, His Excellency General Felix Malloum Ngakoutou Bey-Ndi, Chairman of the High Military Council and Head of State said:

"The policy of co-operation should be based on an equal footing in respect for the sovereignty of the States in question. This policy should also be free from any ideas of ambition, hegemony and interference in internal affairs."

We have clearly defined the position of the Republic of Chad in the Organization of African Unity and in the United Nations. Thus on 8 October last, our Foreign Minister stated in the General Assembly:

"My country, which prizes peace and justice, subscribes unreservedly to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the strict respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States. We firmly oppose the use of force in international relations."¹
(A/31/PV.23, p. 16).

Chad, in its relations with its immediate neighbours and other countries, respects these principles which are the sacred ideals of peace, justice and peaceful coexistence. My country adopts this attitude because it sincerely hopes to contribute to the strengthening of international security. The Chad delegation feels that in their international relations, States should be guided by a sense of equity rather than by opportunism. History has always taught us that without equity or justice, the lasting peace and international security which are our common goals, will totter and finally escape us.

International security can be strengthened only if all Member States constantly observe the provisions laid down in the Charter of our Organization and also the important declarations such as the Declaration on the Principles of International Law affecting Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, unanimously adopted at the twenty-fifth session, resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, and the

(Mr. Yoosseem-Kontou, Chad)

Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. True international security is only possible if all Members are determined to discharge the obligations they have solemnly assumed under the Charter, or under these Declarations, by voting in favour of the resolutions which contain them.

It is recognized that the fundamental cause of all tension in our world today lies in the flagrant and continuous violation of the principles contained in this Charter. As long as certain States persist in flouting these principles, people will continue to live under the threat of the most destructive weapons and in the most abysmal ignorance. The principal guarantee of lasting peace and international security lies therefore in respect for the Charter, the elimination of current hotbeds of tension, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-recourse to force in international relations and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation among States. The Government of my country, for its part, has always reaffirmed its faith in the United Nations and its faithfulness to the principles of the Charter of our Organization. It will be recalled that on 12 May last the Head of State of Chad receiving Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, at Ndjamena, said: "We, in Chad, place great hope in the future of this community".

The Republic of Chad continues to support resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970 which is the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4 and 5 of its operative part whereby the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed:

"that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country; /and/ ... that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force, in contravention of the provisions of the Charter, that the

(Mr. Yoossem-Kontou, Chad)

territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State."

We are convinced that these provisions are very important and the application of the principles which are enumerated therein will undoubtedly make it possible to consolidate international peace and security.

With regard to the application of the Declaration in its entirety, we are convinced, and we say so here in this Committee, that the Republic of Chad abides by the principles laid down in the Charter with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security and the principles of international law as they affect friendly relations and co-operation among States. The Government of Chad in its international relations has not lost sight of these principles which coincide with the very basic tenets of the foreign policy that the higher military Council and provisional Government have established.

(Mr. Yoosseem-Kontou, Chad)

In accordance with its policy based on respect for the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and, more particularly, respect for the principle of the inviolability of the frontiers we inherited from the colonial Power, our country maintains cordial relations with neighbouring countries and has constantly stressed to them its determination to strengthen even further these relations for the mutual good of the sister republics.

We should like to repeat that relations between Chad and its neighbours must be governed by the principles enumerated above and, particularly, by the principles laid down in the Charter of the OAU, to which Chad and its neighbours have all subscribed, especially the following principles: non-interference in the internal affairs of States; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and its inalienable right to an independent existence; and unequivocal condemnation of political assassination and of subversive activities conducted by neighbouring States or any other State.

Chad and its neighbours have therefore every interest in observing these principles in their bilateral relations inasmuch as the application of these principles would do a great deal to strengthen the unity and solidarity of African States, to co-ordinate and intensify co-operation between them and their efforts to provide better living conditions for the peoples of Africa, and to promote international co-operation, these being some of the ends of the OAU, towards which all African countries must work.

In all major international forums, Chad is guided by one concern -- that of contributing effectively to the development of a new international order based on national independence and international co-operation based on equality, mutual confidence and justice. It is this concern which explains its attitude to the fundamental problems which affect or constitute an obstacle to our common goal, namely that of international security. We are convinced that the arms race engaged in by certain Member States is incompatible with our efforts to establish this international political and economic order because we are all aware that universal peace and security can be ensured only by general and complete disarmament and that the resources used to accelerate the arms race could effectively promote socio-economic development, particularly in the developing countries.

(Mr. Yoossef-Kantou, Chad)

We unreservedly condemn all nuclear tests and we favour a convention banning nuclear tests and calling on Member States unequivocally to renounce the threat or use of nuclear weapons, as well as chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction. All our votes on disarmament have been dictated by this consideration.

Before concluding, I should like to make a few comments on draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41. The position of Chad on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of States is well known to all. My country whole-heartedly endorses the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and strict respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. A member of the OAU and the non-aligned movement, Chad is devoted to the principle of the genuine independence of States -- in other words, it is categorically opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of States. We think that extravagant territorial claims and subversive campaigns maintained and sustained by States entail grave risks of international tension and constitute serious threats to international peace and security.

In our view, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States is very important, and its absence from any given relationship constitutes a gap in international life. This principle, along with the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations -- a principle embodied in paragraph 1 of the Declaration adopted by resolution 2625 (XXV) -- constitute the true foundations for the strengthening of international peace and security. In international relations these principles must be observed with a profound sense of the political responsibilities of Member States inasmuch as interference or action prejudicial to the territorial integrity or national independence of a country are inconsistent with their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The draft resolution before us contains all these points and we should like to congratulate its sponsors. The delegation of Chad is ready to become a co-sponsor of this draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has taken note of Chad's announced co-sponsorship of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41. The next speaker is the representative of Poland, on whom I now call.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): On behalf of the delegations of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, and of my own delegation, I should like to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.43 --

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Ireland on a point of order.

Mr. CRAIG (Ireland): I apologize to the representative of Poland for interrupting him at this stage, but my point of order relates to the remarks which he has just made. My delegation is in a state of some perplexity about the stage that we have reached in our consideration of this item. It was our understanding that the Committee had decided that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions on this item would be 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 8 December. In fact, I should like to quote from what our Chairman said on Monday last. He said:

"... I would suggest that we close the list of speakers in the general discussion on agenda item 33 now under consideration on Wednesday at 12 noon ... set a deadline for the submission of draft resolutions at 6 p.m. on the same day, Wednesday, 8 December; finish the general discussion by Thursday, 9 December; and devote our Friday meeting or meetings ... to the adoption of the draft resolution or resolutions" (A/C.1/31/PV.53, p. 28).

And he continued, "As I hear no objection, it is so decided".

My delegation studied the Journal this morning and noted that there was a record only of two draft resolutions, A/C.1/31/L.41 and L.42, before this Committee. When it came to the meeting this morning it likewise found only two draft resolutions before the Committee. I then proceeded to inform my Government that these would be the only two draft resolutions on this item.

It is my understanding that we have decided to vote on the draft resolutions tomorrow morning. It was therefore with some surprise that at 4.30 p.m. this afternoon my delegation received a further draft resolution on this subject, and it seems that proceeding to a vote on it as soon as tomorrow morning will put members of this Committee in some difficulty. I note that the draft resolution which is about to be introduced by the representative of Poland bears the date 8 December. My delegation is a little puzzled, and has therefore a number of questions it would like to pose at this stage.

(Mr. Craig, Ireland)

First of all, as I say we are surprised that there was no reference to this draft resolution by number in the Journal this morning if it had been introduced before the deadline last night, and we are also a little unhappy that it should have been circulated only as late as 4.30 p.m. if we are expected to vote on it tomorrow morning. I should like, through you, Mr. Chairman, to ask for some clarification from the Secretary on this point.

(Mr. Craig, Ireland)

I should like also to ask if you expect us to be in a position to vote on this draft resolution as early as tomorrow morning, considering that it only came into our hands at 4.30 p.m. this afternoon -- and rather unexpectedly.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Secretary of the Committee, who will make some comments in explanation of the points raised by the representative of Ireland.

Mr. BANERJEE (Secretary of the First Committee): In connexion with the two points which have been raised by the representative of Ireland, namely, the draft resolutions mentioned in the Journal and, the second point, whether the third draft resolution came within the deadline, I shall have this matter inquired into and will report back to the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Is the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics also asking for the floor on a point of order?

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I listened to the statement of the representative of Ireland, which interrupted the statement of the representative of Poland and, in the light of the explanation given, I would deem it expedient to allow the representative of Poland to conclude his statement, while requesting the Secretariat to reply as soon as possible in so far as concerns the vote. We could vote tomorrow and if the delegation of Ireland has any difficulties in voting on this draft resolution in the morning we are ready to propose that we vote on it at the afternoon meeting, that is, 24 hours after it came into the possession of the representative of Ireland.

The CHAIRMAN: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has anticipated what I was going to suggest to the Committee.

The representative of Ireland has raised a point of order, and we all heard the explanation given by the Secretary of the Committee. What we have been told is that, if the Committee is patient, tomorrow morning the Secretary will inquire into the circumstances relating to the point of order raised by the representative of Ireland and will report to the Committee. In the meantime, if there is no objection from the Committee, I should still like to call on the representative of Poland in order that he may continue his statement. However, if, after the explanation, further action has to be taken, we shall proceed accordingly, I am in the Committee's hands.

Mr. CRAIG (Ireland): I am very grateful to the Secretary of the Committee for his agreement to let us have a statement on this matter. I certainly do not wish to obstruct the business of this Committee, but I have taken note with special interest of the point of order raised by the representative of the USSR regarding his willingness to permit representatives sufficient time to consider this draft resolution and I hope that you, Mr. Chairman, will feel able to take his proposal into account.

The CHAIRMAN: Unless there is objection to the proposal which I have put to the Committee, I shall now call on the representative of Poland.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): I hope that this time I shall be able to complete my statement.

As I was saying, on behalf of the delegations of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, and of my own delegation, I want to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.43 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This draft resolution, "Bearing in mind the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the implementation of the Declaration,

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

welcomes all "new efforts and achievements in the promotion of détente and in the growth of multilateral co-operation in various regions of the world". We stress our belief that there exist "close interrelationship and complementary character of activities pursued in compliance with the United Nations Charter towards the strengthening of international security regionally and universally".

The operative part of our draft resolution "calls upon all States to seek full implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in this way to support the processes of international détente" and the relaxation of international tension. The draft resolution also "calls upon all States to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in the preservation and consolidation of international peace and security in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations".

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Australia.

Mr. OXLEY (Australia): This is perhaps more in the nature of a point of order to follow up the suggestion you made before the representative of Poland introduced draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.43. If the Committee is to consider voting on draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.43 tomorrow afternoon, may I ask whether account might be taken of the Committee's opinions on the difficulties that that may cause in connexion with delegations being able to be present in the plenary Assembly to see through the passage there of the items passed during the disarmament debate. My delegation, and I know a number of others, will have difficulty in being represented in both places.

The CHAIRMAN: I agree entirely that a new element has been introduced but from my understanding the disarmament draft resolutions will come before the plenary Assembly in the afternoon, and if it should become necessary for this Committee to meet to discuss the draft resolution which has just been introduced by the representative of Poland then it will be able to do so only after the afternoon meeting of the plenary Assembly. Does that solve the problem?

The Committee thus concludes the general debate on item 33. Tomorrow morning, as decided earlier, we shall discuss the draft resolutions and take action on them.

I call on the representative of Sri Lanka.

Mr. SENANAYAKE (Sri Lanka): I wish to say a few words on draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.42 from the point of view of the Sri Lanka delegation. I refer specifically to operative paragraph 6 of that draft resolution. Sri Lanka has consistently maintained that genuine disarmament and the consolidation of peace and international security require the elimination of foreign military presence in the various regions of the world. The term, as we understand it, is a comprehensive one including all manifestations of that presence, moving or mobile, temporary or fixed, in the way of installations, bases, etc. It is also the term used in the original Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace adopted by the General Assembly. It is in this sense that we understand operative paragraph 6 of this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: A number of representatives have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I shall now call on them.

Mr. GIAMBRUNO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to exercise my right of reply in regard to certain assertions made by the representative of Cuba in his statement today. He stated that the links of the apartheid régime with bloody and reactionary tyrannies in Uruguay and other countries could represent a threat to the peoples of Africa and Latin America.

On other occasions in the debates in the General Assembly, whether in the plenary Assembly or in the Third Committee, we have heard references of this kind and we did not consider it necessary to exercise the right of reply because we believed that these assertions were of no importance and could not be believed because they were groundless. But, given the repetition of these assertions, I feel it to be my duty to reply and to indicate that Uruguay has no military relations or links of any kind that could represent a threat. The attitude of my country as regards relations with South Africa is as follows. We maintain diplomatic and consular relations; in recent years these relations have been exercised through consular officers and *chargés d'affaires*. As regards the attitude taken towards South Africa and the policy of apartheid, the history of Uruguay in this Organization is absolutely clear. We participate fully in all activities against apartheid. We were promoters and sponsors of the resolution for the eradication of discrimination in sports. In the Security Council we have also acted unequivocally, proposing far more severe sanctions than those which were later imposed with our presence against Rhodesia. Furthermore, we are a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and at every opportunity available we have made use of our ties with South Africa to express our repugnance towards the policy of apartheid. I believe the references of the representative of Cuba are intended perhaps to create difficulties for us in our relations with the peoples of Africa. I felt it necessary to indicate the clear-cut attitude of Uruguay in this regard, so that the intent of the representative of Cuba may be thwarted.

At the same time, I cannot fail to point out that this attempt to interfere in the policy of a Government and the manner in which it conducts its international relations comes at the very time when the First Committee is discussing the item

(Mr. Giambruno, Uruguay)

on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in connexion with a draft resolution relating to such interference. I believe I further understood that the delegation of Cuba is one of the co-sponsors of this draft resolution and I wonder whether this can be true because then, by way of reply, I would have to respond by giving you a brief historical account.

Who is the Government of Cuba to be able to co-sponsor a draft resolution on non-interference and to speak here of non-intervention? I need only refer to two periods in the history of the Government of Cuba. The first starts with the Cuban revolution. The conclusions reached by the Organization of American States in 1964 when it imposed severe sanctions against the Cuban régime for its interventionist attitude were that the Government of Cuba, since its establishment in 1959, had developed, sponsored and directed in various ways a policy of intervention on the continent with methods of propaganda, supplies of funds, training in sabotage and guerrilla operations and supply of weapons to support movements aimed at subverting national institutions by means of force so as to install Communist régimes.

(Mr. Giambruno, Uruguay)

That support of subversion, which in general is a form of political aggression, has obviously been applied in the Republic of Venezuela, the primary target of the policy of ideological expansion and penetration of Cuba in the hemisphere. The vast natural resources of Venezuela, its strategic importance on the continent, and its status as a democratic country are factors which have led the present Government of Cuba to use the subversive action of organizations employing force and violence to overthrow that democratic Government. These are the conclusions that the majority of the Latin American States reached in 1964.

From 1964 on, I simply point to the 12th Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held in 1967 at the request of the Government of Venezuela. There a lengthy resolution was adopted by 20 affirmative votes out of 21. Its operative paragraph 1

"strongly condemns the present Government of Cuba for its repeated acts of aggression and intervention against Venezuela and for its persistent policy of intervention in the internal affairs of Bolivia and of other American States by incitement to active and open support to armed bands and other subversive activities directed against the Governments of those States".

In categorical support of the foregoing, I could quote the words of many eminent statesmen, beginning with the Foreign Minister of the Betancourt Government of that time, who is now President of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez. He stigmatized the conduct of Cuba after discovering a shipment of weapons which was shown by an investigation committee to have come, beyond any doubt, from Cuba.

In this categorical statement, I have thus far referred to events which occurred prior to 1967. Up until now, I have not been speaking as an Uruguayan, but on behalf of all the Latin American countries. From 1968 on, then we Uruguayans can speak, and the evidence I am able to present is the following.

On the basis of our information we learned of: (1) the existence, previously and at present, of solid ties between the Cuban Government and the Tupamaro movement; (2) the presence of a regional office of that movement in Cuba which is operating right now with the knowledge and encouragement, support and advice of the Government of that country as a basis for subversive action

(Mr. Giambruno, Uruguay)

in Uruguay; (3) training in weapons, explosives, communications, intelligence, subversive and terrorist and guerrilla activities given to Tupamaro adherents in Cuba by Cuban military personnel in military establishments of that country. Thus, it has been possible to establish the existence of a true university of terrorism and subversion with theoretical and practical courses and a vast programme of fellowship and of technical assistance from abroad. This is not an isolated incident in the past, it is a present fact. Similar training is given to citizens of other Latin American nations. This fact has been proved and is in accord with the public manifestations of the Government of Cuba and is consistent with the establishment of a very complex logistical apparatus undoubtedly destined for use against more than one country. The supply to the so-called Uruguayan liberation movement of almost all of the most powerful fire weapons in the arsenal of Cuba; the supply of funds; the existence of a communication network through which all forms of support to subversion are given; provision of contact with purveyors of forged documents, housing, airline tickets, automobiles -- all of this is managed by a world-wide network. All these proven facts concur with the public statements of the Prime Minister of Cuba directly levelled against my country, inciting people to violence with a political doctrine that has also been publicly expressed by that Government and with the ideology and philosophy articulated by the international line of that country. Words accompanied by deeds, and, to complete the picture, a total absence of any gesture, attitude, decision, statement or meaningful affirmation.

The CHAIRMAN: I apologize for interrupting the representative of Uruguay, but in view of the lateness of the hour I would appeal to him very sincerely to make his statement as short as possible, and I would make the same appeal to other representatives who have expressed the wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. GIAMBRUNO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I accept your appeal and I shall conclude in a few minutes.

(Mr. Giambruno, Uruguay)

I am in a position to prove this entire statement through documentation which can be made available to all delegations. All this evidence was substantiated by documents in the presentation we made in Quito. The documents include names of persons, and facts, so that it is totally unchallengeable. That is why, bearing in mind that we have been the victims of this verbal attack by the delegation of Cuba, I have not been able to resist the temptation to ask, here in this Assembly, how it is possible that a delegation whose Government practises such blatant intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries -- countries that have absolutely no connexion with Cuba and have done nothing to deserve this kind of attitude, countries that are thousands of miles away, and have not even been a part of the countries that voted the sanctions -- I wonder, in the light of this proof, how it is possible that the Cuban Government should come here in sheep's clothing to claim to be a co-sponsor of non-interference and criticize the conduct of others. I conclude by saying that my words were intended solely to unmask hypocritical conduct. This has been my intent and I appreciate the opportunity of having expressed it.

Mr. PAGUAGUA (Nicaragua): The delegation of Nicaragua categorically rejects the aspersions made this afternoon in this Committee by the representative of the gory Castroite tyranny. It ill befits the representative of the terrorist régime of Cuba to try to teach us democracy. We Nicaraguans who seek a solution to our problems by ourselves, in accordance with the sovereign will of our people and not with what the tyrant in Cuba tried to dictate to us from Havana through his henchmen. Contrary to what occurs in Cuba, the people of Nicaragua governs its destiny in conformity with the political constitution which the people decided on through their legitimate representatives meeting in a constituent national assembly. An irrefutable proof of this is the presence of myself in the delegation of Nicaragua: although I am a member of an opposition party, I participate fully in the permanent delegation to the United Nations, as provided for in the Constitution of Nicaragua.

(Mr. Paguagua, Nicaragua)

For the Nicaraguans this situation is not new, since it is not the first time that the heirs of the butcher, Goicuría, once the ally of the buccaneer, Walker, have launched a diatribe against our country. But Nicaragua has not only been a victim of the verbal aggression of Castro tyranny. The Havana régime, as an agent of an international conspiracy known to all, has instigated armed subversion in our country and has ideologically prepared those who subvert public order. It has trained the agents of their insurrection plans, who, using hostages, assassinations, means of economic extortion and other enforcement action typical of international terrorism and piracy, have tried to put an end to the development which, within the legal order and within the exercise of our right to self-determination, the Nicaraguan people have continuously maintained.

The representative of the Castro régime has referred to a military training operation called "Eagle 6", which was carried out by military units of several countries of Central America within the institutional subregional framework which has been operating in Central America for several years as part of the inter-American system of defence against all forms of aggression of which we have been or may be victims. That is to say the "Eagles" that exist in my country are Eagles that have emerged from the legal inter-American order and are not to be confused with the vultures which in the corridors of Havana daily await the fall of corpses from the prisons where thousands of human beings perish.

My delegation formally reserves the right to speak later as a consequence of this unwarranted provocation of the representative of the Castro régime, to reiterate in another forum what the countries of the inter-American system have proved to society: the intervention and subversion of the terrorist régime of Havana, which came into being and is maintained under only one flag -- the firing squad and death.

Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): I, too, have been compelled to ask to exercise my right of reply because the representative of Cuba has come here to astonish representatives of worthy and independent nations with renewed falsehoods. He insists on attacking my country fallaciously, in statements grossly lacking in truthfulness. As all representatives are aware, it is not the

(Mr. Huerta, Chile)

first time that this happened. The delegation of Cuba has devoted itself to attacking Chile since the very moment, when, more than three years ago, my Government decided to return to their country of origin all the members of the Cuban Embassy in Santiago, more than 100 with all their baggage and weapons, because of their blatant intervention in the internal affairs of Chile. It happens that from year to year the representative of Cuba in his attacks is losing all arguments, so he invents something new to criticize my country for. First, on the basis of the investigation carried out by the United States Senate, he maintained that the Chilean armed forces took part because of the action of and with the connivance of the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA, but then the report of the Senate Committee itself, under Senator Frank Church's chairmanship, demonstrated the falsity of such an assertion, and there was no link or connexion with the CIA in the action taken by the Chilean armed forces in the defence of Chile.

In the general debate this year he referred to alleged statements by the Archbishop of Chile, which appeared to condemn the Government of Chile. When we denied it, indicating the statement of the Bishop and pointing out that this condemnation was totally false, the representative of Cuba took the liberty of insisting, saying that he was referring to another statement, and he offered to prove that with the relevant documentation. Two months have gone by and there has been no documentation submitted, nor has he proved anything; while, on the other hand, the Cardinal, Archbishop of Chile, has emphatically denied ever having made such a statement and he has regretted the irresponsible political views with such indescribable means for self-seeking and perverse purposes.

Now with the same lack of seriousness he is flinging groundless accusations. It is this same lack of criteria and sense of moderation which in 1971 led Mr. Fidel Castro to prolong his official visit to more than one month in Chile. He did and said so much during that long month that the vast majority of the Chilean people became convinced that it could not run the risk of suffering the same fate as the Cuban people, and since then active opposition to the Allende régime began.

(Mr. Huerta, Chile)

The representative of Mr. Castro here can continue with his system, his false assertions and his insults. He can continue to abuse the patience of the representatives here, but he will not be able to change one iota of the facts nor affect the full sovereignty and independence of Chile or the national reconstruction which its Government and people are determined to carry out. Lacking arguments, he stoops to insults. My delegation will not follow him along that course because we do not believe that this will lead to the strengthening of international security, which is the item we are now dealing with, nor is this in accord with our own dignity.

Mr. WHISTLER (United States of America): I wish to exercise my right of reply with regard to the statement made this afternoon by the representative of Cuba. We have already replied in this Committee to similar fabrications made by the representative of Cuba during our deliberations on the Soviet proposal for a world treaty on the non-use of force. The Department of State has stated that allegations of destabilization on our part with regard to certain Caribbean countries are totally false. The Department has categorically denied that the United States Government is doing anything to undermine or destabilize the legitimate authorities or Governments of those Caribbean countries. Such allegations are deliberate and hostile fabrications.

Mr. GONZALEZ ARIAS (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of the Castro régime which now rules in Cuba referred to the Government of the Republic of Paraguay in terms which exactly describe the régime he represents. The Republic of Paraguay can be proud, Mr. Chairman, that it is a free country with a Government that came into being as the result of the freely expressed will of the people. We have freedom of the press, freedom of movement, our citizens can move about freely, we have law courts, the decisions of which are taken in accord with regular laws. I wonder whether the bloody, dictatorial, despicable régime ruling in Cuba today can allow or does allow its people to enjoy any of these freedoms. What is more, these accusations of the Castro régime are part of a campaign undertaken against my country because these new-style aggressors

(Mr. Gonzalez Arias, Paraguay)

find it impossible to break the anti-imperialist and anti-Communist Government of Paraguay. Cuba has precisely the longest history of intervention and interference in internal affairs, and not only on the Latin American continent but also on other continents.

It is a régime which has not, nor will it have any parallel in Latin America, because of its bloodthirstiness, its barbarism and oppression. Thousands of Cubans have been assassinated, and thousands agonizing in the gaol of Cuba can bear witness to what I am saying. We in our country have also suffered a Castro aggression.

(Mr. Gonzalez Arias, Paraguay)

Nevertheless, these same criminals sent by the Castro clique were judged by regular courts of law, under regular laws, and not by any people's tribunal intended solely to destroy the morale of peoples and liquidate all opposition.

I do not wish to take up more of this Committee's time, but I can bring proof, evidence to you for hours and days to show what the Cuban régime is. My delegation emphatically rejects any accusation that was made against my country by Cuba, because the Cuban Government lacks morality.

Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. Chairman, you will of course understand that in my necessarily brief reply I must confine myself to some comments in connexion with some of what we have said. First of all, I would say that, as I stated in my speech, the problem of the growing links between the South African régime and the Governments of Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay has been the subject of attention by the United Nations, specifically in the Special Committee against Apartheid, as the document before me proves. Cuba is not even a member of that Committee. We have simply referred in this debate to a problem which has caused concern among many Member States. Nor was Cuba the only State which, at the Lima Conference in August of last year, denounced these ties. This was done by all the countries members of the non-aligned group at the ministerial meeting held at that time in the city of Lima, as I said. It was at that time that the countries of the non-aligned movement said, and I shall quote the brief sentence: "The Conference took note with concern of the recent visit by the Head of the South African régime to Paraguay and Uruguay, as well as the growing ties of other Governments of Latin America with South Africa, in particular that of Chile." That is the end of the quotation, which, I repeat, is not taken from any speech of mine, nor from any Cuban declaration. This was a declaration subscribed to by 86 States Members of the United Nations.

The representative of the United States described as totally false fabrications my references to the attempts to destabilize some Governments of the Caribbean region, and to the action which North American imperialism carries out in this respect. I shall simply point out that the leaders themselves of certain Caribbean States have pronounced themselves on the subject quite clearly, and I don't believe it is necessary for me to quote them at this stage. I will say that

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

a few days ago I had an opportunity to submit to the Sixth Committee of this Assembly a detailed account of the terrorist activities which in the last few months have been taking place in the Caribbean area -- activities which have been organized, encouraged and promoted by the Central Intelligence Agency of the North American Government. I do not wish to weary you with a repetition of that account, nor show once again the documented photographic evidence which I submitted to the representatives of the Sixth Committee. These proofs are absolutely unchallengeable. I have them with me here; they are photographs, public documents of acts taking place on the soil of the United States of America -- documents which are reproduced, commented on, disseminated by publications which circulate freely in the North American territory, where terrorist groups acknowledge that these actions are taken and announce when similar crimes will be committed; and the North American authorities have to our knowledge never taken any action to prevent the announcement, in a shameless, unspeakable way, in the territory of a State Member of the United Nations, of brutal criminal acts to be committed in the entire Caribbean region.

I shall simply point out that in the Sixth Committee I mentioned a publication of a Miami pamphlet entitled "Parties to the War", signed by five terrorist groups with headquarters in Miami. One of these war communiqués, published in June of this year, said, inter alia: "Very soon we shall attack aircraft in flight". Two months later the same terrorist groups admitted that they had caused the explosion of a Cuban aeroplane by terrorist means and thus caused the death of 73 people -- 73 defenceless people.

If the representative of the United States can explain to us how this conduct of his authorities is consistent with international law, or say whether his Government has done anything to put an end to these activities, we will be very happy to hear his clarifications. One of these terrorist groups in this shameless undertaking of proclaiming its crimes recently held a congress in Miami. This was the group known as brigade 256. What is this brigade 256? It is made up of the remnants of those who invaded the territory of Cuba in April 1961 and were overwhelmingly defeated by our peoples. This is now part of the history of America.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

The fact that this invasion, publicly recognized as such by the President of the United States at that time, had been organized, inter alia, from bases on Nicaraguan territory. The conduct of the Nicaraguan régime in this respect -- its support for those invaders was so great that 15 years later, no more, no less, the head of Nicaraguan tyranny had to attend the congress and summarize the proceedings. On that occasion the terrorist group publicly confirmed in the city of Miami, U.S.A., that it would continue with that criminal policy.

I have here with me the photographs of that congress, and representatives will be able to see this rather paunchy gentleman raising his arm somewhat in the manner of the Nazi salute with the President of Venezuela when he declared closed the meeting of the terrorists.

The CHAIRMAN: As I said just now, it is already late. Our meeting should have come to an end at 6 o'clock, and I am afraid I shall not be able to permit any further statements in exercise of the right of reply today. What I would suggest is that if there are other representatives who wish to make such statements they should inform the Secretariat, which will make a note of their names, and perhaps tomorrow, at the appropriate time, the statements can be made.

Mr. PAGUAGA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): You are quite right, Mr. Chairman, it is rather late, and I simply wish to reaffirm that the delegation of Nicaragua once again reserves its right to reply formally to the assertions just made by that small bourgeois who here represents the Castro tyranny.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Singapore on a point of order.

Mr. TAN (Singapore): I am referring to the point of order raised on resolution A/C.1/31/L.43. I confess to being somewhat confused over the issue still outstanding. May we take it that if the draft resolution was not submitted by the 6 p.m. deadline set by the Chairman, then we should consider it as null and void? That is my first question.

However, in the first place, have we not already assumed that the rules have been complied with by allowing the draft resolution to be tabled and introduced in this Committee?

My third point is, if we follow the 24-hour rule, then the draft resolution should be voted on after 4.30 p.m. tomorrow. As you know, Mr. Chairman, and as was pointed out by the representative from Australia, we are at the same time supposed to be in the plenary Assembly to consider the disarmament items. If the two commitments clash, what then would be the arrangement bearing in mind that we have to complete item 33 by tomorrow? I should like some answers to these questions.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that the representative of Singapore is aware that the Committee took certain decisions. It decided that the Secretariat should

(The Chairman)

investigate what has happened and report to the Committee at its meeting tomorrow. Again, without prejudice to whatever the Secretariat report might be, the Committee agreed also that the draft resolution in question should be introduced. I have taken note of all the comments that have been made by the representative of Singapore, but I think he would agree with me that whatever happened, whatever the rules of procedure that exist, the Committee is clearly master of its own procedures.

Before I declare the meeting closed, I should like to announce that Grenada, Morocco and Uganda have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.41, and that Grenada, Morocco and Tunisia have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.42.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.