



FIRST COMMITTEE
50th meeting
held on
Thursday, 3 December 1981
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

UN/SA COLLECTION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 50TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. YANGO (Philippines)
(Vice-Chairman)

later: Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia)
(Chairman)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

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

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (A/C.1/36/L.58, L.60/Rev.1, L.61; A/C.1/36/3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15; A/36/65, 68, 80, 83, 86, 97, 103, 106, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119, 133, 151, 170, 206, 223, 228, 238, 257, 332, 347, 348, 349, 358, 359, 365, 386 and Add.1 and 2, 388, 391, 396, 405, 456, 457, 465, 473, 481, 528, 552, 586, 616, 620, 650, 672)

- (a) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY;
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Mr. HENG (Singapore): Singapore is a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.59, entitled "Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States." We have sponsored that draft resolution because we think it is timely to look more closely at the concept of good-neighbourliness. Given present-day communications facilities, people are increasingly aware of other peoples living beyond their borders. While this has increased our understanding of each other, it has also, unfortunately, led us into areas of misunderstanding and conflict over ideology, religion and territorial claims, among other things.

It is my delegation's hope that, starting from our modest efforts in this Committee, we can agree on a set of rules to regulate the behaviour of nations towards their neighbours. To this end, we have been much encouraged to learn

(Mr. Heng, Singapore)

from the Secretary-General's report of 25 September 1981 that 24 States and 12 specialized agencies of the United Nations have submitted their views and suggestions on the question of good-neighbourliness. Common to almost all of them is a call for adherence to such broad principles as non-intervention, non-interference, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. Some suggestions have also referred to such specifics as the conclusion of extradition treaties, co-operation in combating international terrorism and the facilitation of cross-border traffic. There is a wealth of ideas for us to work on.

We are aware that there is some concern that good-neighbourliness does not correspond to any concept in international law, and that even if it should acquire legal status, there will be a certain skepticism that, like most other international laws, a legal code on good-neighbourliness would be broken as and when it suits the selfish interest of any nation.

Nevertheless, there are still good reasons for us to start giving the concept of good-neighbourliness some legal content. First, in a world where acts of aggression against neighbouring States have always been justified by some lofty principle or other, a well-defined concept of good-neighbourliness would assist us in this Organization in judging the rights and wrongs of the issue. Secondly, it is the hallmark of civilized men to regulate their relations with each other according to a set of laws or a recognized code of ethics. Civilized nations, like civilized men, should believe in the rule of law.

We are grateful to our Romanian colleagues for having spearheaded this campaign, and we wish to see it succeed, for in its success lies the measure of how civilized we all are.

Mr. FLITAN (Romania)(interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, first of all I should like to ask you to transmit to the Chairman of the Committee the deep and sincere condolences and compassion of the Romanian delegation over the loss of human life as a result of the tragic accident to the Yugoslav aircraft. We should like to assure him that the Romanian people share the grief of the people of Yugoslavia, a country that is a friend of ours.

The Romanian delegation spoke on two occasions in the general debate on agenda items 57 and 58. In our first statement my delegation referred to a proposal by my country concerning the strengthening and development of good neighbourliness, a subject which in the view of Romania is of special importance for international peace and security.

I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Yugoslav delegation our sincere thanks for the spirit of friendly co-operation in which our delegations worked together during the preparation of the draft resolution. Our thanks go also to the other delegations that sponsored the draft for the valuable support they gave us. At the same time we wish to express our gratitude to the Governments and international organizations which, by their replies transmitted to the Secretary-General, contributed, as did the delegations that spoke in the general debate on agenda items 57 and 58, to the collective effort to define the concept of good neighbourliness and to identify ways and means of enhancing it.

In its second statement the Romanian delegation put forward in considerable detail the themes, ideas and guidelines underlying initiatives that have been taken recently by Romania, by President Ceausescu, which express a deep concern over the aggravation of the international situation, caused in particular by the arms race and by the stationing of medium-range missiles in Europe, and which propose specific measures for avoiding the danger of war and safeguarding peace and security on the European continent and in the entire world.

In our statement today we should like to touch upon other aspects of the item now before us.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

The state of insecurity that exists in today's world, the aggravation of the international situation and the increase in the danger of war have profound consequences for all countries, great and small, developed and developing. Like other nations, Romania needs tranquillity and peace, independence and co-operation with all States irrespective of their political or social systems. Only if it enjoys them can it carry out its economic and social development programmes and assure for every citizen a life of dignity and prosperity.

Along with the efforts to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, the maintenance of international peace and security requires that determined action be taken to exclude force and the threat of force from inter-State relations and to solve contentious problems among States, wherever they may be situated, by exclusively peaceful means.

Like other countries, Romania is deeply worried by the worsening conflicts and tensions, and by old and new armed confrontations in various parts of the world. Romania has consistently been working for a comprehensive political settlement of the situation in the Middle East that would lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on the complete withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories it occupied in the war of 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and on the settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people in accordance with its right to self-determination and to the building of its own independent State, with assurances for the independence and sovereignty of all States in the region. We are also in favour of a settlement of the outstanding problems in South-East Asia, South-West Asia, Africa and other parts of the world by means of negotiation and with full respect for the freedom and independence of each people and its sacred right to develop freely on the road to progress and civilization without any outside interference.

Romania fully supports the constant efforts and constructive proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at realizing the legitimate aspirations of the Korean nation to live in a free, united, independent, democratic and prosperous homeland, as all the Korean people wish, and to establish the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

We act on the basis of our deep conviction that there is no conflict or contentious problem that cannot be settled by political means, by negotiations conducted in a spirit of understanding and mutual respect. It is essential that there be no recourse to force, especially to weapons, for whatever reason. The only justification for the use of arms would be the defence of national independence and of the right of people to live in freedom. That makes it all the more obvious that everything possible must be done to prevent anyone from ever undermining the independence of peoples or subjugating them.

The strengthening of peace and security also requires that inter-State relations be democratized and based on absolute respect for the principles and rules of international law. We believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to ensure scrupulous implementation of these principles in relations among all States, to intensify its efforts to make clear and to develop as much as possible the substance of those principles so as to make them truly responsive to the needs arising from the development of relations among States and so that they may constitute viable instruments for the harmonizing of international relations. What other purpose could those principles and rules of international law have than to ensure the primacy of justice over force and to restrain constantly that which is arbitrary and inconstant in international relations? We must once and for all renounce the view that international life can be reduced to a mere confrontation of forces and strategic positions, which leaves less and less room for legality and morality.

Romania has itself submitted to the consideration of the United Nations the question of the strengthening and development of the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and of good neighbourliness, and we support the development of another fundamental principle of international law, that of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

As we have already stated, we highly appreciate the initiative taken by Yugoslavia, a friend and neighbour of ours which has actively and sincerely promoted a policy of peace and co-operation. Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia three years ago involved the Committee in the process of asserting the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

Life proves that, notwithstanding the provisions of the United Nations Charter and other instruments adopted by the Organization in an effort to ensure universal respect for the principle of non-interference and non-intervention, persistent efforts must be continued to bring that about. If there is any reason to reaffirm and develop the substance of this principle in a comprehensive declaration, it is precisely because political concepts are still being entertained which overlook the need for strict respect of this principle.

Together with an increase in violations of the independence and equality of States, interference in the internal affairs of States has intensified and even assumed new, more subtle forms, particularly dangerous for the independence and security of States and the smooth functioning of their economic and social life, and severely undermines the policy of détente, confidence and international peace. We draw attention to this matter because the range of approaches and political views aimed at justifying and legitimizing interference and intervention has grown constantly. Concepts such as special missions, specific security interests, language linked to the imperialist notion of spheres of influence and the consolidation and division of these spheres, have all been invoked; and, according to those ideas, some are entitled to intervene or interfere in the internal affairs of others whenever they wish.

We believe that the time has come for the General Assembly to take an unequivocal stand against these concepts and this mentality which, if given effect, are nothing less than an undeclared, thinly disguised campaign against the independence of peoples, against their sacred right to develop in accordance with their legitimate aspirations, and a constant threat to international peace and security.

It is from that standpoint that we welcome and fully support the draft resolution prepared by the Ad Hoc Working Group, contained in document A/C.1/36/L.61, and submitted by the delegation of Guyana on behalf of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement. We believe that it fully meets the need to define more comprehensively and precisely the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

The major problems confronting the world today cannot be solved by a small circle of States, however great or powerful. The very complex task of maintaining peace and strengthening international security requires the active participation of all States, whatever their size, economic power or social system. It is particularly important to ensure the participation, on a completely equal footing, of all States, small and medium-sized, developing and non-aligned, which are vitally interested in a democratic solution, for the benefit of every country, to the problems of the world today.

No differences, whatever their nature, should be allowed to impede the active participation of States in the settlement of the problems facing them, be they global, regional or subregional, for in the end it is on the settlement of these problems that peace, security and free and independent social and economic development depend. For instance, the membership of certain European countries in either military bloc on the continent should not prevent those States from making a contribution to the campaign for disarmament and security nor from developing further their contacts and relations of mutually advantageous co-operation, based on respect for non-interference in internal affairs.

We believe that it is only by pursuing these policies that we can simultaneously dismantle military blocs, strengthen confidence and security on the continent and in the world, thus creating a united Europe where each nation can develop as it wishes, free from outside interference.

It is from that premise that the Grand National Assembly of Romania recently empowered the Romanian Government to do whatever was necessary to increase its contribution to the general effort in support of disarmament, détente and peace on the continent. In the same spirit, Romania has actively participated in the activities of the United Nations and is determined in the future, as it has in the past, to contribute to just and equitable solutions to problems confronting the Organization so as to enable the latter fully to meet the expectations of the peoples of the world.

(Mr. Flitan, Romania)

In general, we consider that the United Nations must play a more important role in all efforts to preserve international peace and security. We believe that the concern expressed in the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Yugoslavia in document A/C.1/36/L.60/Rev.1 is fully justified. It concerns the fact that the principal United Nations organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security - primarily the Security Council - have not been able to take effective action to promote international peace and security by finding solutions to present problems and crises.

The Romanian delegation fully supports the draft resolution and will vote in favour of it. However, we should like to stress once again the timeliness and urgency of the request addressed again to the Security Council to examine all existing mechanisms and to propose new ones aimed at enhancing the Organization's authority, and to the permanent members of the Security Council to ensure the implementation of its decisions, in compliance with the provisions of the Charter. We also support the provisions relating to the final liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and the abolition of the policy of apartheid, the elimination of under-development and the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The persistence of under-development, the ever-growing gaps between countries, the division of the world into the wealthy and the poor, are not likely to provide a basis for political and international economic stability or to safeguard peace and security in the world.

I should like to express the hope that the present debate, as well as the draft resolution that we shall adopt, will make possible real progress towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, contribute to reducing tension and reactivating the policy of peace, détente and respect for the independence of all peoples.

The CHAIRMAN: I assure the representative of Romania that his kind sentiments expressed in connexion with the recent tragic air disaster involving Yugoslav nationals will be conveyed to Ambassador Golob.

Mr. SHEIKH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):

Maintenance of international peace and security was among the first objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Article 1 of the Charter sets forth adequate methods for maintaining international peace and security by preventing and eliminating any threats and repressing acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, and by settling by peaceful means all international disputes.

In this context there was issued the Declaration on Strengthening International Security, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970, which reaffirms the soundness of the aims of the Charter as a basis for relations among countries regardless of size, the level of development or the political, economic or social system. The Declaration also contained certain guidelines and a programme for consolidating the United Nations as an instrument for the reduction of international tension and for the creation of propitious conditions for the achievement of a durable and just peace. Among the most important principles were those calling for the non-use or threat of use of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. It laid down the principle of equality of the rights of all peoples and their right to self-determination and called for the bridging of the economic gap between the advanced and the developing countries.

In view of the extreme significance of such principles and their continued validity in the reinforcement of international security, the General Assembly, at all its sessions following the adoption of the Declaration, continued to review its implementation. In this respect, it adopted a significant number of resolutions in which, every time, it reaffirmed all provisions and principles contained in the Declaration, calling upon all countries strictly to adhere to the aims enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the provisions of the Declaration.

In spite of the positive repercussions of the Declaration, in the 1970s, especially as regards the access to independence of many countries which were under colonial rule, the decade witnessed the persistence of hotbeds of tension throughout the world which still threaten international peace and security. In the Middle East, the Zionist entity continues its expansionist policy and its repeated aggressions against the Palestinian people, in particular, and against the Arab peoples in general.

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

On the African Continent the racist régime in the southern part of Africa still insists on maintaining its illegitimate control over Namibia, despite the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations. It also continues its repeated aggressions against the neighbouring African countries.

The two racist régimes in occupied Palestine and South Africa could not have been able to continue to defy the international community, United Nations resolutions and international law, were it not for the assistance tendered to them in the political, economic and military fields by the United States of America and certain Western countries.

We are still witnessing the presence in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean of military fleets and bases of the colonialist Powers, which constitute the gravest danger not only to the security of the countries bordering those two areas but in fact to international peace and security.

In this respect, I wish to point out that my country has always called for the maintenance of the neutrality of the Mediterranean, making of it a lake of peace. We also support the initiative declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

In spite of repeated affirmations by all countries of the important principles enshrined in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, many of those principles are being disregarded or violated by certain colonialist countries and racist régimes, particularly those principles relating to the non-use of force or threat of force and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. There is no doubt that many peoples have been subjected to the violation of such principles. They have been exposed to aggression and pressures by the colonialist countries, notably by the United States of America, which seeks to impose its domination over various areas in the world through the destabilization of the national régimes in such countries, and the control of their fate and the exploitation of their natural resources.

The Libyan people was and still is one of those peoples exposed to United States aggressive practices. For a long time, the United States has resorted to an aggressive policy against the Libyan people and leadership. This policy has taken various forms, including military provocations carried out by United States military aircraft and naval vessels, violating our territorial waters and Libyan air space. The most provocative act carried out against our territorial waters

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

and air space occurred in the Gulf of Sirte last August by the United States Sixth Fleet. That aggression was condemned by all peace-loving peoples as well as by the numerous and varied declarations adopted by some international organizations, including the declaration adopted by the Arab Group at the United Nations, the declaration issued by the Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in New York and the statement issued by the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries in New York, which is contained in document A/36/566 which reads as follows:

"The Ministers and Heads of delegations expressed deep concern over the aggression by the United States of America against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 19 August 1981. They considered that that aggression constitutes a threat as well as flagrant violence against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of non-aligned countries in the region, which advocate the creation of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean, and a threat to international peace and security". (A/36/566, annex, part VI)

In addition to military provocation, my country is being subjected to tendentious information campaigns which try to discredit it and its leadership. The latest among these accusations appears in the issue of Newsweek of November 30 last which claimed that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had trained special assassination squads to kill President Reagan as well as some other high-ranking officials and that, if this happened, the United States has prepared a contingency plan whereby United States B-52 bombers were going to strafe certain Libyan targets. These allegations have also been propagated by a number of United States officials, notably by the United States Secretary of State, Alexander Haig.

My country has affirmed on many occasions that the United States allegations are mere lies devoid of any truth and that my country categorically denies all such rumours which are alien to our ethics and policies. This accusation should in fact be addressed to the United States of America, which seeks to disrupt the stability of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and physically liquidate the leader of our revolution. The United States press itself has exposed these machinations. It is nothing new for the Central Intelligence Agency which has a long record of infamous acts of sabotage throughout the world.

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

My country believes that all these machinations and lies are simply an attempt by the United States of America to prepare the United States and international public opinion for an aggression against our country, in order to impose American political domination over us. In this respect, we wish to affirm that in the case of aggression against Libya we shall exercise our legitimate right to self-defence with all our power to protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr. OSAH (Nigeria): On behalf of the Nigerian delegation to this Committee, I wish to express our deep sorrow and grief, through you, Sir, to the Chairman of our Committee, Ambassador Golob, on the recent tragic crash of a Yugoslav airliner.

The debates on international security have become so ritualistic and polemic that delegations are getting bored, particularly when listening to statements easily described as propaganda stunts. By now it would have been difficult to find many delegations wishing to take the floor but for the compelling reason that the issues involved and at stake are so vital to man's existence. Besides, the old adage that where there is life there is hope readily comes to mind, and this appears to justify the annual debates, in our hope that, one day, sanity will prevail and man's present concept and perception of security in terms of military superiority will change for the better.

It was in this belief, that the future might offer better prospects for disarmament, that the General Assembly, inspired by the concerted efforts of the non-aligned countries, adopted resolution 2602 E (XXIV), of 16 December 1969, which proclaimed the decade of the 1970s as the first United Nations Disarmament Decade. In proclaiming the 1970s as a Disarmament Decade, the international community had hoped that all Governments would, without delay, intensify their efforts for effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament and the eventual elimination of other forms of weapons of mass destruction.

The enabling resolution also envisaged that a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control would be adopted. In view of the relationship between disarmament and development, it was contemplated that the resources released by disarmament measures would be available for economic development, particularly in the interests of developing countries.

A decade after the adoption of that resolution, the General Assembly, as if in a stock-taking exercise, noted with concern that the objectives of the first United Nations Disarmament Decade had not been achieved. Consequently, another resolution, spelling out similar objectives, declared the 1980s as the second United Nations Disarmament Decade. It remains to be seen what success or failure we shall make of this second Decade.

(Mr. Osah, Nigeria)

In 1970, the General Assembly, aware of the critical but urgent choice confronting mankind - either increased peaceful co-operation and progress or disunity and conflict, or even total annihilation - adopted resolution 2734 (XXV), the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The correlation between this resolution and the earlier one adopted in 1969 is not hard to find: the interrelationship between disarmament, on the one hand, and international peace and security and development, on the other hand, is so close that, in discussing issues related to one, the other must be considered along with it. The success or failure of one affects the other. This is manifestly brought out in the report of the Group of Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and International Security, which notes that:

"The arms race poisons the international atmosphere, adversely affects all aspects of international political relations and creates obstacles for the practical implementation of the peaceful co-existence of States as reflected in the Charter of the United Nations. It hinders the process of improving and changing relations among States on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual co-operation and equality."

(A/36/597, para. 27)

As we begin this new decade, we need no soothsayers to warn us that we face a bleak future unless current trends are reversed - a future guided by the dictates of a few super-Powers; a future where sophisticated nuclear technology, rather than policy, dictates the course of human endeavours; a future where man's ingenuity, rather than provide for his comfort and better standards of living, would destroy all that he has produced. It is, however, questionable whether the doctrine of deterrence, or balance of terror, would prove a reliable instrument of control in a crisis situation. In spite of the convincing arguments to the contrary, some countries, particularly the super-Powers, have chosen to base their security perceptions on nuclear weapons in the hope that the balance may remain stable.

(Mr. Osah, Nigeria)

The arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, poses a great threat to mankind, and this has accentuated the already precarious concept of balance of deterrence. Statistics now show that there are nuclear weapons of various sizes, types, and degrees of lethal effect numbering over 50,000. There are no indications that this massive build-up will stop, let alone be reversed. The cost of the development, production and stockpiling is staggering. This is particularly disturbing at a time when the United Nations has spent enormous resources on disarmament negotiations. The cost benefit to the United Nations and the various Governments that send representatives to the annual rounds of talks on disarmament is virtually nil. The super-Powers have argued quite tenaciously that nuclear weapons support their national security, both by deterring direct conflict between them and by maintaining their geo-political or ideological influences and domination. At the same time, each is concerned that the other may achieve nuclear superiority. In the absence of any verifiable data and measures of disarmament, these concerns are projected as justifying a further quantitative and qualitative build-up of their military arsenals.

The continued reliance on this outmoded concept of balance of deterrence has been rejected by the non-aligned countries and has also found expression in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which states that:

"Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority."
(Resolution S-10/2, para. 13)

There is no doubt that the hopes and aspirations of the international community in the 1970s for general and complete disarmament have been frustrated. We have witnessed increased acts of aggression by some States against other, weak and small States. There have been grave and serious violations of Charter obligations and flagrant violations of rules of international law concerning friendly relations. In the last decade alone, we have witnessed increased acts of intervention and interference in the internal and external affairs of Member States. Armed bands in the form of mercenaries have been freely used to destabilize small and poor independent countries. Only last week we learnt

(Mr. Osah, Nigeria)

of the atrocious but futile attempt by a band of mercenaries to overthrow the Government of Seychelles. We are witness to the double-standard approach to all human-rights issues. In our view, there should be no discrimination in any human right issues, be they in Africa, Europe or Latin America.

In spite of the hotbeds of tension in nearly every continent of the world over the last 36 years, time and again we have been told that the lack of a major conflagration during that period is due largely to this balance of deterrence and the mad race for military superiority. Such pronouncements underline the sufferings and deprivations of some of the inhabitants of South East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa.

The establishment and development of good-neighbourliness between States will, in addition to promoting strict observance of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, breed confidence among nations, which, in turn, will promote international peace and security. We wholeheartedly welcome the initiative by the Government of Romania on this item and hope that further initiatives will be developed at subsequent sessions. As long as these essential prerequisites are lacking, so long will disarmament and international peace and security elude us. There must be the political will on the part of all States, particularly the militarily significant ones, to negotiate objectively on all disarmament and development issues. Happily, the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament outlined the broad objectives to be sought and the main methods to be used in any future search for international peace and security and disarmament.

Amongst some of these mechanisms is the need to involve the United Nations in all international agreements. This is particularly so as the issues involved concern all of mankind, regardless of stage of development and military might. It is in this regard that we appeal to those now engaged in strategic arms reduction talks to realize that the world awaits the results of their deliberations with keen interest. They should approach the discussions with objectivity, devoid of any attempt to whip up sentiments designed to gain support for further development, production and deployment of any strategic weapons.

(Mr. Osah, Nigeria)

There is no alternative to disarmament and international security. The consequences of a nuclear war are so great that not even the two super-Powers, we hope, would want to experience such a disaster. Those that aspire to lead the world can only do so when others are spared the scourge of nuclear holocaust, for there can be no leaders if there are no followers.

The CHAIRMAN: I assure the representative of Nigeria that his kind sentiments expressed regarding the recent tragic air accident involving nationals of Yugoslavia will be conveyed to Ambassador Golob.

Mr. RAMBISOON (Trinidad and Tobago): Eleven years ago at its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2625 (XXV) entitled 'Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.' If the need for such a Declaration was evident then, such a need is even more manifest today as we view the increasing areas of strain, crises and conflicts in the various parts of the world.

This Committee has over the past few weeks been through its annual general debate on disarmament-related items and adopted a number of resolutions on the various aspects of this subject. Such was the case last year, and the year before and the year before that. Indeed, the subject of disarmament has been discussed in the General Assembly ever since the United Nations came into being and has in fact been of perpetual concern to man. Many of these resolutions on this subject go unimplemented and remain dead letters and as their numbers increase the world seems to become more and more insecure. With the advent of nuclear weapons, for the first time in its history mankind now has the dubious ability to wreak the complete annihilation of the species. Armaments and, in particular, nuclear armaments, have failed to provide the security they were intended to provide and while efforts continue to have their numbers reduced and their use outlawed, we must look in other directions to preserve the peace.

While the Charter places the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council, the fact is that all nations have a role to play in this regard. Articles 10, 11, 12 and 14 of the Charter indicate this quite clearly and further, the fact remains that non-members of the Security Council constitute at any one time some 90 per cent of the membership of the United Nations. The overwhelming number of these States are small, militarily insignificant States, whose ability to influence decisions of the two super-Powers is minimal although their very survival and existence could be affected by those decisions.

(Mr. Rambissoon, Trinidad and Tobago)

Our Charter contains impeccable principles and lofty ideals which are today as valid and worthy as on the day they were written. It is a regrettable fact, however, that not all of our Members do more than pay lip-service to the ideals of the Charter, while others interpret them in different ways at different times to suit a particular convenience. The lack of faithful adherence to resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council has very often placed the very authority of the United Nations in question.

First of all then, to foster the preservation of international peace and security all nations should pledge themselves to abide by the principles enshrined in the Charter to which they fully subscribe and to accept the authority of the various organs of the United Nations. One of the frequently flouted aspects of the Charter relates to the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States. I am sure that Members need not be reminded of the dangers inherent in the attempted abrogation of this principle. The umbrella of the United Nations should be sufficient protection for all States, great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, and as a very minimum, States Members of this Organization should freely recognize each other's rights to national existence and territorial inviolability so that no State would have the right to invade the territory of another and, equally, each State must recognize the national existence of its neighbours. In this respect, this Committee has before it document A/C.1/36/L.61, to which is annexed a draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. The draft declaration contains a number of rights and duties for the guidance of States in their relations with other States and it is my delegation's belief that, if adopted by this Committee, the draft contained in document A/C.1/36/L.61, which elaborates on certain principles contained in the Charter, would go a long way towards preserving international peace and security. My delegation fully supports the draft declaration.

(Mr. Rambissoon, Trinidad and Tobago)

In addition to the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and the draft declaration to which I have just referred, this Organization has several other indicators to guide its Members along the path of peace, freedom and development, two of which I should like to mention, namely, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Charter recognizes the need for international collaboration for the purpose of economic and social development but regrettably insufficient attention has been paid to this aspect of the Charter. It is not difficult to find instances where open hostility has broken out between States because of economic considerations. Today, the tremendous imbalance between States or groups of States is glaring and the misery of poverty prevailing in so many developing countries could hardly be conducive to stability in those countries and constitutes a potential threat to the peace of the world. This Committee has already considered document A/36/356 on the study of the relationship between disarmament and development and my delegation would like to express the hope that the very revealing facts contained in this study, and especially those related to the waste of expenditure on armaments and the alternative beneficial use to which such expenditure could be put, will be carefully considered and acted upon by those mentioned in the study.

The Special Committee on decolonization has done a great deal to bring freedom to all mankind. Yet, pockets of colonial domination and rule still exist; the most detestable is the situation in southern Africa and Namibia. The continued brutal violence and massive repression carried out against the black peoples of South Africa and Namibia violate the very basic tenets of the Charter and must be countered by effective international action to ensure respect by those intransigent régimes for the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual as well as for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples.

(Mr. Rambissoon, Trinidad and Tobago)

Peace is not a negative concept, peace means a great deal more than the absence of war or global conflict. It means much more than the absence of regional conflicts or sporadic shooting wars in various parts of the world. It is more than mere disinterested tolerance or peaceful coexistence. Peace has to do with the absence of tension throughout the world, the existence of goodwill, the intention to promote the betterment of all humanity in the long run against short-term selfish advantages. Peace means that fear must be replaced by hope and for many millions that armaments must be replaced by economic and social development. It means freedom to pursue one's particular way of life without fear of molestation or external aggression in any form. The blueprint for such a world already exists. What is now required of all of us is the political commitment and determination to make it a reality.

Miss SEGARRA (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): In this statement I wish to refer to item 57 of our agenda, "Development and Strengthening of Good-neighbourliness between States", on which the delegation of Romania has submitted the draft resolution in document A/C.1/36/L.59.

First I should like to offer the support of my delegation for the principles mentioned in this draft resolution, which we believe reflect the aspiration of all peoples to live in peace in good-neighbourliness.

By way of explanation I would add that my delegation had co-sponsored the original text of this draft resolution because it contained certain elements or concepts which my delegation considered to be not only extremely relevant but also of the greatest importance in the context of a policy of good-neighbourliness and co-operation between States. I should like to mention some of those elements - for example, the paragraph referring to the responsibility of all States to establish and maintain good-neighbourly relations with other States regardless of their political or social systems or the orientation of their foreign policy. My delegation also agreed with the preambular paragraph that expressed the profound concern of the international community at the continued existence of conflicts among States, particularly between neighbouring States, which jeopardize the peace, security and progress of the peoples in question as well as those of other peoples.

It also seemed to us that the paragraph that expressed the conviction of the General Assembly that any improvement in relations between neighbouring States would not only benefit those States but also exercise a positive influence on relations among States of the region and international relations in general.

Another concept in the original draft resolution that my delegation shared was the idea that the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness would contribute to the solution of existing problems between States, particularly neighbouring States, and the strengthening of mutual confidence.

(Miss Segarra, Ecuador)

Although operative paragraph 1 of the present draft resolution reaffirms that "good neighbourliness conforms with the purposes of the United Nations and is founded upon the strict observance of the principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations",

the following paragraphs contain no mention of or specific reference to two principles that in my delegation's view are the very pillars not only of good-neighbourliness but also of the system of collective security provided for in the United Nations Charter - that is, non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations, as laid down in Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, with its logical corollary, paragraph 3 of the same Article, which places on States the obligation to settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

We believe that a specific reference to those principles could have been included in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, which calls upon all States "in the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security, to develop good neighbourly relations". Here we could continue "acting in conformity with the principles of the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States".

The purpose of these comments on the text of draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.59 is simply to stress those aspects that in our judgement are of special significance in friendly relations and co-operation among States.

Ecuador, a country whose love of peace and respect for the norms of international law require no further proof, rejects the use of any kind of force in international relations and categorically maintains that any controversy - territorial or of any other kind - can and must be resolved by peaceful means. Force, which is definitively proscribed by international law, is used only when the parties to a dispute or one of them lacks the true will to ensure harmonious coexistence and friendly co-operation between peoples.

(Miss Segarra, Ecuador)

The Government of Ecuador has already informed the Secretary-General of its position on the question of the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States in accordance with operative paragraph 4 of resolution 34/00. Document A/36/376 of 25 September 1981, which is before the Committee, contains a statement giving my Government's opinions on this important subject. Nevertheless I should like to make the following points.

Ecuador attributes the greatest possible importance to the various initiatives taken within the United Nations to strengthen international peace and security and to promote maximum use of the world body and its machinery to maintain or to restore peace on the basis of justice and respect for the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and other international documents that promote peaceful coexistence.

Ecuador believes that the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contained in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV) are highly significant achievements in the quest for international peace and co-operation. Those documents set forth clearly the principles that should guide States in their international relations.

(Miss Segarra, Ecuador)

From the regional standpoint, I should like to stress the importance my country attaches to regional agreements and organs whose functions in the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes in their respective regions are recognized in Articles 52, 53 and 54 of the United Nations Charter.

In our region, the treaties of the inter-American system which, in themselves, constitute a means for guaranteeing peace and stability throughout the continent, contain various provisions designed to ensure peaceful coexistence and to promote confidence and co-operation at various levels among the American States.

On the subregional level as well, there are solemn undertakings to establish an institutional order to guide the relations of a group of States in a constructive and concerted manner with a view to promoting their common interests. In the Charter of Conduct signed in September 1980 by Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Panama at Riobamba in Ecuador, the signatories undertook, inter alia, to encourage the settlement of disputes by means of the peaceful procedures provided for in international law; to promote a process of subregional and regional disarmament based on the postulates of the Declaration of Ayacucho, which constitutes an effective contribution to general and complete disarmament and makes it possible to free resources for economic and social development; to reaffirm the sovereign right of States to dispose freely of their natural resources as a substantive rule of international coexistence; to act jointly in the face of any economic threat or coercion affecting one of the States of the Andean Subregional Group as a means of ensuring their collective economic security; to promote a greater participation by the countries of the Andean Subregion in the negotiations relating to political and economic problems that are being debated by the international community, particularly those relating to peace and security and the new international economic order; to make efforts to adopt common policies in the economic, social, labour, educational, cultural, technological and health fields, among others, and to bring the respective national legislations closer into line with each other;

(Miss Segarra, Ecuador)

inspired by the principles of international social justice, to apply the instruments of the Andean integration scheme in such a way that the member States derive equitable benefits as established in the Cartagena Agreement.

As my Government noted in its response to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in document A/36/376:

"Relations of good-neighbourliness are nothing more than relations of friendship and co-operation among those States which are most closely bound by geographic proximity or by the fact that they belong to regional systems which operate according to certain principles. ...

"All pacifism - and in the case of Ecuador pacifism is part of its nature - requires the practice of good-neighbourliness if it is to grow stronger, and this involves steady co-operation in the various areas and the certainty that a neighbouring State will not at any time resort to the threat or use of force in international relations. ...

"...it is not possible to strengthen the principle of good-neighbourliness among States without observing other principles which constitute the basis of good-neighbourliness. These include, necessarily, the principles of respect for the sovereignty and independence of States and therefore, at the same time, respect for the territorial integrity of States. ...

"Good-neighbourly relations involve, in addition to the above-mentioned principles, respect for the principle of the equality of all States before the law, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the principle of self-determination of peoples and the principles of the protection and promotion of human rights... all these principles play an important role in good-neighbourly relations because, in fact, geographical proximity intensifies relations between bordering States and puts to the test, with growing frequency, respect for the guiding principles of international life." (A/36/376, pp. 11-13, paras. 8, 10, 13, 19)

(Miss Segarra, Ecuador)

I should like to conclude my statement by saying that to live in peace as good neighbours means that differences must be reconciled, that tolerance must be practised, that injustices must be rooted out and that we must work together to solve the great problems confronting mankind. Those, in sum, are the high-priority global tasks. That those are, indeed, the very bases of a new international political and moral order.

Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka): I should like, at the outset, to join those delegations that have conveyed to the Chairman and the delegation of Yugoslavia their deep condolences on the tragic loss of life in the recent air disaster.

Two days ago, the representative of Yugoslavia introduced, under agenda item 58, a draft resolution on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security that is contained in document A/C.1/36/L.60. As in previous years, my delegation is one of the sponsors of this draft resolution.

My delegation is also a sponsor of the draft resolution on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States contained in document A/C.1/36/L.59, which was introduced by the representative of Romania under agenda item 57.

Although the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted over a decade ago without a single dissenting vote, it is a matter for concern that its provisions have not been fully implemented.

There has been considerable interest in this agenda item, and in the debate, although we have heard individual speakers focus special attention on specific issues and questions, all the participants have clearly expressed grave concern about the grim escalation of tension in virtually every region of the world, adding further threats to international peace and security. This instability and insecurity stems not only from political and military factors, but from a multitude of economic, social and other factors as well.

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

In our statement on this item last year, we pointed out that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is one of the few documents which firmly rooted as it is in the United Nations Charter, links virtually all the complex issues and questions the United Nations is called upon to consider. The Declaration, in other words, covers the entire spectrum of the United Nations agenda and, what is most important, seeks to discern the interconnection between those diverse items and their over-all impact on international peace and security.

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

For example, the Declaration identifies the very close nexus that exists between international security and disarmament, on the one hand, and disarmament and economic development, on the other.

The Declaration, in essence, emphasizes the indivisibility of international peace and security. Hence, there can be no international security until the complex issues of the Middle East and southern Africa -- to pick two major political stalemates -- have been settled. In the Middle East, there can clearly be no just and lasting solution unless the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people have been restored and Israel has withdrawn from all occupied territories. Equally, there can be no international security until the system of apartheid, with all its ramifications, has been totally dismantled. Those are but two centres of high tension and instability which have festered long enough without settlement. The United Nations is not without declarations, resolutions and decisions on those two issues. The non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and other such groupings have been seized of these issues and have put forward viable solutions. The United Nations Charter itself provides all the fundamental principles on which solutions to these and other problems can be effectively based. However, the main organs of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly the Security Council, have been unable to take effective measures to ensure a solution of these issues.

There is no intention whatsoever on the part of my delegation to pillory the Security Council or to ascribe total responsibility to it for the state of the world. In fact, implicit in draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.60 is the basic argument that the Security Council is indeed the primary institution for the maintenance of international peace and security. The argument for a strong and decisive Security Council is as cogent now as ever before, but we should very carefully consider how the authority and enforcement capacity of the Council could be effectively utilized for the settlement of the outstanding issues before us. The draft resolution makes a number of suggestions in that connexion.

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

Although the range of issues covered in draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.60 is wide, I wish to confine myself to a few remarks on one question which is of direct and immediate significance to my delegation and to a large number of non-aligned countries. I refer to the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) and considered by the 1979 Meeting of Indian Ocean Littoral and Hinterland States. This Committee has only recently adopted a resolution which emphasized the General Assembly's decision to convene the conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo, Sri Lanka, as a necessary step for the implementation of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Concrete action for the achievement of the objectives of that Declaration will constitute a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security. The Indian Ocean area is one of the most volatile centres of high tension and instability in the world today. The countries of the region are unanimous in their desire to prevent that region from becoming an arena for great-Power confrontation. It is our belief that the conference on the Indian Ocean, attended by the littoral and the hinterland States and by the permanent members of the Security Council as well as major maritime users, would be an important stage in the implementation of the Declaration, and we look forward to the convening of the conference not later than the first half of 1983. The grave developments in the area compel the earliest possible convening of the conference.

This year the Non-Aligned Movement commemorates its twentieth year of existence. From an initial membership of 25 countries, including my own, the Movement now embraces almost 100 countries. The Movement is a viable alternative to mutually opposing alliances and blocs and it bases itself on positive principles of justice, freedom and international co-operation. During the past 20 years, the Movement has contributed in great measure to the promotion of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among nations and the democratization of international relations on the basis of its principles and those of the United Nations Charter. The decisions of the Movement provide blueprints for easing tension and for the settlement of international issues. Time will attest to the validity of these decisions.

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

As this Committee must conclude its debate on items 57 and 58 this morning and as time is short, I have concentrated in these brief remarks only on some aspects of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Of course, I do not thereby in any way underestimate those issues and questions on which I have touched only lightly or not at all.

International security cannot be ensured until the provisions of the Declaration have been fully implemented. The process of decolonization has to be completed; racism and apartheid remain to be eradicated; genuine and tangible progress must be made towards general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament; military blocs and alliances must be dismantled; nations must feel secure from foreign domination and aggression and from intervention and interference of any sort in their internal or external affairs; and international economic relations have to be restructured on a more equitable basis. Only then can a viable system of international relations be established, based on justice, freedom and the sovereign equality of all States, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Finally, let me express the gratitude and admiration of my delegation for the dedicated work done by the delegation of Guyana for the presentation, on behalf of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, of the draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. My delegation fully supports that draft.

The CHAIRMAN: I deeply appreciate the words of condolence the representative of Sri Lanka addressed to my delegation on the occasion of the air disaster and the ensuing loss of human life in that tragedy.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. Chairman, in the first place I wish to express my deep condolences to you in connexion with the tragic accident that occurred to a Yugoslav aircraft.

In this statement I should like to refer to agenda item 58 and draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.60/Fev.1.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The draft resolution is intended, as in previous years, to give effect to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The objective of the Declaration is to promote international security through compliance with the provisions of the Charter. The Declaration makes a specific call upon the Security Council to take measures under Article 43 of Chapter VII in order to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in that article, so as to fully restore the validity and effect of the Security Council's decisions by developing its capacity for enforcement action.

Implementation means taking steps that are calculated to give effect to the Declaration. A resolution on implementation cannot, therefore, be less explicit and specific than the Declaration itself. As in previous years, the reference in the Declaration to giving effect to Chapter VII should appear in equally specific terms in the resolution calling for implementation.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

However, by the inclusion of operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution, which reads:

"Reiterates the need for the Security Council, and particularly its permanent members, to ensure the effective implementation of its decisions in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

the purpose of implementation is to a great extent covered. My delegation will, therefore, vote for the draft resolution and will fully support it, particularly having regard to its paragraphs on a Mediterranean zone of peace.

I believe that this draft resolution in its compromise form should receive universal support considering that the Declaration was adopted unanimously, with the exception of a single vote. I cannot see why the Members of the United Nations which voted for the Declaration would not vote for a milder version, as contained in the present draft resolution. I therefore commend it for universal acceptance and a unanimous vote.

I should like to add further that we shall vote for the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Guyana, which is a very important document comprising various essential aspects of international security, in reference to non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

With the Chairman's permission, I should like now to speak on a point of order relating to the organization of the Committee's work.

I believe that some 50 meetings have been allotted to disarmament, but only a few to international security. I have said in my previous statement that the promotion of international security is a very important subject. As is now evident from the draft resolution and the Guyana proposal, it is vital that international security be fully discussed, because it is the axis around which the whole structure of the United Nations, including the process of disarmament, revolves. I submit that in future, more time must be allotted to international security so as to do justice to the decision of the special session on disarmament that this Committee deal with both disarmament and international security. The present allocation is disproportionate. It is in inverse ratio to the importance of the subject of international security.

The CHAIRMAN: I deeply appreciate the representative of Cyprus' expression of condolence addressed to the Yugoslav delegation.

Mr. SUMNERHAYES (United Kingdom): I wish to join those who have offered their condolences to you, Mr. Chairman, in connexion with the tragic accident which has brought such terrible loss of life to your country.

I should now like to make a few brief remarks on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

The Ten have noted with interest the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/36/L.59 which represents a follow-up to the 1979 initiative of the Romanian Government concerning the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States. Clearly, it is in the interest of us all to see the development of good relations between neighbouring States, and the Ten are content to see this draft resolution adopted by consensus.

However, we are not convinced that the notion of good neighbourliness necessarily corresponds to any existing principles of international law. We would like to stress the importance that we attach to ensuring that any further examination of the question of good-neighbourliness, as called for in operative paragraphs 5 and 6 of draft resolution A/C.1/36/L.59, should be consonant with the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations and with the Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is for this reason that the Ten think that any further work designed to strengthen and develop the concept of good-neighbourliness should take place in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, which is better qualified to deal with the specific legal and practical issues involved.

The CHAIRMAN: I deeply appreciate the expression of condolences that the representative of the United Kingdom addressed to me in connexion with the air disaster and the ensuing tragedy.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.