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at 3 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 52ND MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 58, 59 AND 137 (continued)

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

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt): In addressing the items on international peace and security, I should like to state at the outset that the world is, indeed, witnessing a serious deterioration in the international situation. The past year alone has seen an alarming succession of international crises, as well as stalemates on a number of fundamental international issues, a matter which underlines the importance of the items under consideration and of the debate of the First Committee on the issue of international peace and security.

Throughout those crises, and in dealing with those issues, the United Nations itself has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter envisaged for it. That is precisely what prompted Egypt, during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and ever since, to urge a pause - a serious pause - to ponder and reflect on such a state of affairs. We felt, and still feel, that an objective appraisal of the existing political order and, in particular, of the role of existing international machinery, is a necessary step towards the elaboration of a cogent approach thereto.

It is now clear that the international situation, because of the conflicts by which it is plagued, demonstrates that dealing with a single problem in isolation from others - be it disarmament, the New International Economic Order or collective security - cannot provide an effective remedy for problems related to the international political system. With that interrelationship

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

between the various issues in mind, we reiterated during the present session our earlier proposal aimed at undertaking a thorough review of the entire system and the role of the United Nations. We believe that the Secretary-General's valuable and correct analysis of the international situation and of the role of the United Nations - in particular, the collective security system - as well as the proposals contained in his report to the present session deserve our attention and most sincere co-operation.

Egypt has wholeheartedly supported the inclusion of the new item entitled "The implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security" proposed by Sierra Leone, and in the same spirit we are a sponsor of the draft resolution so ably introduced to this Committee last Monday by Ambassador Koroma of Sierra Leone. We express the hope that a more concrete action in that direction might be possible in the future.

Egypt attaches great importance to the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between States, since we firmly believe that the security of nations depends to a considerable degree on the nature of relations between neighbouring States. Good-neighbourliness is therefore a fundamental component of the objectives of our foreign policy. In pursuing that objective, we are guided not only by the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but also by the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In a world where acts of aggression against and invasion of neighbouring States has always been justified by one pretext or another, we believe that the legal content of the concept of good-neighbourliness must be well defined. We are of the view that good-neighbourliness between States cannot be achieved unless it is practised on the basis of reciprocity of rights and obligations.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

We believe that the first duty of every State towards its neighbours is to respect scrupulously their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and their equal right to security. There is no special right when it comes to security, there is no superiority in security. All States and peoples have equal right to a security that should be fully respected and that can only be guaranteed through strong good-neighbourly relations that will secure a certain stability or a minimum of harmony between States. To this end, we believe that peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, sources of tension and of war would enhance the development of good-neighbourliness and conversely, it is through the promotion of the policy of good-neighbourliness, that problems arising between neighbours which in many regions of the world create sources of crisis, instability, tension and armed conflicts, can be overcome.

The region of the Middle East is but one case in point. Tension, aggression and foreign occupation, as well as the denial of the peoples' inalienable national right, have long plagued our region. They have also jeopardized the peace and security of the States of the region and beyond. A just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem - and in particular of the crux of that problem, that is, the Palestinian question - is therefore a prerequisite for promoting good-neighbourly relations among the States and peoples of the region.

Similarly, we believe that the pursuance of apartheid as well as the continued illegal occupation of Namibia jeopardize every prospect of developing and promoting such a concept of good-neighbourliness between the States of southern Africa.

The list is long. It includes many other situations in Asia, Europe and Central America. We do, in fact, agree with the views expressed by many States in their replies to the Secretary-General to the effect that good-neighbourliness is more than peaceful coexistence. It implies and requires the cessation of every act that would have a negative effect on the development and promotion of good-neighbourly relations. We consider good-neighbourliness not only as an integral part of the broader concept of the maintenance of peace and security, but also as a reliable guarantee and fundamental element in achieving such a goal.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The delegation of Egypt is at present considering with keen interest the draft resolution prepared by Romania, the initiator of this item, to whom we wish to express our appreciation.

Turning now to the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, we note with concern that the provisions of this important Declaration have not been implemented. However, there have been several initiatives aimed at strengthening international security. Deriving from the fact that international security is not an isolated concept, and given its linkage with national and regional security, we attach great importance to the idea of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in different regions of the world. Egypt's initiative on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East is a manifestation of such importance. Similarly, we deem the concept of the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and co-operation to be a matter of interest to us as a Mediterranean country, within a framework of just solutions of the problems plaguing the region and the regions surrounding the Mediterranean. Problems of foreign occupation, denial of rights, especially the right to self-determination, and problems of security are cases in point.

We consider the security of the Middle East as an integral part of Mediterranean security and security in Europe, as well as international security. It is our firm belief, therefore, that transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation necessitates a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and its central point, the Palestinian question. A satisfactory solution to the problem of Cyprus should be reached to ensure the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

Egypt's view on the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is a matter of record. We believe that the realization of such an objective would be a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security. We reiterate our hope that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean will be able to reach a consensus on the convening of the conference on the Indian Ocean and that the conference will take place at Colombo, Sri Lanka, during the first half of 1984.

(Mr. Mousa, Egypt)

Having addressed the different international security items before u and as a general concluding remark; let me say that we believe that the maintenance of international peace and security, and hence its strengthening, necessitates the peaceful settlement of all international disputes. Détente in the real sense between the two super-Powers would undoubtedly contribute to an international atmosphere conducive to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security through the lessening of international tension. However, international tension is not limited to relations between the two super-Powers, nor to various alliances, nor to a specific continent. It definitely implies the peaceful settlement of the most pressing problems and situations in all their aspects which are facing the international community.

Without realizing the legitimate and inalienable rights of all peoples, the right to undiminished security of all States, general and complete disarmament under effective international control and a just solution to the chronic economic crisis, there will be no real lessening or elimination of international tension and there will be no significant progress towards the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): As one of the founder Members of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR, throughout the activities of the United Nations, has constantly attached and still attaches great importance to this broad range of problems relating to the implementation by this Organization of its main task: the strengthening of international peace and security and freeing current and future generations from the scourge of war. Our approach to these issues has been stated on more than one occasion at sessions of the General Assembly, in other bodies of the United Nations and also in replies to letters from the Secretary-General. This time also the position of the Byelorussian SSR has been set forth in a number of documents published at this session of the General Assembly, for example, documents A/37/455 and A/37/355/Add.3, and others. This enables our delegation in this debate to focus only on some of the key issues.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted 12 years ago on the initiative of the USSR, is based on such important principles as the non-use or threat of force in international relations, non-intervention in affairs which are within the internal competence of any State, the development of broad international co-operation, the sovereign equality of States, the implementation by States in good faith of the commitments entered into under the United Nations Charter, and the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means in such a manner as not to threaten international peace, security or justice. This Declaration has undoubtedly become one of the most relevant documents in the world today. Moreover, for many States, as can be seen in past years, it has been a broad programme for action and initiatives which have taken form in the declarations and resolutions drafted and adopted by the General Assembly, designed to improve the international situation, to develop and consolidate détente, to avert the threat of nuclear war, to achieve concrete measures in disarmament and to eliminate from international relations the practice of the policies of hegemonism, colonialism, racism and apartheid, economic exploitation and diktat.

Annual consideration at sessions of the General Assembly of the process of implementing the principles and provisions of that Declaration allows us not only to focus the attention of all States on the implementation of the main task of this Organization under its Charter, that of ensuring general peace and international security, but also gives us an opportunity to compare the approaches of individual countries and groups of States to the implementation of this instrument, one of the most important drafted by the United Nations, based on the key provisions of the Charter of this Organization.

Let us turn to some of the primary provisions of the Declaration, and also some of the resolutions adopted in recent years on implementation of the Declaration, which is particularly important now when the question is being resolved, in fact, as to how international relations will develop in future, and whether mankind is able to deal with its number one priority, namely, averting the threat of nuclear war. As is known the Declaration:

"Urges all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to make urgent and concerted efforts ... for the cessation and reversal of the nuclear and conventional arms race at an early date, the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control ..."

(General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), para. 20, p. 23)

The General Assembly, in operative paragraph 6 of resolution 35/158, adopted in 1980:

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

In resolution 36/102, adopted in 1981, the General Assembly once again urgently repeated those appeals. We are all familiar with these provisions, but are all States implementing them? Unfortunately, we are not able to reply to this question affirmatively. When we analyse the reasons for this, we can see particularly clearly that there are two foreign policies in contemporary international relations. The forces of imperialism, performing in chorus with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bloc, have decided to try to do away with everything positive that has already been achieved, including the results of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. They are trying to bury détente and to bring the cold war back to life. Under cover of the myth of the so-called Soviet threat, they have decided to try to destroy the military-strategic parity established between the Soviet Union and the United States in order to achieve military supremacy, and to dictate political conditions to others from a position of strength.

Flowing off the assembly line in different advertising packages, one more horrible than the other, we see doctrines and concepts emerging which justify the admissibility of nuclear war. Aspirations to world hegemony are based on this policy of an unbridled arms race. Unfortunately, this is something which can be seen from a recent statement by the President of the United States.

More new systems of weapons of mass destruction are now being created, designed to be deployed on land, in the sea and in the atmosphere, and now there is a supposed breakthrough of the arms race into outer space. There is also an expansion and strengthening of networks of military bases in various regions of the world, and many such regions are now declared to be "theirs", and their vital interests, so-called, are said to be involved, and now interventionist rapid deployment forces are being established.

As has been stated at the highest levels here in this country, the United States is carrying on what is really almost like a war, and colossal resources are being poured into it. Its military expenditures are expected to grow in the period 1981-1985 to the horrendous and terrifying scope of \$1.5 trillion. This is the real picture of the actual state of affairs and the actions of the imperialist forces. Behind this we see an extremely

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

adventuristic aspiration, but one that has no hopes at all, of the most aggressive forces of imperialism carrying on their usual crusade against communism. At any cost they want social revenge. Compare this with the provisions of the Declaration and the resolutions of recent sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, some of which I have just quoted, and it must again be crystal clear to Members that this policy of imperialism is worsening and further complicating the international situation and creating the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war which would be devastating to the human race.

Proceeding on the premise that no inter-State contradictions or political views should hamper this very first human right, the right to life, the Soviet State and other countries in the socialist community have very purposefully been implementing their own foreign policy programme which is fully directed towards freeing peoples from the threat of nuclear war, halting the arms race, achieving disarmament, strengthening peace on earth, and encouraging peaceful mutually beneficial co-operation among States.

As was emphasized in the communiqué of the Meeting of the Committees of Foreign Affairs of the Countries Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in October 1982:

"The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty will continue in future to make every effort to halt the process of the exacerbation of tension in the world, to avert military danger, and to achieve progress in curbing and reducing arms, particularly nuclear weapons."

In recent years, the Soviet Union, strictly adhering to the principle of equality and equal security of the parties, has frequently come forward with important peace initiatives, the implementation of which could halt the build-up of these lethal weapons and then reduce the stockpiles thereof. As has frequently been emphasized by the countries in the socialist community, there is no weapon that they would not be willing to curb or prohibit on a mutual basis, and if it has not yet been done, then we all know full well who has prevented it from being done.

(Mr. Shaldov, Byelorussian SSR)

A recent example of this was the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and also the vote on a number of important resolutions at this session in the First Committee. Those concerned are the United States of America and its closest allies in the NATO bloc. In the struggle for peace, for international security, there cannot be any pauses, any breathing spaces, and acting pursuant to this the Soviet State has been taking new concrete initiatives and practical steps. It was primarily an action of historic significance when this year the Soviet Union unilaterally formally entered into a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. There were also major initiatives designed to avert the growing nuclear threat and to curb the arms race.

At this session the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, in this Committee and elsewhere, has spoken on the broad range of disarmament problems, and now we would like to say that we were glad to see that the First Committee adopted a whole series of important resolutions directed to serving the cause of strengthening international security, including the one calling on nuclear Powers that have not yet done so to agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, also the resolution envisaging the swift elaboration of a treaty on a full and comprehensive nuclear-weapon-test ban and, to establish favourable conditions for working in the direction, the establishment by all nuclear Powers of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions until the treaty is concluded.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

There is also a series of resolutions calling for a moratorium on nuclear arsenals as a first step towards their subsequent reduction, the drafting of a nuclear disarmament programme by the Committee on Disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, ensuring the safe development of nuclear power. Provided there is the necessary political will, resolutions providing for other measures could be extremely useful. These are the resolutions calling upon nuclear-weapon States not to deploy such weapons in the territories of other States where no such weapons now exist, or in the territory of other States, and to strengthen the security of non-nuclear countries against the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

In other directions there are efforts to curb the arms race, and we should like to note the importance of resolutions calling for the speeding up of work on a convention prohibiting chemical weapons and halting the production or deployment of binary weapons or the deployment of chemical weapons in the territory of other States.

In this connection we feel we must emphasize that the Byelorussian delegation considers extremely dangerous and condemns the attempts made by some delegations to bring about a review and the virtual undermining of existing agreements in the area of the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons and bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons.

Turning again to the positive, our delegation also takes note of the adoption of resolutions calling for steps to be taken to prohibit the establishment of new kinds and systems of weapons of mass destruction and, more broadly, efforts to ensure that in the final analysis scientific and technological achievements are to be used only for peaceful purposes. There was also the approval of the resolution providing for a start to negotiations to prevent an arms race in outer space.

For all these proposed measures to be implemented, for them to become real, what is most necessary is the political will of States. We hope that the maturing of that political will in those cases where it is not yet present will promote the carrying out of the World Disarmament Campaign and, as part of that campaign, the collection of signatures in support of measures to avert nuclear war, to curb the arms race and to bring about disarmament.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

We naturally hope also that the adoption of these important proposals will not remain just a pious wish and that they will be used to ensure that the sword hanging over the human race, that sword which, as we know, could destroy millions, as it did at Hiroshima, that sword that was forged by man, will also be destroyed by man. That is our approach, and it is inspired not only by the spirit of the struggle for peace but also by the spirit of historic optimism. Proceeding from this premise we advocate the achievement of concrete results at the negotiations now under way in Geneva to curb and reduce nuclear weapons in Europe and to limit and reduce strategic arms on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security of the parties, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Sometimes, even at this session, voices are heard saying that we cannot reduce everything to nuclear weapons, that there are also conventional weapons. But there is a very convincing answer to that. The countries of the socialist community, in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, insist on the need for all States to enter into a legal commitment in general not to use force or to threaten to use force in their relations.

The draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations was proposed by the Soviet Union for consideration by the United Nations as long ago as 1976. We know who is throwing a spanner in the works in the drafting of this treaty, and that is why we welcome the Sixth Committee's decision, taken at this session, that the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations should continue its work in order to draft as quickly as possible a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

We cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that what was proposed in May 1979 is still awaiting a positive response: I refer to the proposal by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty for the conclusion by all parties to the all-European meeting of a treaty on non-first-use of nuclear or conventional weapons against each other. This is the key to the non-use of force and also the effect of the general lessening of international tension, and in the communiqué of the meeting of Foreign Ministers in October of this year the parties to the Warsaw Treaty recalled their position

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

of principle in support of the simultaneous dissolution of the two military political alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and said that the two alliances should not extend their activities to new regions of Asia, Africa or Latin America. As is known, at the meeting it was affirmed that the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty did not intend to expand the sphere of activities of their alliance and expected a similar position to be taken by the members of NATO.

Against this background the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic is extremely relevant in regard to the drafting and conclusion of a convention on mutual non-attack and non-use of force in inter-State relations in Asia and the Pacific. We should like once again to declare that we support it.

As has already been noted, on more than one occasion, including in the documents we have quoted today, the General Assembly has addressed an urgent appeal for the elimination of hotbeds of crisis and tension. Unfortunately that goal has not yet been achieved; rather, tension has been whipped up in some of the existing hotbeds of conflict, and there has been a sharp increase. That is true, inter alia, of the Middle East, where the Israeli aggressor, enjoying support and protection from their powerful ally under their strategic consensus, flagrantly and cynically continues its open policy of genocide against the Arab people of Palestine. There is one reason for all of this: the aspiration of the forces of imperialism and reaction to block social change. They are trying to do this by organizing military adventures against peoples endeavouring to achieve freedom and progress. They are using a policy of blackmail and threat, of attempts to recolonize, and similar methods. An end must be put to this.

In accordance with the requirements of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and in accordance with common sense - for, after all, the mind is stronger than the fist - we must intensify our struggle to sit down at the negotiating table and seek ways to resolve the complex international problems and to settle conflict situations.

In the case of Asia, what would be involved would be a halt to subversive activities and intervention in the affairs of the countries of that continent, including Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. A settlement of the Korean problem has been pending for decades. This must be achieved by peaceful means, without any outside interference, as has been proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the Middle East we are witnessing a collective effort by all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, to establish a lasting peace on the basis of the just principles which have been set out by my delegation in statements at this session of the General Assembly. The best means for achieving such a settlement would be the convening of an appropriate international conference.

Strengthening international peace and security also requires that we decrease the tensions in the dangerous situation in Central America and the Caribbean, that we put an end to the undeclared war being waged by the racist régime of South Africa against Angola and certain other States of that region and urgently secure the independence of Namibia, transferring all powers to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We must eliminate the hotbed of tension in the South Atlantic and take effective measures to stamp out the evils of racism and apartheid. We must solve pressing problems relating to the restructuring of international economic relations and placing them on a democratic and just footing.

Our Republic, situated as it is in the continent of Europe, in that part of Europe which suffered from the barbaric horrors of the Second World War, which took the life of one out of every four inhabitants of Byelorussia, is vitally interested in ensuring lasting peace and security in Europe. We advocate a constructive conclusion of the Madrid meeting which is now under way; we hope it will end with the adoption of a substantive and balanced final document intended further to develop the process of European détente which was begun in Helsinki. In this connection, it is particularly important that a decision be adopted at the Madrid meeting to convene within the framework of the all-European process a conference on strengthening trust and security and achieving disarmament in Europe, and that its mandate be agreed upon. Such a decision, which would promote the elaboration of concrete measures for that area, would be a substantial contribution to developing détente and strengthening security in Europe, which is something that all Soviet people aspire to, for our desires are for a peaceful future.

The immutable basis of the foreign policy of socialism is a firm and consistent position in favour of a comprehensive strengthening of international peace and security, of halting war, of achieving peace among peoples, of putting an end

to plunder and violence. That, in the words of the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, is our ideal.

The Soviet Union, the sixtieth anniversary of which we shall soon be celebrating, has been consistently true in its policies to those peaceful Leninist behests, and a concern for peace is the dominant trend. This defines the main line of the entire foreign policy of the Soviet countries. Our platform, as adopted at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the programme of peace for the 1980s. It was stated at that Congress that

"To defend peace: there is no more important task now at the international level for our Party, for our people and, indeed, for all the peoples of this world".

Today more than ever before the peoples are moving into the forefront of history, as was emphasized by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, at the November 1982 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when he said that

"The peoples have the right to speak, and no one can stop them from speaking. They shall now actively and purposefully take action to avert the threat of nuclear war, to defend peace and, thus, to defend life on this planet Earth. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State will do everything to ensure that this is done."

The present scope of the anti-war struggle of the peoples of all continents makes it imperative that the United Nations double - indeed, treble - its efforts in this noble cause.

Mr. SHEIKH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)(interpretation from Arabic): The annual review by the First Committee of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security since the time of that Declaration's adoption by the General Assembly in 1970 is a reflection, in the opinion of my delegation, of two matters.

The first is the validity of the principles enshrined in the Declaration with a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, developing friendly

relations among nations and bringing about international co-operation aimed at the resolution of all political, economic and social problems. Those are the goals set out in the United Nations Charter and are among the principle purposes of the Organization. The establishment and strengthening of international peace and security are the cornerstone of any effort intended to change and improve the situation of the peoples of the world, especially the developing world.

The second matter is the lack of any tangible results in the attempt to achieve the purposes of the Charter and the other objectives incorporated in numerous declarations and resolutions, such as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 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 Declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and resolutions concerning the non-use of force in international relations.

What we are witnessing today, such as the deterioration in international relations, clearly shows the lack of progress towards the enhancement of international security along the lines set out in the Charter. The spectre of war continues to haunt humanity, threatening it again and again. Anxiety and apprehension continue to dominate the daily lives of all the peoples of the world.

The general world situation is not conducive to optimism, owing to the absence of effective and just solutions for various international problems. The arms race being carried on by the major Powers and their allies; the adoption of doctrines based on theories of deterrence and the balance of power; the failure to achieve tangible progress in disarmament negotiations: all these factors result in the exacerbation of international tensions. The fanning of the flames of conflict in hotbeds of tension in many parts of the world is a serious threat to international peace and security.

In the Middle East, the situation is deteriorating daily as a result of the aggressive practices of the racist Zionist entity against the Palestinian people in particular and the Arab peoples in general. That entity relies in this regard on the unlimited support provided by the United States Government for the implementation of its expansionist designs and its occupation and annexation of the occupied Arab territories, thereby violating international law and the resolutions of the international community.

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

This also applies to the situation in southern Africa. The Pretoria racist régime is continuing unlawfully to hold down Namibia and is pursuing its attacks against the neighbouring African countries. International peace and security can never be achieved in those two regions unless there is recognition of the legitimate rights of the peoples of Palestine and Namibia and unless we oblige the two racist régimes to abandon their aggressive policies.

In the Mediterranean, the presence of foreign fleets and military bases and the carrying out of military manoeuvres have created a situation of terror as well as a focal point of tension which threatens the security of the peoples of the region. Also providing the Zionist entity with sophisticated weaponry so that its leaders can realize their expansionist designs, has led to anarchy, instability and lack of security.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as one of the littoral countries of the Mediterranean Sea and on the basis of our conviction that the strengthening of peace in that region will contribute to the realization of world peace, has advocated time and again the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace. In order to realize this objective we have called for the removal of colonialist military bases.

In Asia and the Far East, the Korean people are continuing to strive to recover their sovereignty. My country continues to call for the restoration of their rights and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korean soil and for the unification of Korea.

The maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security requires first and foremost that all countries abide by the principles enshrined in the Charter. But in spite of the constant reaffirmation by all countries of the necessity of respecting the principles of the Charter and of other international instruments, many principles still continue to be disregarded and violated by racist countries and régimes which pursue policies based on the use of force and constant threats of force against the territorial integrity of other countries and intervention in their internal affairs, and policies of containment and economic pressure as practised by imperialist Powers, led by the United States, against countries which refuse to be subjected to American domination and hegemony.

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

This is done in violation of the most important principles that govern international relations, namely, the non-use of force in international relations and the non-recourse to threats of force, as well as the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, equality between peoples and the right of self-determination of peoples and the resolution of disputes by peaceful means.

In order to establish a just and lasting peace in the world, which is the basic objective of the United Nations, we must seek the enhancement of the role of the Organization so that it can, in accordance with its Charter, take effective collective measures to remedy the causes which threaten peace and to remove those causes, and to halt aggressive actions and other forms of breaches of the peace. From this standpoint we welcome any international initiative which aims at reinforcing the role of the Organization. In this context, my delegation welcomes the initiative of Sierra Leone under agenda item 137. We share the feeling of concern that has been expressed in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization and in the public statements of numerous delegations concerning the weaknesses of the United Nations, and especially of the Security Council, which is the machinery entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, and concerning its inability to play its role in resolving many international conflicts and the negative positions which hinder the implementation of that role, such as the so-called right of veto and the abuse of that right by the major Powers, especially in respect of the problems of decolonization and the legitimate rights of peoples to self-determination.

The irresponsible policies of some permanent members of the Security Council can only foster an atmosphere that encourages certain régimes to disdain international organizations and their resolutions and to persist in flagrant aggression. The inability of the Security Council to act has led to a feeling of disappointment among many States and doubt about the Organization's ability to protect their independence. This encourages them to seek arms in order to enhance their security and territorial integrity and to devote a large part of their resources to arms expenditures at the expense, of course, of social and economic development.

(Mr. Sheikh, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

International security can be attained only if we fully adhere to the purposes of the Charter and apply the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, if we make tangible strides towards disarmament, if we eliminate hotbeds of tension, recognize the legitimate rights of peoples to self-determination, strive for decolonization and promote international co-operation in the economic and social fields, and if we bridge the economic gap between the developing and developed countries.

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): In the present tense international situation, the need for consistent implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970, has become more essential than ever before.

This extremely important international instrument serves to consolidate the very basis of relations among States in the interest of world peace and security. It has contributed significantly to the strengthening of the positive trends in international relations in the 1970s and to the promotion and deepening of the process of détente, which has proved itself to be in the interests of all peoples in the world. The Declaration continues to be instrumental in the efforts for defusing tensions and for normalizing international relations.

It should be noted in particular that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security emphasizes, first of all, the primary responsibility of all States to contribute to the preservation and promotion of peace.

However, over the past several years, we have witnessed the actions of certain imperialist circles which are destabilizing international relations, undermining security and increasing the danger of a nuclear war. This dangerous development is a direct outcome of their open policy of acting from a position of strength and of intensifying confrontation. The concrete manifestations of this policy eloquently demonstrate that, in its essence, it is completely at variance with the interests of world peace and security. The only aim of this policy is to safeguard the military-strategic, political, economic and other interests of imperialism.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

The danger which this policy poses to international peace and security stems from the fact that its initiators are relying on threats of use of force and on the use of military force, including nuclear weapons, to achieve their goals. This explains their obdurate attempts to upset the existing equilibrium and to obtain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. That is why no effort is spared to disrupt the adoption of concrete practical measures for limiting and halting the arms race and for proceeding to genuine disarmament.

(Mr. Garvalov Bulgaria)

The General Assembly has repeatedly expressed the categorical position of the overwhelming majority of Member States that international security cannot be strengthened through the unbridled stockpiling and sophistication of armaments. Nevertheless, the imperialist circles have initiated the development of a whole new generation of different types and systems of nuclear and outer-space weapons. They are enlarging their arsenal of chemical weapons by adding new lethal weapons like those using binary gases and they are improving their conventional armaments. Particularly alarming are their plans for deploying new medium-range nuclear missiles in close proximity to the socialist countries as part of their preparations for delivering a surprise nuclear strike. The decision to deploy the strategic MX missiles also serves these particular goals. These unprecedented material preparations for waging war have been accompanied by the elaboration of various doctrines for fighting limited or protracted nuclear wars.

These actions reveal unequivocally the true intentions of their initiators but no stone is left unturned to prove that they are motivated solely by concern over the preservation and consolidation of peace. A large-scale propaganda campaign is under way which, through gross distortion and falsification of facts, is intended to induce distrust of the policy of the socialist countries.

The truth, however, cannot be distorted or disguised. It is the very policy and actions of the forces of imperialism, and above all of United States imperialism, which have undermined peace and international security. The claiming of vast regions of the world as spheres of their vital interests and the creation of the so-called rapid-deployment forces, the incessant expansion of the network of military bases, the stirring up of existing hotbeds of tension and the igniting of new ones, as well as arbitrary and unceremonious interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States - all these have led to a further aggravation of tensions. The neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist forces, their close collaboration with the most reactionary and racist régimes and their attempts to stifle by force the aspirations of peoples to achieve national liberation and economic and social

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

progress also constitute a serious threat to peace. A direct consequence of this policy of imperialism is the present exacerbation of the economic problems confronting the world.

An even greater role is given to the so-called economic and technological warfare against the socialist countries. A crusade against communism has been officially declared. Certain circles in the West do not conceal their ambition to subvert and erode the socio-political system of the socialist countries through the use of military force and, above all, of nuclear blackmail. This policy of the imperialist States completely contravenes the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It impairs world peace and threatens mankind with a nuclear catastrophe.

In these times, crucial for the fate of mankind, my country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has taken a very clear position to the effect that political wisdom in our epoch requires not an escalation of confrontation and rearmament but a concerted, unswerving and unrelenting search, through negotiations, for solutions to the problems which jeopardize international security and endanger peace. The most urgent problem facing peoples today is how to avert a nuclear catastrophe, to stop the arms race and particularly the nuclear arms race, and to proceed with the adoption of effective disarmament measures.

In this connection, it is our view that the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, solemnly assumed by the Soviet Union, is of paramount importance for the amelioration of the international climate. This historic initiative will no doubt for many years to come have a positive impact on the negotiations dealing with the entire range of security and disarmament issues.

Another manifestation of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union is represented by its new proposals submitted at the present session with the aim of reaching balanced agreements for curbing the arms race and for preventing nuclear war.

(Mr. Garvalov Bulgaria)

We also firmly support the constructive and realistic position of the Soviet Union in the Soviet-United States negotiations on limiting and reducing strategic arms and also those on reducing the medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. The vigorous conduct of these negotiations and strict observance of the principles of equality and equal security of States would be conducive to their early and successful conclusion. This would be of great importance for the improvement of the international climate and would be in the interest of all peoples throughout the world.

As a member of the Committee on Disarmament, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has consistently supported the efforts to achieve practical results in all areas of the Committee's work to be embodied in concrete international instruments. I should like to note here that a particularly urgent and immediate task is the one of elaborating, adopting and implementing a programme for nuclear disarmament.

The People's republic of Bulgaria attaches primary importance to the adoption of measures for arms limitation and reduction. In our view, we should at the same time elaborate and adopt measures for the strengthening of the political and legal security guarantees of States. In this respect, the codification, in an international instrument, of the principle of non-use of force in international relations would be of prime significance and would improve the international climate and also strengthen international security. Such a treaty, banning resort to force by the use of either weapons of mass destruction or conventional weapons, was proposed by the Soviet Union five years ago. This important proposal is still awaiting a reply from those to whom it was addressed in the first place.

The non-extension of the operational spheres of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty to Asia, Africa and Latin America would also be a significant step in averting the further destabilization of the international situation and in overcoming tensions.

(Mr. Carvalov, Bulgaria)

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is deeply committed to continuing the process of international détente and to fostering international co-operation, a process which was set in motion seven years ago in Helsinki. The successful conclusion of the Madrid meetings would contribute considerably to the attainment of that goal as well as to the strengthening of security in Europe and throughout the world. We are hopeful that those meetings will take a decision to convene a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to do everything within its power to enable positive results to be achieved in Madrid.

Confident of the propitious influence that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of Europe would have on the relaxation of international tension, we should like once again to draw the attention of this Committee to the idea of creating a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Balkan peninsula and also to the proposal made by Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for convening a high level meeting of the Balkan countries in Sofia to discuss this question.

We favour the just settlement of conflicts and international disputes in every region of the world by peaceful means and without the use of force.

Israel's aggression against Lebanon carried out this year within the framework of its strategic co-operation with its allies, underlies the urgency of the Middle East crisis and, in particular, of the Palestinian problem. The policy of genocide carried out against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the occupation of new Arab lands are flagrant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of the fundamental principles of humanity and international law.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is in favour of reaching a lasting, comprehensive and just political settlement of the Middle East conflict. Such a settlement should be the focus of the collective efforts of all the parties concerned, including the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine the Palestine Liberation Organization. In our view, the basic elements of such a comprehensive settlement are contained in the statement of the Soviet Government on this question made on 15 September 1982 and in the plan worked out at the Conference of Arab leaders in Fez.

(Mr. Carvalho, Bulgaria)

We have witnessed recently a certain trend towards initiating a dialogue between States with different social systems in South-East Asia. The constructive initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are a substantial contribution to that development. We believe that there exist objective favourable prospects for easing the tensions that are straining relations among the countries in the South-East Asian region.

The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security raises the question of the final eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism and of the ultimate elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination. The problem of Namibia's independence is one of the most urgent ones. It is high time that certain Western States gave up their attempts to defend the aggressive racist policy of South Africa and to create artificial obstacles hindering the implementation of the United Nations resolutions whose aim is to grant genuine independence to Namibia. We condemn the unceasing acts of aggression of South Africa against Angola and other countries; in our view these acts represent a very serious threat to world peace.

We also support the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic for concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the States in Asia and the Pacific.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria also supports the proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the settlement of the Korean problem by peaceful means and without outside interference.

We also express our wholehearted solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua against the incessant encroachments and the imperialist policy of pressure and threats against those two countries.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the concept of international security formulated by the socialist countries is based on their understanding of the intimate relationship between international security and the relaxation of

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

the tensions existing among States with different social systems. It is not the arms race or mutual deterrence, but only a process of an entirely different character that can best serve the interests of peace and security. That is the process of checking the arms race and of implementing disarmament measures. We should proceed precisely through those measures, coupled with actions of a political and legal nature, to improve the international climate by moving along the road towards the gradual elimination of military factors and the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation. The most reliable and sound way of guaranteeing security is through strengthening peace, restoring and deepening and widening the process of détente, and through lasting, peaceful and just settlement of all disputes.

It is the considered view of the Bulgarian delegation that there is no other sensible alternative to that road.

Mr. CHEBELIU (Romania)(interpretation from French): The problem of the strengthening of international security, which has become a perennial item on the agenda of our Committee, must today more than ever be a matter of concern to States Members of the United Nations as a whole.

A particularly grave and growing danger has developed in international relations that has led to an increase in new military conflicts, including the possibility of the unleashing of a world war. Two diametrically opposed political trends are confronting one another. On the one hand, there is the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of interference in the affairs of other countries and of carving out new zones of influence, and, on the other, there is the ever more resolutely expressed determination of large masses of the population and of peoples to put an end once and for all to the imperialist policy and to work out a new policy based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, on the non-use of force or the threat of force and on the guarantee of the right of all peoples to free development and progress, free from all outside interference.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

Life and events the world over demonstrate that it is the developing countries in particular that must take firm action towards the continued strengthening of their national independence and the achievement of economic growth and improvement of the standard of living of their populations as a determining factor in strengthening the independence and sovereignty of each nation. This is all the more necessary in present circumstances, when we are witnessing a deepening of the world economic crisis and a widening of the gap between rich and poor countries and when trends towards interference in the domestic affairs of States, particularly in the imposition of political conditions in mutual relations, are appearing at the international level.

The aggravation of the economic crisis and those trends, as well as the senseless intensification of the arms race that is accompanying them, represent a serious threat to the peace and independence of peoples and their economic and social progress. It can be stated that at the present time - and this is the gist of the message to be gained from the work of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament held this year as well as from the debates in our Committee that are coming to an end - that the problem of the arms race and disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, and the guarantee of peace and security for all nations are the fundamental task of our age. Nuclear bombs do not pick and choose. They do not discriminate among social systems or philosophical or other considerations. They will sow death indiscriminately and will destroy the immense achievements of human civilization.

On the basis of those realities, we believe that it is necessary for the United Nations and for all States - now more than ever before - to intensify their efforts to halt the dangerous course of international life towards confrontation and war, to strengthen over-all security, and to resume and continue the policy of détente and co-operation, independence and peace, in order that all the international problems can be solved by the peaceful method of negotiations.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

The key to strengthening international security and guaranteeing peace in the world is strict respect by and between all States of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, of the equality of rights, of non-interference in internal affairs and of mutual advantage, which are the only foundations on which we can build lasting relations of understanding and co-operation among States. Hence, in our opinion, one can never claim to have said enough or to have done too much to reaffirm the universal validity of those principles, to develop and clarify their contents and to find ways and means whereby the United Nations may contribute to consolidate and systematically apply those principles in relations between States. We believe that the fact of affirming and reaffirming the primacy of the norms of law and of consolidating them and, in general, the principles of relations between States is tantamount to contributing to a weakening of the policy of force and to the reduction of the degree of arbitrariness that still exists in international relations and to hastening the abandonment of the harmful concept that international life can be reduced to a simple confrontation of forces and strategic positions, leaving little room for legality and morality.

This belief is at the origin of our country's initiative to submit for this Committee's attention the problem of the development and consolidation of good neighbourly relations between States, to which the Romanian delegation devoted its statement at the beginning of these debates. It is that same belief that also inspired Romania's initiative, embodied in the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, adopted a few days ago by consensus by the General Assembly, the bases of which were laid down in our Committee during the political debate which took place three years ago on the problem of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

Indeed, the relationship between the peaceful settlement of disputes and the strengthening of international security is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated. There can be no international security if disputes between States are not solved by peaceful means. Summarizing, in that connection, the unequivocal stand of Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated:

"We must spare no effort to refrain from recourse to military methods and to force in regard to the settlement of conflicts between States and we must act to stop conflicts and to solve them by means of negotiations. No matter how long negotiations may take, it is better, in the interest of the countries concerned as well as in the interest of the cause of peace and détente, to choose the peaceful course - that of negotiations - to resolve conflicts."

In this spirit, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu act most resolutely to put an end to the deterioration in the international climate and to help settle all the problems between States solely by political means, in order to strengthen international security.

An extremely grave situation still exists in the Middle East. Israel's aggressive actions in Lebanon have created a particularly complex situation. Romania has resolutely spoken out in favour of a halt to that intervention, of the withdrawal of Israel troops from Lebanon and of respect for the independence, integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon. It is more than ever necessary to display reason and political wisdom, boldly to face realities and to begin a real and sustained dialogue among all parties to the conflict to ensure that an effective process of comprehensive settlement of the conflict may begin - a process which would also resolve the problem of the Palestinian people, assuring their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian State.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

In Africa and Asia, as well as in other parts of the world, there are still conflicts and disputes between various States, rooted in the colonial past of these peoples. For our part, we believe that every effort must be made to ensure that all those conflicts and disputes are settled by peaceful means on the basis of the common interests of those States and the need to strengthen co-operation and solidarity among them in the struggle against the policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for their free and independent development.

It is in this spirit that Romania expresses its active solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to achieve national independence and consistently militates for an end to the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa. The urgent solution of those problems, which maintain a dangerous hotbed of tension in southern Africa, would undoubtedly make a major contribution to the cause of strengthening international security.

Similarly, the Romanian people are in full solidarity with the aspirations of the Korean people and support the constructive initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the proposals of President Kim Il Sung, which represent a solid basis for the peaceful and independent reunification of the country.

The situation in Europe is extremely grave, for Europe has become a huge nuclear arsenal where vast quantities of weapons have been accumulated, far exceeding any reasonable defence requirements, and where the two opposing military blocs face each other. In view of the very complex problems of present international life, we believe that at this time sustained efforts are called for in order to implement the objectives of the development of co-operation and security in Europe in the spirit of the Final Act signed in Helsinki in 1975, to create favourable conditions for the elimination of military blocs, which is of special importance in decreasing tension, achieving disarmament and strengthening international security.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

Romania is in favour of the establishment of new relations in Europe, based on equality and respect for national independence, to ensure unity in Europe on the basis of respect for existing social systems and on the independence and sovereignty of each European nation. In this spirit, Romania attaches great importance to the Madrid conference devoted to security and co-operation in Europe and is acting resolutely to ensure its success, for a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe and for the continuation of the meetings for co-operation and peace which were begun in Helsinki.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

The achievement of security and co-operation in Europe also implies a halt to the deployment of medium range missiles and the withdrawal and elimination of those already deployed. The establishment in Europe of a climate of security and co-operation, as well as a halt to the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles and of all nuclear missiles constitute important factors, not only for Europe but for peace and security in the entire world.

An intrinsic part of co-operation and security in Europe is the development of co-operation between the countries of the Balkans and the complete transformation of that region into a zone totally free of nuclear weapons and of foreign military bases. It is all the more important to intensify efforts along these lines since so much tension still exists in international life. Romania entertains and continues to develop relations of friendship with all States of the Balkans, relations which are marked by bilateral meetings of the President of Romania with the Heads of State and Government of the other Balkan countries. Technical meetings of representatives of Governments to consider possibilities of intensifying multilateral co-operation in areas of common interest play an important role in the strengthening of relations between the Balkan countries. The last meeting of this kind took place in Bucharest this year, following those in Athens, Ankara and Sofia. In our opinion, new meetings at various levels are required in the Balkan area, as well as the preparation of summit meetings, in order to establish by common agreement a way to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace, free of nuclear weapons.

We also appreciate the efforts made to guarantee the security and development of fruitful co-operation in the Mediterranean, which will contribute to the strengthening of security in Europe and in the world as a whole.

The just and lasting solution of the complex problems involved in the strengthening of international security requires close co-operation between all States, without any distinction as to social system or size of the countries in question. It is particularly necessary to ensure participation on an equal footing in the settlement of these problems of small and medium-

sized countries, of developing and non-aligned countries, which make up the great majority of the countries of the world and are directly interested in a policy of international peace, independence and co-operation. We do indeed understand the responsibilities of the great Powers, but we understand equally well the fact that problems cannot be solved by those great Powers alone and that all countries are in duty bound to shoulder responsibilities and take part in the achievement of agreements to assure the right to the free and independent development of all nations and to achieve an atmosphere of genuine international security.

In this connection, the United Nations must play an important role, and this is particularly true of the General Assembly where all Member States are represented and which offers the required organized framework to enable all States to take part in the settlement of international problems. Respect for resolutions adopted in the United Nations must be achieved. Respect by all States for the decisions of this Organization is in the last analysis in the interests of all nations. The practice of ignoring or disregarding those resolutions may very well tomorrow recoil upon the very interests of those who act in this way today. It is our view that the United Nations must be improved in such a way as to ensure that it can carry out its functions of solving international problems, guaranteeing co-operation among all States, and implementing lasting peace and security throughout the world. The need to intensify efforts in this connection is strongly underscored in the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the present session of the General Assembly.

In this context, we welcome the suggestion by Sierra Leone that Member States should focus their attention on a question fundamental to the role of the United Nations in international political life, namely, that implementation of the collective security provisions in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Chebelcu, Romania)

Indeed, this initiative is in keeping with a particularly pressing objective reality. The problems of the contradictions between the provisions of the Charter and the present realities and requirements of international relations and of life itself, and in general, the problems of strengthening the role of the United Nations, are at this time of vital importance for the proper functioning of this Organization and its active participation in international life. In this connection, the concept of the Charter relating to collective security and the manner in which it has been given practical effect deserves thorough consideration, the more so since its various parts are often contradictory. Some are not truly realistic, or no longer in keeping with a world which has changed, in the context of revolutionary processes, towards the powerful affirmation of a new social system, the elimination of colonial empires and the ever growing manifestation of the desire for independence and freedom of peoples everywhere. That is precisely why the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life and the adaptation of the Organization to present day requirements in international relations were inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly ten years ago, upon the proposal of Romania, and constitute for our country a long-standing and continuing source of concern. The efforts which were begun at that time have continued and intensified, particularly after the establishment in 1975 of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, following a joint initiative by Romania and the Philippines.

The effectiveness of the Special Committee as a whole is not satisfactory. The sense of frustration experienced by many States - whose feelings we understand and share - at the slow pace of the Special Committee's work and the extremely complicated manner in which it is forced to deal with problems is undoubtedly the origin of numerous recent initiatives to inscribe many different items on the agenda, dealing with problems which under normal circumstances should have been brought before it. We are thinking, for instance, of problems concerning the expansion of the membership of the Security Council, the composition of the various bodies of the United Nations and, at this session, the provisions of the Charter with respect to collective security and the implementation of United Nations resolutions, this last item being allocated to the plenary meeting.

(Mr. Chebeleu, Romania)

All of this proves the need to introduce improvements in the way in which the Organization works and to adopt effective measures to strengthen this Organization's ability to act. This is felt all the more urgently, even though the body specifically entrusted with this task has not been able, or allowed to do so. These problems nevertheless exist and they must be solved. We feel, however, that we must not be discouraged by this state of affairs and we must redouble our efforts to make the necessary improvements better to utilize the organizational framework which we have to negotiate effective measures to strengthen the United Nations.

Therefore, we view the initiative of considering provisions of the United Nations Charter and collective security as an integral part of efforts designed to enhance the role of the United Nations in international life. The provisions of a military nature contained in the Charter are of special importance in the exercise of the United Nations role for the defence of international peace and security. Side by side with the provisions of the Charter a veritable system of military operations has developed under the aegis of the United Nations. These operations have always functioned in an ad hoc fashion rather than on the basis of clear and generally acceptable rules and principles. Clearly, the system of collective security enshrined in the Charter is not reduced to provisions dealing with military matters, for it also includes elements of a political, economic and legal order, which must be dealt with in the way in which they interrelate with each other. But we understand that this is not the right time for a substantive discussion and that the debate we have here is only a beginning.

Thus, we will merely underline, by way of a conclusion, our firm view that since we are dealing with the most fundamental problems of the United Nations, which have a clear and obvious interest for each Member State, we must secure the proper conditions to ensure that during the in-depth consideration of these problems, and the elaboration of necessary measures, all Member States may take part in the proceedings.

Mr. ZARRAGA REYES (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish):

My delegation would like to speak in connection with draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.57, "Review conference of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques". Venezuela intended to abstain on the draft. At the thirty-first session of the General Assembly when the text of that Convention was adopted, my delegation expressed its view, namely, that it disagreed with the terms of article I of the Convention. In this connection, we would like once again to reaffirm our position.

Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan): I seek your permission, Mr. Chairman, to bend the customary rules of the United Nations this afternoon. I do so for a very good reason. I shall unfortunately not be here when the First Committee formally finishes its work next week. I wanted, therefore, to seize this opportunity to place on record, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Pakistan delegation, our very sincere appreciation for the manner in which you have led the First Committee during this year's session. You have done so, Mr. Chairman, with great distinction. We are not surprised, knowing as we do your personal intellectual qualities and the vast and varied experience that you have in multilateral diplomacy.

When we started our work some seven weeks ago, the First Committee had before it an extremely heavy agenda. Given the present status of the world disarmament debate, there were, not unexpectedly, a large number of outstanding issues carried over from previous years. In addition, there were some new ones. It is the essence of disarmament, perhaps, that we cannot expect quick or spectacular results. Nevertheless, however academic or philosophical the many resolutions which this Committee has approved, these resolutions do reflect a very deep concern of the peoples of the world to prevent a possible holocaust and to divert human energies and resources towards our socio-economic well-being. It is our sincere and earnest hope that this moral concern, which has been expressed so unequivocally, will lead to the necessary political decisions on the part of those States which bear the primary responsibility for disarmament.

(Mr. Ahmad, Pakistan)

An important new emerging feature in recent years has been the growing interest of the third world in disarmament, and their desire to play a more active role in carrying forward the disarmament process. This is quite evident from the numerous resolutions sponsored towards this end by the third world. We are convinced that sustained endeavours in this Committee, as well as in other international forums, are bound to bring about a qualitatively new situation in which the aspirations of the entire international community for disarmament will come to be recognized and respected.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that the work of the First Committee will come to a successful conclusion next week. This success is directly attributable to your personal commitments, to your dedication and to the outstanding manner in which you have guided our proceedings. We wish you, Sir, every success in all your future endeavours.

May I also extend to other officers of the Committee, the representative of Norway, Ambassador Vraalsen, my good friend and colleague from Geneva, Ambassador Carasales of Argentina, the representative of Mongolia, Mr. Erdenechuluun, and my friend and compatriot, Mr. Rathore, the Secretary of the Committee, our congratulations for their contributions to the work of the Committee, which enabled it to function with machine-like efficiency. To all of them individually I have great pleasure in conveying our deep appreciation and thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: What we have achieved, what we are trying to achieve, and what will be achieved, has no doubt been immeasurably aided and facilitated by the participation, the encouragement and the co-operation of the Pakistani delegation.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.