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at 10.30 a.m.

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## VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 49TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

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ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 58, 59 AND 137 (continued)

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

Mr. RACZ (Hungary): The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, was the product of a period which was marked by the extension of international détente and the prevalence of efforts to maintain peace, strengthen security, reduce tension and promote understanding and manifold co-operation among States.

In recent years, however, the world has witnessed an increase and strengthening of the elements of confrontation and tension. The international situation is full of contradictions and fraught with dangers. The responsibility for the deterioration of the atmosphere rests on the extremist circles of imperialism. For quite some time their attempts to achieve military superiority by stepping up the arms race and to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples by violating the principles of peaceful coexistence have had a negative effect on the development of the international situation.

The armed conflicts and crises which have fundamentally resulted from such imperialist and neo-colonialist attempts are added sources of growing international tension. I should also mention the worsening problems of the world economy, which are further complicated by embargoes and other discriminatory measures that impede and disrupt international economic, commercial and financial relations. Moreover, tension is increased by campaigns of slander and propaganda against the socialist and other progressive countries, a practice which has become an established feature of the world arena.

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

The reversal of these negative tendencies, the continuation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the preservation and, to the extent possible, development of the results achieved in the period of détente would be in the common, fundamental interests of all countries and peoples of the world. This community of interest of countries with different social systems may be a source of hope and optimism even in the current critical situation. In addition to the consistent policy of peace of the socialist and other peace-loving countries and their pursuit of peaceful solutions for controversial issues, a positive tendency is signified by the growth and spreading of mass movements that have sprung up across the world speaking out for peace and against the arms race. However, in order to remove the danger of war, to create a balanced pattern of international conditions and to normalize the international atmosphere in general it is indispensable that joint efforts and firm action by all peace-loving forces with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the world be coupled with a responsible and sensible approach and a better awareness of realities on the part of the leaders of States.

My country, in common with the other socialist countries, is making consistent efforts to curb the arms race, promote the cause of disarmament, reduce tension, strengthen international peace and security and develop co-operation among countries and peoples in conformity with the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This is evidenced in the positive tone and overall constructive character of the document adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty countries at their latest meeting in Moscow last October.

The Hungarian Government continues to regard it as a primary goal of its foreign policy to contribute to the improvement of the international situation and to ensure thereby favourable external conditions for socialist construction in Hungary. To achieve that goal, we are not content with the role of passive observer of the international situation but are doing our best to contribute a share, commensurate with our possibilities, to the efforts to reinforce and cause the positive elements of world politics to prevail, to lessen tension, to normalize international relations and to expand and strengthen co-operation in keeping with our fundamental national interests. We are making conscious efforts to ensure that the possibilities created by our mutually advantageous

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bilateral relations are used to advance goals which are ultimately in accord with the interests of all mankind.

Hungary, as a European country, attaches particular importance and devotes increased attention to the cause of security and co-operation in Europe. We are firmly convinced that continuation of the process of European security and co-operation in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act acquires still greater significance in the current complicated and tense international situation. We persist in our strong belief that that historic document is as valid as ever and still forms the basis for inter-State relations in Europe, and therefore its consistent implementation is in the common interest of all signatory States and is bound to exercise a positive influence on the quest for peaceful solutions with regard to the existing hotbeds of crisis in other parts of the world.

Therefore we think that the successful outcome of the recently resumed Madrid meeting is an important objective to work for. We know full well that the success of that meeting depends on the political will of each and every participating country and that today, in the context of unfavourable international conditions, it is still more difficult to bring the opponents of détente to accept compromise solutions. Being aware that strenuous and persevering efforts were needed to achieve the present results, we shall do our utmost this time again to ensure that the Madrid meeting will conclude its work by adopting, as soon as possible, a substantive and balanced document which will reaffirm the strong commitment of all participants in that all-European conference to strict compliance with, and implementation of, all the principles and recommendations contained in the Helsinki Final Act and by reaching agreements designed to give practical effect to them.

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Furthermore, we deem it important that agreement be reached on the convening of a conference to discuss confidence-building and security--strengthening measures and disarmament issues in Europe. The holding of such a conference is all the more indispensable because we believe that the growing military confrontation and the concomitant growth of dangers in that continent are increasingly at variance with the interests of maintaining security and co-operation in Europe.

These considerations hold good with respect to the entire globe as well. Strengthening the positive tendencies of international politics as well as reactivating and upholding the process of political détente make it essential to achieve progress in military détente and to elaborate and implement as many significant and effective disarmament measures as possible. Conversely, the stepping up of the arms race is likely to reduce the possibilities of reviving the process of détente. Therefore, curbing the arms race and promoting the cause of disarmament are today immediate political tasks of the greatest importance for all forces earnestly seeking stronger peace and security in the world.

We think that removing the danger of nuclear war is the most urgent task in the field of disarmament. While welcoming the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, we urge similar positive steps by the rest of the nuclear Powers. For mankind to survive, early and effective measures must be taken to check the nuclear arms race and to promote nuclear disarmament by reaching concrete agreements. In this spirit we welcome the ongoing Soviet-American talks on strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear weapons. Conscious of the decisive influence exercised by the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the development of the international situation as a whole, we strongly believe that an early and successful conclusion of those talks would make a significant contribution to the easing of international tension and the normalization of international

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relations. At the same time, however, we consider it as an indispensable and fundamental requirement that those talks, and any other negotiations on disarmament, should be conducted on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security. It is only thus that real progress can be made in the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of chemical weapons, in the limitation of conventional arms and in the reduction of military expenditures.

My delegation is of the view that the strengthening of international security is conditional on taking concrete positive steps towards the elimination of long-existing or newly created hotbeds of crisis in the different parts of the world and towards a peaceful, negotiated solution of outstanding issues.

We call for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis, a settlement based on the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, on the exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of their right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State of their own, and on the safeguarding of the peace and security of all States of the region within internationally guaranteed boundaries.

We welcome the moves and efforts of the three countries of Indo-China to bring about peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. We hold that a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can be based on the proposal of the Afghan Government.

We urge the early ending of the war between Iraq and Iran and the restoration of peace in that region.

We reject the manoeuvres of the Western Powers to delay the liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system and to buttress their neocolonialist positions, and we support the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence. We are convinced that a satisfactory solution for the problems in the southern

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part of Africa can only be found through Namibia's early accession to genuine independence and through the liquidation of the racist régime of South Africa.

We lend support to the Mongolian initiative for the conclusion by the States of the Asian and Pacific regions of a convention for mutual non-use of force, as well as the proposal of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the unification of Korea.

We endorse any other initiative for the development, in whole or in part, of interstate relations and co-operation.

We maintain that the normalization and stabilization of international economic relations, the development of mutually advantageous international economic, commercial and financial relations and the establishment of a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis **and with** an eye to the interests of all countries may also be an important factor in the improvement of the international situation and the strengthening of international security, although, in fact, all these tendencies essentially depend on the development of the global international situation.

In point of fact, international security cannot be reduced to the elimination of force from international relations but, under a positive approach, it should comprise observance of the principles governing inter-State relations, constant expansion and deepening of manifold relations between countries and peoples **and the creation of an economic basis for such relations.**

The United Nations too has an important role to fulfil in shaping those relations, which should be wide-ranging, mutually advantageous and based on the principles of peaceful **co-existence** in developing co-operation among States and in creating political and legal safeguards for international peace and security in general. During its nearly forty years of existence, the world Organization has given proof of its ability to live up to what we have expected of it. It is our firm conviction that the most important prerequisite and, at the same time, the major source of the United Nations efficient activity

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in pursuit of a prosperous future for mankind lie in an identical interpretation of and respect for its Charter and in a consistent and full implementation -- without interference in the domestic affairs of the Member States -- of its resolutions aimed at maintaining the peace and security of the world, among them the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.



Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): It is imperative that we make every effort to save mankind from war and annihilation, since the danger of a nuclear world catastrophe has never been as great as it is today. The proposals submitted by the socialist countries with a view to arms limitation and disarmament, the strengthening of international security and the durable settlement of international conflicts furnish proof that their policy is consistently directed at a stable peace in all regions of the world.

Regional and international security can only be lasting when the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter are observed. This includes strict observance of Article 2, paragraph 4. We should like to make a few remarks in this respect, because some delegations are trying to give the impression that international security and disarmament are mutually exclusive.

In our time, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations must primarily be enforced through measures of arms limitation and disarmament. The most important thing is the prevention of a nuclear war, which must be achieved through halting the production of and through reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. Important steps in this direction would be a pledge by all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use such weapons and the freezing of their stockpiles. The United Nations rightfully rejects the concept according to which the security of States can be guaranteed through unrestrained armament.

The prohibition of the use or threat of force as laid down in the United Nations Charter cannot be separated from the remaining principles of Article 2. This means, among other things, that its observance does not allow for coercive measures to be taken for the realization of selfish and chauvinistic political and economic interests as well as the maintenance of colonial and neo-colonial relations of dependence or for subversive activities aimed at destabilizing other States.

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Democratic Republic)

The German Democratic Republic proceeds from the fact that peace and international security must simultaneously be made durable through disarmament as well as through political and legal measures. Developments over the past decades have shown how both sides of that uniform process are dependent on one another, in positive as well as in negative terms. Those who deny the principle of peaceful co-existence and declare a crusade against sovereign States as a guideline of their policy fundamentally violate the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Professions of observance of Article 2, paragraph 4 are highly incredible when a pledge on the non-first use of nuclear weapons is simultaneously refused, when whole regions of the world are declared to be spheres of influence, when systems of military bases are constantly extended, oceans militarized and international conflicts stirred up and when MX missiles are deployed to demonstrate the resolve to create a nuclear first-strike capability in clear contradiction of the SALT II treaty, so as to make a nuclear war feasible and winnable. The policy of confrontation and overarmament implies the persistent threat of the use of force which is prohibited by Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter.

We know, of course, all the attempts which have been made to declare these and other actions to be defence requirements, such as describing Israel's war against Lebanon as a "contribution towards enhancing security" and the MX missile as a "peace-maker". This is a point of special interest for the United Nations. The question is, who defines the rights and obligations arising from Article 2, paragraph 4? It is our firm conviction that this cannot be left to those who have characterized the war against Viet Nam as a defence of their own country under the United Nations Charter and who strive to maintain or re-establish their hegemony - for instance, in the Caribbean - and do so by military means. This definition cannot be left to a State which prevents the Security Council from taking measures against notorious aggressors and which characterizes the just struggle waged by the national liberation movements as terrorism.

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Democratic Republic)

We therefore advocate that the United Nations, in exercising its responsibility, will, on the basis of the resolutions already adopted, such as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on principles of international law, contribute towards the establishment of specific and legally binding criteria for the conduct of States in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 4. More particularly, we have in mind the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force which would ban the use of any weapons in international relations. Those States in particular which time and again stressed the need to comply with Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter are called upon to co-operate constructively in bringing about this important treaty.

It is especially alarming that Article 2, paragraph 4 is being misused to call into question fundamental stipulations of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly, which was adopted by consensus.

In his statement on 27 October 1982, the United States representative called, for instance, upon the USSR "to accept an agreement based exclusively on the principle of deterrence" (A/C.1/37/PV.13,p.17). The Final Document of the first special session, however, states in paragraph 13:

"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."  
(S-10/2, para.13)

Other examples have been mentioned during the debate on disarmament in the past few weeks.

The resolutions on substantive questions of disarmament that the Committee adopted in the past few days are the only reasonable response to attempts to misuse basic principles for the safeguarding of peace in order to

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obstructing the process of disarmament. What is now important is to turn those resolutions into treaties and to intensify the work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament accordingly. Ongoing negotiations at all levels must be brought to success, suspended negotiations must be resumed and new negotiations must be initiated. That is the way to protect nations from the danger of a nuclear war and gradually to make peace secure on a lasting basis.

The German Democratic Republic will therefore, as reaffirmed at the recent session of the Central Committee by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Part of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker:

"make every effort to ensure that concrete measures for the limitation and reduction of armaments, in particular in the nuclear field, will be taken and implemented. This corresponds fully to the interests of the European peoples and to the interests of mankind."

My country has always remained committed to the fundamental requirement in the United Nations Charter that all problems and international conflicts be settled peacefully. This is evidenced by, among other things, its participation in bringing about the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.

In every region of the world, great efforts are being made to strengthen international security.

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In Europe, the socialist countries are working towards a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting, in order to consolidate the process of détente. It is to be regretted that other States are failing in constructive co-operation and trying instead to misuse the Madrid meeting for interference in the internal affairs of other States. The convening of a conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe remains a priority task. The deployment of new United States medium-range missiles in Western Europe as part of a nuclear first-strike capability would be a severe strain on security on our continent.

To improve the situation in the Far East and in the Pacific, the Mongolian People's Republic has proposed a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. In South-East Asia, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Kampuchea have initiated important steps towards reducing tensions in the region. The German Democratic Republic supports the just demands and well-founded proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the solution of the Korean question, including the demand for the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea. These proposals constitute an important contribution to security in the region.

Realistic and effective steps are needed to create a healthier situation in the West Asian region and to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The six principles suggested by the USSR and the plan put forward at Fez offer sound foundations for achieving a lasting and just peace settlement in the Middle East. The proposals of Cuba, Nicaragua and Mexico are aimed at the relaxation of the tense situation caused by the imperialist policy of intervention in the Caribbean and in Central America. The German Democratic Republic attaches special importance to the globally-oriented proposals of the USSR on the mutual limitation of the operational area of naval fleets and the

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extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans, as well as on the non-extension of the spheres of action of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Hence there is no lack of initiatives. What is needed is the political will to put the development of international relations firmly back on to the road of regional and world-wide détente.

The Arab peoples want a lasting peace. Israel's response to that was another aggression. Relying on so-called "strategic co-operation" and equipped with United States weapons, including the devastating cluster, incendiary and blast bombs and air-fuel explosives, the aggressor terrorizes the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Israel must be compelled to respect the relevant decisions of the United Nations and to withdraw its troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. The Palestinian people, led by its legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has the inalienable right to a state of its own.

My country resolutely condemns the dangerous attempts of certain forces to intensify the policy of confrontation in Africa with the help of the South African racist régime. In this, Pretoria enjoys comprehensive assistance from imperialist circles and their corporations, which enables it to escalate **its** acts of aggression against peaceful neighbours like Angola, and to delay a just solution of the question of Namibia. The World Bank, which is dominated by monopolistic forces, grants credits to the racist régime, thus at least indirectly furthering the development and manufacture of weapons which are employed against African peoples. In the interest of the peoples of that region it is necessary that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be implemented without delay.

On the basis of its Charter, the United Nations should undertake further steps in order to strengthen peace and security. We have in mind, above all, the proposal of the Soviet Union on the convening of a special Security Council meeting at the highest level, with a view to finding ways of settling the growing number of acute problems. Such a meeting would be timely and fitting.

My delegation would like to express the hope that the deliberations of the First Committee will make a contribution to the world-wide efforts to strengthen peace in the interest of all peoples.

Mrs. JONES (Liberia): Mr. Chairman, the delegation of Liberia wishes to congratulate you on the able and effective manner in which you have conducted our deliberations so far.

The Government of Liberia attaches great importance to the principle of good-neighbourliness in conformity with the principles of good relations among all States as called for in the Charter of the United Nations.

My Government further subscribes to the good-neighbour principle because it maintains friendly and harmonious ties with all of its neighbours and wishes to see such friendly ties exhibited among all Member States of our Organization.

Our very membership in the United Nations is a strong indication that all States believe in the principles of good-neighbourliness, not only as a matter of principle, but as a concrete expression of mutual interdependence because no man is an island.

It cannot be over-emphasized that good-neighbourliness existing everywhere in the world today must be assiduously cultivated. Although it is a desire of all States, geography itself may contribute to the lack of good-neighbourliness. Ideologies, traditions, prejudices and myths are also causes of the lack of good-neighbourliness. Good-neighbourliness can be stifled especially when Governments have foreign policies that prevent good relations from developing; even though the peoples of various States may wish to be good neighbours, yet their Governments and leaders discourage such development in the name of national security, or for other reasons.

It is also recognized that many national boundaries which prevent good relations are often artificially created, which means that the lack of good-neighbourliness is also an artificial development.

Indeed, the United Nations has reduced the whole world to one vast neighbourhood. It is easier to look over the fences of our neighbours today than ever before in the history of the world. The United Nations should have its own "good neighbour ombudsmen" to see that chronic quarrels are settled in a peaceful and orderly manner and to prevent new ones from occurring. When States seek to maintain good-neighbourliness, yet find it difficult to achieve these desirable and wholesome goals, it should be the duty of the

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United Nations to apply its peace-keeping rules and dispatch its peace-keeping forces to assist such States in maintaining the peace, because any nation not at peace, no matter how distant that State, affects the peace of the whole world.

My delegation recommends that a "Good Neighbours Week" should be observed annually where friendships can be developed and strengthened between Governments and peoples all over the world. It is necessary to live as good neighbours in peace-time so that when catastrophes occur, co-operation would be easier and people would know what to do instantly and not panic, thereby making things worse.

Neighbours with common ancestral or historical origins, customs, values, songs, stories, dances, proverbs, and so on, should have no room for bad relations, because there is more that unites them than divides them.

My delegation therefore supports all measures of the United Nations to promote good-neighbourliness among all Member States.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.