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Chairman: Mr. FAWY (Egypt) (Vice-Chairman)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Fahmy (Egypt), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

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

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF RENE MOAWAD, PRESIDENT OF LEBANON

The CHAIRMAN: It was with deep sorrow that we learnt this morning of the tragic death of Mr. René Moawad, President of Lebanon. President Moawad had been a metier of Parliament for three decades and symbolized the highest qualities of dedicated public service. He worked assiduously, with vis ion and remarkable human qualities, for peace and social justice in Lebanon. His death is indeed a very tragic loss for his country.

On behalf of the First Committee, and on my own behalf, I request the representative of Lebanon to convey our heartfelt condolences to the Government and People of Lebanon and to the bereaved family.

Mr. AL-EJMY (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): The sister State of Lebanon has today lost its President, René Moawad, as the result of a dastardly crime, Lebanon and the Arab States have thus lost a President whom they had enormous hope would save Lebanon from the ordeal it had suffered for years. The death of any country's President is always a great loss from which it is di ff icul t to recover. In Lebanon's present circumstances this is a catastrophe, the results of which are difficult to Eoresee.

Death is a fate ordained by God; it is something that we all. accept with patience and humility as the inevitable destiny of every beinq. Nevertheless, we condemn and denounce the reasons and motives for this assassination. The truth remains and will prevail. The truth for Lebanon is that its creative, able people have unswerving faith in their real and authentic Arab identity, as they staunchly defend the territorial integrity of their country, their sovereignty over all their land, and its institutions with the national harmony that characterized their

(Mr. Al-Ejmy, Kuwait)

experience and made them a people of whom the world is proud. That people and those characteristics have given Lebanon great men such as the late President René Moawad and will enable it to choose for the presidency throuqh the constitutional, legitimate channels which the people support, a worthy successor, who will carry the torch and ensure a new surge of lifeblood in Lebanon that will make the institutions of Arab people work and be operative.

On behalf of the Arab Group, of which Kuwait has the honour to be Chairman this month, I offer our deepest condolences to the sister delegation of Lebanon, its people and Government, and to the family of the deceased.

AGENDA ITEM 70 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF ANTARCTICA

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now continue its consideration of and action on the item on its agenda for this meeting.

Mr. JAYASINGHE (Sri Lanka): It is some 15 years since a few developing countries, including my own, raised fundamental issues regarding the governance of the Antarctic continent and its adjacent seas and their resources, and this is the eighth year in which, through the leadership of Malaysia, those issues have been discussed in detail by the General Assembly. These latter years have seen the overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries join in a movement aimed at ensuring that the policies applied to activities in the area are made more sensitive to the opinions of the society of States as a whole and that a correspondingly sensitive institutional structure is established to govern the area and its resources. While sane modest success has been recorded with regard to the first of those goals, all efforts to persuade the Par ties to the 1959 Antarctic Treaty to open their minds to fresh ideas concerning the second goal have failed. Those efforts have, on the contrary, evoked a rigidly defensive response, including on the one hand a level of non-participation in decision-making unprecedented in the Assembly and on the other invitations to try to reach a consensus, without, however, the offer of the compromise which logic suggests would be the basis of such a consensus.

In its statement today my delegation would like to refer to only two broad aspects of the question of Antarctica and thus to place on record in as succinct a manner as possible the core issues of principle that continue to motivate the great majority of the developing countries that have contributed to this debate over the years in the hope of eventually achieving a meeting of minds among all concerned. The first aspect is the universality of the significance of the Antarctic and the second is the imperative, stemming from the Charter of the United Nations itself,

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

that the institutions that claim to be based on its principles or to invoke its name should accord with the essentials of democracy that all States honour within their borders.

The first of the aspects of the Antarctic that make it of fundamental importance to all countries is its role as the Earth's strongest cooling centre, essential to the maintenance of the familiar climatic balance of the planet. The Antarctic may well hold the key to existing weather patterns, a matter of vital significance to all peoples. Secondly, of equal, universal importance is the fact that the Antarctic is a source of scientific knowledge vital to survival, knowledge of the Earth's structure and geological history, knowledge that would enable us better to understand and perhaps predict the effects of a range of complex physical and biological processes cccuring throughout the world. The Antarctic and the seas surrounding it offer scientists unparalleled opportunities for research in such fields as those of meteorology, cl imatology and oceanography , and the behaviour, physiology and ecology of a variety of marine organisms; and, most important, for research of critical importance in dealing with global environmental problems, in particular the global levels of atmospheric constituents such as carbon dioxide and ozone.

The third aspect of Antarctica that affects all countries is its character as a remote, inhospitable reqion accessible on a reqular basis primarily, if not exclusively, to the technologically advanced coun tr ies, some of wh ich find global military strategies essential to protect their interests. From its very remoteness is derived a potential to serve as the location for 3 variety of covert activities, and thereby its universal importance.

The fourth aspect of Antarctica of universal significance is that it is a storehouse of a variety of resources. Some resources must surely be held to be of such critical importance to all. countries - in fact, to all living things - as to

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

be placed by their very nature beyond the reach of State sovereignty and subject to a measure of community supervision. Water is one such vital resources, and the Antarctic is recognized as the world's great reservoir of fresh water.

In recent years much attention has focused on other natural resources of the Antarctic : on the great abundance of marine life, capable, some say, of meeting the world's protein needs far into the future, and on its mineral resources, which are said to include oil and coal as well as several commercially important metals.

Convinced as we are that these aspects of Antarctica, including its resources, make global participation in its management essential, I turn now to the principle that makes democratization imperative, the most basic principle of the Charter of the United Nat ions and one respected throughout its constituent organs and associated institutions, with the single historic exception of the Security Council; the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

Developed by the victorious Allied Powers in the period following the Second World War as a means of ensur ing that none of them would be able to impose its will upon the others or be required by unsympathetic majorities within the new world Organization to act contrary to what each perceived as its own interests, the principle of the sovereign equality of States was enshrined in paragraph 1 of Ar ticle 2 of the Charter. Adopted by the new Members of the Organization, it symbolized for them the right to manage their own affairs and the establishment of parity between them and the former colonial Powers. It was in this sense that the Principle became the corner-stone of several modern documents, denoting democratization and the one State, one vote, rule, in such contexts as paragraph 4 of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, article 10 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and , most recently, article 157(3) of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

International lawyers grappling with the implications of the principle in the years following the Second World War concluded that, at the very least, it meant equality before interns tional law. But, with the expansion of the society of States, sovereign equality came to imply not merely equality before the law but also equality in the process of law-making as the emerging members of that society claimed the right to participate in the creation of any law touching their interests if they were to undertake to comply with it. The principle of sovereign equality thus became the basis of their right to participate on an equal footing at international law-making conferences dealing with matters of universal concern; of their equal right to vote and, as a rule, to have each vote given the same value at such conferences, as well as in the régimes and institutions they established. This process of democratization of the international decision-making process is best illustrated in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which reads, in part:

> "All States are juridically equal and, as equal members of the international community, have the right to participate fully and effectively in the international decision-making process in the solution of world economic, f inancial and monetary problems." (resolution 3281 (XXIX), art. 10)

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

Examined in this light, any régime which today reserves the right of decision-making to States on the basis of some qualification of material affluence which may be beyond the reach of other States seems discriminatory, because it fails to allow the right of participation in law-making that is due to every member of the society of nations. The "primary responsibilities" derived from the 1959 Treaty of the Consultative Parties, which *appear* to have generated primary "rights" over the years, have been carefully replicated in the Agreed Measures for the Conservation of Antarctic Fauna and Flora, on the Living Resources and, most elaborately, in the decision-making processes under the 1988 Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities. The limiting Of decision-making authority on the basis of the 1959 Treaty and replicated throughout the system is unacceptable to the great majority of States: it is contrary to the principles that govern the formulation of modern international law on subjects of universal concern, such as the world's climate, reserves of fresh water and the environment generally.

My delegation appeals once more to the Antarctic Treaty Parties to abandon their policy of non-participation and to respond to the appeals of other States to modify the régimes and the institutions which they currently have in place among themselves, so that the participation of all States on the basis of equality is assured in matters of universal concern. My delegation firmly believes that such a restructuring, sensitively negotiated, could allow the current delicate balance between claimant and non-claimant States to become entrenched for all States while at the same time it could be made consistent with modern principles of universal participation.

(Mr. Jayasinghe, Sri Lanka)

It should be clear from what I have said that my delegation fully supports the draft resolution submitted by Malaysia and other States and of which it is also a Sponsor. The draft resolution environmental and resource-related Concerns of universal significance, while calling for the participation of all States in the development of regimes for the governance of Antarctica as a world park or international scientific laboratory, as well as for the management of its resources. We welcome certain proposals in the same direction which appear to have been made in a different context by the Heads of Government Of Prance and Australia.

We can only hope that the discussion of such a common agenda would eventually lead to mutually agreed means of reaching the desired goal and the full elaboration of a regime for the Antarctic which, while taking full account of particular interests in the continent and its resources, would nevertheless conform to the well-established principles of the sovereign equality of States and the democratization of law-making processes in matters of universal concern.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Malaysia, who will introduce draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.69.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): On behalf of Antigua and Barbuda, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, Congo, Ghana, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Mali, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malaysia, I have the privilege of introduciinq the draft resolution entitled "Question of Antarctica" contained in document A/C.1/44/L.69.

Developments *since* our deliberations on this item last year have more than ever underlined the need for international collective action for the protection of Antarctica. Living as we do in this global village, we share a common responsibility to protect our environment. Our failure to do so will have serious

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

implications, threatening our very survival. Because of its critical importance to the global environment and ecology, Antarctica must stand as a challenge to the international community to manifest its awareness of this shared responsibility in a manner consistent with the prevailing norms of international relations. The thrust of this draft resolution is towards this aim.

It is therefore particularly regrettable that it has not been possible for all States Members of the United Nations to join hands in working towards realizing what is clearly in the highest interest of mankind as a whole. The sponsors of the draft resolution therefore regret that the efforts undertaken to arrive at a consensus on the text have not been successful. Nevertheless, the sponsors have endeavoured to take into account to the greatest possible extent the views and concerns of the Treaty Parties. It is clear that the tone of the draft resolution reflects this awareness of the need for balance and accommodation in the interests of all members, but as it has been Pointed out, the overriding objective of the draft resolution is the protection of the Antarctic. If such an objective is the Price for the achievement of consensus, then there can be no doubt about the sponsors' clear preference.

Draft resolution A/C. 1/44/L. 69 emphasizes the importance of Antarctica to the global environment and the need for its protection against all harmful human activities and for the democratization of the management of the continent for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

The preambular paragraphs reaffirm the significance of Antarctica and its relationship to the global environment and reaffirm that its management and use should be conducted in accordance with the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the interest of maintaining international Peace and security and of promotinq international co-operation for the benefit of mankind as a whole. It reflects the consciousness of the environmental degradation

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

that mining would pose to Antarctica. The preambular paragraphs, therefore, affirm the necessity to ensure the comprehensive protection and conservation of Antarctica through a multilateral framework negotiated with the full participation of all metiers of the international community. It also addresses the need to prevent or minimize the impact of human activities resulting from the large number of scientific stations and expeditions in Antarctica.

In operative paragraph 1 the General Assembly would express its regret that, despite its numerous resolutions the Treaty Parties had not seen fit to invite the Secretary-General to the Antarctic Treaty Preparatory Meeting and the XVth Consultative Meeting, held in Paris this year.

In operative paragraph 2 it would reiterate its call upon the Antarctic Treat!? Consultative Parties to invite the Secretary-General or his representative to all meetings of the Treaty parties=

In operative paragraph 3 it would request the Secretary-General to submit a report on his evaluation of such meetings to the General Assembly.

In operative paragraph 4 the General Assembly would express its conviction that any régime to be established for the protection and conservation of the Antarctic environment and its dependent and associated ecosystems, to be for the benefit of mankind as a whole, in order to gain the universal acceptability necessary to ensure full compliance and enforcement must be negotiated with the full participation of all members of the international community .

In operative paragraph 5 the General Assembly would urge all members of the international community to support all efforts to ban prospecting and mining in an around Antarctica and to ensure that all activities should be used exclusively for the purpose of peaceful scientific investigation and that all such activi ties should ensure the protection of its environment and should be for the benefit of all mankind .

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Under paragraph 6 the General Assembly would express the conviction that the establishment, through negotiations, with universal participation, of Antarctica as a nature reserve or a world park would ensure the protection of Antarctica for the benefit of all mankind.

In paragraph 7 the Assembly would express the conviction that, in view of the large number of scientific stations and expeditions in Antarctica, international scientific research should be enhanced through the establishment of international stations devoted to scientific inveetiqations of global significance, regulated stringently in order to avoid harmful effects of human activities in Antarctica.

Paragraphs 8 and 9 have been repeated from last year's resolution and are self-explanatory.

From what I have Baid it is evident that in drafting this text the sponsors had the interest of Antarctica foremost in their minds, We believe that we have also affirmed this fundamental concern in reasonable language.

We therefore commend the draft resolution to the Committee and are confident that it will receive the support it deserves.

The CHAIRMAN: As no representative wishes to make a statement other than in explanation of vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/44/L.68 and A/C.1/44/L.69, I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their vote before the voting.

Mrs. DA SILVA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish) J The current régime for Antarctica certainly has positive aspects, which have contributed to international peace and security by enshrining the principle of the exclusively peaceful use of the continent. Antarctica is a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and it is the first demilitarized continent. None the less, ever since the question of

(Mrs. Da Silva, Venezuela)

Antarctica waa first included on the General Assembly's aqenda, in 1983, it has been a topic in which Member States have shown ever-increaainq interest.

A major contribution on the subject was made by the Secretary-General's studies Presented in 1984 and 1985, which introduced new elements reqardinq Antarctica that are now causing concern to the whole international community. I refer specifically to the Antarctic environment and its effects on the world's climate.

The growing concern about the Earth's ecology and environment is felt particularly strongly with regard to Antarctica. The most recent research and most up-to-date knowledge on this vast region of the planet demonstrate the fragility of its ecosystems and the need to preserve them, because of the lasting impact their degradation and deterioration could have on the well-being of present and future generations.

Therefore, protecting the environment of Antarctica and conserving

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In the light ohfavewshaidt, VIenezuela will vote in favour of draft resolution h/C. 1/44/L. 69. have done in previsimilar draftars on resolutions, we shall also vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68.

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Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): I have asked to speak again before the vote to speak on behalf of the States Parties to the Antarctic Treaty.

The Antarctic Treaty Parties deeply regret that this is the fourth session of the General Assembly at which it has not proved possible to arrive at a Consensus on the issue of Antarctica.

The continued failure to achieve oonsensus on the question of Antarctica is a matter of concern for the General Assembly, where consensus is the only realistic basis for dealing with the item.

The Treaty Parties continue to believe that consideration of Antarctica by the General Assembly should proceed only on the basis of consensus. This approach is besed on full reqard for the integrity of the Antarctic Treaty and the continuing successful operation of the Treaty sys tern. The Treaty Parties reqret, therefore, that the proponents of draft resolution A/C. 1/44/L. 69 remain unwilling to take the necessary steps to recognize this and achieve consensus-

The Treaty Parties, in order to leave no doubt of their view that the question of Antarctica should continue to be handled only on the basis of consensus, will not participate in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L. 69, On draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68 the Treaty Parties will reflect their views in ways which do not Prejudice their position on the integrity of the Antarctic Treaty. Most will not pat ticipa te.

I request a roll-call vote on each of the draft resolutions.

As I have previously mentioned, a number of Member States will indicate that they are not participating in the votinq. I ask that the Committee's records indicate explicity that those Member States chose not to participate in the voting*

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68, entitled "Question of Antarctica". The draft resolution was

(The Chairman)

introduced by the representative of Lesotho on behalf of the Group of African States at the 43rd meeting of the First Committee, on 21 November.

A roll-call vote ha8 bean requested.

A roll-call vote was taken.

Côte d'Ivoire, having been drawn by lot hy the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afqhanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Arqentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia.. Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, China, Conqo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining; Botswana, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritius, Portugal

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68 was adopted by 94 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.* **

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* During the course of the roll-call vote the following members announced that they were not participating: Australia, Austria, Belqium, Bulqaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

** Subsequently the delegations of Colombia, Democratic Yemen and Nicaragua advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution A/C. 1/44/L.69, en titled "Quest ion of Antarctica,,. This draft resolution has 26 sponsors and was introduced by the representative of Malaysia at the 46th meeting of the First Committee, on 22 Novemher 1989.

A roll-call vote has been requested.

I shall now call on the Committee Secretary to conduct the voting.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): Before proceeding to the roll-call vote I shall read out the names of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C. 1/44/L. 69. They area Antigua and Barbuda, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, the Congo, Ghana, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mall, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

A roll-call vote was taken.

Peru, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Lihyan Arab Jamahir iya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Maucitan ia, Mauri t ius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Roman ia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri bnka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuninia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: China, Fiji, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malawi, Portugal, Turkey

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.69 waa adopted by 85 votes to none, with 7 abstentions. *

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* During the course of the roll-call vote the following metiers announced that they were not participating: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Viet Nam.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call upon delegations who wish to make statements in explanation of vote-

Mr. SCHIALER (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Peru voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68, which was introduced by the delegation of Lesotho on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations that are members of the African Group of States. The Government of Peru did so on the understanding that the draft resolution contributes to strengthening the appeal of the international community to the Government of South Africa to put an end to the unjust and inhumane system of apartheid. Our vote in favour does not, therefore, in any sense call into question the principles of international law applicable to the rights and obligations emanating from international treaties.

Mr. SADER (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Uruquay did not participate in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.68. We consider that, according to the principles of the law of treaties, there is a legal impediment in the case of the Antarctic Treaty. That does not in any sense detract from our firm opposition to the unjust system of apartheid in South Africa, the Persistence of which is a serious and constant concern to the Government of Uruguay.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 70.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 and 73

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AN) ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: Before calling upon the first speaker, I should like to say a few words on international peace and security, an area of grave concern to us all.

This year's discussions are taking place within a particularly dynamic context in which a number of profound and fundamental changes are evident in the think ing

(The Chairman)

about some issues of international security. Aspects of those developments have been referred to in earlier discussions of disarmament issues within their broader security framework. Both certain contemporary security structures and current security processes and approaches are the subjects of considerable interest. I have no doubt that our discussions will be influenced by the fact that the General Assembly has already, on 15 November 1989, met to consider directly in plenary meetinq the item on enhancing international peace and security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the United Nations Charter, at the joint request of the United States and the Soviet Union. That initiative, and the Assembly's adoption of the draft resolution sponsored by 44 countries without debate and by consensus reflects some of the important developments that are under way relating to international-security issues.

The Committee has on its aqenda item 71, "Strengthenin q of eecuri ty and co-operation in the Mediterranean region". We have before us a report of the Secretary-General on the subject (A/44/676). That report contains a summary of the debate on the issue at the forty-third session of the General Assembly. It highlights a number of considerations related to the political, security and military aspects of the situation in the Mediterranean region as well as suqqestions made by deleqations on strenqtheninq security and co-operation in that region. The replies received from Member States on this aqenda item are also included in the report.

Item 72 deals with an item lonq standinq on our eqenda, namely, "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security'. Again, a report of the Secretary-General contains views of Member States on the subject and is before the Committee in document A/44/722. An addendum to that report incorporatinq several additional responses will be circulated shortly. One

(The Chairman)

draft reeolution, A/C.1/44/L.7/Rev.1, has already been circulated under this aqenda item.

Our third item, agenda item 73, is on a comprehensive approach to strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It has been on our agenda since the forty-first session, but no specific action was requested in connection with it at the last session of the Assembly. I am sure that the constructive and co-operative spirit that has characterized our deliberations thus far will continua as we move into this final stage of the work of the First Committee for this session.

The first speaker in the qeneral debate on agenda items 71, 72 and 73 is the representative of Czechoslovakia, and I now call upon him.

Mr. JENERAL (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian) : Our discussion on fundamental questions of international security is taking Place at a time of impor tan t changes in international life. The peaceful restructuring of relations among States is becoming ever more apparent as a humanization of those relations. At the current session of the General Assembly it has been confirmed that there is a transition from confrontation to co-operation in solving fundamental problems confronting mankind. After decades of prejudice and tension, there are arising possibilities for the creation of a new foundation of security for States and world-wide stability based on mutual trust, the balance of interests, the priority of international law and the comprehensive development of contacts and co-operation.

It has been Possible substantially to improve the international climate and to diminish the risk of a nuclear catastrophe. Concrete results in the field of nuclear disarmament have been achieved, and there is an increasing possibility that other agreements will be concluded. Prospects have opened up for the settlement of A number of long-standing reqional conflicts.

However, as realists, we must recognize that those positive processes have not yet become irreversible. Forces still exist that seek to assert their interests regardless of the leqi timate interests of the other members of the international community. This requires a well thouqht out and responsible approach in dealing with the fundamental questions of international security.

The current session of the General Assembly has brought about a ser ies of new and inspir inq ideas enr ich inq the in ternational dialoque on issues of international security. This development once again confirms the importance of ensur inq international security within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Jenerel. Czechoslovakia\

Czechoslovakia is convinced that the achievement of far-reaching détente in the military sphere aimed at reducinq as far as possible the likelihood of a major confrontation is the most reliable path towards enhanced international security.

We are pleased that the process of genuine disarmament has already been initiated. The Soviet-United States Treaty on the el'.mination of two types of nuclear weapon; is being successfully implemented. This year 500 Soviet tactical nuclear warheads will be withdrawn from the territory of the allies of the Soviet Union. The production of enriched uranium for military purposes is beinq stopped, and the processing of plutonium production is being limited. The production of chemical weapons will be completely halted and their elimination will start even before the conclusion of a mutual international agreement.

Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Treaty States are consistently taking steps conventionalarmaments and military budgets. We welcome the progress achieved at the talks between Mr. Shevardnadze and Mr. Baker in September on the question of nuclear and space weapons. The Wyoming agreements give real hope that the last obstacles in the way of the conclusion of a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons can be overcome within a relatively short time. We believe that this would represent a decisive step towards a nuclear-weapon-free world. We feel that the forthcoming meetinq between the highest representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States in the Mediterranean - a key region for world-wide security - will bring new tangible results that will further improve the international climate.

Ensurinq security and stability in the European continent is essential to Czechoslovakia, which is located in the heart of Europe and whose inhabitants experienced the horrors of both world wars. Therefore we resolutely advocate the

(Mr. Jenefal, Czechoslovakia)

elimination of all nuclear weapons in Europe, including the tactical armaments. We are focusing on the question of reducing the level of conventional armed forces of the two military and political groupings in Europa. We are pleased to observe the political resolve to achieve tanqible results at the Vienna negotiations. Fortunately parallel neqotia tions to work out a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe are also takinq plac.. We welcome the constructive proposals on chemical weapons that the United States and the Soviet Union have put forward at the current session. We are convinced that their implementation will facilitate the adoption of a convention on the general prohibition of the production and the elimination of those weapons.

We also see opportunities for the achievement of Progress at the Geneva negotiations for a complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests. We consider that the means released by the disarmament process could be used to further social and economic development as well as in the solution of urgent environmental problems.

It is our mnviction that medium-sized and small States can Play their part by contributing significantly to international détente and the strengthening of security and stability . Our concrete contribution in his regard is the call we made in February 1988 for the establishment of relations of confidence, co-operation and good-neiqhbourliness alonq the lines put forward by the hiqhest representatives of the Warsaw Treaty States and the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The joint proposals made by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic in the years 1985 to 1988 remain highly relevant: the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone and the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe.

(Mr. Jeneral, Czechoslovakia)

For a number of years local conflicts have been raging on our planet, constituting a grave threat to international peace and security. A just settlement of those conflicts would be of primary importance in strengthening international security. We are happy to note that progress is being made in this field concomitantly with the present overall improvement in the international climate. We regard as a moat significant success the implementation of the process of granting independence to Namibia in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

(Mr. Jeneral, Czechoslovakia)

We believe that it will be possible in the foreseeable future fully to apply the Principle of settling disputes between States exclusively by political means, with full respect for the right of every nation freely to ehooee its own development path.

We regard United Nations peace-keeping operations a8 an important means of protecting international peace and eecuri ty. Their success is an important factor in increasing the overall effectiveness of the role of the United Nation8 in international relations. Our support for United Nations peace-keeping operations can be seen in the fact that we are now taking part in them, beginning this year. Seven Czechoslovak military experts are members of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM). Twenty Czechoslavak mi 1 i ta ry observer s are member s of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.

The increasing interrelationship and interdependence of countries in today's world are Been not only in the military and political spheres, but - and this is no lees important - in regard to the economy and the environment. It can be said that we are now witnessing an unprecedentedly rapid growth in economic relation8 between States. The international community faces the urgent task of tranelating the positive trends in the military and political spheres in the economic sphere. We advocate that the United Nations focus on the creation of conditions for the establishment of equal and international economic relations on a basis of equality and mutual sdvan tageous trust , and that it break the deadlock in the negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order.

Environmental ques tions, undoubtedly another key world problem, have recently come to the forefront of the interest of the world public and our Organization. Similarly, the humanitarian aspect of security, especially as regards the status of

(Mr. Jeneral, Czechoslovakia)

man, the extent and exercise of his rights and his place in the society, is becoming ever more significant in international life.

There is growing confidence in the possibilities and means available to the United Nations. A number of members of the international community are studying wayn of enhancing the role of the United Nations in international relations. Czechoslovakia is among them. We believe that the United Nations can play a significant role in regard to many of the questions I have mentioned. But we must ensure that our goals are realistic and that we proceed on the basis of what the Organization and its Member States are capable of doing and concentrate on practical steps in dealing with the various problems.

We believe that because of the integrated nature of today's world and the interdependence of individual areas of international relations it is necessary to seek multilateral approaches to the implementation and enhancement of the existing principles of the system of international peace, security and co-operation. The security needs of all States today go far beyond the framework of military and political questions, no matter what their importance in the system of international relations. Economic, humanitarian and ecological questions have also become highly significant from the point of view of security.

The existence of a complex of interconnected security problems in all spheres is an objective factor of international life. This interconnection makes it possible, indeed requires, that progress towards the solution of one problem bring about progress towards the solution of others. At the same time, progress in one area of international relations must not he at the expense of progress in another. Thus conditions are created for the solution of all questions on the basis of co-operation, and exclusively hy peaceful means, so that the different interests of States not only do not result in clashes hut become the driving force of political development.

(Mr. Jeneral, Czechoslovakia\

That was why we supported the joint Soviet-United States draft resolution on the question of enhancing international peace, security and international cooperation in all its aspects, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Its unanimous adoption by the General Assembly a few days ago expressed the desire of the whole international community to establish constructive international relationa based on the co-operation of States for the solution of all question8 of international peace and security, and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in regard to those issues.

The Czechoslovak delegation wishes to emphasize once again its continued support for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which we regard as one of the most important instruments for the purpose of advancing the cause of peace and the relaxat ion of interns t ional tens ion. Even today it provides a considerable stimulus to the development of friendly and mutually advantageous relations between States.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in this year's report on the work of the Organization, stated:

> "The United Nations needs to demonstrate its capacity to function as guardian of the world's security. "(A/44/1, p.11)

We fully share that view. We are convinced that the results of our deliberations and the resolutions we adopt will contribute to strengthening the role of the United Nations and contribute to the fulfilment of its basic mission, the protection of international peace and security.

Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (interpretation from French) : Your chairmanship of the First Committee during the present session, Sir, has highlighted your personal qualities and your breadth of experience in international affairs, Notwithetandinq your reminder of rule 110 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, I am tempted, as I am speakinq for the first time here, to expreaa my delegation's sincere pleasure at the great confidence that has been placed in you and at the wise and competent way in which you ace directinq our work.

I also wish to pay a tribute to the other officers of the Committee, in particular, the two Under-Secretaries-General for Political and Security Council Affairs and for Disarmament Affairs, respectively, whose presence is a great encouragement to us in our deliberations.

(Mr. Camera, Guinea)

I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the two Chairmen who preceded Ambassador Taylhardat, Ambassadors Baqbeni and Roche, for the remarkable work which they did to achieve consensus throuqhout their mandate.

Our debates during the past two years since the signing in December 1987 of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermedia te-Ranqe and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - have been tak inq place at a time which can be considered to be pivotal, cominq as it does between the horrendous memory of the two world war s, followed by the cold war, with its attendant suspicions and breakdown of communica tions and, on the other hand, the emergence in international rela tiona of a new landscape characterized by transparency and neqotia tion.

Today the history of mankind is at a decisive turninq-point. The impressive number of resolutions adopted without a vote on such thorny issues as disarmament ma ttere emphasizes the determination of States to work towards a just and lastinq pea ce in the world.

There is a causal link, a dialectical relationship amorrq disarmament, development and secur ity . Peace is not merely a state of harmony amonq citizens or social qroupe, nor can it be said merely to amount only to an absence of internal struqqlee or war between nations. Peace is the rejection of all forms of violence with the exception of that violence in the philosophical sense whereby we apply to ourselves additional energy in order to suppress base instincts or reject qloomy thouqh ts. It cover8 a broader concept just like security which means peace of mind or a set of conditions established to provide for Peace.

Genuine peace and security as qlobal notions encompass non-military threats, that is the human and social factor and the concept of economic prosperitv and the environment. For us security is one and indivisible. For any restr ictive securi ty concept, by virtue of its confininq effects, leads sooner or later to staqna tion.

(Mr. Camara, Guinea)

Unfortunately, today the military aspect prevails over other aspects, to judge by the vast size of defence budgets. Similarly, security, which is claimed as the province of a *group of* States or the domain of power-hungry alliances, is not our kind of security.

In the light of these preliminary theoretical considerations, let us turn now to the way in which current pressing security problem8 should be viewed. On the one hand the desire for compromise and tolerance ha8 bypassed the old clichés and dispelled Passions. As a result of progress in science and technology and communications the frontiers of States are becoming blurred; and international co-operation is qaininq ground and the people8 are mixing. This is the age when co-management and co-responsibility are the new rule8 of international life.

The process of disarmament is proceeding, not a8 rapidly a8 one would have liked but none the less steadily.

Other encouraging factor8 such as the enthusiasm for bold reforms and the emergence of democratic tendencies in various parts of the world, and particularly the rapprochement between the two super-Powers, after a long waiting period, with the resulting thaw in regional conflicts, are the essential phases of this significant development. Rut alonqside of these briqht siqns, certain dismal area8 persist.

One is reminded in this connection of the words of Simone de Beauvoir, the twentieth century French existentialist writer, who said: "In the peace which was given to US justice and reason were fermenting". In other words, while we should welcome the positive developments in the world today there is continued ground for apprehension as to the existence of certain scourges which could threaten our qains.

In some regions of the world intolerable interference in the internal affairs of States continues. Human rights are trampled underfoot. Various forms of pressure impede liberty. The threat of the use of force and the actual Use of

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force still occur. It is true that we have repeatedly expressed our concern given the pressing nature of security problems and our de termination to overcome these dangers. Our collective will and intelligence have explored ways and means to save the human race from annihilation.

In the 19608, for example, various initiatives were taken, the purpose of which was to turn the coastal States of the Indian Ocean, Africa, Asia and the Middle East into nuclear-weapon-free zones to protest against the military escalation in these reg ions.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-Aligned Countries have emphaeized the danger of this policy for the independence and development of People8 as well as for world Peace, while inviting the Powers concerned to strengthen their mutual co-operation on the one hand and their co-operation with the coastal States on the other.

The General Assembly, particularly through the First Committee, has also adopted many resolu t ions, the purpose of which is to set up such zone8 or zones of Peace on the basis of arrangements freely consented to by all parties or within the framework of the United Nations.

We wish here to pay a tribute to the tireless efforts made by the Ad Hoc Committee, under the chairmanship of Sri Lanka, to arrange for the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean within the framework of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The obstacles that have caused that conference to be Postponed 80 often must now be removed.

As for the Mediterranean, that internal sea situated between Europe, Asia and Africa and the cradle of aqe-old civilizations, only neqotiation can effectively resolve its problems. The use of the argument of force at the expense of the force of argument, wha teve r the r easons involved, could well aggravate the crisis of the

(Mr. Camera, Guinea)

Middle East , in respect of which peace efforts seem to be promising, notwithstanding the tragic situation in Lebanon.

The Helsinki Final Act of 1975 must continue to be the compass steering the efforts of Europe towards preserving the peace and promoting the Process of the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in order to promote broad co-operation and to build confidence in accordance with the 1986 Stockholm document. The nega t ia t ions now go inq on in Vienna among the 3 5 member countries of the CSCE to elaborate confidence-buildinq measures and amonq the 23 countries on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe are most welcome. Moreover , the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free and chemical-weapon-free zones of co-operation in the Balkans, central Europe and northern Europe is an important factor which joins the measures I have just referred to as a way of guaranteeing security on the continent.

As for Latin America, the signing on 14 February 1967 of the Treaty of Tlatelolco and its Additional Protocols has sheltered that region from nuclear weapons.

On a broader scale my delegation supports the proposal of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty to confer with those of the Alliance. Such an initiative will enable the two military blocs to draw up a common programme in the light of the positive consequences of ddtente on world geopolitics.

The South Pacific also, as we know, has been dealt with in a number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, by reqional bodies and also by the review conferences of the Treaty of Rarotonqa, the Treaty which was signed on 6 August 1985 in the Cook Islands and which establishes a denuclearized zone in the region.

Turning to Africa, there is no doubt that the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of the continent , adopted in July 1964 in Cairo

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by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU, would make it possible to guarantee the security of a region which has become particularly sensitive by virtue of the existence of the nuclear capacity of the anachronistic régime of South Africa which is placed under the protective umbrella of certain States. Such acquisition is all the more dangerous for regional and international security in that Pretoria is well known for its contempt for the decisions of the international community as well as for its acts of aggress ion and destabiliza t ion against neighbouring and front-line States.

While we welcome the victory of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - and we are convinced that free Namibia will soon occupy its just place in the family of sovereign nations - we very much hope that the winds of peace will carry away the last bastion of tyranny in southern Africa.

There is one other point that needs to be emphasized in this connection and that is the struggle waged by the third world in qeneral and Africa in particular to Protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity in certain instances.

(Mr. Camara, Guinea)

Those countries, already severely tried by the effects of natural disasters, have had to arm themselves to meet their national security requirements in local wars fanned by policies of interference. That situation is a financial drain on countries whose resources are shrinking daily.

The use of drugs and international terrorism are two scourges that are costing many human lives. They are directly related to the violence and the prevalence of weapons, as was well demonstrated by the Head of State of Colombia in his address to the General Assembly. That is why their eradication requires international co-operation and political determination.

Efforts to achieve stable international security and lasting peace are of necessity focused on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and on the principles of transparency and détente. Enrico Macias was quite right when, in a popular song that is a favourite with those who cherish peace, he wrote: "Nothing is more beautiful than a rusty gun." The fulfilment of this historic task requites the participation of everyone: scientists, politicians, artists, writers, women and young people, students and labour leaders, religious and parliamentary figures, workers of all categories and military strategists. It calls for the broad mobilization of all resources, institutional, material and moral, seminars, symposiums, conferences and discussions, campaigns and financial contributions, and activities by national committees and non-governmental organizations.

Science and technology also have a part to play, as they are mighty instruments in men's hands, with which they can build a decent life and take control of their destinies. For science and technology are not harmful; rather, it is their wrongful use that can give rise to fear and insecurity.

(Mr. Camara, Guinea)

We cannot overemphasize the fact that the ways and means of ensuring our collective survival are to be found in respect for the well-known principles of the United Nations Charter, relating to, among other things, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the equality of peoples and their right to self-determination, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, non-interference in internal affairs, international co-operation and the fulfilment of commitments.

In this connection, the United Nations, as the principal multilateral mechanism, has a central role to play, together with its specialized agencies and principal bodies. We must make the fullest possible use of the United Nations. The implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security must not be subject to any ambiguity. The Security Council and the big Pwers which for the moment play an important role in the management of world affairs must work to that end.

Prom that point of view the inclusion in the Assembly's agenda, at the joint request of the United States of America and the USSR, of an additional item entitled "Enhancing of international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" is seen as the expression of their dedication to the Charter and their determination to ensure respect for its principles.

My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the world body and to the Secretary-General for the great sacrifices being made to put an end to conflicts that for decades have occurred in the southern hemisphere, opening the way to foreign intervention and rivalry of all kinds. We particularly value the role of United Nations peace-keeping forces, whose members, through their exemplary courage and self-sacrifice, and often at the cost of their lives, have prevented genocide in certain crisis situations.

(Mr. Camara, Guinea)

Furthermore, it is comforting to note that the General Assembly, in a resolution adopted without a vote on 24 October of this year, invited the international community to redouble the efforte to achieve the objectives of the International Year of Peace.

At a time when the democratization of international relationa has become pervasive, enabling all States, without discrimination, to make their voices heard, and when efforts to safeguard peace and Security are being stepped up, the United Nations system must be revitalized as the principal modality for the harmonization of relations among States. A new spirit of wisdom and pragmatism must inspire our efforts. Henceforth, only realism and moderation can bring us success in our ventures, for it has been made absolutely clear that extremist stands and ideologies of sub juqation are no longer acceptable. All toqether, on the threshold of the twenty-first century, we must work shoulder to shoulder to forge a radiant future and build a new civilization, that of the white dove bearing the olive branch, the symbol of peace, love and truth.

The CHAIRMAN: Delegations will recall that several requests have been made that we try to conclude our proceedings on 29 rather than 30 November. We shall not attempt to Settle the issue at this stage, but I urge delegations to intensify their consultations, make full use of the time effort? We and do everything possible to enable us to conclude our work as early as possible. In so doing they should take into account the rules of procedure and the need to submit draft resolutions as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.