VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 56th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia)

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GENERAL DEBATE AND CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda items 71, 72 and 73 be closed at 6 p.m. today. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee accepts that proposal.

It was so decided.

Mr. ALI (Bangladesh): My delegation is taking this opportunity to express its views on the various international security items currently before the Committee. I wish at the outset to recall our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the valuable reports he submitted in connection with our deliberations on those items, and for his commendable and persistent efforts for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The current session of the General Assembly, which marks the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, is to conclude in a matter of weeks. The historic commemorative meetings, which were attended by an unprecedentedly large number of Heads of State or Government, clearly reflected the importance that the peoples and the nations of the world attach to this great world body. During the session we have heard statements from world leaders expressing grave concern at the deteriorating international situation which prevails in the world today. It was underlined that while the United Nations has given the world 40 years of freedom from global conflict mankind has yet to secure the genuine peace it had aspired to. We live from crisis to crisis, and our world today is fraught with fear and tension, with death and deprivation. Tragic conflicts still disrupt many regions of our small planet, bringing with them untold human suffering, death and destruction.
Disarmament and international security are closely inter-linked. Our failure in the past to dispel mistrust and insecurity among nations have only led to further armament which has in turn created greater insecurity. Contrary to the wishes of the vast majority of the peoples of the world, the arms race registered phenomenal growth during this period, both in qualitative and in quantitative terms. The continued development and accumulation of the most sophisticated and lethal weapons - particularly the build-up of nuclear arms by the super-Powers and other militarily significant States - clearly threatens the very survival of mankind. The arms race runs counter to our efforts to achieve a relaxation of global tension and the establishment of international relations based on peace, coexistence and trust among all States.

We are equally concerned to note that despite our solemn commitment to uphold the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, some Member States have, regrettably, resorted to the use of force as a means to solve their international disputes. Such actions are clearly in violation of those sacred principles, particularly the principles of national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. The continued existence of crises and foci of tension in various parts of the world is a matter of grave concern to all of us.

The triangular relationship between disarmament, security and development is now universally recognized. Disarmament and security, therefore, cannot be seen in isolation from development. In this difficult and uncertain international economic situation, the developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, are passing through a critical phase. It is obvious that substantial progress in the sphere of development must be achieved to enhance international peace and security. The current global expenditures on the arms race seriously affect the
development prospects of all countries, particularly the developing countries. We firmly believe that with the necessary political will, understanding and vision, it should be possible to redirect precious global resources from armament to development. The present world economic crisis is of a global nature; it is not possible for any country or group of countries to solve those problems through isolated action. We are convinced that the present state of economic crisis can be overcome only through global dialogue and concerted efforts by all countries.

My delegation believes that our consideration of international security agenda items should be viewed against the backdrop of those developments. The historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted 15 years ago. The prime motive factor for the adoption of the Declaration was to provide relevant guidelines and a broad programme for strengthening the United Nations as an important instrument for the relaxation of international tension and for the creation of necessary conditions for the attainment of just and lasting peace. The solemn principles and purposes set out in that Declaration have been repeatedly reaffirmed at past sessions, and all States have been asked to adhere fully to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to the provisions of the Declaration as well as to those of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Those cardinal principles constitute the basis for relations among States, irrespective of their size, level of development or political, economic and social system. It is a matter of deep regret that, although the Declaration was adopted by a virtual consensus, it has not been possible thus far to ensure full compliance with it. My delegation would like to emphasize that those sacred principles, as contained in the United Nations Charter and the two Declarations I have mentioned,
are more valid today than ever before. In his statement at the commemorative meetings, President Hussain Muhammad Ershad of Bangladesh stated that

"To the scores of newly independent countries of the third world, the United Nations has continued to serve all these years as a main guarantor of the political independence and sovereign equality of States and the best instrument to promote their economic and social development in a secure environment. To countries like ours, the United Nations holds out the best prospect and potential for the survival and progress of mankind.

"... The basis for Bangladesh's multilateral diplomacy, which, inter alia, derives from its strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, emanates from the lessons learned from that experience. We in Bangladesh have paid our highest tribute to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations by incorporating in our Constitution the nation's resolute commitment to it.

"For nations such as Bangladesh, the United Nations is thus both a defensive shield and the foundation of security." (A/40/PV.41, pp. 47-48)

Developments over the past four decades have demonstrated that the United Nations survives on the collective will of its Member States. In spite of its weaknesses, the United Nations remains the most appropriate, the irreplaceable, forum for finding solutions to all international problems. It should be our common endeavour to strengthen the United Nations through scrupulous adherence to the principles and purposes of its Charter. The historic Declaration was clearly aimed in that direction, and we should make a determined effort at the current session to ensure full compliance with it.
At previous sessions my delegation has expressed its conviction that regional and international peace and security would be promoted by the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. As a littoral State we attach particular importance to the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region and have fully supported the early convening of the United Nations Conference in Colombo.

It is in this context that my delegation has lent its full support to the initiative of the Mediterranean countries designed to promote peace, security and co-operation in their own region. The Helsinki Final Act and the Valletta Final Declaration on Mediterranean peace have already made important contributions towards the objective of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. It is obvious that further efforts are necessary towards a reduction of tension and armaments and the creation of conditions of security and fruitful co-operation in all fields among the countries of the region in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. That regional effort requires the full support and co-operation of all Member States, particularly the major Powers, which are in a position to influence developments in the Mediterranean region. Similarly, it is necessary to undertake a collective effort to find just and viable solutions to existing problems and crises in the area on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In view of the importance of the item, we should try to achieve concrete results during the current session.

As I mentioned a little while ago, Bangladesh is firmly and irrevocably committed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and considers the United Nations to be an indispensable forum for promoting global
peace and development based on justice and equity. However imperfect the structure of this great world body, it has withstood the test of time and continued to provide a valuable framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes and international problems. At the same time, the United Nations Charter merits consideration and reflection with a view to strengthening the role of this great world body in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly by enhancing its peace-making and peace-keeping capabilities.

My delegation believes that to this end, the system of collective security envisaged in the Charter should be further strengthened by giving full effect to its provisions. The Charter has assigned a central role to the Security Council in enhancing collective security and promoting international peace. We should make every effort to enhance the authority and the enforcement capacity of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter. Similarly, the Charter confers upon the General Assembly an important role in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security. It is, therefore, necessary also to analyze the functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to bring about a harmonious blending of their roles. Similarly, United Nations peace-keeping operations should be strengthened and systematized within the framework of the Charter.

The Secretary-General, in his annual report, has touched on these points and also made valuable suggestions and proposals for strengthening United Nations machinery. My delegation welcomes those proposals and believes that the item relating to the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter should be discussed comprehensively and with an open mind.

My delegation shares the disappointment at the apparent lack of progress on this item. Two years ago the General Assembly decided to set up an ad hoc
committee to discuss various aspects of this question. However, as the Secretary-General comments in his note, "owing to different opinions" (A/40/454, p. 2) it has not yet been possible to constitute the proposed ad hoc committee. We are hopeful, however, that all parties will make a determined, renewed effort at the current session with a view to adopting a concrete course of action.

My delegation is fully aware that the tasks ahead of us are formidable. But, given the necessary political will, determination and dedication, they are not beyond the possibility of accomplishment. Let us, then, make a concerted effort to strengthen the United Nations, with a view to ushering in an era of global peace and security.

Ms. NGUYEN BINH THANH (Viet Nam): Forty years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations, with as its main purpose, as enshrined in its Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security. Fifteen years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The persistent, combined efforts of the international community over those years have prevented another global conflagration. Yet, as universally asserted during the debate in plenary meetings of the General Assembly and in this Committee, mankind is still faced with the danger of a nuclear holocaust and conflicts, tension and instability continue to affect various parts of the world, resulting in human and material losses and threatening international peace and security.

The past 40 years have witnessed a grim and unrelenting struggle between the forces of peace, democracy and social progress on the one hand and the imperialist and international reactionary forces on the other hand. The imperialist forces have not merely refused to reconcile themselves to the developments that followed the Second World War - the growth of the world socialist system and the departure
of an increasing number of countries from the orbit of the old world to national independence - but are bent on rolling them back. Both "cold" and "hot" wars have been waged, and an ever-intensifying arms race, especially in its nuclear aspects, has been conducted, thus creating world tension and at times pushing mankind to the brink of nuclear war. In every decade since 1945 plans have been made to undermine and subvert the socialist States and wars of aggression have been launched against Asian, African and Latin American nations.

Since the late 1970s the United States has described détente as disadvantageous to Western interests and as a one-way street. A full-scale attack against détente has been carried out through the deployment of new United States medium-range nuclear missiles, the disruption of East-West economic ties and even direct military intervention and aggression against countries bent on national independence.

Moreover, old pretexts are put forward anew to justify the policy of the arms race and tension. Disregarding the fact that the socialist countries have, since their very inception, been subject to imperialist encirclement and aggression, high-decibel noise is made in certain quarters about so-called communist expansion and the so-called Soviet threat. It is clear that only those who look at world events through the colonialist prism can declare as failures in the period of détente the victories of the national liberation movements in Indo-China and southern Africa in the 1970s.
No one is misled by the phenomenon that freedom, democracy and national independence are eagerly spoken of by precisely those who have carried out more than 100 wars of aggression against the freedom and independence of other nations for the past 40 years. In this connection Viet Nam wishes to reaffirm its support for the statement made by the non-aligned Foreign Ministers at their recent meeting in Luanda, Angola, that

"Attempts erroneously to characterize the struggle of people for independence and human dignity in the East-West context amounts to denying them the right to determine their own destiny and realize their legitimate aspirations".

This is taken from paragraph 24 of the Final Political Declaration of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' meeting held in Luanda, Angola, in September 1985.

The reality of the past 40 years, especially of the last 10 years, during which the imperialists' policy of confrontation has been carried to an unprecedented extreme, has proved the might of the forces of peace and national independence. Attempts to wreck the socialist system and crush the national independence movement can end up only in failure and lead to tension and suffering for all peoples in the world. Nowadays there is no viable alternative to co-operation and peaceful coexistence among States. It is a matter of urgency that an end be put to the arms race and that peace and security be maintained or restored in all regions of the world.

In its earlier two statements in this Committee my delegation discussed the negative effects of the arms race, in particular its nuclear aspects and its extension into outer space, on international security and social and economic development, as well as concrete and effective measures for curbing the arms race and for disarmament. Today we wish to dwell at some length on the present situation in some regions.
The South African régime is the main cause of the continued state of war in southern Africa. Aided and abetted by economic, financial, military and economic assistance from some Western countries, above all the United States, the racist régime obstinately continues its policy of mass repression against the black people at home, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia and aggression against the front-line States in southern Africa. In spite of the long-established and increased concern of the international community over the nuclear capability of South Africa, some Western countries are continuing their nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

Viet Nam is firmly of the view that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without Israel's total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State on their national territory. The United States is in fact the strategic ally of Israel and provides it with all kinds of assistance to strengthen the latter's aggression against the Arab people. Viet Nam supports the convening of the international peace conference in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

For many years now, the peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced outside intervention, aggression and repression. At present their aspirations to social advancement and economic development continue to be hindered. In the name of protecting this region against the intrusion or spread of communism, the United States is practising a policy of State terrorism against regional independent and sovereign States. Viet Nam supports the position of an overwhelming majority of States in the region that regional problems should be
solved through dialogue and negotiation and not through the use of military force, whether directly or by proxies. Viet Nam reiterates its support for Nicaragua and Cuba, which are now targets of blockade and military intervention.

In Asia many peoples are still faced with intervention and aggression by imperialism in collusion with international and regional reaction. In this regard Viet Nam supports the proposal made by the People's Republic of Mongolia on the signing of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among States of Asia and the South Pacific, as well as the Soviet initiatives to consolidate peace and security in Asia.

As in any other region of the world, peace and stability in South-East Asia is in the interests of the countries of the region as well as of peace and security in the world as a whole. The three Indo-Chinese countries - the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam - have taken numerous initiatives to that end. The countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have also made known their proposals. For their part, the three Indo-Chinese countries have stated their willingness to discuss with the ASEAN countries questions of mutual concern as well as the relevant positions of both sides. A real possibility now exists for working out a final framework for peaceful coexistence among States in South-East Asia and for building it into a region of peace, stability and co-operation.

The world has changed dramatically in the past 40 years in favour of the forces of peace, national independence and social progress. Much still lies ahead in our struggle for international peace and security. But we are convinced that the joint efforts of the international community can not only defend its achievements of the last 40 years but also bring about greater changes in the world in the years to come.
Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): The deliberations on agenda item 72 this year are proceeding on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the Polish view, the Declaration's outstanding importance lies in the fact that it constitutes a programme of action aimed at ensuring peace and security as well as correct relations among States on the basis of principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.
I wish to reaffirm once again Poland's resolve to act in favour of the full implementation of the Declaration in accordance with resolution 39/155. The Declaration's call to all States, notwithstanding all the differences existing between them, to undertake common efforts in the interest of strengthening international security has lost nothing of its importance and topicality.

In 1970 we shared the view - which was then almost universal - that international relations would be guided by the provisions of the Declaration. Unfortunately the experience of the past 15 years has proved just the opposite. I shall therefore reiterate my country's position in respect of the implementation of this historic document.

The main stumbling-block preventing implementation of the Declaration is the policy that fuels the arms race and assigns enormous resources to the development and production of new and ever more destructive types of weapons. This policy attempts to upset the existing balance of power and to militarize outer space.

This situation requires the undertaking of concrete steps to reverse the prevailing negative trends. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared in Sofia on 23 October 1985 that,

"A turn for the better in international affairs requires a new political approach corresponding to the realities of the present-day world, as well as mutual restraint. Urgent measures are necessary to end the arms race and prevent its extension into outer space and to achieve a sharp reduction in armaments and nuclear weapons in particular." (A/C.1/40/7, p. 4)

I should like to mention at this point our contribution to various efforts to enhance international security through preventing the arms race from being extended into outer space. I have in mind the idea contained in the address of General Wojciech Jaruzelski before the General Assembly on 27 September, which has
been developed in the single draft resolution on the prevention of an arms race in outer space adopted by the First Committee dealing inter alia with a study on disarmament problems related to outer space, including the consequences of extending the arms race into that sphere.

The dangers inherent in the acceleration of the arms race have been spelled out in detail during the deliberations of the First Committee on the items relating to disarmament. Still, in our discussion on item 72 we have to bear in mind the relationship between the arms race and the state of international security. There can be no doubt that the former adversely affects the latter and contributes to the destabilization of the international situation.

Other threats to peace and security lie in attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of States and to use economic power as a tool of political coercion. The hotbeds of tension in the world are being expanded rather than limited.

The main area of our activities is naturally Europe, but we are equally interested in developments in other regions of the world, a position we have already reflected during this session. At this juncture allow me to reaffirm our full support for the position of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea, on the transformation of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-weapon-free zone and on the peaceful reunification of Korea on democratic principles without external interference. The resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on this issue constitutes a good basis for a settlement of the Korean question.

Touching upon regional problems of security and taking into consideration the fact that this year we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism, I could not fail to mention the revival of dangerous attempts at
questioning the post Second World War territorial and political order in Europe. I recall here what General Wojciech Jaruzelski stated in this regard in his address before the General Assembly,

"... anyone who now tries to rewrite history, who challenges the indivisible decisions of Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, is in effect seeking to undo the achievement of San Francisco and is undermining the fabric of international confidence." (A/40/PV/12, p. 27)

Our approach to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is a comprehensive one. Poland has been actively promoting the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international security throughout the whole 40 years' existence of the United Nations. As a Central European State, Poland concentrates its search for more effective international security mainly on the European continent.

Its contribution to the initiation and outcome of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the implementation of its Final Act is one of the examples of our activity at the regional level. A further development of the CSCE process would constitute an important contribution to the efforts undertaken by the United Nations for international peace and security. Let me add that the stabilization of the situation in Poland achieved through a policy of peaceful settlement of social tensions in our country is contributing towards enhancing security in Europe and in the world. Our alliance with the Soviet Union and active participation in the Warsaw Treaty remain both the corner-stone of our policy and indispensable elements for world and European security. In deciding to extend the validity of this Treaty, Poland, together with its allies, emphasized its readiness to expand dialogue and to initiate wide-ranging international joint efforts in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.
Poland consistently shows interest in the establishment of an extensive system of international and domestic legislation on the right to peace—jus ad pacem, which should in future supersede the currently applicable anti-war legislation—jus contra bellum. My Government is in favour of enhancing the international legal order in all major fields of international coexistence and co-operation. We have to realize that in wartime, when the rule of law is replaced by lawlessness, violence and terror, the gravest violations of the most essential human right—the right to life—occur, consequently jeopardizing the enjoyment of other civil rights and fundamental freedoms. Having so tragically experienced the disasters of war, Poland consistently emphasizes that the maintenance of peace in the world is the most important task of the international community. I might add that Polish law clearly prohibits any form of war propaganda and the spreading of hatred towards other nations.
In the framework of our Organization, Poland firmly supports all the initiatives and efforts aimed at achieving full and strict observance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations such as the development of friendly relations among peoples, the sovereign equality of States, the fulfilment in good faith of international obligations, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-use of force and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Therefore our country actively participates in the work on the elaboration of appropriate measures and instruments which could enhance the prohibition of the use of force in international relations, ensure peaceful coexistence in outer space and eliminate all manifestations of individual and State terrorism.

Closely linked to those efforts is the search for effective implementation of the concept of preparing societies for life in peace contained in the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace adopted by the General Assembly in 1978 on a Polish initiative. A world without war cannot be created as the result of activities of Governments alone. Governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as individual citizens, should also actively participate in the achievement of that aim.

In his address to the General Assembly, General Wojciech Jaruzelski reminded us that

"The leaders of States and Governments bear an enormous personal responsibility for the fate of nations and the peace of the world."

(A/40/PV.12, p. 32)

Recently we witnessed the Soviet-American summit in Geneva, for which the world had been waiting for six years. The meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan has considerable significance in the context of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Poland has always appreciated the significance of Soviet-American relations and has often called for their improvement.
Of particular importance is the joint declaration on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and on the renunciation by the two parties of the achievement of military superiority. The meeting has initiated a dialogue between the two great Powers aimed not only at improving Soviet-American relations but also at improving the situation in the world at large. Poland expects both parties to translate into tangible results the potential the two leaders have created through their summit meeting for the strengthening of international peace and security.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party on 28 November emphasized that endeavours to improve the international situation as manifested in the Geneva summit meeting "are fully in line with Polish national interests and with the principles of Polish foreign policy".

Dangers to international security arise from negative phenomena in international economic relations such as the external debt problem, increasing protectionist practices and specific problems faced by the developing countries. Let me emphasize that the external debt problem is not a question that affects only one group of States. In addition one cannot forget that the arms race is swallowing up enormous resources, threatening the economic stability that is indispensable for the maintenance of peace in the world.

In its fifth paragraph, resolution 39/155 urges the Members of our Organization to consider ways and means of reviving the world economy and restructuring international economic relations. There is no doubt that the building of economic security in their economic relations is an important factor of the strengthening of international security. The harmful politicization of economic relations between States and the growing number of cases of abuse of economic power for political ends has recently become one of the most serious threats in this respect.
At a time when one would hardly dare to risk direct military intervention in the internal affairs of another State, economic warfare has unfortunately become one of the most important means of realizing the selfish and neo-colonialist policy of the most powerful countries against the weaker ones. The illegal economic sanctions, embargoes, restrictions, threats and other similar measures applied against a purely political background have nothing to do with the security interests of the Powers that resort to them. At the same time they endanger the basis of international co-operation. Economic co-operation as well as dialogue among States cannot be used only instrumentally and selectively. They are mechanisms that play a positive and constructive role when they are applied universally and without discrimination in the interests of all parties to such co-operation and dialogue.

My delegation considers that the safeguarding of the economic security of all sovereign States should be regarded as a fundamental principle of relations between them. It is also a vital condition for accelerating the economic decolonization of developing countries. We fully subscribe to the provisions of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States concerning the need to promote collective economic security for development.

It was in that spirit that, at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Poland submitted a proposal on confidence-building in international economic relations. In the view of my Government, the present-day catalogue of confidence-building measures will be incomplete until and unless it incorporates effective economic confidence-building measures. The main objective of our idea is to protect economic relations from the influence of tensions in international political relations. Its implementation requires, first of all, putting an end to
the erection of new barriers of a political nature which hinder economic co-operation. It was also in that spirit that Poland welcomed and supported the draft resolution on international economic security put forward by the USSR, which was adopted by the Second Committee a few days ago.

We are fully aware that confidence-building in the economic sphere also is a broad and prolonged process that can succeed only if enough political will is displayed by all participants. Nevertheless we are sure that initiation of the process of confidence-building in international economic relations could make an important contribution to the strengthening of the economic security of all States by creating a favourable environment for international relations.
Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): This is the year of the anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, the victory of reason over insanity, of civilization over barbarity, life over death - a victory in the crucible of which the United Nations was born. This year is noteworthy too because of important political events now occurring in the world and also within the framework of the United Nations.

In the last few days world attention has been focused on the Soviet-American summit meeting held at the end of November, on which people in different parts of the planet have pinned great hopes for the strengthening of mutual trust and general improvement of the world's political climate.

That meeting was necessary and useful. That is how it was described by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in a decree on the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva and the international situation adopted at the recently concluded session in Moscow.

As is pointed out in the joint United States-Soviet statement on the summit meeting, despite the differences in the political and social systems of the USSR and the United States and their approaches to international problems, both leaders "agreed on the need to improve Soviet-American relations and the international climate as a whole". In their joint document, the leaders of the USSR and the United States stated that nuclear war must not be fought. They stressed the importance of preventing any war between the USSR and the United States, nuclear or conventional, and they undertook not to attempt to achieve military superiority.

In that sense the results of the Geneva talks can exert a positive influence on changes in the political and psychological climate in today's world, improving of that climate and reducing the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war.
All this is extremely important at the present stage of the development of the international situation, which is characterized by a growing sense of responsibility for the fate of the world, because it is not just a question of the confrontation of two social systems but also, as is pointed out in the decree of the Supreme Soviet I have mentioned, of a choice between survival and destruction. Problems of war and peace and of universal security have of necessity been thrust into the international political limelight and of course much more needs to be done to ensure their successful resolution. Like a searchlight beam, all this illuminates the overwhelming significance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security proposed by the Soviet Union, a document of tremendous political importance. The struggle for peace and international security and for the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations among countries is the very essence of the Leninist strategy of peace; the policy of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems has been tirelessly and purposefully pursued by the land of the Soviets in international life from the very first days of its existence.

The founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, stated, "Above all we cherish the preservation of peace". And he stressed that "as we embark on our peaceful task of nation-building, we bend every effort to make sure that it will continue uninterruptedly". The land of the Soviets has unswervingly and consistently fulfilled that Leninist testament. As is stressed in the new draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

"To defend and consolidate peace, to curb the forces of aggression and militarism in the name of the life of present and future generations: there is no more lofty or responsible task than this. A world without war, without arms is the ideal of socialism."
That is precisely the aim of all the initiatives and actions of the Soviet State in recent times. They have been aimed at resolving the key issues of international security, of reducing the threat of war and producing a drastic change for the better in international relations in the world arena. Take a careful look back over the 15 years that have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and you will see very clearly the considerable difficulties and the series of obstacles that have been overcome in those years, something which undeniably stresses the particular importance and relevance of the principles that underlie the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and has enabled that Declaration to become a broad programme of action and initiatives for States in the principal areas of the fight for peace.

Those principles have in particular been embodied in a number of Declarations and resolutions produced and adopted by the General Assembly aimed at improving the international climate, eliminating the threat of nuclear war, preventing the militarization of space and reducing nuclear armaments, organically linked as they are, eradicating from international life the policy of State terrorism, imperialistic designs, hegemonism, colonialism, racism and apartheid, exploitation, diktat and every kind of illegal sanction and embargo in international economic relations, preventing war propaganda and educating the peoples of the world in the spirit of peace.

The roster of initiatives and proposals that unambiguously express the will of the world community is extremely impressive, and it continues to grow year by year. Evidence of this is the current session of the General Assembly, whose First Committee has, it will be recalled, adopted a number of important draft resolutions on problems concerning the prevention of nuclear war and the militarization of space and the organization of international co-operation in that environment, the
cessation of the arms race in all its areas and, to that end, the stepping-up of existing negotiations and the undertaking of new ones. The annual consideration at General Assembly sessions of the results of the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, to which the Byelorussian SSR attaches the greatest significance, illuminates in detail the relevant aspects of this problem through the official answers to letters of the United Nations Secretary-General. At this session they are contained in documents A/40/506/Add.2 and A/40/448. Undeniably these continue to facilitate the focusing of the attention of States on how the process is working and what difficulties and obstacles it is meeting with, and they concentrate international attention on the search for effective measures to implement the major task of the United Nations as enshrined in its Charter: ensuring universal peace and international security.
All this becomes extremely clear after a look at resolutions of the last session of the General Assembly, such as resolution 39/155, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", in which the Assembly stresses the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security, bears in mind the approach of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, reaffirms the validity of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and urges all States to abide strictly, in their international relations, by their commitment to the Charter of the United Nations by promoting the implementation of the Declaration, and to take all necessary measures to prevent the further deterioration of the international situation.

Unfortunately, the present facts of international life reflect a state of international relations which remains complex and tense. Weapons, including nuclear weapons, continue to grow into mountainous arsenals, and at times conflicts persist and even worsen in various parts of the world. The world has approached a point beyond which events could very well get out of hand.

Quite rightly the question is asked: Why has the world situation deteriorated, and why does it continue to be so bad? There are many reasons, but the main reason — and this is borne out by the ineluctable facts of life today — is that the militarization of the economy, and even of political thinking in certain countries, has gone so far that imperialism has failed to stand the test of détente. This is my point: détente requires a serious re-casting of political thought and conduct, and calls for responsibility and restraint in international affairs.

Unfortunately, having taken a different tack — that of social and political vendettas, of disrupting military and strategic parity — imperialist circles have been stepping up the pace of the arms race to unprecedented levels. Today there is no area of the manufacture of the technology of death in which they have not been
building up their efforts. They are now attempting to add space strike systems to
the weapons already deployed on land, at sea and in the air. The furnace of the
arms race is devouring hundreds upon hundreds of billions of dollars. And all this
is taking place at a time when even existing nuclear weapons are easily sufficient
to destroy every living thing on the planet many times over.

The militaristic policy of perpetuating and exacerbating crises and conflicts
in various parts of the world and the use to that end of the old recipes —
"treatment of sore spots", that is the application of forceful pressure; military
muscle-flexing; buttressing reactionary forces politically and diplomatically — all
lead to the obvious results: the growth of a direct or indirect military presence
and interference, or preparations to that end through the use of certain
beach-heads and facilities.

Let us take as an example the long-suffering Middle East, where these
imperialist circles are flouting the rights of the Palestinian and other Arab
peoples and unflaggingly supporting the aggressive course taken by Israel by
political and military means, and through generous annual injections of dollars and
the provision of sophisticated military technology. They are doing the same in the
case of Nicaragua; they are financing the activities of the contras and ceaselessly
carrying out large-scale military manoeuvres against that small Latin American
country. They are also continuing their flagrant interference in the internal
affairs of other States of that region as well.

That is also how they are behaving towards the Democratic Republic of
Afghanistan, where counter-revolutionary gangs are being maintained by means of
United States dollars and weapons, gangs which have no backing from the people of
the country.

That is their course of action in southern Africa, where they are pursuing a
policy they call "constructive engagement" with the racist régime of Pretoria.
That régime is constantly committing bloody crimes against the indigenous population of the country and attempting to perpetuate its illegal presence in Namibia and perpetuate the enslavement of the Namibian people. There has recently been yet another example of a United States veto being cast in the Security Council on this question; that action speaks louder than any words.

International relations cannot fail to be in ferment when from various quarters we hear revanchist calls for revision of post-War frontiers; when one after another propaganda campaigns are waged to sow hostility, mistrust and suspicion towards the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community; when ideological prejudice, often extremely benighted and antiquated, is injected into international relations.

Compare that with the principles set out in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and with the provisions of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this whole range of questions in recent years, and it will be seen quite easily that the narrow, selfish militaristic policy of imperialism has been chipping away at the very foundations of international security and has been forcing mankind to live under a multi-megaton nuclear sword of Damocles.

The reliable scientific data we possess about the threat posed by nuclear weapons makes it patently obvious that, in this age of nuclear missiles, the build-up in the arms race is the very antithesis of both national and international security. We no longer live at a time when the security of any States or groups of States can be secured by infringing upon the security of other countries and peoples. The world has changed, and changed profoundly. Today, the policy of any State, if it is to be constructive, must derive its sustenance from the realities of the contemporary world. In that context, it is time that it was understood that
socialism is not bidding for a place in history: it is history. If anyone has failed to realize that fact, we can only express our regret.

The age of nuclear missiles dictates its own imperatives. True security today is security for all, and it is possible only on the basis of peaceful coexistence among States and of making détente a constant factor in the strengthening of international co-operation. Understanding of that fact should inform any approach to the burning questions of war and peace.

Today, the question is whether mankind will live or die; whether the history of civilization will continue, or whether the thermo-nuclear age will be its final chapter.

A profound sense of responsibility dictates the approach taken by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to questions of the fate of the peoples of the world and the future of our planet. At their summit meeting held at Sofia in late October, those countries issued a declaration calling for the elimination of the nuclear threat and an improvement in European and world affairs. That declaration unambiguously stated that:

"The principal objective of their foreign policy has been and still is the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the lowering of the level of military confrontation and the evolution of international relations in a spirit of peaceful coexistence and détente". (A/C.1/40/7, pp. 3-4)
The approach of the States of the socialist community to international problems is dictated by a concern for a genuine improvement and normalization of the political climate; that approach is expressed in concrete initiatives, proposals and actions; those States give primacy to the major question of halting the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, on Earth and preventing its spread to outer space. The door must be slammed on the spread of arms to outer space. The deeds of the socialist countries are in keeping with their words. For example, it will be recalled that the Soviet Union unilaterally declared last summer a moratorium on all nuclear explosions and a readiness immediately to resume talks on a total cessation of nuclear testing. It has also declared and observed a unilateral moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite weapons, has made radical proposals on the reduction of nuclear arsenals, and has taken unilateral steps to that end. The Soviet proposal to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space was accompanied by initiatives on the development of the broadest possible international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and exploitation of outer space for the good of all peoples.

All those measures are an organic extension of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, as expressed in its historic commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It should also be stressed that the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have recently declared unambiguously that

"There is no type of weapon that they are unwilling to limit, reduce or withdraw from their arsenals and destroy forever under an agreement with the other States, while abiding by the principle of equality and equal security."

(A/C.1/40/7, p. 8)
They have proclaimed their support for earliest possible agreement at the Vienna talks on mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, to begin with reductions in Soviet and United States troops. They have supported the earliest possible production at the Stockholm Conference of effective, complementary political and military measures for confidence-building and security-building in Europe. In connection with European questions the great importance of the Helsinki Final Act must be stressed. It is imbued with the spirit of détente, has stood the test of time and - as recently confirmed by the Helsinki meeting of Foreign Ministers on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the signing of that Act - there remains a long-term programme of pan-European co-operation.

It is important at this crucial stage to introduce bold, radical and realistic proposals reflecting a new approach to the whole process of modern international relations. That is affirmed by the proposals contained in the declaration issued at the Sofia meeting of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, in which those States clearly stressed the fundamental principle of equality and equal security of the parties.

Peace is indivisible, and continuing regional conflicts - the so-called hotbeds of tension - continue to arouse serious concern. Those conflicts are very dangerous, particularly in the light of the threat of their spread in our nuclear age. The Soviet Union has consistently and tenaciously supported the settlement of conflicts. In his recent address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the General Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeiyevich Gorbachev has stressed that he is
"in favour of recognizing the inalienable right of every people to freedom and independence and to an independent choice of its own course. That right must never be flouted, and there must be no attempt to interfere from the outside. Freedom, not tyranny, should prevail. We continue to remain on the side of peoples fighting for independence. That is our policy of principle."

It is time for us to set our feet firmly on the path of untangling the complex knots in world politics, through negotiations and mindful of the fact that human reason is stronger than a clenched fist. That path is obvious.

A comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem can be achieved only through collective effort by all parties concerned on the basis of the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967; the enjoyment by the Arab people of Palestine of their lawful rights, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State; and a guarantee of the right of all countries of the region to independent existence and development. A practical means towards that end would be the convening under United Nations auspices of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and other States including the USSR and the United States. Solution of the problem of the Middle East would be promoted by strengthened unity among the Arab countries and the Palestinian movement.

The problems of Central America and the Caribbean region can and must be resolved without outside interference, by political means. That excludes intervention, threats, pressure and the policy of State terrorism.

Effective steps must be taken against the racist régime of South Africa. The independence of Namibia, illegally occupied by South Africa, must be brought about immediately. The relevant decisions of the Security Council must be implemented
without ambiguity; pressure must be used against the Pretoria régime, along with comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. More active and persistent measures are required for the final elimination of colonialism, including in small Territories such as Micronesia.

There must be an end to imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples, which have risen to embark upon a new life, set their feet firmly on the path of independent development and the protection of their legitimate rights and interests.

The creation of a zone of peace, stability, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean is a vital and relevant question. In this connection, the concrete proposals of the States of the socialist community are well known. If those proposals are acted upon, there will be a radical turn for the better in that region.

A great improvement in the situation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean would unquestionably be promoted by a positive response by the States of those areas to Soviet proposals on a whole range of questions concerning security in Asia and the co-ordination of joint efforts by States in that respect, and to the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among Asian, Pacific and Indochinese States and the conversion of South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability, good-neighbourliness and co-operation.

To help achieve that goal, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward a number of proposals aimed at consolidating peace and stability in the Korean peninsula through the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea, involving the withdrawal of United States troops and the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula.
It is urgent also that we consider ways and means of engaging in global negotiations to restructure international economic relations on a just, democratic basis. A new international economic order must be established that would ensure the economic security of all States and would protect the interests of developing countries.

Another urgent question concerns the establishment of a new international information order and the elimination of informational colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In sum, the situation in the contemporary world calls for urgent, responsible and vigorous measures and solutions in order to meet the aspirations of the world's peoples - not only to preserve peace, but also to improve the climate and achieve real breakthroughs in the struggle to halt the arms race and achieve equal security for all. The socialist countries are firmly in favour of such measures and of working towards agreement on them.
As was stressed only a few days ago by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mikhail Sergeiyevich Gorbachev, 

"We believe that this is precisely the basis for the possibility of a consistent strengthening of mutual trust and general improvement in the political climate which can be relied on in developing a political dialogue and fruitful discussion of economic and humanitarian problems, problems of contacts and mutual information. This is the key to the problem of maintaining life on Earth, and improving the climate and making good will prevail."

From the standpoint of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the current consideration of the whole range of problems connected with implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is something of special significance today, and we should stress with renewed vigour the acute need for immediate effective steps towards peace for the benefit of all peoples.

For its part, the Byelorussian SSR, as one of the founding members of the United Nations, will continue persistently and purposefully to fight for lasting international peace and security and for economic and social progress; and in its actions it will promote the full and effective implementation of the noble purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The main characteristic of the fortieth anniversary session of the United Nations is that of having highlighted on the basis of an analysis of past and present experience the dramatic problem of our times, that is, how to achieve security in the nuclear age. Thus the full worth and vitality of one of the basic documents on current
international relations - the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 - was obvious.

Truth is ageless. The enormous political, moral and juridical importance of the broad international consensus embodied in the Declaration, which offers the key to the solution of the most urgent problems of our times, has not diminished. An analysis of the problems of international security in light of current conditions is the best possible illustration of this assertion.

Starting by examining the meaning of security at the present stage would undoubtedly leave little room for discussion. The report of the Group of Governmental Experts entrusted with carrying out a study on concepts of security provides the following clear and simple definition:

"In principle, security is a condition in which States consider that there is no danger of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own development."

(A/40/553, p. 10, para. 3)

Basically this is the usual meaning of security. In modern times it is above all security in terms of nuclear war, which can result in the total annihilation of our planet. This meaning of the term thus understood by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the world Organization has nothing to do with theories that justify the arms race and the "balance of fear" as a means of optimal coexistence. What person with common sense would not be shocked by attempts by certain circles to convince the world community that under the heavy shadow cast by modern weapons - whether nuclear warheads or laser technology - Earth would become a more peaceful place?

In the nuclear age international security cannot be expressed in terms of weapons, even if they are the most sophisticated and effective. This qualitative
difference appropriate to the current strategic situation has been seen by scientists and by realistic statesmen for a long time. The absurdity of the militaristic approach to the problem of security - such as military superiority and the ability "to win a nuclear war" - was eloquently reaffirmed by the most recent scientific research conducted on the consequences of a possible nuclear war, by mass protests by the broadest segments of the world's population and by the many relevant resolutions of the world Organization.

The political conclusion one reaches coincides with that of the great German philosopher and theoretician, Frederick Engels, who foretold in his time that militarism bore the seeds of its own negation on three aspects; by leading to financial disaster as a result of an unbridled arms race; by bringing about mass anti-war movements; and by forcing the development of military technology to such an extent that weapons become inaccessible because of cost and ill-suited for war.

With regard to the military programmes - which have received such a bad international press - on the emplacement of a space shield, which has been extolled as the sole instrument for peace and security, let us consider the impartial scientific conclusions. That report states in a concise but comprehensive manner that

"A special danger is posed by potential advances in anti-ballistic missile defence systems.... Combined with counter-force capabilities, such defences might provide a temptation, in a crisis, to strike first, with a reduced fear of effective retaliation". (A/40/553, p. 25, para. 71)

We should here recall the view expressed by many eminent experts on the subject that the emplacement of such a system is a dangerous illusion. The military-industrial complex is making every effort to bring peoples to believe that illusion.
This is why, together with other socialist and non-aligned countries, Bulgaria has more than once raised the question of the need for a new approach to the problem of security, one that took into account the global nature of the nuclear danger menacing all States, all nations and all social groups on the planet. My delegation is convinced that security through disarmament, peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation remains the most reliable path to a solution of the crucial problem of the nuclear age.

The principal guarantee of peace, the irreplaceable element on which international security rests, is disarmament. That is also the main theme in the Final Act adopted at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The main link in the chain, that on which a successful solution to this important problem depends, is the prevention of an arms race in outer space and its cessation on Earth. At the Soviet-American negotiations held in Geneva, which yielded some positive results, that priority was unequivocally reaffirmed.
The world waits and hopes that on that basis a more favourable climate will be created with a view to making progress. As has been stressed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev,

"If the United States shows the will and resolve to reconsider and reassess all the negative consequences of the 'star wars' programme, the path will be open to a constructive settlement of the problems of international security."

On the basis of strategic parity it is possible to make progress towards a gradual reduction of the level of military confrontation by means of a broad range of appropriate measures with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. It is stated in the joint Soviet-American statement that nuclear war must never be launched; that the parties will not aspire to military superiority; that they will favour realization of the concept of a 50-per-cent reduction of nuclear arsenals and other important measures of disarmament and the strengthening of international security. That is encouraging.

A series of similar measures were analysed and presented in detail in the statements by socialist and non-aligned countries in the course of the debate in this Committee. I shall not restate them but simply call the attention of the Committee to the cardinal initiatives of the Soviet Union intended to assist in improving the climate of negotiations on disarmament, among which we should mention renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of all nuclear tests, a unilateral moratorium on anti-satellite weapons tests, the radical reduction of all nuclear arsenals and the prevention of the militarization of outer space, as well as the new initiatives on scientific co-operation in the peaceful exploration and exploitation of outer space for the good of all peoples.
(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

The general position held on this matter by countries of the socialist community was stated in the Sofia Declaration, which lists a whole gamut of far-reaching concrete proposals at the international or regional levels. Those proposals take into account the interests, wishes and suggestions of a large number of countries that have expressed views on the problems of disarmament and have international security at heart.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the establishment of effective international security is a deliberate process of international co-operation based on reducing military confrontation, the just and peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, strengthening the international legal order and mutual participation in the solution of the economic, ecological, social and other global problems as well as more intensive exchanges at the human and cultural levels. In this connection the Declaration of 1970 on strengthening international security constitutes a landmark in the foreign policy of my country.

In that effort it is of capital importance to settle regional crises. They cause untold suffering and loss of human life, and they can thus lead to escalation the final result of which could be a world nuclear war. The Bulgarian delegation has already had occasion to express its views during the general debate and the consideration of agenda items relating to the questions of the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa and Namibia, and the situation in relation to Afghanistan and South-East Asia.

I should simply like to reaffirm our staunch support for the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and colonial oppression, and against racism and apartheid, to safeguard their freedom and independence. We condemn the policy of interference, destabilization and diktat, which is in complete contradiction of the United Nations Charter, generally recognized international norms and resolutions of the world Organization on these various international problems. The peoples
of the world must be left to choose for themselves their social system and their path to socio-economic development. They should decide for themselves who are their friends and how to promote relations with them.

To state that that legitimate right of peoples violates the security of others is tantamount to denying the very basis of modern international relations. Unfortunately it was precisely in that spirit that, during the formal celebration of the anniversary of our Organization, there was an attack against a given political ideology held by many States, including my own. That attack was accompanied by direct threats of armed action against those that embrace and defend that ideology.

What can we say about that? Forty years ago that ideology extended over one sixth of the planet. In a senseless crusade against it, fascism, the spearhead of world reaction, met its end. At the present time socialism extends over twice as great an area. The fact that some do not share its ideas is quite normal and natural, but to declare in the United Nations that that ideology is outside the law and thus attempt to justify the policy of repression and State terrorism is quite another thing. It proves a lack of realism that could have disastrous consequences for international peace and security.

If ideological polemics is transferred onto relations between States, international stability will, far from being strengthened, be undermined. In that connection it is high time we learned the lessons of history.

Doubtless, the normalization of the world situation and the strengthening of international security would gain from the abandonment of nationalistic and chauvinistic claims and propaganda; it would gain also from abandonment of the practice of interfering in the internal affairs of States under any pretext whatsoever and encouraging militaristic and hostile psychoses.
On the other hand, there could be considerable improvement through the dissemination of fair information on questions of war and peace, security and disarmament and the positions and policies of different States. It is equally necessary to make maximum use of the important possibilities offered by international law to consolidate the political situation and especially to prevent the use of force and military aggression.

Security and disarmament can rest on a broader social basis through the establishment of common intellectual and cultural values that serve as links between the various socio-political systems. It has become common practice for researchers in medicine, physics, astronomy, ecology and so on to meet to discuss their ideas on the reduction and elimination of the nuclear danger. In conditions of peace and co-operation new principles and concepts are arising in these exchanges with a view to the peaceful application for the benefit of mankind of the major achievements of science and the human mind.

We note with satisfaction that the importance of this co-operation has been stressed in the joint Soviet-American statement, which envisages many measures of this kind.
Bulgaria is convinced of the urgent need to restructure international economic relations in keeping with the requirements of overall justice and security. Limiting the arms race would have an inestimably positive effect on the social and economic development assistance which can be provided to the many Asian, African and Latin American countries now, for well-known reasons, facing considerable difficulties. Through economic co-operation, the bulk of national efforts and resources now devoted to military goals and programmes could be redirected to a far more productive purpose: the production of goods and the resolution of internal, regional and world economic and technological problems. Trade and economic exchanges can also strengthen confidence and consolidate lasting friendly relations among States.

The whole thrust of Bulgaria's foreign policy on all the various questions of international security is summed up in the Sofia Declaration adopted at the summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, which I mentioned earlier. Among other things, that Declaration states that

"The political dialogue among States with different social systems, the statements coming from sober-minded circles, the activities of the anti-war movements and of all peace forces show that a return to détente, its extension to all areas of international relations and a shift to reliable security and co-operation are quite possible." (A/C.1/40/7, p. 4)

That is fully in keeping with the spirit of the document whose implementation we are considering at this session.

I should like to stress that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has constantly believed that only disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the prevention of a suicidal nuclear war can lead to the implementation in practice of the principles and provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.
(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

We have made every effort in the past and shall continue to do so in the future to assist, to the limit of its possibilities, in the achievement of that noble goal.

As the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, stated on 12 November 1985 at Sofia,

"Mutually beneficial peace and international co-operation are basic to our foreign policy. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always made and will always make a contribution to promote détente, peace and security, in the Balkans and throughout the world, so that positive trends may prevail in international relations."

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind members that, in conformity with the Committee's programme of work and timetable, the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under agenda items 71, 72 and 73 is 6 p.m. tomorrow, Wednesday, 4 December. I remind members also that it was decided this morning that the list of speakers on those items should be closed at 6 p.m. today.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.