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Forty-second session

Item 63 of the preliminary list\*

### GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Letter dated 17 June 1987 from the Permanent Representative of  
Sweden to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the second edition of the "Report to the United Nations from the Great Peace Journey, Five Questions to the Governments and their Answers" (see annex). I should be grateful if you would have this report circulated as a document of the General Assembly under item 63 of the preliminary list.

The Swedish Government has followed the initiative of the Great Peace Journey with great interest. It has also noted the personal interest that you have indicated in this matter, in particular when the preliminary report was presented to you at the United Nations on 6 December 1986.

The initiators of the Great Peace Journey have received further answers from Governments on the five questions. Therefore, the report of the Journey has been updated. It is this updated version that is now transmitted to you for circulation.

(Signed) Anders FERD  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative  
of Sweden to the United Nations

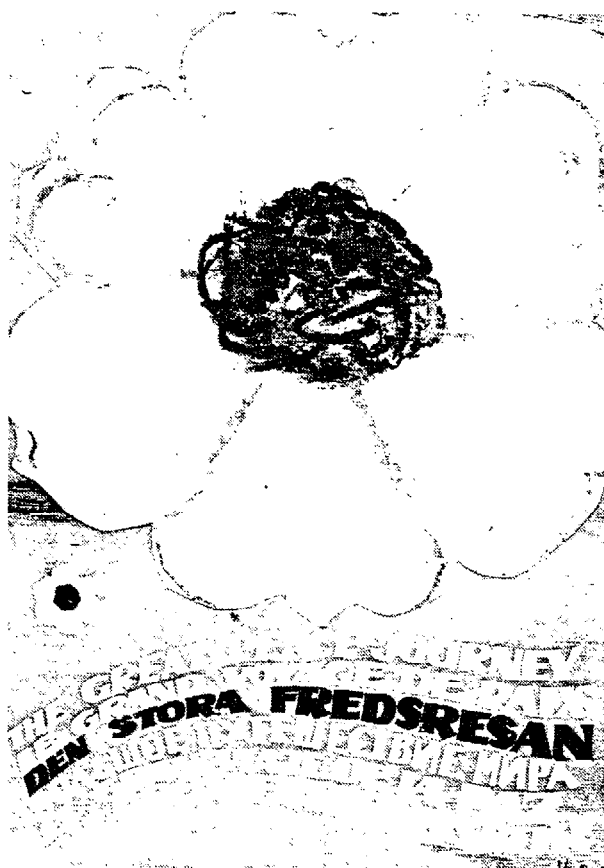
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\* A/42/50.

ANNEX

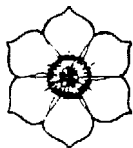
# THE GREAT

Five  
Questions  
to the  
Governments  
and their  
Answers



# PEACE JOURNEY

Report to the  
United Nations  
Second edition  
May 1987



## *THE GREAT PÉACE JOURNEY*

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Gunilla Banks

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# Introduction by Inga Thorsson

President of the Great Peace journey

»We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to live in peace with one another as good neighbours.. .»

These often quoted opening words of the United Nations Charter form the very basis for The Great Peace Journey: Five Questions to the Governments of UN Member States.

This project, originating in Sweden but grown into a worldwide undertaking, is an ongoing activity aimed at strengthening the United Nations through reminding its Member States of their commitment to world peace and development by freely signing the United Nations Charter.

Thus, the five questions are closely related to the Charter.

They read as follows:

- 1 Are you willing to initiate national legislation which guarantees that your country's defence forces, including »military advisers»), do not leave your territory for military purposes (other than in United Nations peacekeeping forces)
  - if all other Members of the United Nations undertake to do the same?
- 2 Are you willing to take steps to ensure that the development, possession, storage and employment of mass-destruction weapons including nuclear weapons, which threaten to destroy the very conditions necessary for life on this earth, are forbidden in your country
  - if all other Members of the United Nations undertake to do the same?.
- 3 Are you willing to take steps to prevent your country from allowing the supply of military equipment and weapons technology to other countries
  - if all other Members of the United Nations undertake to do the same?
- 4 Are you willing to work for a distribution of the earth's resources so that the fundamental necessities of human life, such as clean water, food, elementary health care and education are available to all people throughout the world?
- 5 Are you willing to ensure that any conflicts, in which your country may be involved in the future, will be settled by peaceful means of the kind specified in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, and not by the use or threat of force?

The opening words of the Charter reflect the fact that when Governments of Member States act in the United Nations they act on behalf of their peoples. Therefore the peoples have the right to question their governments: what have you, or what have you not done to preserve peace, to implement genuine disarmament measures, to convert resources now used for military purposes to constructive and meaningful civil use, including the promotion of economic and social development in developing countries, and to solve conflicts among states by peaceful means, in accordance with, and in obedience of, Article 33 of the UN Charter.

It is the fate, the survival of the peoples that is at stake. Therefore, the peoples have the right to demand answers to their questions. The Governments have a duty to give the answers. They are accountable to the peoples.

The contents and the aim of the five questions are, I submit, self-evident. Just a few words on question no. 5. Some governments have commented on that question by a reference to Article 51 of the Charter, stating the right of individual or collective self-defence in case of an armed attack. Against this point reference should be made to question no. 1: If all UN Member States did commit themselves not to permit their armed forces to leave their own territories, no armed attacks could be carried out against any other UN Member State.

The initiators of the Great Peace Journey, as well as the thousands of committed and devoted participants all over the world, are not naive enough to imagine that the world be transformed, as it were overnight, by yes-answers by all governments to all five questions. The issues involved are extremely serious, complicated and difficult. But we do believe in the need for new thinking and new Initiatives in matters of life or death for the human beings of this our only earth. We do believe in having the peoples intervene in the political process by opening a straight dialogue with their governments. We do believe that by demanding written and signed answers by governments to the five questions, and keeping them reminded of the commitments entailed thereby, the Great Peace Journey may contribute to the strengthening of the basis for meaningful international negotiations, mainly through the United Nations.

The five questions have been sent in writing to the Governments of all UN Member States with a request for answers. So far, the Great Peace Journey has been undertaken in three phases, of which the first, visits to capitals in Europe, was carried out in May 1985, the second, visits to capitals in Africa, Latin America, Canada, The South Pacific and Asia, was carried out in October–November 1986, and the third, visits to the capitals of the two superpowers, was carried out on 5 December 1986.

Due to lack of financial resources and time available, it has not been possible to organize **personal** visits to the Governments of all 159 UN Member States. 97 Governments have been visited, however it was **decided** not to visit one Member State, namely the Republic of South Africa.

It is a matter of course that it has taken some time to receive the written answers from Governments, **particularly** those who have, unfortunately, only been approached in writing. We have found the extent to which also a **number** of those Governments have responded very gratifying. On the whole, the Board wants to use this opportunity to express its appreciation and thanks to **Governments** of UN Member States all over the world for the generally **positive** way in which the Great Peace Journey has been received.

On the 9th December 1986, towards the end of the UN International Year of Peace, a preliminary report on the results achieved at that stage **was** delivered to the Secretary-General of the UN. Now, in the spring of 1987, the Board of the Great Peace Journey considers it of importance to submit a more complete report, if only in summary form, on the way in which Governments of UN Member States have reacted to the Five Questions.

**This worldwide** undertaking will, during the years 1987 and 1986, be pursued through various follow-up measures, including keeping intact and alive the invaluable international network built up since the instigation of the project.

It is our hope that the Great Peace Journey will be of some **importance** in the endeavours of the United Nations to build a world where the safety and security of mankind, in human decency and dignity, will prevail.

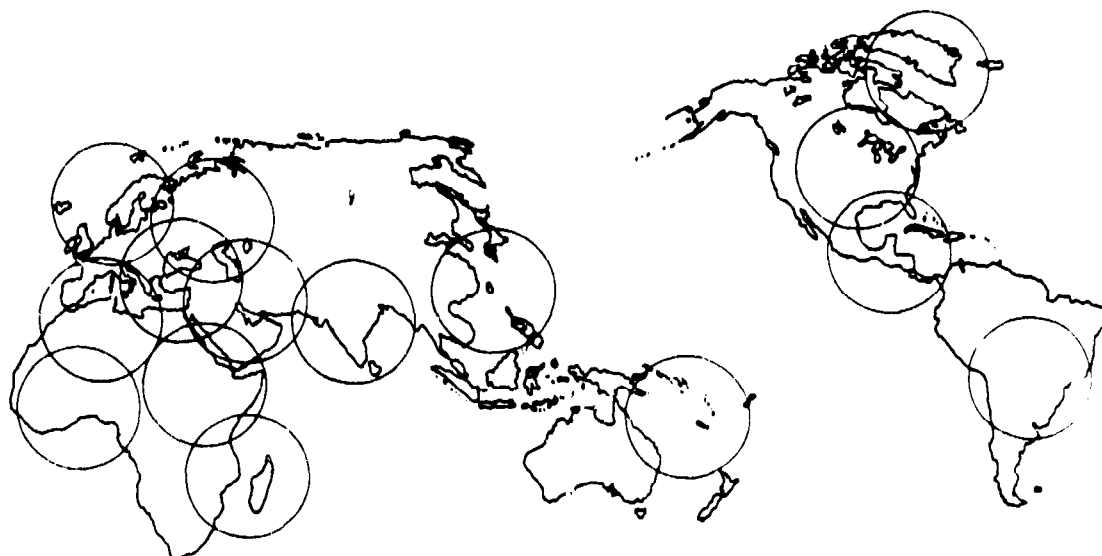
As of the 29th of April, 1987  
the following U.N. Member States have answered YES  
to all the five questions:

Algeria	German Democratic Republic	Pakistan
Argentina	Greece	Panama
Australia	Guatemala	Papua New Guinea
<del>Austria</del>	Guinea-Bissau	Peru
Bangladesh	Hungary	Philippines
Belgium	Iceland	Poland
Botswana	India	<b>Portugal</b>
Brazil	Indonesia	Romania
Bulgaria	Ireland	Rwanda
Burkina Faso	Israel	<b>São Tomé and Príncipe</b>
Cameroon	Ivory coast	Senegal
Cape Verde	Japan	Solomon Islands
Central African Republic	Kenya	Somalia
Chile	Laos	Soviet Union
China	Lebanon	Spain
Colombia	Libya	<b>Sri Lanka</b>
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Sudan
Cuba	Malaysia	Sweden
Cyprus	Maldives	Tanzania
Czechoslovakia	Malta	Thailand
Denmark	Mexico	<b>Tunisia</b>
Djibouti	Morocco	Turkey
Ecuador	Mozambique	<b>Uganda</b>
<b>Egypt</b>	Nepal	Uruguay
El Salvador	New Zealand	Vanuatu
Ethiopia	Nicaragua	Vietnam
Fiji	Niger	Yugoslavia
Finland	Nigeria	Zambia
Gambia	Norway	Zimbabwe

So far **making** a total of 87 UN Member States representing around 3,790,000,000 people.  
81 *written* answers, 15 YES answers have arrived since **Dec 1986**.

# The Great Peace Journey – Five Questions to the Governments

Internationally composed delegations have visited governments in the United Nations member states in the following fifteen regions of the world.



**Stage 1, May 1985**  
Europe

**Stage 2, Oct-Nov 1986**  
North Africa  
North-East Africa  
South-East Africa  
West Africa  
Middle East  
Iran, Iraq (delegation not received)  
South Asia  
South-East Asia, China and Japan  
Australia & the Pacific  
North America  
Central America  
South America

**Stage 3, Dec 1986**  
Soviet Union  
United States



Answers to the five questions

1	2	3	4	5	Country	Who received the delegation
<b>Europe, May 1985</b>						
+++++					<b>Austria</b>	Federal Chancellor Fred Sinowatz
+++++					<b>Belgium</b>	Head of Foreign Office's Department for West-European Affairs Guido Vansina
+++++					<b>Bulgaria</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Lyuben Codsev
+++++					<b>Cyprus</b>	President Spiros Kyprianou
+++++					<b>Czechoslovakia</b>	(by letter)
+++++					<b>Denmark</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Uffe Ellemann-Jensen
+++++					<b>Finland</b>	Acting Prime Minister Seppo Lindblom
					<b>France</b>	Deputy Head of Ministry for Foreign Affairs Political Division Mme Renouard
+++++					<b>German Democratic Republic</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer, June 12, 1986
+					<b>Germany, Federal Republic</b>	Secretary of State at the Chancellor's Office Professor Dr Schreckenber
					<b>Great Britain</b>	Minister of State for Disarmament Richard Luce
+++++					<b>Greece</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Yannis Kapsis
+++++					<b>Hungary</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Jozsef Benyi
-t-l-++					<b>Iceland</b>	Prime Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson
+++++					<b>Ireland</b>	Minister of State for Women's Affairs Nuala Fennel
+ + + +					<b>Italy</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Bruno Corti
+++++					<b>Luxembourg</b>	Prime Minister Jacques Santer
+++++					<b>Malta</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Alex Trigona
+ +					<b>Netherlands</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek
+++++					<b>Norway</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Sverre Strøm
+++++					<b>Poland</b>	President of Parliament's Commission for Foreign Affairs Ryszard Wojna
+++++					<b>Portugal</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs
+++++					<b>Romania</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Stefan Andrei
+++++					<b>Spain</b>	Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez
++ + +					<b>Switzerland</b>	Head of Political Division Foreign Ministry Ambassador Piance
+++++					<b>Sweden</b>	Prime Minister Olof Palme
+++++					<b>Yugoslavia</b>	Federal Executive Council Member Jan Jernej

**North Africa, Sept-Ott 1986**

+++++					<b>Algeria</b>	Secretary General at Foreign Office Smail Hamdani
+++++					<b>Libya</b>	Colonel Muammar Qadhafi, Leader of the revolution
+++++					<b>Morocco</b>	Ambassador Ali Skalli, Foreign Office
+++++					<b>Tunisia</b>	Mr Mahmoud Mestiri, Foreign Office, Secrétaire d'État

Answers to the five questions

1	2	3	4	5	Country	Who received the delegation
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### North-East Africa, Oct 1986

+++++	<b>Central African Republic</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs N'Gai Voueto
+++++	<b>Djibouti</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs M. B. Farah
+++++	<b>Ethiopia</b>	Chairman of the PMAC Mengistu Haile Mariam
+++++	<b>Kenya</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Elijah Mwangale
+++++	<b>Rwanda</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs François Ngarukiyintwali
+++++	<b>Somalia</b>	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohamed Ali Hammud
+++++	<b>Sudan</b>	President Ahmed al Mirghani
+++++	<b>Uganda</b>	Prime Minister Samson Kisekka

### South-East Africa, Oct 1986

+++++	<b>Botswana</b>	President Quett Masire
	<b>Malawi</b>	the delegation has not been received
+++++	<b>Mozambique</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Daniel S. Mbanze
	<b>Swaziland</b>	(change of prime minister, will reply by letter)
+++++	<b>Tanzania</b>	President Ali Hassan Mwinyi
+++++	<b>Zambia</b>	President Kenneth Kaunda
+++++	<b>Zimbabwe</b>	Deputy Prime Minister S. Muzenda

### West Africa, Sept-Oct 1986

+++++	<b>Burkina Faso</b>	President Thomas Sankara
+++++	<b>Cameroon</b>	(by letter from Director of the Civil Cabinet René Sadi on behalf of President Paul Biya)
+++++	<b>Cape Verde</b>	(by letter signed by President Aristides Pereira)
+++++	<b>Gambia</b>	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs Mathew Yaya Baldeh
+++++	<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>	(telephone message from Ministry for Foreign Affairs)
+++++	<b>Ivory Coast</b>	Minister of State, Member of Executive Committee and Political Bureau Lazen Coulibaly
+++++	<b>Niger</b>	(answers and comments by Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, according to letter signed by Councillor Adamou Seydou, Niger Embassy, Bonn)
+++++	<b>Nigeria</b>	(by letter signed »Government«)
+++++	<b>São Tomé and Príncipe</b>	(by letter signed by President Manuel Pinto da Costa)
+++++	<b>Senegal</b>	(by telex from Minister for Foreign Affairs)

Answers to the five questions

1	2	3	4	5	Country	Who received the delegation
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### Middle East, Oct 1986

+++++	<b>Egypt</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali
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+++++	<b>Israel</b>	Parliament's Speaker Shlomo Hillel (answers signed by Prime Minister Shimon Peres)
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	<b>Jordan</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Tukan
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+++++	<b>Lebanon</b>	President Amin Gemayel & Prime Minister Rashid Karami
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+++++	<b>Turkey</b>	Assistant Director General for Bilateral Political Affairs Teoman Sürenkök
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### Iran, Iraq

the delegation has not been received

### South Asia, Oct 1986

+++++	<b>Bangladesh</b>	President Hossain Mohammad Ershad
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+++++	<b>India</b>	Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi
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+++++	<b>Maldives</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Fathulla Jameel
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+++++	<b>Nepal</b>	Prime Minister Marish Singh Shrestha
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+++++	<b>Pakistan</b>	President Zia Ul Haq & Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo
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+++++	<b>Sri Lanka</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Shahul Hameed
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### South-East Asia, China and Japan, Oct 1986

+++++	<b>China</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Qi Hua Yuan
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+++++	<b>Indonesia</b>	Acting Director General of Political Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs Aris Tarmizi
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+++++	<b>Japan</b>	Vice General Director United Nations' Bureau of Foreign Affairs Sadayuki Hayashi
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+++++	<b>Laos</b>	Deputy Prime Minister Poomee Vongvichit
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+++++	<b>Malaysia</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Abdul Kadir B. Hj. Sheikh Fadzir
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+++++	<b>Philippines</b>	Minister Social Services & Development Dr Mita Pardo de Tavera
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	<b>Singapore</b>	the delegation has not been received
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+++++	<b>Thailand</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Prapas Limpra Pandh
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+++++	<b>Vietnam</b>	Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Hoang Binh Son
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### Australia & The Pacific, Oct–Nov 1986

+++++	<b>Australia</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Bill Hayden
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+++++	<b>Fiji</b>	Deputy Prime Minister David Toganivalu
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+++++	<b>New Zealand</b>	Prime Minister David Lange
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+++++	<b>Papua New Guinea</b>	Minister for Foreign Affairs Legu Vagi
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+++++	<b>Solomon Islands</b>	Prime Minister Sir Peter Kenilorea
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+++++	<b>Vanuatu</b>	Prime Minister Walter H. Lini
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Answers to the five questions

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1 2 3 4 5    **Country**    Who received the delegation

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**North America, Oct 1986**

++++    **Canada**    Parliamentary Secretary of External Affairs Jean-Guy Hudon  
(answers confirmed by letter signed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney)

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**Central America, Oct 1986**

++++    **Barbados**    (by letter signed by the Permanent Secretary at the Prime Minister's Office  
B R Collvmore. instructed by the Prime Minister)

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+++++    **Costa Rica**    Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Carlos Rivera Bianchini

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+++++    **Cuba**    Minister for Foreign Affairs Isidoro Marmierca

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+++++    **El Salvador**    Director of Foreign Policy in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs  
Benjamin Gonzalez Coto

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+++++    **Guatemala**    President Vinicio Cerezo

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**Honduras**

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+++++    **Mexico**    Minister of Multilateral Affairs Victor Flores Olea

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+++++    **Nicaragua**    Director General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs Alesandro Bendana

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+++++    **Panama**    Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Jose M. Cabrera Jovane

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**South America, Oct 1986**

+++++    **Argentina**    (by letter signed in the name of President Raul Alfonsin by Ambassador Jorge  
F. Sabato, Ministry for Foreign Affairs)

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+++++    **Brazil**    (by letter signed by Ambassador S Pontes Nogueira, Stockholm, instructed  
by Government)

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+++++    **Chile**    (by letter from President Augusto Pinochet)

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+++++    **Colombia**    Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Ester Lozano de Rey

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+++++    **Ecuador**    Vice-President Blasco Peñaherrera

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+++++    **Peru**    (in a note from Government, not signed)

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+++++    **Uruguay**    Minister for Foreign Affairs Enrique Iglesias

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**Venezuela**

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+++++    **Soviet Union, Dec 1986**

First Deputy Chairman, International Dept, Central Committee CPSU Vadim V. Zagladin  
(confirmed by letter signed by Secretary General of the CPSU Michail S. Gorbachev)

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+    +    **United States, Dec 1986**

Division Chief, International Security Policy, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency  
Jon Cundersen

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