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GENERAL AND COMPLETE **DISARMAMENT**

Study on concepts of security

Report of the Secretary-General

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* A/41/150.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 12 December 1985, the General Assembly adopted resolution 40/94 E, the operative paragraphs of which, inter alia, read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Takes note of **the** comprehensive study on concepts of security contained **in the** report of **the Secretary-General**;

"2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Group of Governmental Experts to Carry Out a Comprehensive Study of Concepts of Security, who assisted him in preparation of the study;

"3. Commends the study and its conclusions to **the** attention of all **Member States**;

"4. Invites all **Member States** to inform the Secretary-General, no later than 30 April 1986, of their views regarding **the** study;

"...

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare for **the** General Assembly at its forty-first session a report containing **the** views of Member States received regarding the study.*

2. Pursuant to the above request, **the** Secretary-General has to date received replies from Austria, Bulgaria, China, **Denmark**, Germany, Federal Republic of, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Sweden, informing him of their views regarding the study (A/40/553, annex). These replies are contained in section **II** below. Other **replies** will be issued as addenda.

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

AUSTRIA

[Original: English]

[5 May 1986]

1. Austria, which had voted in favour of resolution 38/188 H of 20 December 1983, by which the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to carry out a study of concepts of security, welcomes **the** fact that resolution 40/94 E was adopted by consensus. This **seems** all **the more** significant as **the** subject of "security" **is** not **easy** to address, as it has to be measured in relative rather than absolute terms. Austria subscribes to **the** notion **expressed** in **the** introduction to the study

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(A/40/553, annex) that "international security is the result and the sum of the security of each and every State member of the international community" and that "international security cannot be reached without full international co-operation".

2. The overview of the security concepts outlined in chapter II provides valuable information on the various concepts and approaches through which States have in the past attempted to maximize their national security, by setting them in context with issues of international security.

3. Austria, which on 26 October 1955 declared its permanent neutrality, appreciates the inclusion of several paragraphs devoted to neutrality, Austria fully shares the conclusion that "because of their independence from military alliances neutral States have been able to contribute substantially to reducing international tensions and antagonisms in their regions and on a larger scale" (*ibid.*, para. 42), and takes note of the positive views expressed on neutrality. Austria, which serves as venue for international conferences and negotiations on a wide range of issues including disarmament and international law, will later this year host the follow-up conference of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Austria has furthermore taken an active part in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

4. Without diminishing the importance of those chapters of the study which describe present concepts of security, Austria noted with interest the series of measures to promote international peace and security outlined in chapter IV. Austria agrees that promotion of international security requires the commitment and active participation of all nations.

5. In the promotion of a co-operative approach to international peace and security the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in this field is of overriding importance. Austria has during the years submitted her views on how the role of the United Nations and its various organs for the maintenance of international peace and security could be strengthened. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, the Federal Chancellor of Austria together with the Heads of State and Heads of Government of eight other Member States issued a joint appeal concerning the strengthening of the United Nations (A/40/402), which called on the Security Council to fully discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and strongly supported an active role of the Secretary-General in the solution of international crises.

BULGARIA

(Original: French)

[15 May 1986]

1. The overall opinion of The People's Republic of Bulgaria concerning the report of the Secretary-General (A/40/553) submitting the comprehensive study on concepts of security is favourable. The study provides broad, substantive analyses of the

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concepts and of the sources of the threat to security and makes recommendations for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

2. Bulgaria agrees with most of the analyses, conclusions and recommendations contained in the study. It supports the opinion that security should be studied in the context of the growing interdependence of political, military, economic and social factors. It believes that, under present circumstances, the consideration of any concept of security, the definition of any pragmatic national policy must be based on the realities of our nuclear age. The most serious and the imminent danger for the security of every country and of the international community as a whole is that posed by the threat of nuclear war and the pursuit of the arms race. The aspirations of certain imperialist circles to military supremacy and the "position-of-strength" policy that they apply throughout the world have resulted in the creation of a nuclear potential several times greater than that needed to destroy all mankind, in an unprecedented escalation of the arms race in all areas, with the risk which that entails today of extending into outer space. This policy, formulated under the pretext of its necessity for maintaining national security, has, as never before, brought humanity face to face with the threat of nuclear disaster and self-destruction.

3. Bulgaria considers that the greatest value of this study lies in the fact that it takes that reality into consideration, using it as a basis for establishing several fundamental conclusions and recommendations to which all States must accord the utmost attention.

4. It must be emphasized, above all, that nuclear war can never be a means to the attainment of rational ends, whatever they may be. In such a war, there will be no winners, only losers. No country could remain immune from its devastating consequences. It is absurd to think that national security could be safeguarded by the stockpiling and further improvement of nuclear and other weapons, the threat of a first nuclear strike or theories of "limited" or "protracted" warfare. Nor can it be safeguarded by new solutions based on military technology, whatever they may be. The interrelationship between national security and international security is now obvious. A policy aimed at insuring the national security of one country by defending its national interests to the detriment of the security of other countries is incompatible with international security and might have harmful consequences even for the countries that apply it.

5. Bulgaria fully agrees that the realities of our time are such that they require the adoption of a new approach to security issues. This approach must be based on the concept that national and international security can be achieved only through the co-operation and joint efforts of States directed towards maintaining peace, preventing nuclear war and halting the arms race, and developing their relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and détente in order to create a global security system encompassing all areas of international relations. Political, ideological, economic, or other differences cannot, indeed, must not hinder the attainment of this goal.

6. Bulgaria is also of the opinion that, in the present state of affairs, in order to strengthen national and international security, it is of the utmost

importance to adopt and implement urgent practical measures to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. The emphasis placed on this idea in the study, both in the general approach and in the practical measures, is a positive factor which calls for special mention. The paramount importance of disarmament is due not only to the fact that the immediate goal is to reduce the military danger but also to other factors of an economic, political and social nature bearing on national and international Security. In that regard, it suffices to mention the heightened tension in international relations and the profound contradiction between the vast material and human resources expended for destructive purposes and the serious economic, social and other problems confronting humanity.

7. Bulgaria is pleased to note that the general approach to issues relating to the prevention of nuclear war, the halting of the arms race, disarmament, and a number of practical measures formulated in the study basically coincide with the positions and concrete proposals of the socialist countries, including Bulgaria.

8. The efforts and co-operation of all States are necessary to achieve disarmament objectives. It is high time to extricate the current negotiations from the extremely adverse state of stagnation which they have reached and to give them a practical orientation with a view to reaching concrete international agreements. It is currently of vital importance to enhance the effectiveness of forums dealing with disarmament. States must participate in negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, in a spirit of good will and be willing to reach mutually acceptable agreements. It is unacceptable for negotiations to be used as a cover for implementing military programmes aimed at achieving military supremacy.

9. Like the majority of the world's countries, Bulgaria believes that major efforts should today be channelled towards the prevention of an arms race in Outer space, the halting of the nuclear-arms race and a drastic reduction in nuclear weapons. Most efforts made to strengthen international security and reduce the threat of nuclear war are focused on the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. A direct reply to the question how to think and act and what crucial measures must be taken to strengthen international peace and security is to be found in the concrete and realistic programme contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, Of 15 January 1986, on the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and above all nuclear weapons, throughout the world by the end of this century. The implementation of this programme would meet the vital interests not only Of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America but Of all the peoples of the world, and would be a great historic step towards a world without war and without weapons. It is, inter alia, in the implementation of this programme that the States for which it is particularly intended must show their willingness and readiness to co-operate constructively on behalf of peace and security. Deep disappointment was felt, and serious concern was aroused by the fact that the United States lacked the political will for such co-operation and the spirit of co-operation needed to join the moratorium on nuclear explosions, which the Soviet Union had for long been pursuing on a unilateral basis. A moratorium was the chance to pave the way towards the speedy drafting of a comprehensive international agreement on the key problem of international security.

10. The socialist countries have, on several occasions, demonstrated in practice their willingness to co-operate with all peace-loving countries and forces for the

strengthening of international peace and security. This is evidenced by their **numerous** initiatives and proposals, **the unilateral steps they are taking, their active and constructive participation in negotiations** on disarmament and security, and their readiness to study and approve any proposal conducive to the strengthening of **international** peace and security.

11. Desiring **to make its own contribution** to the strengthening of peace and **security** in the Balkans and in **the world**, Bulgaria **has worked unremittingly** for the implementation of the initiative **to make the Balkans** a nuclear-weapon-free zone. A proposal was made at **the Thirteenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party** that Governments of the Balkan countries **should sign unilateral statements not to deploy** nuclear weapons in their respective territories, not to supplement **those already** deployed and to reduce **existing** stockpiles. In the **joint Bulgarian-Romanian** declaration (see **A/41/87**) an appeal was launched for **the establishment of the Balkans as** a chemical-weapon-free zone. The implementation of that proposal would have resulted in the speedier conclusion of an international **convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons**. For its **part**, Bulgaria is **prepared** to review **with the other Balkan countries** all the details of **those** initiatives at **any time** and at any level. Bulgaria had proposed the conclusion with all the other Balkan countries of bilateral agreements containing a code of **good-neighbourliness**, and **that proposal** is still valid. A first step **in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act** might be the **conclusion of bilateral agreements on the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes that threaten peace and security** in the region.

12. Bulgaria **agrees** on the whole with **the analyses**, concrete proposals for action, conclusions and recommendations in the study concerning other factors relating to national and international **security**. In **this regard, we agree that** peace is **indivisible** and that, given the tense **situation** at the present time, any local conflict might develop into a broader confrontation, or **even** a global one. In order to **remove this** threat, it is **imperative** to put an end to the **imperialist** policy of force and interference in the internal **affairs of other countries**, stop **acts of aggression, resolve** conflicts and disputes between States by peaceful means and **fully respect the right** of every **people** to be **master of its destiny**. It is imperative to eradicate the last vestiges of **colonialism**, eradicate the **odious system** of apartheid and racial disarmament, put an end to the **policy** of neo-colonialism in all its **forms, recognize the peoples' right to independence and social progress and prohibit brutal and massive violations of human rights**.

13. Like **the other socialist** countries, Bulgaria **considers that the issues of** safeguarding international peace and security, halting the arms race and **bringing about disarmament** are **closely** linked to **the solution of other global problems** confronting mankind, namely, making up for **economic** backwardness, eliminating **hunger, poverty, epidemics** and illiteracy from **the large areas** where they are rampant, meeting mankind's growing **needs** for energy **sources** and food, protecting **the environment and using** the oceans and outer space for peaceful purposes. Inevitably, if **these problems** are not **solved** through the joint efforts of the international **community**, they will worsen, and **new sources** of international tension will emerge. The sine qua non for solving these problems is **the halting of the arms race, the considerable reduction of the military expenditures of States, particularly those having large military capabilities, the use of a part of the**

resources thus released to solve the economic and social problems of developing countries. It is absolutely essential to realize that it will be impossible to establish an equitable economic order in the world unless preparations for war are ended.

14. Bulgaria also supports the opinion that it is necessary to normalize international relations in the economic, scientific and technological areas, to eliminate artificial obstacles and discriminatory restrictions of any kind and to consider confidence-building measures in economic relations, with a view to placing all international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order, and eliminating underdevelopment. The external debt problem of the developing countries calls for an urgent solution, as it is one of the gravest consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism and currently a factor contributing to the deterioration of the international situation.

15. While stressing its generally positive assessment of the study, Bulgaria believes, however, that it contains some inaccuracies and lacunae.

16. A more thorough and objective analysis of the actual policy of States would bring out the positive and constructive nature of the socialist countries' policy on the issues of peace and security. Thus, it would be possible to clarify certain general positions and theoretical conclusions which give the false impression that the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries share equal responsibility for the threat currently hanging over international peace and security and, in particular, the tension in international relations, the growing threat of nuclear war, the pursuit of the arms race, the lack of progress in disarmament negotiations, etc. The causes for the present state of affairs are to be found in the imperialist countries' policies of militarism and expansionism, which are reflected in the doctrine of neo-globalism. In this regard, reference might be made to paragraph 19 of the study, in which it is stated, inter alia, that the roots of the arms race are, to a large extent, to be found in political and socio-economic differences between the two groups of States. This is a rather general statement, without any elaboration.

17. A more careful analysis would have shown that the maintenance of an approximate military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, and between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries, at an ever lower level of armaments, objectively contributes to the safeguarding of international peace and security. Facts prove that such parity now exists in Europe as well as on a global scale, with regard to both nuclear and conventional weapons. However, paragraph 174 as worded might be interpreted as meaning that such parity does not exist in Europe. For that reason, either the paragraph is imprecise, or the ideas are poorly expressed. With regard to parity, Bulgaria considers that only strict respect for the principles of equality and equal security offers the possibility of reaching mutually acceptable agreements in the area of disarmament that would serve the interests of all the countries of the world.

18. Bulgaria is of the opinion that this study could also address other very important issues directly linked to the problem of security; for example, the very positive role that the détente process can play, the serious threat posed by

revanchism and **by calls for a review of the frontiers and socio-political structures of European States and for a crusade against the socialist countries, the role of the military-industrial complex in escalating the arms race, the dangerous nature of policies of state terrorism, the inadmissible fact that some countries consider entire regions of the world as their vital interest zones, the need to find solutions to important problems such as the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and controlling the naval-arms race. The study could also pay greater attention to the positive role played by world opinion in Support of international peace and security, and in particular, the importance of the World Disarmament Campaign.**

CHINA

[Original: Chinese]

[15 May 1986]

1. The Chinese Government welcomes the study on concepts of security (A/40/553, annex) undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of experts in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/188 H of 29 December 1986, and expresses its satisfaction at the adoption by the Assembly at its fortieth session of resolution 40/94 E, entitled "Comprehensive study of concepts of security". The maintenance of world peace and international security are major objectives of the Chinese Government's foreign policy. The Chinese Government supports efforts which foster the achievement of these objectives.
2. The Chinese Government has consistently held the view that strict adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between States is an effective means of strengthening international security. The study by the Group of Governmental Experts rightly points out that "international security and confidence between nations can be promoted on the basis of the principles expressed in the concept of peaceful coexistence. The concept of peaceful coexistence is applicable not only between countries with differing social systems but also between countries sharing the same social system. When this concept is violated, even nations of similar social system may find themselves in sharp conflict. The urgency of applying the concept of peaceful coexistence has rarely been greater" (ibid., para. 205). The Chinese Government hopes that this argument will be given serious consideration by all States.
3. Currently, the international situation remains turbulent and unsettled. Threats to global peace and security derive chiefly from the super-Powers' arms race and global scrambling. We should remain alert to dangers that can lead to a world war. However, because of the demand for peace, anti-war forces are constantly growing; as long as the peoples of all nations strive together unremittingly, world peace and security can be maintained. Every means of ending the arms race and rivalry between the super-Powers must be used and international tension alleviated as a matter of urgency.
4. China opposes the arms race and advocates a general prohibition and the complete destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government believes that the

two super-Powers have a primary and special responsibility for achieving nuclear disarmament and that they should be the first to carry out a large-scale reduction of nuclear weapons, thereby creating the conditions for nuclear disarmament by all nuclear States. This should be accompanied by the halting of the extension of the arms race into outer space, the general prohibition and complete destruction of chemical weapons and a large-scale reduction of conventional weapons.

5. World peace and security are closely related to national security. Viewed from this perspective, the violation of a State's independence and sovereignty constitutes a threat to world peace. The Chinese Government has consistently held that disarmament is not the only issue involved in the alleviation of tension; the elimination of regional conflicts is also an important consideration. Thus, the principle that all countries are equal, regardless of size, should be strictly respected in international relations! no pretext may be used to carry out acts of aggression or expansion, to invade or occupy another State's territory, to interfere in the internal affairs of another State, or violate another State's sovereignty. This can only be beneficial for the maintenance of world peace and security.

6. Peace and security are closely related to development. Peace is an essential condition for development, and the economic development of the developing countries and improved relations between North and South are important factors in the maintenance of peace. The Chinese Government supports the just position of the developing countries, which for the past several years have been calling for a new international economic order, and hopes that the developed countries will adopt a far-sighted attitude of positive co-operation, help solve the urgent problems facing the developing countries and promote North-South dialogue and co-operation for the common development of the economies of all countries, thereby contributing to the maintenance of world peace and security.

DENMARK

(Original: English)

111 June 1986)

1. Denmark voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 38/188 H of 20 December 1983, in which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of qualified governmental experts, to carry out a comprehensive study of concepts of security, and the Danish Government has with interest taken note of the study of the Group of Experts (A/40/553, annex).

2. The study rightfully states that concepts of security are the different bases on which States and the international community as a whole rely for their security. Understandably, a discussion thereof involves not only important, but also sensitive political issues. Denmark agrees to the Group's notion that the controversial character of the issue in no way should prevent the States from participating in a discussion thereof. By addressing the basic concepts and policies of security the study has contributed to the continuing discussion within the United Nations on all aspects relating to security.

3. Denmark welcomes the fact that the Group of Experts has generally shared the following common understanding, which should be shared by all nations:

(a) All States have, regardless of size, geographic location, social system, political or ideological belief, or level of development, a legitimate right to security;

(b) The use of military force for purposes other than self-defence is not a legitimate instrument of national policy;

(c) Security should be understood in comprehensive terms, and it is essential to address underlying political, social and economic problems;

(d) Security is the concern of all nations, and all nations have the right and duty to participate in the search for constructive solutions to security;

(e) The world's diversities should not constitute obstacles to international co-operation for peace and security. The common interest in survival must transcend differences in ideology, political institutions and socio-economic systems. (The study rightfully points out that ideological differences should *not* be transferred to inter-State relations, and that there is a need for self-restraint on the part of the States involved. Full respect for this observation and thereby for the principle of non-intervention should be an integral element of the concept of peaceful coexistence. Otherwise no credibility can be attached to that concept) ;

(.) Disarmament and arms limitation is an important approach to international peace and security.

4. As a general observation Denmark regards it to be of particular importance that the study recommends maintenance of the rule of law in international relations through the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations and effective application of the collective security concept. As stated by the Group of Experts, disregard for international law and reliance on force for resolving disputes is dangerous and offers no prospect of finding lasting solutions to the problem of international security. Steps should be taken to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations and to improve its possibilities to fulfil its fundamental task of maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the Charter. To that end, it is commendable that the study rather than suggesting new institutional arrangements recommends a strengthening of existing United Nations institutions, in particular the Security Council. As a member of the Security Council, Denmark is at present actively participating in the current efforts to secure regular informal discussions in the Council on the international situation in an effort to enhance the role of the Council in the exercise of preventive diplomacy through the establishment of an "early warning system".

5. In the view of the Danish Government, United Nations studies in the field of disarmament can serve a useful purpose provided they deal with their subject in an objective and balanced manner, and that the differing views are carefully reflected and taken into consideration. In this connection Denmark wishes to make the following observations :

(a) **As reducing and removing the threat of nuclear war is the most acute and urgent task of the present day, the priority objective of all States should be the prevention of any war at any level of hostility, thus precluding the use of nuclear weapons ;**

(b) **In their efforts to prevent armed conflicts in any form, States may legitimately take measures necessary to restrain, or in other words deter, initiation of, or persistence in an armed attack;**

(c) **In order to prevent the outbreak of war and safeguard peace, defence efforts must be complemented by pursuing a policy of dialogue to promote understanding and comprehensive co-operation especially with regard to arms control and disarmament. International security would be considerably enhanced by increased international co-operation, not only in the economic field, but also in many other areas, such as co-operation based on the broad exchange of ideas, culture, science, information and contacts at all levels. Any comprehensive concept of security or any attempt to address the question of how to improve the current international situation should adequately consider these questions and other questions having an impact on international security, for example, human rights and confidence-building measures)**

(d) **The outlawing of nuclear weapons as suggested in paragraph 217 of the study is a narrow unrealistic approach under prevailing circumstances. Arms limitations and reductions and their eventual elimination - both nuclear and conventional - must be considered in an overall military and political context;**

(e) **As to application of the various concepts, the objective of which is to safeguard peace, the actual political performance of States is the yardstick. The willingness on the part of States to openness and transparency in the military field as well as to accepting the necessary measures of verification is of paramount importance.**

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

(Original: English)

(30 April 1996)

1. **The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany welcomes the fact that the conclusions and recommendations of the United Nations study on concepts of security underscore essential elements of the basic conviction shared by all States:**

(a) The right of all nations to security;

(b) The prohibition of all kinds of force;

(c) The need to view security as a complex concept;

(d) The right and duty of all States to participate in the quest for constructive solutions in the field of security;

(e) The need for co-operation despite enduring differences;

(f) The central importance of arms control and disarmament.

2. This conviction rests on the growing awareness of the international community that, in this age of nuclear weapons, war can no longer serve as a means of conducting international politics, that in this interdependent world endeavours to secure one's own security must not be to the detriment of others, that military efforts must be governed by the criterion of legitimate defence, and that autonomous defence activities must be supplemented by extensive co-operative solutions.

3. In the opinion of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, it is essential that all members of the international community assume responsibility for world peace and strive jointly to find solutions to the great problems concerning security in this age.

4. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has therefore always advocated that an objective and constructive dialogue be conducted on all security issues, particularly within the global framework afforded by the United Nations. One of the objectives of such a dialogue must be to achieve a better understanding of the different concepts of security of individual States or groups of States. United Nations studies can make an important contribution to this endeavour if they present the complex security problems in an objective and balanced manner and take proper account of the positions of individual Member States.

5. Though the United Nations study on concepts of security contains a great deal to which the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany subscribes, it does not fulfil the foregoing criteria in important respects. It is particularly regrettable that the central objective of the Western concept of security, namely, the prevention of war, is not adequately taken into account in the study,

6. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany would therefore like to emphasize the following without singling out specific statements of the study.

(a) The overriding goal of the international community must be to prevent reliably any kind of war, be it conventional or nuclear. The hazards emanating from conventional conflicts in our time must not be ignored.

(b) The North Atlantic alliance, which guarantees the security of the States united in it, does not threaten anyone and does not aspire to superiority. Its military potential exclusively serves defensive purposes. None of its weapons will ever be used except in response to attack. The security policy of its members is consistent with the comprehensive ban on force enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

(c) Like its allies, the Federal Republic of Germany is convinced that autonomous defence efforts are not sufficient for reliably preventing war and effectively safeguarding peace. It therefore advocates a policy of understanding and comprehensive co-operation, especially in the field of arms control and disarmament. Arms control and disarmament are an integral part of the Western alliance's security policy.

7. **The Federal Republic of Germany actively pursues a policy of peace, its efforts are directed towards a state of lasting stability at the lowest possible level of forces and armaments.**

8. **The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany believes that the actual policy pursued by States must also serve as the yardstick for any other concepts aimed at the safeguarding of peace. Declared goals must coincide with the actual conduct of States and be reflected in verifiable facts. An important touchstone of this is readiness on the part of States for greater openness and transparency in the military sphere. All States are called upon to help achieve co-operative solutions to security problems.**

MEXICO

[Original in Spanish]

[3 June 1986]

1. **The Mexican Government considers that the study on concepts of security, like the other studies carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, is a major contribution to a subject as complex as that of security.**

2. **Among the various important points made in this study, the Mexican Government notes the following salient ones:**

(a) **The study stresses the threat that the nuclear-arms race constitutes for all mankind, quoting from the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, regarding the choice with which mankind is now confronted: "Removing the threat of a world war - a nuclear war - is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation (resolution S-10/2, para. 18) ;**

(b) **The study quite rightly points out that the nuclear-arms race constitutes the main threat to international security, since we now have a capability for assured mutual destruction)**

(c) **It is also made clear that preventing the outbreak of a nuclear war is a pre-condition for all the efforts to preserve the security of States, any other attempt in the international sphere to avert nuclear war being pointless. Likewise, the study makes an important comment about the effects of a nuclear confrontation, stating that a nuclear war could never be limited and could never be won; its consequences would not affect the nuclear adversaries alone, but would jeopardize the lives of people everywhere and lead to the extinction of the human race;**

(d) **The study therefore points out that the nuclear-weapon States possessing the largest nuclear arsenals are under a moral obligation to reach concrete agreements on reversing the arms race, which endangers not only individual safety**

but that of the whole world, Consequently the great Powers are no longer responsible solely to their own peoples; they are not responsible to all countries and all peoples and cannot take it upon themselves to load mankind towards extinction;

(e) On the basis of the above observations, the study correctly points out that promoting international security requires the co-operation and active participation of all nations, which must move towards common security,

3. In the opinion of the Mexican Government, the comments on the maintenance of international peace and security contained in the study are sensible and well founded; these include:

(a) Strengthening the role of the United Nations. As stated in the Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security is one of the main purposes of the United Nations)

(b) Observance of the Charter of the United Nations. The basic principles contained in the Charter are not only legal rules and norms for international conduct among Member States but are also recognized as principles of international law applicable to all States;

(c) Full utilization of the existing collective security system of the United Nations. This machinery, if better utilized, could greatly improve international peace and security.

4. Mexico welcomes the conclusions of the study as they relate to the measures which should be taken to achieve common security:

(a) Renewed efforts in the field of disarmament to reduce the risk of war, in particular nuclear war;

(b) Maintenance of the rule of law in international relations through the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations and effective application of the collective security concept;

(c) Decolonization and elimination of apartheid;

(d) Political and economic co-operation for development and security.

NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

[26 June 1986]

1. In the view of the Netherlands, the study contained in the annex to document A/40/553 has a number of interesting things to say about the concept of security, although it is true that the study also displays clear signs of compromises having

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been made, which is hardly compatible with the intellectual rigour required of a study of security concepts. The study rightly observes that security consists not only of a military component but also of political, economic and social one. The observation that national and international security are increasingly closely linked, so that an era of global interdependence is coming ever closer, is justified. This indeed underlines the desirability of "a comprehensive and co-operative approach to international security". Accordingly, the Netherlands together with its Western partners, endeavour to establish a broad dialogue and to get negotiations under way with a view to finding "co-operative" solutions which promote peace and security. Avoiding a world war is certainly "the most acute and urgent task of the present day", as paragraph 65 puts it. Such a war would probably involve nuclear weapons, and the consequences of their use could make themselves felt world wide; therefore, the study rightly emphasizes, a common interest of the world community is at stake. Those who would suffer most from the use of nuclear weapons are of course the countries directly concerned. They themselves therefore have the greatest possible interest in avoiding such an eventuality. The prevention of war is even more central to security policy of the Netherlands and to the co-operation between the Netherlands and other Western countries in this field than appears from the study.

2. For this purpose there must be a policy of dialogue and disarmament through negotiation in the East-West context in conjunction with the preservation of an adequate deterrent and defence capability until such time as the results of negotiations make it possible to achieve reductions.

3. The fundamental idea of deterrence is that nuclear weapons create a situation in which the potential advantages of aggression are by far outweighed by the potentially disastrous consequences. As the study observes, deterrence has kept the peace, at least in the East-West context, for 40 years now. However, the current system of mutual deterrence must not be seen as an end in itself. The maximum effort must be made to bring about substantial reductions in nuclear weapons. The aim must be to achieve a stable equilibrium at the lowest possible level of armament. The concept of stability has an important part to play in the disarmament process envisaged. Arms control and disarmament measures must not in any way endanger stability but should on the contrary strengthen it. This means, inter alia, that the nuclear problem should not be viewed in isolation. The conventional imbalance in Europe is important in this respect. Nuclear deterrence also helps to prevent a conventional conflict (a point which is referred to only briefly in the study). Conventional war in Europe - a continent which has already experienced two such conflicts this century - must not be allowed to become thinkable again. This too is an interest, which in fact has implications for countries outside Europe itself. Partly in the light of this, the Netherlands attaches great importance not only to the crucial bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union at Geneva in the nuclear field but also to negotiations aimed at establishing a stable conventional balance in Europe.

4. The study rightly emphasizes the importance of the "maintenance of the rule of law in international relations through the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations and effective application of the collective security concept". As a co-founder of the United Nations, the Netherlands has always advocated the

establishment of an effective world legal order. The required instruments of international law and the necessary institutions already exist to a very large extent, but the Problem is in the failure to make proper use of them. An the study notes, "If the corresponding provisions of the Charter were strictly observed this would lead to a drastic improvement of the international situation".

5. To supplement the United Nations collective security system, agreements have been made within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. In the Helsinki Final Act and in other documents, obligations deriving from the Charter of the United Nations, such as the obligation to refrain from the use or threat of force, and, the obligations relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-aggression and non-intervention were reaffirmed. The obligation to respect human rights was likewise reaffirmed; an issue which, as the study rightly notes, also affects international security. Regular consultations are held within the framework of the Conference on the observance of the aforementioned general principles, and concrete agreements are sought with a view to improving the situation.

6. The security of very small States can indeed be a problem under certain circumstances. Here too, regional organizations can play a part in addition to the United Nations. It should also be observed that preserving an equilibrium between the two major power blocs in itself contributes indirectly to the security of smaller States, particularly if one considers the possible consequences for the security of third countries were there to be no such equilibrium.

NORWAY

[Original: English]

[6 June 1986]

1. The study on concepts of security (A/40/553, annex), prepared by a group of governmental experts, has pointed to a number of fundamental challenges to both national and international security.

2. Basically, the study has focused on global interdependence and discussed the implications of increased interdependence for global security. The study underscores the need for a comprehensive approach when discussing interdependence also from the Point of view of security. Norway agrees that a comprehensive approach to security, recognizing the growing interdependence of political, military, economic, social and technological factors, has become essential. To these elements of interdependence should be added, in our view, also the need to ensure the strict observance by all States of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

3. The United Nations expert study correctly draws our attention to the roots of international tensions and antagonism that give rise to an arms buildup in both nuclear and conventional arms. In our view, a better understanding of the various concepts of security must be based on the different security needs facing various States.

4. In examining the various concepts of security, a useful point of departure must be the realization that, in the nuclear age, it is not possible for nations to obtain security through measures undertaken at the expense of others. Norway thus finds herself in agreement with the study when it states that "the use of military force for purposes other than self-defence is not a legitimate instrument of national policy". An effective security policy cannot depend exclusively upon military defence, but should also include efforts to contribute to enhanced stability in international relations through measures aimed at arms control and disarmament. The latter form an integral part of Norwegian security policy.

5. In shaping its security policy, Norway has, together with its allies, sought to underline this dual approach to the concept of security. On the one hand, a level of military force consistent with the right to self-defence must be maintained. On the other hand, active efforts must be undertaken to ensure peaceful solution of conflicts and mutual arms limitations and reductions, including increased confidence among States.

6. Even though arms control and disarmament may not remove underlying political problems, they would appear to be an important contribution towards enhanced stability and predictability in international affairs. Norway thus associates itself with the understanding in the study that "disarmament and arms limitation is an important approach to international peace and security",

7. Norway agrees with the recommendation contained in the study calling for "renewed efforts in the field of disarmament to reduce the risks of war, in particular nuclear war". Efforts in bilateral, regional and global negotiating forums should be expedited with a view to achieving early and concrete results. However, it should also be emphasized that the threat posed by nuclear weapons should be viewed in the context of preventing the use of force in general. In this respect, the question of stability in the conventional field must be stressed. Hence, there is a clear link between nuclear and conventional arms control and disarmament. In our efforts to seek enhanced security, therefore, our fundamental objective must be the prevention of any war. At this point in time this must be a central notion in our effort to safeguard and build our common security.

POLAND

{Original: English}

{12 June 1986}

1. Peace is the supreme value in the nuclear era and - as indicated in the report - nothing can justify the use of force in international relations. The establishment of an effective system of international security can be rendered feasible through political measures; it can result from political agreements between the States concerned. On the universal scale the foundations of such a system of security are provided in the Charter of the United Nations. The observance of the principles and provisions of the Charter is therefore the main prerequisite of international peace and security.

2. **Arms buildup in the nuclear age does not enhance but decreases the security of States and is becoming the source of ever-new threats. Deterrence cannot constitute a lasting foundation of security because it stimulates the arms race, which is today one of the major factors destabilizing the international situation. Nuclear weapons are not an indispensable element of the security of States, while their continued improvement has become a driving force behind the escalation of armaments and extension of the arms race into outer space.**

3. **Effective security can only be mutual and universal. This means that efforts should be made to initiate the process of disarmament or at least of elimination of those types of weapons which are the source of global threat by the mere fact of their existence. The Government of the Polish People's Republic is of the opinion that the implementation of the three-stage programme presented by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 15 January 1986, of a total elimination before the end of this century of the arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons and the ban on the introduction of space strike-weapons would represent a basis for an effective system of world security.**

4. **Elimination of the material implements of war would be the best guarantee of the maintenance of peace. Agreements between the nuclear Powers on a total ban of nuclear-weapon tests, on radical reduction of those weapons and, later, on their complete elimination would constitute the most important measures to that effect.**

5. **The Government of Poland shares the views expressed in the study (A/40/553, annex) on the interdependence of the contemporary world and its implications for international security and security of individual States, pointing to the complexity of the notion of security which comprises a number of elements going beyond the political and military sphere. The question of fundamental importance for the consolidation of peace, as reflected in the study, is a close observance by States of obligations resulting from international law, including strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations and of obligations of a political nature. Among the latter, principles of inter-state relations of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, mentioned in the study, are of considerable significance for Poland and other States participants in the Conference.**

6. **The Government of Poland wishes also to convey the following observations relating to some specific issues.**

(a) **The study points to the importance of broad international co-operation for the consolidation of security. Nevertheless, the role of political, economic, scientific, technological and humanitarian co-operation as well as co-operation in other fields as factors of mutually beneficial interdependence is not presented in a manner reflecting sufficiently the realities of the contemporary world.**

(b) **One of the sources of political destabilization and tensions threatening international security is - besides problems in the economic relations between developed and developing countries presented in the study - the use of economic instruments, including trade and financial relations and exchange of technology to exert political pressure and infringe upon the sovereignty of other States. Its**

extreme manifestations are the economic restrictions and limitations of access to technology, conceived as a form of political pressure and attempts at isolating individual States to the detriment of both their vital interests and global security. Poland has recently experienced such practices on the part of some Western States.

(c) Confidence- and security-building measures and their importance for the consolidation of international security and of the security of individual States are discussed in the study mainly with reference to the political and military spheres. Yet it is also worth pointing to a continuously increasing role of the non-military confidence-building measures, in particular in the sphere of economic co-operation, and the establishment of economic security in the promotion of international economic relations. In this context, the adoption by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session of a draft resolution, originally submitted by Poland, on confidence-building in international economic relations (see General Assembly resolution 38/196) is of particular significance. It confirmed the need for co-operation among States to protect economic relations against the adverse impact of political tension.

7. Implementation by States of the principles and provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in peace (General Assembly resolution 33/73) would similarly constitute an important confidence- and security-building measure.

8. The Government of Poland is of the opinion that broad dissemination of the contents of the study and implementation of the recommendations and conclusions contained in its chapter V would constitute an important contribution to the establishment of an international system of security and co-operation.

SWEDEN

(original : English)

[18 June 1986]

1. The comprehensive study of concepts of security traces its origins to the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (ICDSI) entitled "Common Security - a programme for disarmament", which was submitted to the General Assembly at its twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament, in 1982. In his capacity as Chairman of ICDSI, the late Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, introduced the report before the Ad Hoc Committee of the Twelfth Special Session.

2. Following a proposal by Sweden, the General Assembly, on 13 December 1982, adopted, without a vote, resolution 37/99 B on the report of ICDSI - or the Palme Commission. By this resolution, the General Assembly submitted the report (A/CN.10/38) to the Disarmament Commission.

3. The **Disarmament Commission** welcomed the report as a timely and constructive contribution to international efforts to achieve disarmament and to maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. It also recommended that the report of the **Palme Commission** be duly taken into account in ongoing and future disarmament efforts.
4. The study on concepts of security was carried out by a group of governmental experts appointed by the **Secretary-General** pursuant to **General Assembly resolution 38/188 H** of 20 December 1983, which called for a "comprehensive study of concepts of security, in particular security policies which emphasize co-operative efforts and mutual understanding between States, with a view to developing proposals for policies aimed at preventing the arms race, building confidence in relations between States, enhancing the possibility of reaching agreements on arms limitation and disarmament and promoting political and economic security".
5. The sponsors, in introducing this resolution before the **General Assembly**, expressed the view that the **United Nations** should be the focus of a discussion on concepts of security, thus bringing the compelling need of new thinking on security concepts to the attention of all States.
6. The **Government** of Sweden welcomes the study on concepts of security, the first effort by the **United Nations** specifically to address security concepts in a detailed and comprehensive manner.
7. The study was adopted as a whole by consensus in the **Group of Governmental Experts**. Sweden notes with great satisfaction that the study and its conclusions were commended to the attention of all member States by the **General Assembly** in its resolution **40/94 E**, which was adopted without a vote.
8. In the opinion of the *Government* of Sweden, the study should provide a basis for the continued international dialogue on this truly vital subject.
9. The study presents an overview of security concepts, examines problems and threats in international security, describes measures to promote international peace and provides some recommendations.
10. The security concepts reviewed in the study are balance of power, deterrence, equal security, collective security, neutrality, non-alignment, peaceful coexistence, and common security. The section devoted to problems and threats in international security analyses the relationship between national and international security, security in the nuclear age, chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, the conventional arms race, the security of developing countries and the security of small States.
11. The study stresses the fact that no nuclear-weapon State has completely renounced the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. The assured destruction that would follow a nuclear exchange would not be mutual between the adversaries, but global. As the study points out, non-nuclear-weapon States feel a growing sense of insecurity and loss of their right to decide their own destiny. The non-nuclear-weapon States feel unjustly exposed to the nuclear threat while taking

no part in the nuclear-arms race, which becomes a matter of crucial concern to them. Therefore, they have a right to have a say in this vital question.

12. The discussion of the concept of deterrence seems to be based on the declared policies of some, but not all, of the nuclear-weapon States. The study would have been more complete if the policies of all these States as regards the use of nuclear weapons had been examined.

13. Considerable attention is given to measures to promote international peace and security. First among those comes the strengthening of the role of the United Nations for international peace and security. The study underscores the importance of observance of the Charter of the United Nations. If the fundamental ruler of the Charter were upheld by all members of the international community, it would lead to a drastic improvement of the security of individual countries and improvements of the international situation. The study emphasizes that the role of the United Nations in disarmament as well as in the peaceful settlement of disputes should be strengthened. Third-party settlement of disputes is of particular value for the protection of the security of weaker countries. The study identifies preventive action by the United Nations as important for averting the outbreak of hostilities. The study calls for improved capabilities for peace-keeping and stresses the possible use of peace-keeping operations as a fire-break to preclude the outbreak of armed conflict. The study furthermore underlines the value of regional approaches to peace and security, the imperative of strict observance by all States of international conventions and covenants on human rights, and the urgent need to eliminate colonialism and the system of apartheid.

14. The Government of Sweden fully endorses these suggestions.

15. In reviewing the various concepts of security and assessing the elements required for global security, the Group of Governmental Experts appointed by the Secretary-General shared the following common understandings for which the Government of Sweden would like to express its support:

- (a) All nations have the right to security;
- (b) The use of military force for purposes other than self-defence is not a legitimate instrument of national policy,
- (c) Security should be understood in comprehensive terms;
- (d) Security is the concern of all nations;
- (e) The world's diversities should not constitute obstacles to international co-operation for peace and security;
- (f) Disarmament and arms limitation is an important approach to international peace and security.

16. The review of prevailing security policies leads the Group of Experts to the conclusion that nations should move towards common security. Actions in the following four main areas are accorded particular importance:

(a) Renewed efforts in the field of disarmament to reduce the risk of war, in particular nuclear war;

(b) Maintenance of **the** rule of law in international relations through the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations and effective application of the collective security concept;

(c) **Decolonization** and elimination of apartheid;

(d) Political and economic co-operation for security and development.

17. To sum up, the Government of Sweden **would** like particularly to underscore the following five **points**.

(a) The study rightly interprets the concept of security in **broad terms**, encompassing social and economic **as well** as political and military issues while recognising the significance of both the North-South and the East-West dimension of international **security**.

(b) The study rightly underlines the urgency of strengthening the role of the United Nations for international peace and security, thus, in the opinion of **the** Swedish **Government**, corroborating **the** reasoning behind the **consistent** and unequivocal support for the world organisation of a large number of States. The Government of Sweden would in this context specifically like to refer the Secretary-General to **the** letter dated 10 June 1983 from the representatives of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden to the United Nations stating the views of **the** five Nordic Governments on the strengthening of **the** United Nations (A/38/271).

(c) The study rightly emphasizes the extreme vulnerability and acute security problems facing a number of small States and recommends **that the** United Nations should **organize** a special study on the security problems of **small**, States.

(d) The study also rightly accords the nuclear threat a dominant role in its analysis of international security, reiterating that mankind is today confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising **from** the massive accumulation of **the most** destructive weapons ever produced.

(e) Finally, **the** Government of Sweden considers that the study has given international recognition and made a fruitful contribution to the further development of the concept of common security.

18. **The quest** for security is common to all nations. In today's world, security **must**, however, increasingly **be sought by** the international community across political and military affiliations. Security in the nuclear age **has global** dimensions.

19. The concept of common security is an attempt to accommodate the requirements and challenges posed **by** the nuclear age in a form which, at the **same** time, takes into account the legitimate security needs of every nation. It is of particular **importance that** it is applied **by** the two major nuclear-weapon States.

20. Along with their conflicting interests, the opposing great-Power alliances, as well as political adversaries elsewhere, also have interests in common. The overriding common interest is to avoid a war that would threaten the very existence of mankind.
