



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 47th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ROCHE (Canada)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73

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

The CHAIRMAN: This morning, the First Committee will begin its general debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions under agenda items 71, 72 and 73 relating to international security.

The Committee has on its agenda the item entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region". We have before us the report of the Secretary-General on the subject, document A/43/579. In accordance with resolution 42/90, adopted last year, the report includes a summary of the debate on this question at the forty-second session of the General Assembly. It highlights a number of considerations related to the political, security and co-operation aspects of the situation in the Mediterranean region. Replies received from Member States on this item are also annexed to the report.

For item 72 entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", a traditional topic on our agenda, the Committee has before it for consideration the report of the Secretary-General, document A/43/603, containing replies submitted by member States in pursuance of resolution 42/92 adopted last year by the General Assembly. Under this item the Committee has likewise to consider the sub-item entitled "Need for result-oriented political dialogue to improve the international situation". A previous resolution on this sub-item calls for more efforts to facilitate dialogue and co-operation as a means to help reduce tensions, settle international conflicts peacefully, and to improve the international climate.

At this session, the Committee will continue consideration of item 73, entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security" on the basis of

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the report of the **Secretary-General** made available in document A/43/732.

Delegations are aware of the complex and sensitive character of this issue. I hope that through more intensive consultations, the Committee will, at the current session, reach a better understanding of the subject and a good result.

I do not wish to repeat the comments I made when we commenced our work on disarmament issues. However, I should like to note once again that the recent relaxation in international relations has created a more favourable background for the consideration of the items relating to international security. Prompted by the positive trends now prevailing in the world, the Committee may wish to formulate fresh ideas and suggestions which would contribute to the solution of the multifaceted issues of international security. The world is a single entity and common efforts by all nations are vitally needed to enhance security for all. In this regard the United Nations is the proper instrument to which the international community must turn to find acceptable answers to issues relating to peace and security. Consequently, it would be a true mark of achievement for our Committee if we were to suggest answers to issues that have for so long faced the international community.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian) : The forty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly at which a useful and constructive dialogue involving all member States of the international community is taking place, is nearing its conclusion, but a great deal still lies ahead. First and foremost, I have in mind the forthcoming statement to the General Assembly by the Head of the Soviet State, Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev.

During the plenary meetings of the Assembly, and in the First and other main Committees a review has been carried out of the state of affairs in all spheres of international relations and the prospective development of the situation in the world. We can state with confidence that the international community is united in its judgement on the main issue; that today the world has become safer and more stable than was the case only a few years ago. Using a figure of speech, Mikhail S. Gorbachev stated recently in New Delhi that the heavy train loaded with nuclear death which had gained tremendous momentum has begun to slow down. If we attempt to look into the future, then, using an expression contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization:

"... we may be witnessing a transition, however slow or occasionally uncertain, towards a new pattern of relationships at the global level.'

(A/43/1, p. 7)

This means essentially the beginning of a rational process of construction of comprehensive security while taking into account the growing interdependence and diversity of the contemporary world. This became possible due to the productive development of Soviet-United States relations, the constructive initiatives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Group of Six States representing the five continents and the will and maturity of the majority of the participants in international interchange. Of great importance are changes for the better in the situation in the European continent, which is the main stage of confrontation of

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the military alliances, and the recent serious progress made in the settlement of conflict situations.

The new political thinking based on the priority of universal values and respect for freedom of choice comes to the forefront in defining the foreign policies of an ever-increasing number of States. The concept of demilitarizing, humanizing and democratizing international relations is taking on real substance. In these conditions, prospects are opening up for ensuring both universal and national security, not through military confrontation and force but on the basis of the universalization of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the balancing of interests, confidence and co-operation. Here the United Nations has a central role to play.

Our comprehensive approach to security is based on the obvious fact that the very concept of security is made up of many components.

There is no need to prove that the military element of this concept - that is, the ability of States to secure the appropriate level of defence capability - continues to be a central one. However, this does not mean that this element is a constant or that it fully exhausts the meaning of the whole concept of security. We assume that, in the process of achieving agreements on disarmament measures, the role of the military component will be diminishing on the one essential condition that it will in no way adversely affect the level of security of any State. On the contrary, it is our firm conviction that arms reduction is a thoroughfare leading to greater universal security.

In this context, we should like, first of all, to address a welcome phenomenon: the entering of the disarmament process into a qualitatively new stage, with the beginning of realistic reductions in the most devastating kind of weapons - nuclear ones. The Soviet Union sets the goal of reaching an early agreement with the United States on the next major step in nuclear disarmament,

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a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms. We are actively advocating the exclusion of chemical weapons from States' arsenals, a peaceful outer space and the beginning of serious, large-scale negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In modern times, the political component of security is becoming more important than ever before. The security of a given State depends ultimately not only on the numerical strength of its armed forces and the quantity and quality of its weapons but also on the environment surrounding that State and on the political climate of its relations with other States of the given region and, in a broader, global sense, on the general political situation in the world. In this connection, one cannot ignore, for example, so substantive an element of security as the level of confidence in relations between States. Confidence-building, including the development of political and other contacts at all levels, through greater military transparency, through multilateral co-operation by States in international forums and, obviously and above all, in the United Nations is an essential factor for strengthening comprehensive security.

We see many positive events in the political calendar of the world in recent times. In this context, I would single out the role of the United Nations as the main political agency of the world community whose supreme task is to ensure peace and international security. But I shall return to the subject of the United Nations later.

In our view, another irrefutable fact is that the economic aspect of security is one of its significant elements and an integral part of it.

There was, of course, a time when countries lived under the laws of economic autarchy. Then, indeed, the economic element in the security of States either did not play any role at all or was of little significance. But that time is long gone. Today, on the contrary, we are witnessing an unprecedentedly rapid growth in

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the economic interdependence of States. To ignore the economic element of international security or to assume that it simply does not exist is to ignore reality. This is equally true for both the major industrialized Powers and the developing countries.

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The example of the economic element and the evolution of its significance clearly demonstrates that the very concept of security is not something rigid, and that it is in the process of development, and changes along with changes in the life of human society. Consequently, qualitatively new elements in what we understand by security may appear. Thus over a few years and quite unexpectedly the problem of the ecological threat in a number of its aspects has become one of the highest concerns of mankind. I do not feel that it is necessary for me to dwell in detail on this subject since in this session of the General Assembly and particularly in its plenary meetings ecological issues have occupied a prominent place.

Finally, I come to the question of human rights. Greater democracy means greater security for the individual, greater security for the society of a given country and, naturally, greater security for other nations. This I would say is axiomatic. The root causes of the Second World War are compelling proof of the validity of this proposition. The humanitarian dimension of security - and this also is a relatively new phenomenon - is acquiring as we are all well aware, an increasingly important place in international life.

The comprehensive, multifaceted and far from static character of the very concept of security and, naturally and most importantly, the basic need to ensure real and equal security for all States, require the discussion of this problem in the General Assembly. The basic objective that we set ourselves in this process is to set in motion a broad, lively and non-confrontational dialogue embodying a comprehensive review of this most important problem, which would enable all delegations wishing to participate in the dialogue to express their views. On this basis and by comparing various points of view we would be able in the end, to reach consensus solutions to those aspects of the security problem on which such solutions are possible.

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Discussions of comprehensive security during the last two sessions of the United Nations General Assembly have provided rather significant material for thought. For our part, we in the Soviet Union have tried to analyse the views expressed and have defined several areas, where, in our view, it should be possible to achieve practical results in the not-too-distant future. The results of our analysis are reflected in the memorandum that the Soviet delegation asked to have distributed during this session of the General Assembly. The document is entitled "Towards Comprehensive Security Through the Enhancement of Role of the United Nations". In it, we proposed three subjects for discussion as possible specific aspects of strengthening comprehensive security: enhanced effectiveness of the United Nations and its main bodies; greater use of United Nations peace-keeping operations; and establishment of the primacy of international law in interstate relations (A/43/629).

I should like to hope that we would be able to hear, at least in general terms, the views of other delegations on the ideas put forward in the memorandum. I should like to stress that we are far from intending to impose our proposals and do not seek approval of them at the current session of the General Assembly. However, if it becomes clear that certain ideas enjoy broad enough understanding and support, that will obviously be an incentive and a basis to consider them in more specific terms at the current session in the appropriate United Nations bodies.

Naturally, the Soviet memorandum is not exhaustive. That was not our objective. We singled out certain elements only and will be ready to treat with due consideration the positive ideas of other delegations. In the last analysis, after all, the main objective is to arrive at adequate consensus solutions.

The problem of reliably ensuring security in the world is, of course,

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impossible to resolve overnight. In this area long-term efforts are required which would permit us to move forward gradually but purposefully step by step.

Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev aptly described this in his well-known article "Realities and Safeguards of a Secure World".

What is important is to ensure real progress in all areas without any linkages. A lack of progress in one of the areas must not impede progress in other areas. Obviously, progress in one of the spheres would objectively promote solutions to issues in other fields. In this connection I should like to quote from the speech the Vice-Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Genscher at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"Mutually beneficial co-operation must be widened and deepened in all fields. In this interlinked world we must create positive forms of mutual dependence that make the path of co-operation between equals become irreversible." (A/S-15/PV.8, p. 36)

We note with satisfaction that most States strongly support the need to continue and expand multilateral dialogue concerning the strengthening of international peace and security on a comprehensive basis in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

At the same time it is no secret that certain delegations, for reasons that we fail to comprehend, look with suspicion at the very essence of the proposal of the socialistic countries. Sometimes they call into question the complex nature of the concept of security and assert that security can only be military. For the sake of fairness, however, we must say that in other situations, when it was necessary to demonstrate that security was not confined to the military factor alone, they said the exact opposite. In this case we should like to refer to the United States approach to the matter which, as was stated in the United States response

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regarding the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,
is that:

"Peace cannot be secured solely through the implementation of disarmament measures. It is the cessation of aggression, the establishment of peaceful relations among States, the reduction of suspicion through increased openness and the observance by all of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including human rights and fundamental freedoms, that would promote progress toward genuine peace". (A/C.1/230/2)

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The Soviet delegation agrees with that statement and is ready to subscribe to it although it is not entirely complete.

Many States are dissatisfied with the fact that they are denied the opportunity to participate sufficiently actively in resolving priority issues of ensuring international security. That is precisely why we propose to develop a multilateral dialogue on the problem of universal security on a comprehensive basis with the participation of all States. No one should feel excluded or even relegated to the sidelines on the most important political processes unfolding in the world today. As was recently noted by Mikhail S. Gorbachev in an interview with the West German journal Der Spiegel: "the time when one country or a group of powerful and strong States imposed, sometimes even ruthlessly, its views and policies on the world - that time has gone".

In speaking of the role of multilateralism in ensuring comprehensive security, we bear in mind that bilateral dialogue, notwithstanding the indisputable importance of Soviet-US negotiations and agreements, cannot replace multilateral dialogue, particularly with respect to global problems. Bilateral and multilateral forums must harmoniously complement each other exerting a mutually stimulating influence.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to continue and intensify the broad international dialogue, above all in the United Nations, concerning a comprehensive approach to strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The First Committee, whose task is to address matters of disarmament and security, is the natural venue for conducting such a dialogue. A non-confrontational dialogue will make it possible to assess new threats to security and also new opportunities for reliably ensuring it on the basis of confidence and co-operation. In the course of the dialogue it is essential to

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identify concrete security issues which indeed require a multilateral approach and regarding which States could in the future initiate substantive negotiations in the appropriate United Nations bodies.

With respect to the development of a comprehensive approach to international security, we should point out that the Declaration on the Strengthening Of International Security continues to play a positive role. Adopted on the initiative of the non-Aligned and socialist countries in 1970, it became a landmark in the effort of the international community to comprehend the realities of the nuclear and space age and marked the beginning of the period of détente and identified concrete goals of multilateral co-operation in the interests of ensuring international peace and security. The Soviet delegation supports the proposals of the non-Aligned countries to implement all provisions of the Declaration.

The sponsors of the proposal on a comprehensive approach to strengthening international peace and security have held broad consultations with the delegations of Member States regarding the draft text and have accepted their constructive ideas and amendments. The sponsors are submitting for consideration by the Committee a draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/43/L.74, whose principal aim is to further the development of dialogue on the subject. Taking into account the wishes expressed by delegations of some non-Aligned and Western countries, we have replaced the word "system" in the earlier resolution with the words:

"a comprehensive approach to strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations".

Accordingly, the title of the draft resolution and the agenda item for the next session of the General Assembly have also been changed. The draft emphasizes that what is at issue is an effort to find:

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"universally acceptable ways and means And to co-ordinate practical measures to strengthen on A comprehensive basis the system of security laid down in the Charter of the United Nations ".

That means that dialogue on the subject must be Aimed At achieving consensus practical solutions and above all to enhance the role and efficiency of the United Nations as An instrument for ensuring international peace and security.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for the thorough report he has prepared on the ways And means to organise An exchange of views among States regard ing comprehensive security. The findings in the report are also taken into account in the new draft resolution.

The sponsors of the draft resolution are aounting on A positive Attitude towards the draft by all who rupport the concept of continuing multilateral dialogue on the strengthening of international security on a comprehensive basis in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They hope thrt the flexible approach they have demonstrated, which is aimed at finding compromises, will meet with An appropriate response.

I should like to Add that certain delegations which last year were not Able to vote for the draft resoluton on thie question have expressed the wish that in the present draft resolution the first preambular paragraph, which contains A reference to the previous resolution, should be deleted. The sponsors would be ready to consider thrt wish if that would indeed make it possible for those countr lee to support the prerent draft resolution. We hope that the draf t will be adopted without objections.

Mr. STEPHANOU (Greece) : I have the honour to make a statement on behalf of the Twelve Member States of the European Community addressing agenda items 71, 72 and 73, concerning international security. These items have a direct and intimate bearing on the United Nations Charter, which all of us as States Members of this Organisation are pledged strictly to observe.

More than 43 years have elapsed since the United Nations Charter laid the groundwork for peace among nations. The United Nations was established to preserve international peace and security for future generations, after two most destructive world wars had eliminated, in the space of less than two generations, innumerable human lives and inflicted destruction and suffering on an unprecedented scale. We are most fortunate today that we are remote from the trials of the two world wars that the drafters of the Charter had experienced. However, let us not forget that many parts of the world are still subject to regional and subregional conflicts. We have become aware that we do no longer live in a world with a constant accumulation of armaments. Our common and joint aim, therefore, must surely be to preserve and promote peace, at the lowest possible level of forces, thereby at the same time ensuring the security of all Member States of the international community, while maintaining the inherent right of self-defence, as provided for in the Charter.

It is our duty to preserve international peace, and, given the role of the United Nations, we have as States Members of this Organization to be conscious that military threats and imbalances challenge security and stability. Moreover, we are also aware of the non-military threats which can always endanger international peace and security. The world is not perfect. Fear, mistrust, miscalculations and misperceptions have not been eradicated in a satisfactory way. However, the differences between the historical background, political institutions and socio-economic systems of States should not constitute obstacles to international

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co-operation in the pursuit of peace and security. In the final analysis, the key to peace is co-operation and trust.

Arms Control and disarmament have a very important role in the achievement of the goals of the Charter, as we have repeatedly stressed here. The Twelve are convinced that, pursuant to the purposes and principles of the Charter, the United Nations must play a central role in the quest for disarmament.

East-West relations have markedly improved during the last 12 months. New and more favourable conditions have emerged for the achievement of significant progress in the process of arms control and disarmament and of strengthening peace. We recognize that much remains to be done. The Twelve will continue to work resolutely for further results, with a view to strengthening international peace and enhancing security and stability at the lowest possible level of forces. The United States and the Soviet Union are at present engaged in an intense dialogue that affects all people, covering disarmament, human rights and regional conflicts. Positive results in one area strengthen mutual confidence and thus enhance the possibilities of progress in other areas. Substantial progress towards the resolution of certain regional conflicts reflects encouraging developments in the easing of international tensions. These developments enhance our hopes. They demonstrate the strength and effectiveness of the United Nations Charter and the security system it provides.

Governments alone can establish the framework for mutual confidence and therefore the mutual security which allows people to live in peace and prosperity. This will flourish only where the dignity of human beings is respected. The same applies to their right to freedom. One of the basic principles of the Charter is respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. These are essential elements for international peace and security. The Charter imposes clear and unequivocal obligations on all Member States, which they should, and must, live up

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to. The elimination of all violations of the fundamental rights established in the Charter and its relevant international instruments is vital for the enhancement of international peace and security. It will provide essential strong encouragement and hope for a secure world.

Ensuring the effective implementation of the fundamental obligations of the Charter should therefore be our main objective. The Charter of the United Nations is sufficient for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. The challenges of our times make the strengthening of multilateral co-operation in all fields indispensable. In addition to the special role that the United Nations has to play in connection with the maintenance of international peace and security, the Twelve attach particular importance to the development of friendly relations between nations and to the promotion of multilateral co-operation in solving international problems with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is the objective of the Twelve to strengthen the Organization as a framework for these activities.

The threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations Charter, is illustrated notably by the persistence of regional conflicts, foreign interventions and international terrorism, which threaten international security.

The Twelve wish to reaffirm the importance they attach to regional approaches. Constructive dialogue and confidence-building should be actively promoted among States. There is now wide support for greater openness, transparency and predictability in military matters. Within the framework of the conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process, the outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and

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Disarmament in Europe has significantly contributed towards strengthening co-operation and stability in the region. The CSCE process is a positive example of what can be achieved through multilateral co-operation within the regional context. This process remains the central element of an East-West policy aimed at peace and security based on co-operation and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Twelve are firmly committed to a balanced and substantial outcome of the Vienna follow-up meeting, which benefits all people in the participating States.

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The Twelve support *and* encourage efforts in other parts of the world which can contribute to a lessening of tensions and promote multilateral co-operation in a regional context. The signing of the Esquipulas II Agreement by five Central American Presidents will also constitute, if commitments under it are fully implemented, another valuable contribution to the lessening of tensions in Central America.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. An effective Security Council is essential for the operation of the security system created by the United Nations. The Twelve wish to stress its importance in promoting a more stable international political climate. The Security Council also has a very important role to play in the solution of regional and subregional conflicts. We attach great importance to enhancing and strengthening the authority and role of the Security Council, and to the necessity of implementing the decisions adopted by that organ as provided for by the Charter. We support the Council and the Secretary-General in their common efforts to that end. It remains essential to enable the Council to deal with potential conflicts before they break out into open hostilities.

In supporting the Secretary-General in his sustained and discreet efforts to promote international peace and security, the Twelve would like to underscore his outstanding personal contribution towards the peaceful resolution of disputes. His efforts have borne considerable fruit, particularly this year. The Twelve wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their endeavours.

The Twelve are strong supporters of peace-keeping operations, which have greatly assisted in the maintenance of international peace and security. These operations contribute to bringing stability to conflict areas. They have proved an

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● *ffratiw* instrument, and one of the most practical current manifestations of the United Nations commitment to preserving international peace and security. The Twelve welcome the fact that the increased international interest in that important instrument can be a new area for the convergence of views which will find wider application.

In that context we are happy to observe that there is now universal recognition of the contribution of those operations to peace. In the view of the Twelve these operations should be placed on a sound financial basis. We should bear in mind that United Nations peace-keeping operations are not designed or equipped to enforce the law against determined transgressors. However, there is no doubt that peace-keeping operations have proved an effective instrument in bringing stability to conflict areas and in maintaining the delicate balance of international peace. States members of the European Community have participated in all but one of the 13 operations mounted over the years.

The Twelve pay a special tribute to all those who have served in United Nations peace-keeping operations, and share the satisfaction at the unquestionably merit and award of the Nobel Peace Prize to them this year. We also wish to express our appreciation and respect to all those who have taken part, and in some cases given their lives, in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The Twelve are also interested in strengthening the ways and means of judicial settlement of international disputes in accordance with the Charter. In many different contexts of international co-operation, the Twelve have accepted binding third-party dispute-settlement procedures at both the European and global levels.

Our century has enriched human life with unprecedented progress in science, technology, health, education and the means of communication. None the less, the full potential of human development for a large proportion of the world's

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population has yet to be realised. The gap between developed and developing countries has not narrowed. We have to face three problems in a decisive way, and the Twelve are prepared to do so. We are fully aware of the non-military threats to security, and if we wish to cope seriously with these problems, the strict observance of the Charter and the enhancement of international co-operation are high priorities in fulfilling these goals. In that context, the Twelve reaffirm the importance they attach to technical and regional bodies and to specialized agencies established under United Nations auspices with respect to the discharge of the important tasks assigned to them.

In a world of growing interdependence, it is essential for the international community to stimulate and deepen awareness of the common interests of our global society and of our common interest in strengthening international peace and security. The Twelve remain prepared to do so effectively, and to meet, within the framework of multilateral co-operation, the needs of present and future generations.

The meeting rose at 11. 40 a.m.