



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 48th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ROCHE (Canada)

CONTENTS

- GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ITEMS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 and 73 (continued)

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

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): For the first time the debate in the First Committee on security policies is taking place against a background of real, even though limited, nuclear disarmament. International dialogue on fundamental issues facing mankind is gaining in scope and depth and is becoming more result-oriented. All the major political currents of our time - those of the non-aligned countries, the socialist States and the Western States - favour a policy of dialogue and co-operation.

It is of especial importance that at the Moscow summit meeting held earlier this year the USSR and the United States of America expressed their shared commitment to a policy of dialogue as a constructive basis for resolving current and future problems. We are very pleased that the Soviet-American dialogue is going to be continued at United Nations Headquarters in a few days' time. It is our hope that it will contribute to the further and much-needed improvement in the international climate and will, in particular, lend fresh momentum to the ongoing negotiations on a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive arsenals of the two countries, with strict observance of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

The United Nations, under the judicious and dedicated leadership of its Secretary-General, is increasingly coming to be a centre where the activities of States are harmonized, as envisaged in the Charter. If it seems to many today that lasting, just and comprehensive settlements, which need to be achieved in respect of all conflicts, are more feasible than they were in the past, it is no doubt the United Nations that deserves the major credit for it.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

That is obviously true of Afghanistan, the Gulf conflict, Cyprus and the Western Sahara and southern Africa, even though the settlement processes that have been initiated are still riddled with problems.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

The agreement achieved, with United States mediation, between Angola, Cuba and South Africa in Geneva, which has been approved by all Governments involved, should be implemented without delay. The granting of independence to Namibia is long overdue. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the results of the recent session of the Palestine National Council and has recognized the State of Palestine. What is urgently required now is the convening of an international Middle East conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

We appreciate the fact that international dialogue on security and disarmament has been intensifying. Evidence of this is the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process, the International Meeting for Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones, in Berlin, and the recent New Delhi conference on a nuclear-free and non-violent world, as well as many high- and top-level negotiations in bilateral or regional contexts. The work of this Committee is another example.

My delegation is of the opinion that, despite continuing differences in positions and approaches, there is more and more common ground to be found in the dialogue on matters relating to security and disarmament. For all the inconsistencies and complexities, this is a manifestation of the positive trends that have been emerging in international relations. The German Democratic Republic has contributed actively to that end. With its policy of dialogue, co-operation and confidence-building, the German Democratic Republic, as its highest representative, Erich Honecker, recently said, will always be a reliable partner for all those who aspire to a peaceful future for mankind.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

It is an absolute imperative of our time to continue the beneficial processes that have been initiated, extend them to other areas of international co-operation and make them irreversible. Efforts in response to that need include the joint initiative of socialist States on a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security. The purpose and concern of the relevant draft resolution (A/C.1/43/L.74) has been fully and clearly explained in this Committee on behalf of its sponsors by the Permanent Representative of the USSR, Mr. Belonogov. We hope that the flexible approach shown will be adequately reciprocated and that the draft resolution will be adopted without objection.

My delegation also attaches fundamental importance to the projects of non-aligned States concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and in regard to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, and will continue to support them. In pursuing its initiative in favour of a result-oriented dialogue, the German Democratic Republic wishes to make a distinct contribution to the further improvement of the political climate and to enhancing the role of the United Nations.

We believe that the statements made in the general debate have helped considerably to create conditions conducive to exploring in a serious and constructive manner ways and means acceptable to all of guaranteeing national and global security. A comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security should, in our view, be geared to the following objectives: to find universally acceptable ways and means of co-ordinating practical measures to strengthen, on a comprehensive basis, the system of security laid down in the Charter and generally to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security in all its aspects; to

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

prevent a nuclear war, or any other kind of war, through the creation of a stable and effective international order of peace in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and taking into account the new conditions existing in the nuclear and space age; to develop modern, equitable and co-operative structures in international relations; to create a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world through substantial and verifiable disarmament to bring military capabilities down to the level sufficient for defence; to build a network of political and legal international security guarantees; and to resolve global problems through considerably expanded and mutually advantageous co-operation in the economic, scientific, technological, ecological, cultural and humanitarian fields.

The great majority of States considers it a priority consistently to continue the process of nuclear disarmament, achieve a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, discontinue nuclear-weapon tests, prevent an arms race in outer space and start conventional disarmament. In the last few weeks my delegation has fully explained its position on these and other disarmament matters in the First Committee and has submitted relevant initiatives.

Common sense and realism, encouraging trends in international relations, the growing complexity of global problems and the interdependence of States are factors that have perceptibly added to the role accorded the United Nations. In this context, my country's Foreign Minister said that the prestige and authority of the United Nations had been visibly enhanced through its latest peace-making efforts, emphasizing that the possibilities and mechanisms available to Member States and the Organization were not fully used as yet. It is crucially necessary to make full use of them. The German Democratic Republic is willing to do its share to that end. After all, we are still facing the question whether sanity or the bomb

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

will rule the world. The arms race is still going on. Dangerous conflicts and tensions continue to exist. A host of global problems, including the problem of the democratic restructuring of international economic relations and the overcoming of underdevelopment, are awaiting solution. To this day much more is being spent on destroying the natural environment than on preserving.

My delegation believes that it is essential to draw up as soon as possible an international development strategy for the 1990s and to find a global and just solution to the problem of the developing countries' external debt. The political dialogue for development that has been suggested by the President of the forty-third session of the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Dante Caputo, should indeed be conducted.

It is obvious that our world today, which is complicated and contradictory, but still forms a single whole, needs the United Nations more than ever before if peace is to be preserved, security enhanced and the pressing problems confronting mankind resolved in an equitable way. Objectively speaking, the world has long entered the era of dialogue, co-operation and multilateralism. We are committed to strengthening the United Nations in all its fields of activity, as envisaged in its Charter.

(Mr. Zachmann, German Democratic Republic)

In particular since the fortieth - the anniversary - session, a wealth of proposals has been submitted for international discussion. I wish to recall the proposals put forward by my country and other socialist States and the numerous suggestions that have come from non-aligned States or Western countries, notably Nordic and neutral ones - all of which relate to the United Nations peace-making role. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the suggestions made in the Soviet memorandum "Towards comprehensive security through the enhancement of the United Nations role". Careful consideration must be given to the many interesting suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization. All this encourages us in our belief that a consensus is beginning to emerge on the need to enhance the role, the authority and the effectiveness of the United Nations, particularly with a view to maintaining international peace and security. More specifically, attention is being focused on the work of the principal organs of the United Nations and the strengthening of mechanisms for peace-keeping operations, as well as the achievement of a higher degree of legal security in international affairs. The German Democratic Republic fully shares the following view expressed by Italy in the statement by Foreign Minister Andreotti:

"The time has come to test the potential of all the organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly". (A/43/PV.10, p. 75)

Should it not be possible to reach early agreement on the following initial steps?

First, the resolutions adopted by consensus by the General Assembly should be made more authoritative. That could be achieved if, for instance, all States undertook to honour them strictly and to act in conformity with the recommendations contained therein.

(Mr. Zachmann, German Democratic Republic)

Secondly, the role played by the Security Council in promoting and safeguarding peace should be further enhanced. Regular Council meetings at a high level to discuss world developments and jointly to draw appropriate conclusions, as well as the involvement of the Council in current disarmament efforts, would serve that end. Actually, that is what the Charter of the United Nations call for.

Thirdly, further substance should be given the role of the United Nations as a preventive and monitoring body and in settling disputes, once the declaration on the prevention of conflicts has been adopted by the General Assembly.

Fourthly, the mechanism of peace-keeping operations, including observer missions, should be developed. The fact that the United Nations peace-keeping forces have been given the great distinction of being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize no doubt reflects high international esteem and fills us with great satisfaction.

Fifthly, fresh consideration should be given to the question of how to increase the importance of the norms of international law and how to implement them fully in international relations. In view of the growing interdependence and the need for global solutions to problems, co-operation becomes a must and, accordingly, should be codified and elaborated.

Sixthly, we should ensure that the Economic and Social Council meets its responsibilities in a more effective and action-oriented manner.

At this year's General Assembly session the Member States have unanimously called for dialogue, co-operation and the strengthening of the role and authority of the United Nations. There is also agreement that the positive trends in international affairs have been made possible through the policy of dialogue and that it is now vital to consolidate these trends and make them irreversible. That is the primary concern of the German Democratic Republic's initiative on

(Mr. Zachmann, German Democratic Republic)

result-oriented political dialogue. The draft resolution submitted by my delegation in document A/C.1/43/L.85 follows up the relevant resolution adopted at the forty-first General Assembly session. In an effort to achieve consensus, positions held by non-aligned, socialist and western States have been taken into account, and so the draft resolution put forward is the result of a great many consultations. I wish to thank my colleagues from North and South, East and West for the constructive suggestions they have made in this context. My delegation would regard it as politically significant if all States expressed their shared commitment to dialogue, understanding and a stronger United Nations.

In launching and pursuing the dialogue project, my delegation has also taken into consideration the efforts undertaken by the First Committee with a view to streamlining its work and making it more effective. It was announced at the forty-first General Assembly session that there should be a time-limit on the discussion of this agenda item. As can be seen from the draft resolution submitted, my delegation will stand by its word.

The CHAIRMAN: I have noted with appreciation the strong efforts that have been made to achieve a consensus on draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.85.

The next speaker, the representative of Poland, is also the Chairman of the Special Political Committee.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): I extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee.

Poland, along with other sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74, proceeds from the conviction that the threat of the nuclear self-annihilation of mankind can be averted only by political means, through joint efforts of all States and taking into account the security interests of all countries. In our view, in today's complex and diverse world, ever-more interrelated and interdependent, there is a

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

need to discuss common issues and to seek a balance of various contradictory but real interests of States and nations. The essence of the concept of international security, as has been emphatically stressed by Poland on numerous occasions, is an endeavour to put security on a non-military and co-operative basis. Security for one single State or at the expense of others is inconceivable and unacceptable. Common and equal security for all States must be based on mutual confidence, co-operation and interdependence. It presupposes strict adherence by all States to the fundamental principles of international law, especially respect for the sovereignty, equality, political independence and territorial integrity of States, as well as respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It was to such

"truly equal, partner-like relations which inhibit nobody and are advantageous to all ... so that humanity may feel more secure"

that General-Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev declared his attachment when addressing intellectuals at the Warsaw Royal Castle during his July 1988 visit to Poland.

The preference of certain delegations for an approach which seeks to examine concrete proposals relating to international peace and security does not contradict the co-sponsors' own position, as specific solutions can contribute to the broader goal of comprehensive security. The key conclusion of the Secretary-General's report is that, irrespective of varying approaches to the consideration of the subject,

"Member States were clearly in agreement on the desirability of strengthening the United Nations and increasing its effectiveness". (A/43/732, para. 11)

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

It is in this spirit that the participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the State parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Warsaw on 15 and 16 July 1988, called on the General Assembly at its forty-third session

"to invigorate the search for a common approach by States to such concrete aspects of assuring comprehensive security as the increased effectiveness of the United Nations and its main bodies, the role of the Secretary-General, including in the field of regularizing conflicts between States by way of negotiation, missions of good offices, mediation or conciliation, and wider use of the institution of military observers and United Nations armed forces to maintain peace and consolidate the primacy of the international law in international relations." (A/43/486, para. 13)

In the course of discussions at previous sessions of the General Assembly the sponsors of the initiative presented a number of general considerations and proposals with respect to basic premises of the proposed concept. They have further elaborated and substantiated their proposals jointly and individually. Of special importance are the Soviet proposals on enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations and of its main bodies; more extensive use of United Nations peace-keeping operations; and the affirmation of the primacy of international law in inter-State relations, contained in the USSR aide-memoire (A/43/629), as that affirmation carries the mark of a State that, as a permanent member of the Security Council, bears special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Poland supports those proposals since the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping and the prevention of conflicts and promoting the primacy of international law and respect for obligations arising from international treaties and agreements are important elements of the foreign policy of my country. In the view of my delegation, common security combines disarmament

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

with the complementary process of strengthening and enhancing international law. Poland has consistently supported the United Nations in its peace-keeping role and has contributed personnel to United Nations peace-keeping forces.

The growing interdependence of all countries and the global nature of world economic problems call urgently for a search for constructive international economic co-operation, free from restrictions and limitations. The debt problem, which inhibits the economic growth of States and destabilizes international trade and financial relations, also requires the co-operation of creditor and debtor States so as to ensure a safer economic environment conducive to development. Similarly, the problem of ecological security, which is particularly acute in densely populated regions like Europe, can be solved only through multilateral efforts in the interests of humanity's survival and its stable development.

Therefore, the process of building a peaceful world, if it is to be successful, cannot be limited to military and political spheres but must also give due attention to its economic, ecological, social and moral aspects. Hence the importance of international co-operation in human rights and other humanitarian areas, which, while contributing to greater understanding and tolerance among people, can provide the psychological and moral prerequisites for the evolving concept of comprehensive international peace and security. A special role in that respect devolves upon the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted by the General Assembly 10 years ago, in 1978. That Declaration can play the role of a moral code of conduct of States in fostering peace-oriented attitudes in their citizens.

The achievement of an improvement in international security will not come by itself; all States are called upon to contribute to its elaboration. Of special importance are activities aimed at the promotion and implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. All States should pay special attention

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

to practical measures on disarmament, conflict- and crisis-settlement, economic development and mutual co-operation in all fields, protection of the environment, and promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

While international security has a global and complex dimension, that does not diminish the importance of regional endeavours, which may prove more successful under the appropriate conditions.

In our opinion the improved international situation created by the Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - enhanced the prospect of assuring the European States of greater security at a lower level of military force. This conviction is reflected in the Jaruzelski Plan in decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe. Let me note the following points.

First, the launching of the Jaruzelski Plan could be taken as an exemplification of the growing activeness of the medium-sized and small States in present-day international relations, which, while emphasizing the trend towards democratization of international relations, permits those States to bring their influence to bear on a number of issues that are of concern to them. This enhanced activity of smaller and medium-sized States has a consolidating effect on the improvement of international relations and helps to promote the dialogue.

Secondly, the momentum generated by the Stockholm and INF Agreements needs to be sustained by common effort in order to defuse the military confrontation in Europe. Without such an effort, without transforming the present politically stable but militarily dangerous situation into one that is stable on both counts, the positive tendencies now prevailing in Europe may again be reversed by the course of technological developments.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

Thirdly, we believe that there is a close interrelationship between subregional, regional and global security concerns. Although we concentrate our initiative on Central Europe, we strongly underline its linkages to the whole continent. Another important feature of the Plan, pointing to its comprehensive character, is that it covers all aspects of current military concerns: nuclear and conventional armaments, the elimination of asymmetries and imbalances, military doctrines and confidence-building measures. We consider such an approach appropriate also in other contexts, in other regions.

Fourthly, the Plan seeks new ways to address the complex problem of military security in Europe. However, although bold steps are proposed, they are based on, and do not undermine, the existing security system on the continent. Thus, while the status quo is the point of departure, the changes proposed are directed at improving the existing stability and at accommodating the variety of States' interests.

We deem this approach to world problems to be best suited for solving sometimes-acute political and military controversies in all regions of the globe. Far-reaching steps should always take the existing realities as a basis and should produce more, not less, stability. The radical changes in military preparedness should then lead to decreasing reliance on military force in the solution of international contradictions, so that all other elements of the security of States - political, economic, social, environmental - may assume the leading role.

During the last year Poland, along with its Warsaw Treaty allies, has been making strenuous efforts with a view to the early conclusion, with substantive results, of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

We are pleased to note that a statement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe adopted at the recent meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty largely reflects Poland's own ideas as contained in the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. We are looking forward to an early positive reaction to those proposals of our partners at the Vienna follow-up meeting.

The convening in Warsaw from 26 to 28 November 1988, at Poland's invitation, of a conference of leaders of the Parliaments of Europe, the United States of America and Canada, is an initiative without precedent. The main theme of the conference is "Co-operation in the name of the future".

While concentrating its attention on the creation of the conditions for durable security in central Europe, which is Poland's immediate security environment, we also support the initiatives concerning other parts of Europe, especially the Mediterranean region and the Balkans. We support in particular the initiatives aimed at transforming the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and co-operation. We have followed with attention all actions in this direction undertaken by the non-aligned States of the region, which are supported by the entire Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We are likewise in favour of convening a conference of representatives of the Mediterranean and other interested States to discuss all the initiatives concerning security and co-operation in the region.

We welcomed with genuine satisfaction the decisions taken by the first meeting of the six Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States, held at Belgrade in February 1988, which upheld the earlier initiatives aimed at transforming the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and proposed further measures with respect to co-operation in various fields.

By adopting resolution 42/93 the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed last year that

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

"the collective security mechanism embodied in the Charter constitutes the fundamental and irreplaceable instrument for the preservation of international peace and security".

By this year's draft resolution (A/C.1/43/74) the General Assembly would express the firm conviction that

"ensuring international peace and security requires concerted efforts and close co-operation among all States on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations in order to resolve issues of crucial importance"

facing the international community. In the view of my delegation, this necessitates continuation and intensification of the international dialogue, primarily within the framework of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly and their subsidiary bodies,

"in order to find 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", and thus to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security in all aspects.

We hope that this appeal and call for dialogue on crucial questions concerning humanity will meet with the broad and unanimous support of the States Members of the United Nations.

Mr. OLZVOY (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization to the past session of the General Assembly begins with a description of how all the people of the earth, carefully and patiently steering their small boat, have "come within sight of large sections of the shore". (A/43/1, p. 2)

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Thus, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, metaphorically describes the present world situation. Such events as the conclusion and implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first steps towards a peaceful settlement of region conflicts and the growth of the role of the United Nations in world affairs can be categorized as the first bricks of the foundations of a non-nuclear and non-violent world. Those foundations will be stronger if we add new building blocks.

The most important objective of our time is the strengthening of positive elements and the creation of a fresh impetus. We share the view of the United Nations Secretary-General that

"Complacency about the resolutions of complex problems that still face us is impermissible." (ibid.)

Yet we know that only 4 per cent to 5 per cent of nuclear weapons are destined to be destroyed and that, furthermore, the arms race is continuing on an ever more sophisticated technological level. We also know that so far no final settlement has been reached of many crises and conflicts, and efforts are being made to make use of the favourable opportunities which are opening up as a result of the first positive shifts in inter-State relations for the selfish purposes of certain forces, to the detriment of the interests of international peace and security.

International economic relations have long been afflicted by a chronic illness, for all kinds of efforts are being made to block the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which, inter alia, could lay the basis for strengthening the economic security of all countries. Ecological problems have become global in nature and affect the conditions necessary for the

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

existence of all life on Earth. Many other problems are awaiting solutions that take into account the interests of all members of the international community.

On the other hand, we welcome the fact that recently, for example during the forty-third session of the General Assembly, the prevailing spirit and desire of all United Nations Member States is to consolidate gains, make progress and improve the international climate by identifying common ground in the various positions on a constructive basis. We wish to pay a tribute to the realistic policy of the world's major Powers for their revolutionary spirit of the new thinking.

In welcoming the positive turn in world affairs and the favourable psychological atmosphere in the policy of States, the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view of the non-aligned States that

"the time has also come to consider seriously the changes in the doctrines, policies, attitudes and institutions required to manage a nuclear-weapon-free world order rooted firmly in non-violence and faithful to the principle of peaceful coexistence". (A/43/667, p. 14, para. 28)

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Such an approach underlies the proposal made by the socialist countries two years ago for discussion here in the United Nations of the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. This is an invitation to all Members of the United Nations to hold constructive discussions with a view to seeking ways and means to ensure universal security on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Backed by the policy of the new thinking and recognizing the realities and dangers of the nuclear age, the socialist countries are proposing that efforts be undertaken to produce a comprehensive approach to the issues of strengthening the international peace and security of peoples.

In our view, the major elements of the concept of such an approach are, inter alia, the following.

First, on the basis of the requirements of a nuclear and space age the authors of this proposal believe that the question of survival is the main priority for all mankind. In other words, we must prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and of war in general. Hence the question of ensuring security is relevant not only on the global or planetary level but also to all spheres of inter-State relations. Moreover, we note that in today's conditions resulting from the specific characteristics of a nuclear age the security of peoples can be guaranteed only if the possibility not only of the use of force but also of the threat of its use is fully excluded and if security can be ensured for all on an equal basis and with equal rights. The proposed concept of a comprehensive approach to international security rejects the traditional model of security based on military détente and restraint, which implies the deterrence of a potential enemy through the use of military force. The problem is that of the collective security of all States - I emphasize all States - not of measures undertaken by one group of countries against others.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Secondly, the concept of universal security is based on recognition of the priority of universal human values over narrow national interests in so far as ensuring security for all peoples is concerned.

Thirdly, it assumes the active participation both of all States and of public and social forces in implementing the right of each people to full and permanent security. That means that members of the world community must work, actively and jointly, for the cause of peace and security, taking into account each other's interests and with respect for the principles of international law.

Fourthly, universal peace and global security can be ensured only through the United Nations and on the basis of its Charter. First, what is needed is the strengthening of the peace-keeping and peace-making functions of the Organization, in order to make it a genuinely central organization for the maintenance of universal peace.

Fifthly, the strengthening of confidence among States is at the political core of the problem of ensuring universal security. One of the major ways to strengthen it in our view is the hitherto unprecedented intensive monitoring of the implementation of international agreements and instruments on the basis of glasnost, openness.

The concept of a comprehensive approach is based on the fact that the problem of survival is, first and foremost, a result of the emergence and sophistication of the arsenal of nuclear weapons and consequently can be resolved only as a result of their destruction. We are convinced that it is through disarmament that the military/political material guarantee can be established for a safe, nuclear-free and, in the last analysis, demilitarized world. Therefore what is of decisive importance is speedy progress in the bilateral and multilateral negotiations now under way on disarmament.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

In our time the security of States is defined not only in terms of the military/political aspect but also by economic, ecological and other parameters. Moreover, international humanitarian co-operation, in particular the protection of human rights, is an absolute requirement for a safe world. Therefore, we propose consideration of the question of comprehensive security in all its aspects, taking into account all the factors that enter into it. Here, the Mongolian People's Republic supports and favours the implementation of the important initiatives and proposals aimed at a restructuring of international economic relations on a just basis and the establishment of a global strategy for environmental protection and for the rational use of the Earth's natural resources. The Mongolian delegation attaches great importance to the implementation of the proposals of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic aimed at strengthening ecological security and at a comprehensive solution to problems of the environment. We support Malta's proposal concerning protection of the climate for present and future generations. A good addition would be consideration by the United Nations General Assembly of the question of the practical implementation of the right to a favourable living environment.

We are most gratified that dialogue has begun in the United Nations with a view to an in-depth consideration of the concept of a comprehensive approach to issues of international peace and security. That demonstrates broad understanding of the need to strengthen, through joint efforts, the foundations of security of all peoples. There have already been many interesting proposals regarding matters that are indispensable for the cause of peace and co-operation. Most of them, naturally, deal with the issue of stepping up and enhancing the effectiveness of the activity of various United Nations bodies. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view that the priority of a multifaceted revival of the United Nations is an important factor in a new approach to international

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

problems, one requiring a creative search for a balance of interests. There has been broad interest in the new ideas and proposals contained in the memorandum of the Soviet delegation. I am referring to document A/43/629. I believe they can become a good basis for the adoption of needed decisions on certain aspects of the activity of the Organization.

Mongolia hopes that the impetus generated during the course of multilateral dialogue will not only be preserved but will also be strengthened. We favour expansion and intensification of the atmosphere of non-confrontation and mutual understanding which, on the whole, has characterized the present session of the United Nations General Assembly. All this would allow for constructive consideration and the adoption of decisions on the proposals that have been made recently, aimed at strengthening security and co-operation and at enhancing the role of the United Nations in world affairs.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Political settlements and the prevention of crises are considered to be key elements in ensuring comprehensive security. Mongolia agrees with such a formulation of the question. Here our delegation supports the adoption at the present session of the General Assembly of a declaration on the prevention and elimination of disputes and situations which may threaten international peace and security and the role of the United Nations in this area. Such a step could promote broad use of the potential of the Organization in the peaceful solution of international disputes and conflicts.

We are pleased that in Asia, where there are still many flash-points, first steps towards their elimination can be observed. These include agreements on the settlement of the Afghan problem, the policy of national reconciliation and contacts between sides which are parties to the conflict, and so on. In other parts of the world, too, efforts are being made to defuse conflict situations. We believe that at the present time there is a need to study and generalize the experience of the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and that of international agreements which have already been signed. Such work is important not only from the point of view of ensuring effective implementation of existing instruments but also in defining the correct and best ways and means of resolving other conflict situations.

On this basis, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that it would be useful to establish, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, a consultative group on questions of the settlement of regional conflicts. Its members could be selected by the Secretary-General in consultation with States Members of the United Nations from among outstanding national officials and public figures, academics and prominent experts on international affairs. Their authoritative views and recommendations would be of significant assistance to the Secretary-General in his efforts to enhance the role of the United Nations

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. We consider this proposal to be in addition to what the Secretariat has done in terms of organization and practical work to strengthen United Nations activity in resolving regional problems.

The socialist countries, including the Mongolian People's Republic, have submitted for consideration by our Committee a draft resolution on agenda item 73. Its aim is the continuation and intensification of multilateral dialogue within the United Nations and its bodies

"to strengthen on a comprehensive basis the system of security laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security in all aspects". (A/C.1/43/L.74, para. 1)

We wish to see not only the holding of a dialogue but also the adoption of practical measures. Here I should like to emphasize that the basis for successful implementation of such actions is the overcoming of stereotyped thinking which is outdated in a nuclear age, as well as political policies which are also outdated. For example, it should be recognized that we need to acknowledge the policy of the peaceful coexistence of States as a universal condition for the survival of mankind, and we must recognize the fact that the existence of various social economic systems is not an obstacle to the unification of efforts of States to resolve the global problems facing mankind.

There is a need also for recognition of the principle of free choice by each people of its own course of development. We believe that, despite difficulties and obstacles, a spirit of co-operation and joint creative efforts will overcome differences, prejudices, suspicion and doubt. A beginning of this process is the present improved climate of international relations.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): I shall speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community on agenda item 73, entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security".

The statement we made on 23 November 1988 referred in the broader perspective to agenda items 71, 72 and 73, concerning international security.

The Twelve firmly believe that the challenges of our times make indispensable a strengthening of multilateral co-operation in all fields. The United Nations has a special role to play in connection with the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations and for the promotion of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Our objective is to strengthen the Organization as a framework for these activities. From the beginning the Twelve have welcomed the renewed interest in the United Nations indicated by those who introduced this initiative two years ago.

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74 does not stand alone. It has to be considered against the background of the history of the item. The Twelve were unable to support previous resolutions on the topic because they were not persuaded that it was necessary or even useful to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

There has been considerable evolution in the presentation of the ideas of the originators, as reflected in draft resolution L.74. The Twelve note with satisfaction that new formulations have been proposed to take into account their reservations about the establishment of a new, comprehensive system of international peace and security. However, indirect references are still being made to that notion and to related resolutions which the Twelve are unable to

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

support. Moreover, they fail to see the merits of reopening a discussion on such or similar comprehensive concepts which might seem to compete with the United Nations Charter system. Instead, the Twelve are in favour of focusing the discussion on concrete measures.

We believe that it is more effective to treat each issue distinctively and on its own merits so as to contribute to the achievement of international peace and security, as is already the case under the existing United Nations Charter system.

The Twelve have repeatedly stated that they are ready to co-operate with all Members of the United Nations to ensure that the Charter be fully implemented. The recent successful efforts of the United Nations amply demonstrate that the Charter and the security system it provides are strong and effective.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Many of the problems of the Organization result from the fact that not all Members fulfil their obligation to abide by the provisions of the Charter. We are convinced that if all Member States do so the common objective of maintaining international peace and security is attainable.

The Twelve have taken note with interest of the ideas for the enhancement of the role of the United Nations which the Soviet Union has advanced in various Committees during the forty-third session of the General Assembly and - some of them - in the Soviet aide-mémoire. They believe that these ideas constitute a further indication of the renewed interest of the Soviet Union in the United Nations. Some of these ideas are worth exploring, but outside the framework designated in agenda item 73, "Comprehensive system of international peace and security". The Twelve remain prepared to consider any concrete proposals to be formally introduced in the appropriate organs and contexts, according to their merits and within the framework of the Charter.

Far from rejecting it, the Twelve welcome the idea of a constructive dialogue with the sponsors in the various United Nations forums, with a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Twelve strongly believe that it is in the interest of all to hold and to pursue such a dialogue.

Mr. BIRCH (United Kingdom): The Permanent Representative of Greece has just spoken on behalf of the Twelve about the security issues before us in terms which my delegation fully endorses.

When I recall the situation in which we debated international security a year ago in this Committee, I feel much encouraged by the events of the last 12 months. The guns are silent in the Iran-Iraq war. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is in place. The Russians are leaving Afghanistan. We wish them a speedy and safe journey home. The two sides

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

are talking in Cyprus. Namibia is set on the road to independence. The Western Sahara is poised for the implementation of the United Nations plan. The peace-keeping forces of the United Nations have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is about to honour us with his presence. How and why has all this come about? What conclusions can we draw? What does all this say about the United Nations?

We cannot claim a single cause. Clearly, the readiness of the super-Powers to search for common solutions is a major factor. So is the weariness with war and suffering and confrontation. But high on our list must be the conclusion that the security provisions of the Charter are working better and that Member States have turned to the United Nations to help resolve their problems. Indeed, we believe the Charter is as relevant now to an ordered and civilized world as it was over 40 years ago. So we need to think very carefully and very fully about any proposals for new systems, or new concepts or new approaches that might undermine or rival the Charter.

For the past two years the Soviet Union has been promoting the idea that a new and comprehensive system of international peace and security is necessary. From the outset we welcomed this interest by the Soviet Union and its allies in the United Nations as an indication of their willingness to co-operate with the rest of the world community in finding international solutions to the problems of our time. But the Soviet proposals were couched in very general terms, yet terms which seemed to suggest that the Charter was not up to the job of maintaining international peace and security. So my delegation and many others reserved judgement on the comprehensive system and asked the Soviet Union to tell us in clear and precise terms what it was all about.

It has been a long and difficult process. I listened with great interest and attention to the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union on Wednesday.

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

We have been given an aide-mémoire (A/43/629, annex), statements, speeches and explanations, but the proposal for a comprehensive system, or approach, as it is now called, is still a web of generalities. The need for dialogue is stressed. Of course, we welcome dialogue, because dialogue is our business. But we need to know what we are talking about, what is the object of the exercise, and what we are being asked to endorse. My delegation remains unclear, and the generalities in draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74 do little to enlighten us. If the purpose is to discuss specific proposals and ideas for strengthening the United Nations, that is fine. But if the purpose is, as the draft resolution suggests, to promote an approach which reflects a certain view of inter-State relations and to impose this on the United Nations, we must have severe reservations.

The Committee will recall that last year the sponsors wanted a group of outside experts to prepare a report on the comprehensive system. But in the end, when the Committee made it clear that we did not need outside experts to make up our minds for us, the sponsors agreed that instead the Secretary-General should be asked to prepare a report, based on the views of Member States, on the ways and means by which the subject might be considered. We have that report before us.

If the subject of the comprehensive system had been of compelling interest and importance, we could have expected contributions to the study from many Member States. But in fact only the sponsors, the 12 members of the European Community, and one other State, Viet Nam, offered their views to the Secretary-General. The remainder of the membership did nothing, thereby underlining their lack of interest in the subject.

Yet we are again asked to consider a comprehensive system of international peace and security, though the more innocent-sounding word "approach" is being used to describe the same proposal. We certainly welcome the individual ideas that have been put forward in the process, and we are ready to discuss each and every one, on

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

its merits and in the right place. Some are good. Some are less good. We welcome, for example, the Soviet interest in peace-keeping, and agree that new ways must be found to finance this valuable field of United Nations activity. Let us talk about them. Then there is a proposal that we should pass more consensus resolutions at the General Assembly. We certainly like consensus resolutions, but not for their own sake. What counts is the meeting of minds. No country should feel silenced for the sake of consensus. We are not here to paper over cracks.

Despite what we have been told in the Soviet statement and in the statements today by the other sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74, we believe that the proposed comprehensive system or approach seeks to create an unnecessary complication in the handling of the various areas of our activities here at the United Nations. We do not believe, as it has been suggested we may, that security is only a military matter. Certainly not. But we do question whether it is helpful to suggest that there is a direct relationship between the different issues that we deal with here at the United Nations. Should we put droughts and hurricanes, over which man has little control, alongside the peaceful settlement of disputes, as part of international security?

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

In one of the recent explanatory notes about the comprehensive system we were told by the sponsors that

"The First Committee, as disarmament and security Committee, should remain the forum for a multilateral dialogue on a broad range of issues of comprehensive approach to international security, serving as a 'bank of ideas'. Proposals that are ready for practical consideration may, in due time, be discussed in appropriate committees."

My delegation takes a different view. We do not think that the First Committee should appoint itself the "ideas bank" of the United Nations, deciding when and where we may discuss various proposals. Instead, we are ready to look at each proposal and each idea on its merits and to consider them in the appropriate bodies and committees.

The Soviet Union knows of the reservations of many members of the Committee about the comprehensive system. Last year we said that we did not like the words "comprehensive system" because they implied rivalry with the Charter. We said that it was the behaviour of States, not the inadequacy of the Charter, that was the threat to international peace and security.

The latest version of the draft resolution takes some account of the points made to the authors. They have dropped many of the words and phrases that we objected to. But they have not relented in their drive to put on the United Nations agenda a comprehensive blueprint for the functioning of the Organization, which we think is unjustified and unnecessary. We have to remember what is in the record as well as what is in the draft resolution, and this adds up to a view of relations between States and the functioning of this Organization which we do not share. The packaging may have changed, but we cannot ignore the history of the parcel. The suggestion that the sponsors might be prepared to remove the references to earlier resolutions on the comprehensive system in return for support

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

for their draft resolution is in some ways appealing. But they are not offering to remove the material which is already on the table and which contains the ideas and the approach that we find unacceptable. A word change here or a deletion there is not enough.

On the other hand, we welcome new thinking by the Soviet Union and are gratified and encouraged by the co-operation and openness with which we can now discuss world problems. The atmosphere in this Committee, for example, has improved beyond recognition in recent years. It gives us hope for the future.

We are ready, anxious, willing, to discuss every idea that could make the United Nations function better in the cause of international peace and security. But we do not see that yet another annual debate in this Committee on the comprehensive system is a constructive way to pursue it. Nor can we accept any implication that the Charter is out of date and unequal to the task of maintaining international peace and security. The United Nations has had one of the best years since its foundation. Let us not undermine that foundation, lest we weaken the very cause we all believe in.

Mr. SCHMIDT (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. Chairman, other members of my delegation have already extended to you our congratulations. Let me seize this opportunity to tell you how much my delegation appreciates the most skilful and efficient way in which you are conducting the work of the Committee. The improved working atmosphere in the Committee is certainly due also to your efforts.

My remarks are in addition to the statements which the representative of Greece delivered on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community on 23 November and this morning, to which my delegation, of course, fully subscribes.

This year the United Nations has demonstrated - to the surprise of some, to the satisfaction of all - how effectively it can contribute to maintaining international peace and security. Under its auspices the Geneva agreements were

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

worked out, providing for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to allow the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination. We hope that the withdrawal of troops will be completed in time and that the Afghan people will then be able to form a truly representative Government. In the cruel war between Iran and Iraq a cease-fire has been reached. The Secretary-General is conducting negotiations to consolidate the cease-fire and to achieve the full and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). There are also encouraging developments in other areas of conflict, which I do not have to enumerate here.

In the minds of our peoples the United Nations has again become a sign of hope. It is considered the place where Governments have to give proof of their sense of responsibility, not only for the well-being of their nations but also for the problems which transcend national interests. Indeed, national interests have been more and more eclipsed by global issues in certain areas. My Government is convinced that, in the face of growing global problems and increasing interdependence, the United Nations has to play an ever more important role. And the Organization can do it if Governments are prepared to co-operate on the basis of the Charter.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that in the discussion about international security in the Committee there seems to be more awareness of the Charter system as a unique and irreplaceable instrument which should be cherished and not allowed to be called into question. My delegation also welcomes the fact that ideas which may be relevant to international security, but which do not fall directly within the competence of this Committee, have been put forward in the appropriate bodies.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

Last year my delegation had occasion to present to the Committee a few remarks about the security system of the Charter as we understand it. We pointed to the gap which still exists between the principles of the Charter and the realities of international relations. We added that concrete measures should be taken to bridge the gap. This time I should like to dwell a little more on one aspect of international security and discuss how the risk of the outbreak of armed conflict can be reduced. At the beginning of this statement I recalled the recent progress towards the settlement of certain conflicts. While there is, of course, reason for gratification about these developments, we should not forget how many lives are destroyed, how much suffering has to be endured and how much damage is done before the final settlement of such conflicts.

Should we consider that cruel reality as inalterable, should we regard wars and foreign invasions, aggression and suppression as inevitable because history - at least as most of us have studied it - is filled with such occurrences? Some might call that realistic, but it is not. The reality has changed and we are facing a new situation. Wars and armed conflicts have become more destructive than ever before. It is difficult to isolate them in a world of interdependence and shrinking distances. Weapons are becoming more effective and more wide-ranging. We have seen recently the cruel effects of chemical weapons, which were used in clear contradiction of the Geneva Protocol and other rules of international law. By its resolutions 612 (1988) and 620 (1988), the Security Council has unanimously condemned that use.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

On the occasion of the awarding of the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal to Sir Brian Urquhart, Foreign Minister Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany put forward some views about a new code of conduct in international relations and on replacing confrontation by co-operation in all areas of international relations. Referring to the view of Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar that a new co-operative internationalism is required to meet the challenges that the United Nations faces at the threshold of the twenty-first century, Mr. Genscher stressed the need to define the parameters of a co-operative security policy on a world-wide scale. He added that, on the basis of our experiences in Europe, the following elements seem to be of primary importance:

First, our common survival must be the objective of any security policy. The security interests of all others must be respected and any striving for predominance and supremacy must be renounced. That also excludes the striving for unilateral advantages.

Secondly, hostile perceptions should be dismantled and peaceful attitudes and respect for other nations should be enhanced. That applies not only to West and East, but equally to the relationship between North and South and the nations of the third world.

Thirdly, openness, democratization and humanization of societies and the world-wide implementation of the United Nations human rights covenants and of other commitments such as those undertaken by the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act are essential elements of a co-operative peace order. Not only are human rights indivisible, they are also not amenable to regionalization.

Fourthly, in our interdependent world we must create mutual dependencies in a positive sense. World-wide co-operation for mutual benefit must be enlarged and intensified and must be rendered irreversible.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

In that context, Mr. Genscher underlined the active and constructive role that regional organizations should play under the Charter. Their first and foremost task is to prevent wars in their regions. My Government, therefore, supports all peace initiatives originating from the regions directly concerned.

For the foreseeable future, an effective defence will remain the foundation of the security of our peoples. There is no other mechanism in place or in sight that could truly guarantee international security. There are also, however, specific non-military measures which can at least reduce the risk of conflict and war and which, taken together, can form a kind of additional safety net. Those measures are essentially of two kinds: first, measures aimed at strengthening stability in a very broad sense and, secondly, the use of diplomatic means to prevent the outbreak of conflicts and war.

In both respects, the role of the United Nations is crucial.

In order to increase stability, countries should first of all make available more information about their security policy, for example about their military strategy and the corresponding structure of their military forces. A Government that is hiding or even distorting information of that kind is bound to create concern and suspicion among its neighbours. Increased openness and a free discussion on security matters, as is customary in democratic societies, will avoid that and would also make it more difficult to prepare a surprise attack against any country, should a Government wish to undertake such an unjustifiable action.

One small step towards increased transparency is the contribution of national data to the United Nations standardized reporting system for military expenditures. My Government regularly provides very detailed information to that system, which has been in place since 1980. We urge other Member States to contribute as well.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

Increased transparency is also called for in the field of international arms transfers. My delegation notes with satisfaction that our idea of establishing an additional United Nations register of international exports and imports of weapons was taken up in draft resolution 43/L. 22, which was adopted by the Committee. Those measures should be considered as a modest beginning. More could and should be done.

Confidence-building measures are closely linked with the concept of transparency. They are, however, directed more specifically to certain military activities. Their immediate objective is to avoid misunderstandings about the motivation of such activities and thus to reduce and if possible to eliminate mistrust and fear. In so doing, they can also diminish causes of tension and the risk of hostilities. The draft guidelines for confidence-building measures that were elaborated on the initiative of my Government have now been endorsed by consensus in the Committee. We trust that the discussion on confidence-building measures will continue and lead to more concrete results. In Europe, a second round of negotiations should include the improvement and strict appliance of measures already agreed in Stockholm in 1986, as well as the elaboration of new confidence- and security-building measures.

In the view of my Government, the reduction of armaments or the ban of certain weapons should also help to establish a balance of forces and thus lead to greater stability and diminish the risk of war. To achieve that, the first step has to be the elimination of numerical superiority. The superiority of one country or alliance is bound to be a matter of concern to those who might become subject to attack. It might also, particularly in a period of crisis, constitute a temptation to those who dispose of superior forces. Moreover, numerical imbalance has a tendency to lead to a never-ending arms build-up. Its elimination is therefore an

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

important step towards stability.

The second step, then, must be the establishment by mutual agreement of a stable and secure balance at a lower level of forces. Those principles have been widely recognized, at least as far as concerns the situation in Europe, for which they were conceived. They will be the basis for negotiations on conventional arms control in Europe which, in our view, should begin as soon as possible. It would seem to be worthwhile to examine whether those principles can be applied to other regions as well.

My delegation believes that we might even go beyond those principles. We should first of all reflect on the purpose of military forces in terms of the security system of the Charter. According to Article 2 paragraph 4 of the Charter,

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from 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".

The use of military force, under the Charter, is legitimate only as a measure of individual or collective self-defence under Article 51 or - though under present circumstances it is a more or less theoretical case - within the framework of Article 42.

Member States, therefore, should structure their military forces in such a way that they do not go beyond defensive purposes. They should have a purely defensive strategy. My country and the alliance of which it is a member respect those principles. My country would like to see them respected and applied by the Soviet Union and its allies. That is our aim in the negotiations on conventional arms control that I mentioned before.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal Republic
of Germany)

But the limitation of military capabilities to defensive purposes is of universal importance. The size, equipment and deployment of forces should be geared toward the need for defence. Capabilities for launching surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive action should be eliminated. Weapons systems that are necessary for capturing and holding foreign territories should be limited by mutual agreement. Those are just a few examples of measures that could be envisaged. Their application to specific strategic situations has, of course, to be carefully studied.

Let me now turn to the second category of measures that I wanted to discuss. The use of diplomatic means to prevent the outbreak of conflicts is, of course, not within the primary responsibility of the First Committee. It was the Special Committee on the Charter that elaborated a declaration on the prevention and removal of threats to peace. My delegation was among the sponsors of that initiative, which, we hope, will be endorsed during this session of the General Assembly. Pragmatic ways have been found in the declaration of making more effective use of existing United Nations instruments. After the establishment of the Office for Research and Collection of Information, the Secretary-General, who has a vital role to play, especially in the early stages of a conflict, is better equipped for that function. In the search for practical improvements of the collective security system embodied in the Charter, we believe that fact-finding is a promising subject for further study.

(Mr. Schmidt, Federal
Republic of Germany)

That was also pointed out in the recent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. The parties to any dispute of course remain under the obligation to use the methods enumerated in Article 31 of the Charter to solve it by peaceful means. The Security Council can call on them to do so and, if necessary, take further actions. The declaration contains some interesting recommendations in that regard. I would add that my delegation considers the idea of dispatching observer missions for preventive purposes as one worth exploring.

Most of the measures I have just mentioned need further study and discussion. Let us take up that task, and let us not lose time by lengthy discussions about concepts of a more abstract nature. Let us begin to weave that safety net to which I alluded earlier, which may reduce the risk and ultimately prevent the outbreak of armed conflict. The task is enormous, and success might be uncertain. But we would not live up to our responsibility if we did not even try.

Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): The Mediterranean region, the cradle of three divine messages, enjoys a special status that sets it apart from all other regions of the globe, as it has from time immemorial. It is a region of geographical, political and cultural importance. The Mediterranean has always played an extraordinary role in the international arena and has had enormous influence on international developments. It is the crossroads of continents and sea-lanes, the crossroads of cultures and civilizations, the crossroads of three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa.

The unique importance of the Mediterranean region makes it a focus of attention not only for those who live there or nearby but also for those far removed from it. That has made stability in the region precarious. Indeed, it can be said that for very long periods the region has had no stability at all, and for most of history has been characterized by tension, crises and conflicts.

(Mr. Obeidat, Jordan)

The continuing tension in the region gives reason for grave concern, and its causes are well known. Foremost among them are the denial of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination; Zionist practices in the region; the tremendous extent of foreign interference in Lebanon; aggression against the sovereignty of States and interference in their internal affairs, as well as denial of their right to pursue the path of social and economic development they choose; and the foreign military presence, including the nuclear presence, of States distant from the region, not to mention the stockpiling of weapons, including nuclear weapons, there. The sources of tension in the region are well known - the question of Palestine, the question of the Middle East, the question of Lebanon, the question of Cyprus, and the use of force.

There is a need to take serious steps to establish security and stability in the Mediterranean region. Efforts must be made to eliminate the current hotbeds of tension existing there and to prevent a further arms build-up in the region. Attempts to deal with those hotbeds of tension within the framework of bloc interests intended to tip the balance towards one bloc or the other can only further negatively affect international peace and security. The delegation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan firmly believes that the conversion of certain regions into zones of peace and co-operation would be conducive to the elimination of tension and anxiety in those regions and to the promotion of international peace and security in general. My Government has therefore been following the question of the promotion of security, peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region with great interest and hopes it can be freed of tension, disputes, crises and outside interference.

(Mr. Obeidat, Jordan)

The Mediterranean region and security and co-operation therein are inextricably linked to security in Europe. The achievement of security and co-operation in either region would have an immediate and positive effect on the other. It would be an error to talk of European security without taking into account the security of the Mediterranean region, given the organic link between the two. Logic dictates that we recognize that the achievement of security in either region is contingent upon its achievement in the other. Many events have confirmed that what happens in the Mediterranean region affects the whole of Europe and other regions too.

The importance of that mutual influence has been reaffirmed in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and in the Helsinki document of August 1975. There, for the first time, provisions pertaining to questions of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean were adopted by the States members of the CSCE. The need to consolidate stability in the Mediterranean will continue to receive the attention of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. In that connection mention must be made of the efforts of the non-aligned Mediterranean States, which represent an effective contribution to achievement of the goal of making that region a zone of peace and co-operation. Since the meeting at Valletta, Malta, in 1984, the non-aligned States of the Mediterranean region have worked towards the achievement of that objective, which would lead to closer ties between the peoples of the Mediterranean and increased understanding and co-operation among them.

(Mr. Obeidat, Jordan)

The Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean States, in their statement adopted at Brioni in June 1987, affirmed the need for wider consultations and co-operation between the States members of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, on the one hand, and the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, on the other. The four documents adopted at Brioni pointed out the problems of the Mediterranean region and emphasized the readiness and seriousness of the non-aligned States in directing their efforts towards achieving stability in the Mediterranean region.

(Mr. Obeidat, Jordan)

They also reaffirmed the importance of a continuation and consolidation of dialogue between the non-aligned Mediterranean States, on the one hand, and the European countries, on the other, in particular those littoral to the Mediterranean. The Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries referred to that at their meeting in Cyprus last summer.

The close link between the security of the Mediterranean and that of Europe is based on security in the Middle East. The application of justice and the implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the United Nations resolutions relevant to the key issue in the Middle East, that is, the question of Palestine and the convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of the International Peace Conference, with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, constitute a good basis on which to proceed towards the main objective, namely, the achievement of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean and European regions.

Mr. INGLES (Philippines): This phase of our work deals with international security. To a certain extent it does not have the drama and tension of that phase which deals with disarmament. At the same time it is important because it deals with positive ways in which international security could be brought about.

Lasting security on an international and regional basis has eluded us for 40-odd years since the adoption of the Charter, although the maintenance of international peace and security is the main responsibility of the United Nations. While we have avoided a nuclear holocaust, tensions and conflicts still persist in many areas of the world, mainly among developing countries. Indeed, more people have died in those conflicts - in which conventional, biological and chemical weapons have been used - than in the two world wars that preceded them. Thus,

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

while conflict has been avoided between the major Powers, local wars still preoccupy the smaller countries of the world.

Such a bleak picture of the world must, however, be balanced by developments on the international scene that affect security in positive ways.

It is time that we looked at security from a different perspective. There are certain signs that the two super-Powers may be ending a period of quasi-cold war confrontation, as is evidenced by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and current negotiations to cut strategic offensive weapons by 50 per cent. Attention is not focused on certain regions of the world and on how common security might best be achieved in such regions. In addition to the Mediterranean and the Levant, a system of security is also sought for such areas as the Indian Ocean, the South Atlantic and the Asia Pacific region. Antarctic, the oceans of the world and outer space are the common heritage of mankind that we wish to see free of conflict.

Other highly significant developments have taken place, as in the Iran-Iraq conflict, which is winding down, and in Afghanistan where foreign forces are being pulled out. Winds of change blow also over the Middle East. The declaration of independence of a Palestine State by the Palestinian National Council, as well as its acceptance of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), opens the door for the possibility of an international conference on the Middle East and ultimately to the resolution of the Palestine question. We know that progress towards such an end will be arduous and difficult, but it is an opportunity that should not be overlooked.

In the southern regions of the African continent, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and Namibia also promises to bring an end to long-standing conflicts which have plagued that area. We laud the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard, as well as those of countries that have aided him in this endeavour.

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

In Central America, efforts by countries of that region to find a common and indigenous solution to their security problems also deserve to be commended. In this connection we regard the adoption of a draft resolution on conventional arms transfers in our action on disarmament items as being a positive step that may help not only that region but other regions as well.

In our own area of South-East Asia, we would also hope to see an end to foreign occupation and intervention in Kampuchea that would facilitate the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia. The willingness expressed by Powers outside this region to deal directly with this problem as a matter of priority is a positive sign. Countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations will spare no effort to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

Beginning next year we shall see a rapid succession of international conferences and preparatory meetings that will in effect lay the groundwork for international security for the 1990s and the next century.

From 7 to 11 January, the Government of the Republic of France will host the Paris conference dealing with chemical weapons. This will give further impetus to the ongoing negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva towards a chemical weapons convention. We may recall that the 1925 Geneva Protocol was concluded after chemical weapons had been used during the First World War. We may also hope that the long-awaited chemical weapons convention will serve as a stronger reiteration of the Geneva Protocol and as an effective instrument to bar any further use of these terrible weapons in the future.

Next year we shall also witness the preparatory meetings for the review of the non-proliferation Treaty and for the Conference on the Indian Ocean, respectively, which are scheduled to take place in 1990. We would also hope that steps will be

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

taken, beginning next year, to amend the partial test-ban Treaty in order to bring us finally to a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

We can thus see that our agenda is full of measures to assure international peace and security in the long run. Our experience during the past decades, however, show us that treaties and conventions have not been enough to provide us a safety net for all the conflicts and tensions occurring in the latter half of this century.

Two issues of special importance - verification and compliance - came up during our debate on disarmament, which indicate the vigilance and political restraint that nations must exercise even after treaties have been signed and ratified.

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

The role of the United Nations cannot be underestimated in this regard. A multilateral agency on verification under the auspices or within the existing framework of the United Nations would serve to shore up the system of security based in part on treaties and conventions.

It is perhaps a symptom of our era that disarmament occupies the greatest part of our time in the First Committee. Much effort, thought and rhetoric are spent on how to curb the arms race. It must be admitted, however, that we have not yet had much success in that endeavour either. Perhaps it is time that we approached this problem from another angle. Disarmament, after all, is a negative effort. It is concerned with subtraction, reduction and, ultimately, total abolition of armament. Disarmament is thus equated with peace.

We have been told also that the arms race is a symptom rather than a cause of the confrontation between the super-Powers. In the light of the emerging détente between the super-Powers, it may be time that we moved on to a broader and more positive aspect - namely, that of security to attain peace. In its original meaning, security signifies freedom from danger, care or fear. Although, in our world, disarmament may be an important component of security, disarmament is not the end-all or be-all of security. Disarmament is only a piece of the mosaic that constitutes the fabric of our society.

Security in its widest sense is based on many factors, involving not merely political and military aspects but also economic, social, cultural, environmental and humanitarian aspects. The economic factor has become more urgent and compelling because of the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor nations. Security for the developing nations means the establishment of a new international economic order so that they may share equitably in the world's wealth and resources. The world cannot remain at peace half rich and half poor, just as it cannot long survive half free and half in chains. Indeed, security is the common

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

denominator that underpins the purposes of the United Nations embodied in Article 1 of the Charter.

Our basic anchor in our discussion of security will therefore be the overall collective mechanism established by the Charter to achieve the purposes of the United Nations. At the same time, our reflection on security will have to include other aspects that may not have been self-evident at the time of the adoption of the Charter.

When the Charter was written, its authors were not fully aware of the awesome destruction that a new kind of arms - the nuclear weapon - would be capable of unleashing. Who would have envisaged then that this new weapon could wipe out life on this planet in a matter of minutes? Today we have 50,000 of that new weapon to contend with. The 50 per cent reduction of existing strategic nuclear weapons targeted for this year and the elimination of such weapons by the year 2,000 will not do away with the problem of our security. Already they are talking of a new generation of nuclear weapons. Moreover, even with the total abolition of nuclear weapons we shall still have to reckon with chemical, biological and conventional arms.

At the time of the creation of the United Nations, more than two-thirds of the nations represented in this forum today were not yet present to manifest their will. Who could have foreseen all of their security concerns and requirements within the present vastly changed framework of the United Nations? Today we are also beset by problems that no one then could have accurately foreseen - for instance, the problems of pollution and the depletion of the ozone layer, massive famine and catastrophic weather patterns, upheavals and expulsion of peoples from their native lands. Running like a golden thread through these problems is the theme of common survival, which can best be dealt with only by common effort.

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

It is time we put aside our blinders and broke loose from the customary wraps of self-imposed limitations. We must approach the problem of security in a more positive, realistic and comprehensive way.

As we reflect on the ramifications and implications of security at this stage of our debate, we shall find that there will inevitably be an overlap with the concerns of other Committees. Security is, after all, a seamless web. Achievement of security in the political and military fields will naturally have repercussions on and consequences for security in the economic, social, cultural, environmental and humanitarian fields. The converse is also true. Security may therefore be achieved by applying our energies in as many fields as possible. The locus will, however, still have to be this Committee, whose primary concern it is.

My delegation is therefore in favour of a more realistic, comprehensive and integrated approach to strengthening international peace and security, always bearing in mind that this would have to be done in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Such an approach should take into consideration the concerns as well as the initiatives of regional and subregional groups. Innovative and more effective use of existing Charter provisions, such as the role of the Secretary-General and of regional arrangements or agencies in monitoring and maintaining international peace and security, is called for. The function of international co-operation under the aegis of the General Assembly in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems should be developed creatively in order to lessen tensions and conflicts which impair friendly relations among nations and threaten or undermine international peace and security. Needless to say, strict observance of the principles of the United Nations and of international law includes respect for the decisions of the International Court of Justice.

(Mr. Ingles, Philippines)

I wish to conclude my remarks by saying that in previous times security was often thought of as something that was imposed from without or from above. Thus, we had the ancient security of empires such as the Pax Romana, or the Concert of Powers that existed in the nineteenth century. These were shattered in the twentieth century, and the United Nations is still picking up the pieces from where the League of Nations left off. But world peace and security still hangs on the precarious balance of terror between the super-Powers. As we approach another millenium, we are faced with the challenge of achieving peace and security with the consent and for the benefit of all mankind. That way lies human fulfilment in dignity, equality and freedom, through universality and common allegiance to the United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to remind delegations that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under agenda items 71, 72 and 73 is 6 p.m. today.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.