



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 50th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ROCHE (Canada)

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- 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 10.35 a.m

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 and 73 (continued)

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

Mr. ZAHID (Morocco) (interpretation from French)% **This** year, conditions for the maintenance of *in terna* tional peace **and security** have improved, **thanks, inter alia,** to the **progress** made in bilateral negotiations on disarmament and to the promising **prospects** for the peaceful settlement of certain regional **conflicts**. The United Nations, **whose bodies** entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and **security** have been working better, has made a notable contribution to **those gains**. In that **respect** the award of the Nobel **Peace Prize** to the United **Nations** peace-keeping **forces is** a well-deserved **tribute** to the **United Nations as** a whole for its **tireless efforts for** international **peace** and security.

The historic 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** and the **negotiations** under way on a **substantial** reduction of strategic **weapons** offer hope for a reduction of the threat posed **by** nuclear weapons not only to international peace and security but to the very **existence** of human civil **ization**. That threat will **continue** until nuclear weapons are totally eliminated.

Although the power to destroy all life on our planet **is** in the hands of only a **small** group of nuclear **Powers**, reaponability for the maintenance of **international** peace and ecurity **falls** on the whole international **community as** a result of the commitments entered into by all States on **becoming members** of the **United Nations**. Under Article 1 of the Charter they have undertaken **to:**

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

"maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

Given that collective responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, all States have the duty and the right, within the framework of the United Nations, to contribute to disarmament efforts, whose well-established relationship with international peace and security flows from the very language of the Charter. Here bilateral and multilateral efforts must complement each other.

The maintenance of international peace and security also implies relaxation of international tensions and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In this context, the agreements on Afghanistan, the end of the war between Iraq and Iran, prospects for peace in South-East Asia and the prospects for Namibia's independence augur well for international peace and security. The international community should spare no effort to consolidate those gains and to promote new progress, by extending them to other regions where the situation is still causing concern, as is the case in the Mediterranean and Middle East regions.

The Kingdom of Morocco, a coastal State on the strategic waterway of the Straits of Gibraltar, attaches great importance to turning the Mediterranean basin into a zone of peace and co-operation.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

To achieve that goal, the Kingdom of Morocco, which is committed to the principles of dialogue, good-neighbourliness and constructive co-operation, is sparing no effort in collaboration with both the non-aligned Mediterranean countries and the Maghreb countries to promote and strengthen co-operation between the Mediterranean countries in all areas of common interest.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The **strengthening of peace and security** in Europe is **closely linked to co-operation** in the Mediterranean region. **Hence, the process of strengthening peace and security in Europe must take into account the concern of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, which should be involved in that process** in one way or another.

In the **subregional framework** the **Kingdom of Morocco** is working **very actively and tirelessly to achieve a successful outcome of the efforts made by the Maghreb countries in creating and unifying the Greater Maghreb, the bases for which were created when those countries acceded to independence.** The **achievement of Maghreb integration will also contribute to strengthening peace and security in that part of the Mediterranean region, as well as to its economic and social development.**

The **progress made along those lines in recent months, in keeping with the wishes and aspirations of the peoples of the region to build their joint future in solidarity and harmony, has been encouraging.**

The **instability** being experienced in the **Mediterranean region** is being **aggravated by the explosive situation that exists in the Middle East because of the continuing Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and because of the denial by the Israeli occupying authorities to the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to self-determination and to the creation of an independent State on their national territory.** The **intifada** that has been in **progress since December 1987, as the Secretary-General stated in his annual report on the work of the Organisation,**

"has vividly demonstrated the danger of stalemate resulting from inability to agree on a negotiating process." (A/43/1, p. 4)

The **Kingdom of Morocco welcomes the declaration of independence of the Palestinian Arab republic, which represents a decisive step in the struggle of the**

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

Palestinian people to regain their right to self-determination and independence. It also represents significant progress towards a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict, the solution to which depends upon a just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Al-Quds al-Sharif, and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination and independence. These are the conditions for the re-establishment of co-operation and coexistence among the peoples of that region and for the strengthening of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. The convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East advocated by the United Nations remains the most appropriate framework within which to achieve these goals.

In a world characterized by ever growing interdependence the maintenance of international peace and security can no longer be viewed solely in terms of its military aspect. It must also be viewed in its economic and social perspectives, as well as in those of the environment and human rights. Global security and world peace should be based not only on disarmament and the peaceful settlement of international disputes but also on the advancement of economic and social development, the protection of the environment, and respect for human rights. Non-military threats to security, as was rightly stressed in paragraph 18 of the Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development, "have moved to the fore front of global concern".

The United Nations Charter remains the most appropriate instrument for achieving global security on a world level, and the United Nations the most suitable framework.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The **delegation of Morocco** would like to reaffirm that **respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as a more effective use of United Nations machinery, are essential and fundamental elements for any strengthening of international peace and security.** In that framework we believe that the role of the Secretary-General and the authority of the Security Council should be strengthened. The support of the entire international community is required to achieve that.

We are convinced that the improvement in international relations will benefit the functioning of the United Nations bodies entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security and allow for the implementation of the system of collective security set forth in the United Nations Charter. Moreover, the beneficial effects of the new atmosphere that has emerged have already become evident, as the Secretary-General pointed out in his report, where he states:

"On matters of international peace and security, the principal organs of the United Nations have increasingly functioned in the manner envisaged in the Charter. The working relationship of the Security Council and the Secretary-General has rarely if ever been closer. I am thankful for this as also for the recent improvement in international relations at the global level that has opened new possibilities for successful action by the world body."

(A/43/1, p. 2)

The Moroccan delegation also welcomes that state of affairs, while looking forward to the consolidation and continuation of the present trend, in the interests of advancing international peace and security and of broadening international co-operation in all spheres for the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. TANASIE (Romania): The consideration of agenda items 71, 72 and 73 gives us an opportunity to make a further analysis of the activities of the United Nations in an essential sphere, namely, the strengthening of international peace and security.

Any debate on international security is inevitably influenced by the present international situation. It should be stressed that the present situation in the world is characterised by *the persistence* of serious and complex problems. Despite positive steps, no radical turn has been taken towards peace, security and co-operation, increased mutual confidence or respect for the independence and sovereignty of each State.

The existence of vast stocks of nuclear arms throughout the world calls for a new way of thinking about and approaching the problems of war and peace. The fundamental problem of our era remains that of halting the arms race and of engaging resolutely in disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, and the defence of the supreme right of peoples and individuals to peace and life and to live in freedom and dignity.

The analysis we are conducting this year with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security can only lead to the conclusion that the present international situation is far from reassuring. In that respect the draft resolution on the subject submitted by the delegation of Yugoslavia, together with other delegations, including Romania, contains an objective assessment of the international situation and calls for the taking of relevant steps, in keeping with the spirit of the Declaration. The same is true of the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Malta on security in the Mediterranean area. Romania fully supports those important initiatives.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

In that connection we welcome the idea that the democratization of international relations is an imperative necessity in enabling, under conditions of independence, the full development and independence of all States, as well as the attainment of genuine security, peace and co-operation in the world, and we stress our firm belief that the United Nations offers the best framework for the promotion of those goals.

(Mr. Tanarie, Romania)

My delegation also shares the desire of non-aligned Mediterranean countries to intensify the process of dialogue and consultation with European Mediterranean and other European countries aimed at strengthening efforts towards the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in the region, thus contributing to the stabilization of the situation in the Mediterranean region.

Although the picture does not seem very bright, we note with satisfaction some encouraging signs that have appeared recently on the political horizon, giving rise to legitimate hopes for a brighter future. We refer, first, to the conclusion between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America of the Treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles - the INF Treaty. The Romanian delegation also welcomes the agreement reached between the two parties to negotiate a major step in nuclear disarmament: a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

Efforts have also been made and some results obtained in finding solutions to various armed conflicts. These are well known. Let me cite one example. The recent decision by the Palestine National Council, including the proclamation of an independent Palestinian State, which Romania has recognized, has opened the way for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East conflict with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and Israel, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council.

I have mentioned these elements to support the statement that today there are realistic conditions for tackling the problems of international peace and security in a new way.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

An approach along those lines is promoted by the initiative on a comprehensive approach to strengthening international peace and security. My country is a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74, submitted under agenda item 73. We think there is a better awareness of its content, and explicit recognition that this initiative is aimed at promoting peace and international security taking into account now developments in our world. There is an almost general recognition that nuclear weapons and the space weapons now emerging are radically changing the terms of any discussion about war and peace, security, economic and social development, and co-operation in all areas of international life.

We find ourselves facing a process the scope of which is unprecedented in mankind's history. The universalisation of the United Nations is nearly complete. Moreover, quantitative universalization has been accompanied by a new development process manifested in the qualitative universalization of our Organization: The agenda continues to grow year after year and is becoming more diverse, covering nearly all matters of interest to the international community at the present time.

Despite its drawbacks, which are too well known to dwell on in detail, the world Organization demonstrates that States, in particular small and medium-sized ones, believe that the United Nations is the sole forum capable of assuring a democratic solution to major problems of concern to all countries. As the fundamental document and constitution of the world Organization, the Charter of the United Nations provides the legal and institutional framework for both the qualitative and the quantitative universalization of this unique forum. In the present situation, the question which arises concerns not whether the Charter should be amended or kept unchanged but rather the need to find new ways and means of making full use of the world Organization's immense potential.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

It has been recognized that international security is an indicator of the state of relations among States in all fields of international life: disarmament, economic and social development, environmental protection, the humanitarian and human rights and strengthening the role of the United Nations and multilateral diplomacy in considering and finding solutions to the vital problems of today's world.

The multilateral framework is inseparable from efforts aimed at building a system of international peace and security capable of harmonizing, within and through the efforts of the World Organization, the efforts and actions of all members of the international community to find solutions to problems of legitimate general interest.

There is no way other than that of multilateralism to resolve today's international problems. Thus we find an objective need which flows from the complexity of the stepped-up development of science and technology, the radical changes which have taken place in the life of national societies, the profound changes that characterize the world political arena, and the emergence of a great number of States as a result of the implementation of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

At the same time, there is a need to implement the postulate of the equality of rights of all States. Without respect for the legitimate interests, independence and sovereignty of all States there can be no genuine equality capable of ensuring bilateral and multilateral international co-operation of a diverse nature. But such equality is also a requisite for strengthening international peace and security.

(Mr. Tanasie , Romania)

The **system of peace and international security should therefore be strengthened on the basis of the full observance of the principles of international law, in particular respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, non-recourse to the use of force or the threat of use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, equality of the rights of peoples including their right of self-determination, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, co-operation among States, and true respect for the commitments assumed by States under the United Nations Charter.**

As regards the component elements for strengthening international peace and security, we must admit that the political aspects of disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, have priority. The question may be asked, Why is this so? It is because, in a nuclear age, weapons cannot guarantee the security of any State, even a State that has such weapons.

My delegation has already had the opportunity to discuss the subject in detail in the course of the consideration of the group of agenda items on disarmament. The achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict international control would be an important element for a real peace and for effective international security.

The burning, pressing question of the peaceful settlement of disputes is a matter of major concern to the international community. Deeply concerned at the persistence of numerous conflicts that seriously threaten international peace and security, Romania has consistently promoted its well known initiatives on the peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Tanais, Romania)

Given the complexity of the international situation, greater relevance should be attributed to economic problems in a comprehensive approach to security for the future. We believe that equal economic security must be assured through a restructuring of international economic relations, including their financial and monetary aspects, on a democratic basis of equality of rights in the interests of all States, including the developing countries, the establishment of a new international economic order, the elimination of underdevelopment, and a comprehensive, just settlement of the problem of foreign debt. The reallocation of resources to the needs of economic and social development, following real disarmament, would greatly contribute to achieving those objectives.

(Mr. Tănăsie, Romania)

Romania is also concerned about the ecological aspect of international peace and security. That is why Romania requested the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Responsibility of States for the protection of the environment and prevention of environmental pollution as a result of the accumulation of toxic and radioactive wastes, and strengthening of international co-operation for the purpose of resolving the problem".

Concerning the humanitarian aspects linked to international security, stress must be placed on a realisation of the fondest hopes of men and peoples regarding fundamental human rights - the right to life, the right to work, education and culture, social equality, the equitable distribution of the riches of society, participation in public leadership - the full flowering of the human personality. The solution to all problems affecting human rights and fundamental freedoms should be effected first within the national framework and represents an essential attribute of State sovereignty.

Finally, as emphasized in document A/C.1/43/L.74, there is a need to strengthen further the role and effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of full and universal implementation of its Charter, in order to ensure international peace and security on a comprehensive basis covering all States and all aspects of their interrelationship.

Mr. LAWSON (Togo) (interpretation from French): Twelve years from its end, the twentieth century has both an impressive and painful record as regards man's tendency to destroy man, a tendency that is reflected most notably in the loss of human life resulting from onslaughts on national and international peace and security.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

Indeed, recent statistical data indicate that more than 90 per cent of the human lives lost in the course of the 471 armed conflicts that have occurred since 1700 were recorded in the twentieth century.

And yet, we live in a world in which, thanks to the invaluable lessons drawn from the two world conflagrations, the acquisition of weapons is supposed to keep the spectre of war at bay for ever by ensuring that the world has a level of security favourable to balance.

With the development and proliferation of State entities and the creation of the United Nations, the quest for security responds to legitimate needs, namely the preservation and strengthening of the independence and sovereignty of States, the prevention of threats to peace and the promotion of multifaceted and mutually advantageous relations of friendship and co-operation among nations.

While articulating those legitimate goals, the Charter of the United Nations quite rightly provided for a restriction, namely that the establishment and maintenance of peace should be achieved with as little diversion as possible of the world's human and economic resources to weapons production.

However, these days we are witnesses to one of the most glaring paradoxes of our time. For, while it was at first recognized as a noble objective, the quest for security has served as a pretext and justification for a military rivalry that has proven to be a powerful factor of insecurity by causing armaments to be diversified and their destructive capacities to be intensified.

Instead of the collective security system provided for by the Charter serving as a fundamental framework of action for all States Members of the United Nations, the security policy conceived and put into effect by certain Powers has been based for the most part more on national or bloc considerations than on a global perception of the properly conceived interests of the international community.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

Am a rebuttal of the objective criticism that the emergence of nuclear weapons has considerably complicated the efforts to preserve international peace and security by giving rise to the risk of the annihilation of human civilization, it is generally argued that the nuclear deterrent has the merit of safeguarding the balance between the blocs and protecting the world against the unleashing of a new international conflagration.

Seductive as that argument may be, it represents the trees that prevent us from seeing the woods. For the nuclear deterrent has prevented neither the almost exclusive localization of armed conflicts in the developing countries nor the participation of a number of militarily strong and nuclear-weapon powers in more than a hundred conflict and military operations outside their territories.

In addition, that doctrine has strikingly encouraged military competition, to the point where there exist today nuclear arsenals whose strike force is entirely out of proportion to potential targets. In its turn, the sense of vulnerability to nuclear weapons underlies the search for a way to strengthen strategic defence systems.

Furthermore, the nuclear deterrent has enabled its possessors to wield a military and strategic superiority over other States which they are anxious to preserve and even to strengthen by pleading for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons without in return providing non-nuclear States with guarantees against the use or threat of use of such weapons.

The logic deriving from the merits attributed to the nuclear deterrent thus dictates that it should be equally shared, in other words that all States should be in a position to acquire nuclear weapons in order to shelter themselves from any threat of aggression, interference or intervention.

In his latest report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General said:

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

"The developments of the past months have not been fortuitous. They are the result of diplomatic activity sustained over the years by the United Nations and recently intensified. On matters of international peace and security, the principal organs of the United Nations have increasingly functioned in the manner envisaged in the Charter. The working relationship of the Security Council and the Secretary-General has rarely if ever been closer". (A/43/1, p. 2)

Furthermore, while welcoming the fact that the recent improvement in international relations at the global level has opened new possibilities for successful action by the world body, the Secretary-General notes that millions around the world have had a gratifying demonstration of the potential of the Organization and the validity of the hopes they place in it.

In my delegation's view, such objective and perceptive judgement, deriving from a great nobility of vision, call for us profoundly and seriously to reflect on future action to be undertaken to extinguish all hotbeds of tension, to eliminate the risks and causes of confrontation and thus to strengthen international peace and security.

The positive evolution experienced in the past three years in international political relations confirms the validity of the three following demands linked to the strengthening of the world balance.

First, owing to the growing and multifaceted interdependence among nations, security - whether national, regional or international - cannot be conceived in exclusively military terms, nor can it be compartmentalized according to different motivations or short-term needs. In that respect, the success of efforts to preserve and strengthen international peace and security remains linked to a global and balanced vision and thus transcends conceptions of security based almost exclusively on national or bloc considerations.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

Secondly, the system of collective security provided for by the Charter constitutes a solid foundation on which all efforts to prevent threats or end disruptions of peace should be built. In that approach, the political will of States is a powerful lever for breaking deadlocks and promoting the political settlement of disputes and conflicts.

Thirdly, in effectuating an improvement in the international climate by establishing mutual trust favourable to both peaceful co-existence and international co-operation, true disarmament is capable of having a lasting and positive impact on international peace and security.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

The bold nuclear disarmament initiatives taken recently by the two super-Powers have the merit of highlighting the valuable contribution that militarily significant States can make to world peace provided they meet wide the political, ideological and strategic considerations which fuel military rivalries.

In the interests of peace and international security, it is important for these initiatives to be the beginning of an irreversible process of relaxation of tension and reversal of the unbridled arms race. This is a process which should involve all other militarily significant States.

The persistence of regional conflicts and the deterioration of some of them are a major challenge to the capacity of the Organisation to promote international peace and security.

The relative successes and favourable prospects achieved in recent efforts at peaceful settlement of such conflicts perfectly illustrate the tremendous possibilities of effective implementation of the collective security system provided by the Charter.

The potential for settlement of crises possessed by the United Nations lies above all in the role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, in respect for the aims and principles embodied in the Charter and in peace-keeping operations.

With respect to the role of the Security Council, paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter provides that

“In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf”.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

To enable the Security Council to carry out these duties, specific powers have been accorded it under Chapter8 VI, VII, VIII and XII, respectively on the pacific settlement of disputes, action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, regional arrangements and the international trusteeship system.

The extensive powers entrusted to the Council are designed to favour the full exercise of its responsibilities in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the political and ideological confrontation between the two blocs and the undulying interests involved have been reflected within the Council in the form of frequent use of the veto, thus paralysing action by the Council much of the time.

This explains why there has been such deadlock and, indeed, a worsening situation in a number of different conflicts. It suffices for one permanent member to be involved in a conflict to make it impossible for the Council to take any decision on it.

However, in the quest for a solution to the war between Iran and Iraq, the spirit of constructive dialogue, cohesion and unity of action displayed by the permanent members of the Security Council in co-operation with the non-permanent members, marks an outstanding precedent in terms of impact and efficiency. Thus, for the first time in history, by its resolution 598 (1987), adopted unanimously, the Security Council called on the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire and withdraw all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries. The rest is now known.

The lesson to be learned from this is that major crises can be considered in terms of finding a beginning of the solution once all members of the Security Council work together to overcome their political and ideological differences and address only the security interests of the international community.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

In order to improve East-West relations, it is vital for the Council to direct its attention towards increasing efficiency in terms of finding just and lasting solutions to conflict situations and ways of preventing threats to peace. With that approach in mind, the holding of consultations periodically may be extremely useful.

Under Article 99 of the Charter, the Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

The effective implementation of that Article involves at the same time constant vigilance, clear-sightedness and the total availability of the Secretary-General and active co-operation between him and the Security Council.

In this respect, we have been able to see the political flair, the dynamism and the efficiency with which the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuellar, has discharged his responsibilities. His total commitment to finding the solution to regional conflicts has already been reflected in his great capacity for timely use of the improvement in East-West relations to bring about peace initiatives.

Furthermore, his tireless mediation efforts have had the merit of setting up favourable conditions to begin the process of political settlement. His resolute action reflects the invaluable contribution that he can make to the settlement of crises if he has the steady support of all Member States of the United Nations and especially the members of the Security Council. Strengthening of his means of action and intervention would increase the capacity of the Organisation to promote international peace and security.

Scrupulous respect for the aims and principles of the Charter is also a very necessary tool if we are to avert threats to the international peace and security and to extinguish hotbeds of tension.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

In this respect it is important that in a number of cases the parties to a conflict have finally conceded that the quest for a military solution is impossible and that the United Nations is the appropriate framework for peaceful settlement.

It is also significant that there is an increasing recognition that the normalisation of relations in a conflict and the restoration of peace depend on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States concerned, and thus the cessation of acts of interference and aggression, withdrawal of foreign troops, and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

Peace-keeping operations are another important aspect of the means of action available to the United Nations in favour of balance in the world.

The recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations represents more than international recognition of the outstanding role that about 10,000 soldiers from 35 Member States play in difficult circumstances, sometimes risking their lives, to preserve peace in zones where it is threatened. This distinction is also a well-deserved tribute to the 550 men and women who have perished in the service of peace and international security in the framework of three operations.

Peace-keeping operations have sometimes been the subject of criticism because of their relatively high cost and the observation that even if pursued indefinitely in certain cases, there is still a chance that they may not lead to the elimination of the inherent causes of the conflict concerned. However, it must be recognized that these operations have lowered the level of tension. Furthermore, the path of peace has sometimes been a long one because of the complexity of certain conflict situations. But the peace-keeping operations have been able to continue and are a concrete manifestation of the commitment of the Organization to the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

These operations therefore require increased support from Member States and every effort to rationalise them should strengthen their efficiency, particularly by enabling observers to exercise their responsibilities without hindrance. This involves, among other things, increased assistance from the parties to the conflict.

The wind of change which has been blowing for some time through international political relations is favourable to the strengthening of international peace and security.

The beginning of nuclear disarmament, the fact that the Geneva Accords are now being applied, the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq, the pursuit of the efforts of mediation in Central America, the progress which has been achieved in the implementation of the Stockholm Agreement and the positive developments in quadripartite negotiations on Namibia are likely to favour the relaxation of tensions and increase international trust.

For these positive results to be preserved and built on and for the prospects of solution to questions that are still outstanding to be realised, it is essential in future for all peace efforts to be based on increased trust and co-operation to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security.

In this respect, the possibilities for action available to the United Nations, including the regional centres for peace, disarmament, security and development should be fully utilized.

In any event, we should never lose sight of the fact that the advent of a more peaceful and safer world also calls for the elimination of hunger and poverty, a settlement of the problem of the massive external indebtedness of the developing countries, the prevention of environmental degradation, the total and permanent

(Mr. Lawson, Togo)

eradication of apartheid and scrupulous respect for the right of peoples to
 ● rlf4mtrrmination .

In our search for a better world to live in, let us ● trivo to give the lie to
 Shakespeare's assertion that ● ☉☉◆□✠◆☒ is the *chief* enemy of mortals.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt): When thr United Nations war ● mtablimhrd 43 year s
 ago, Member States committed themselves to ● wing ● uoooooding generations from the
 scourge of war, to reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights, to establishing
 conditions of respect for obligations arising from international law and to
 promoting ● oaial progress and better standards of life. For those ends, it is
 ● mmitial that Member States unite and co-operate to maintain international peace
 and ● rourity,

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

This year the world community - and in particular, the United Nations - have made successful efforts to solve a number of international problems, thereby providing a better political climate for co-operation between States and demonstrating the strength and effectiveness of the United Nations Charter and the collective security provisions it embodies. None the less, some important problems in different parts of the world still remain and require increased international co-operation in seeking solutions to them.

The international community should acknowledge that positive developments have occurred and that it is through them that we tangibly reaffirm our full commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and its faithful implementation. One such positive development, the first of its kind in a long time, took place not long ago, with the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 598 (1987). This indicates a growing awareness by the international community in general, and by the Permanent members of the Security Council in particular, of the dangers of neglecting regional conflicts.

This recent renaissance of faith in the Charter of the United Nations on the part of Member States should not be temporary. It should add impetus to further efforts and additional co-operation between the Members of the Organization, in particular the Members of the Security Council.

Egypt would like to underline the importance of sustained efforts by the United Nations and its Secretary-General in contributing to solving a number of disputes. In this regard I applaud the invaluable contribution to international peace and security made by the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Egypt pays a special tribute to them and shares with the rest of the world appreciation of the recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to them. We have never doubted their efficiency in maintaining peace, particularly since the first of these forces were deployed in the Middle East.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

While aware of their inherent right of self-defence, Member States must aim at preserving and promoting peace at the lowest possible level of armaments, while at the same time ensuring that their security is not jeopardised. A military build-up by one State can constitute a threat to another and jeopardize not only its security but that of the international community as a whole. Real examples of that were seen not long ago in various parts of the world where cases of conflict, if left, could have involved the interference of outside forces, thus turning the security of the world into a situation of chaos and despair.

We are also conscious of the different political systems adopted by States. However, their differences should in no way constitute a hindrance to our endeavours to strengthen peace and security. Security can be attained only through collective measures recognizing concerns of others and within the context of global effort to maintain international peace and security.

Our inability to redress some conflict situations has been due to a large degree to the absence of political will on the part of some Member States to interpret properly the collective security provisions in the Charter. Part of the stalemate can also be attributed to the ineffectiveness of the Security Council in handling some contemporary problems threatening international peace and security and to the lack of co-operation between its members. The Security Council, as the organ of the United Nations with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must rise to its obligations and interpret its role effectively.

In its pursuit of a better and secure world, the international community must continue to take concrete actions, in a manner that accords with the basic purposes of the United Nations Charter. In this regard Member States have to respect and

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remain committed to the United Nations Charter and its collective security provisions. The Charter should remain the only basis of the international security system.

The permanent members of the Security Council must continue to show political will, as they did not long ago, and increase their co-operation in order to allow the organ with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security to fulfil its functions.

There must be respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples - most specifically granting the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people, a right which is constantly denied. A few days ago the State of Palestine was proclaimed. Egypt recognizes that State and thinks its proclamation is a positive step on the road to the attainment of peace and stability to the region. To this end, Egypt urges the world community to provide every assistance possible to permit the Palestinian people to live on their own land peacefully and to determine their future freely in accordance with the rules and norms of international law. If we all declare our full commitment to the United Nations Charter, how can we abide by one part of it while neglecting another? Consistency in our action is required.

Last year Egypt stated that it would contribute constructively to the discussion of the item entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security". We attempted to explain our position during the deliberations. Our basic reservation on last year's draft resolution, particularly at the voting stage, was that it seemed to be putting the cart before the horse, implicitly agreeing that such a system was necessary before actually discussing it. This year's draft has gone a long way towards redressing this problem. We shall, however, continue to have comments regarding draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.74 and shall constructively convey these comments to the sponsors. I should, however,

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like to **emphasize** that we **are considering this** item in the **context** of making the **present** United Nations **system more effective** and **not, at this stage at least,** with a view to **establishing any new system.**

I turn to another important **subject on our agenda - "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region"**. My delegation would like to **stress** the importance **it attaches to the issue. Egypt is of the belief that security** in the Mediterranean **area cannot be dealt with independently** from that of **Europe .** **Egypt** has time and time again **stressed the importance of this interrelationship** in various **forum.** However, in the **Mediterranean region** there remain **spots of tension, which** if left and neglected **could lead to dire results** having pernicious consequences **for international peace and security as a whole and for the security of the States** of the area in particular.

In this context, **Egypt** believes that the **need to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot** be ignored any longer. **Rejection by some of recognition** of the legitimate **right of the Palestinian people to live inside secure borders and in peace can only** lead to a **continued aggravation of the situation** in the area.

Egypt would also like to **state** that the **Stockholm Document** should not remain **one addressed only to Europe, but should be adopted** to have a **more effective** character for the **purpose of intensifying the security of States - those in Europe as well as the other Mediterranean States.**

We **must** remain committed to the **principles** embodied in the Charter **if we all wish to preserve a successful United Nations** capable of dealing with any kind of **problem, no matter the degree of intensification.**

Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan): At the present session of the General Assembly the First Committee is continuing to consider items 71, 72 and 73, with regard to international security questions, in a new international atmosphere. The work of the General Assembly at its forty-third session has testified that a useful and constructive dialogue has replaced confrontation, with approaches aimed at finding appropriate solutions to the global and regional problem facing mankind. As I indicated in my earlier statement, a number of positive developments that have taken place in the past several months have had a significant impact on the relaxation of tension in the international arena.

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The main purposes of our Organisation, as enshrined in its Charter, are to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems.

Despite the unfortunate events of war and destruction during the past four decades, the Organisation's success in carrying out its main purpose is remarkable. We applaud its efforts, and we hope that the joint and constructive efforts of all Member States may further contribute to enhancing the role of the United Nations in building a secure world in which all nations, large and small, can live in peace and on justice.

There is a general recognition that the problem of international security is a complicated one. The various aspects of the question need hard work and political determination on the part of all States. The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan believes, as do many others, that the problems of disarmament, development and security are globally connected. It should be noted that some questions relating to those interdependent problems continue to be discussed in various United Nations bodies and at multilateral, regional and bilateral levels outside the United Nations.

When we talk about a comprehensive system of international peace and security we mean a world without nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, a world without violence, without domination, without exploitation or superiority. Therefore, we strongly believe that the security of one can only be assured through the security of all. Unfortunately, different concepts with regard to that issue still exist. My delegation does not share the concept of security through further escalation of the arms race. On the contrary, high levels of armaments, both quantitatively and qualitatively, put the world in a more dangerous situation. There is no need to bring figures and facts before the Committee to convince it

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that the present level of nuclear weapons in the world is enough to destroy our entire planet several times over.

There is also no need to repeat that military expenditures, particularly in the developed countries, which are intended to increase their military capability through the creation and purchase of new and sophisticated weapons, continue to swallow up tremendous financial and military resources while millions of people, suffering from poverty and shortage of food, clothing and medicine, are deprived of normal life. Any step taken in the sphere of disarmament should therefore also promote development. The financial, natural and technological resources now devoted to military purposes should be reallocated to improve the standard of living of the poorest people. In our view this is an extremely important element in strengthening international security.

We think that the present non-confrontational approaches, rising above individual and selfish interests in the international arena, are capable of leading our discussions to a more fruitful conclusion.

With the improvement of East-West relations and the emergence of favourable conditions for the achievement of significant progress in the process of nuclear disarmament, verification and the settling of regional conflicts, a new era of hope has begun. Nonetheless, with regard to regional conflicts it should be noted that the situation still remains tense in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in Central America. The peoples of those regions, like all others, need peace and justice.

We should like to express our deep concern that since the entry into force of the Geneva Agreements relating to Afghanistan on 15 May 1988 the hopes of our people - and, indeed, of the international community - for the restoration of peace in the country and the region have not yet materialized. The reason for that

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situation is the non-implementation of the Geneva Agreements and their open violation by the other main party to them. We believe that the strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements constitutes a firm basis for the improvement of relations in South West Asia and the cause of international peace and security. Much remains to be done for the realisation of those hopes.

The state of the world today requires that all states, large and small, developed and developing, regardless of their social, economic and political backgrounds, act more responsibly to build a comprehensive security system on an equal basis for all.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted in 1970 and the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations unanimously adopted last year laid down the bases for concrete efforts in favour of the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express the view that, with regard to the problem of international security, the Committee should focus its efforts on removing differences and working out a universal concept of the issue acceptable to all Member States.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.