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New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 44th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. **Rana**

(Nepal )

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

**AGENDA ITEM 67 (continued)**

QUESTION OF **ANTARCTICA:GENERAL** DEBATE, **CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS**

The CHAIRMAN: The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64 have proposed some changes in the text, and the revised text will therefore not be available until this afternoon. Owing to that fact and to the fact that consultations on draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.1 are continuing, I propose that the Committee take action on draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.1 and A/C.1/45/L.64 in the afternoon of Wednesday, 35 November.

AGENDA **ITEMS** 68, 69, 70 AND 12GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL  
**SECURITY** AGENDA **ITEMS**REPORT OF **THE** ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section **D**)

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to make a few comments on international peace and security, an area of grave concern and interest to all of us.

The improvement of the **international** political environment that began to be discerned at **the** previous **two** sessions **of** the General Assembly has continued to **gain** momentum leading to the historical juncture at which the world community now finds itself. We all have to admit that, particularly since last year, **the** global situation has undergone changes greater than anyone could have imagined a **few** years ago. As has rightly been said, both in the plenary meetings of the General **Assembly** and **in** this **Committee**, the current session will go down **in** the history of the United Nations as the first post-cold-war session.

All delegations have remarked that the cold war was over, thus heralding the emergence of a **new** political order. East-West confrontation was **seen** as giving way to dialogue and co-operation favouring progress in arms control and disarmament, in resolving **certain** regional conflicts, in enhancing the peace-keeping and peacemaking role **of** the United Nations. The dramatic changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the newly achieved stage **of** European integration were also underlined as remarkable achievements in the process of consolidating peace, freedom and democracy. These historic far-reaching accomplishments were credited, in part, to **the new** major-Power dialogue and partnership and to the role played by the President **of** the **Soviet** Union, **Mr. Mikhail** Gorbachev. Some delegations pointed to the struggle **of** all peoples for a better life and a **more secure** planet as an important factor in transformng the international climate.

While highlighting these encouraging trends, Member States also warned against

(The Chairman)

any **complacency and** against overlooking the sources of international conflict. Indeed, other troubling developments **existing in the world** remind us that the road to global peace and **security** is not very smooth and that much more **remains** to be done. The **recent events** in the **Gulf** were considered to be a serious reminder to the world community that the end of East-West rivalry does not automatically lead to the elimination of threats to peace and security and its future is not without uncertainties. Similarly, many countries underlined the fact that existing economic **disparities**, the flaring up of ethnic conflicts and excessive spells of nationalism, violation of human rights, degradation of the environment, the use of drugs and other negative phenomena, **all** point to the urgent **need** for global action to remove **such threats** to peace and security. It was the common view that the United Nations should be further strengthened as the central mechanism of the international community for meeting the new challenges and **seizing** the opportunities **of** this post-bipolar world.

It is against such a new backdrop that the Committee's deliberations will unfold on items relating to international security. As members are aware, this year there are three items on the agenda. The first one is entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", which has been considered since 1981. Another item is "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", which this body has been **considering** since 1969. The Declaration itself was adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the Assembly, which means that at this session we are commemorating the twentieth anniversary of this important document. Finally, the Committee will consider the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in **Peace**", an important issue that has been on the Committee's agenda for a decade. Our debate on all these items will take place

(The Chairman)

on the basis of the reports of the Secretary-General contained in documents **A/45/713**, A/45/516 and Add.1, and A/45/575.

As representatives will note from the comments made in their replies, member States underlined the fact that in spite of the recent changes in the world the issues on our agenda have still retained their **topicality**. They expressed the view that given the present reality **of** the termination of the cold war with all its negative consequences, the newly emerged international circumstances would favour, more than in the past, the implementation of the principles and objectives of the documents relating to international security.

In **this regard** I should like to point out that at this session many delegations have expressed, forcefully, **the** opinion that the end of the cold-war period and the improved East-West relations have revealed the fragility of the security **system** based on **the** military factor alone. They presented, in this regard, a wealth of ideas and suggestions aimed at putting into effect a new global security **system** as envisaged in the United Nations Charter. Delegations have frequently referred to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which noted that a comprehensive approach to security was axiomatic if the unfolding opportunities emerging as a result of the deep changes in the world were now to be realized.

It is worth mentioning that the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted at this session a memorandum (A/45/626) entitled "**The** United Nations in the post-confrontation world" containing a wide spectrum of proposals reflecting its conceptual approach to the strategic role **of** the world **Organization** in the new structure of international relations. Likewise, in a joint **statement** entitled "Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World" (**A/45/598**),

**(The Chairman)**

also submitted at this session, the United States and the Soviet Union pointed to the special attention they attach in the United Nations to promoting practical, multifaceted solutions to the issues of international peace and security, political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. In this context, the two major Powers stated that they would pursue co-operation with all Member States in the attainment of a number of proposals which, in their view, could strengthen United Nations efforts in promoting international peace and security in all its aspects.

**(The Chairman)**

I should like to point out that, **besides** there two proposals, a good number of **suggestions** have been put forward, explicitly or **obliquely**, by other **delegations**, reflecting their **positions** on the need to shape a new concept of international security. **Many** delegations hold that all **countries** must participate in the **process** of defining the elements of a new concept of global **security**, which in their opinion **should** be based on the United Nations Charter and **take** into account the characteristics **and specific** security **needs** of the **States** of each region and the **cultural identities** of their peoples.

I conclude by pointing out, at the **risk** of repeating **myself**, that the **new** situation **existing** today and the new **spirit** of co-operation at the United Nations and **elsewhere** provide a unique, unprecedented opportunity to look anew and seriously at the **question** of international **security** in all **its aspects**. It is my belief that new **times** demand new approaches and **perceptions**. **This session** is one of **those** rare **historic** times for Member **States** when they can engage **in** dialogue, putting forth **fresh** ideas and imaginative **suggestions aimed at strengthening** the role of the United Nations in fulfilling **its** main responsibility of maintaining peace and **security** in the world. To the extent that global peace and **security** is the concern of all **nations**, the formulation and fashioning of a new response to the world situation that has emerged should **also** be the **preoccupation** of **us** all.

**Mr. MALQJA (Albania):** delegation is participating in the debate on agenda item 68, "**Strengthening** of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", with the **responsibility** of a country belonging to the region, in order to make its contribution to furthering the **establishment** of peace and security there and to strengthening the spirit of co-operation between **its** peoples.

The Albanian delegation notes that our Committee and the General Assembly **have**

**(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)**

for long been **seized** of, and have seriously considered, the **situation** in the Mediterranean region. **We** cannot fail to welcome the good offices of our **Organization**, and especially of the Secretary-General, in promoting the positive trends in the region.

The positive changes currently **taking** place in international **relations** have led naturally to a more favourable atmosphere for the advance **of the** process of strengthening security and co-operation in our region.

**The** security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with **the** security of the European continent and the Balkans and in general with international peace and security throughout the world. **The** developments taking place **in** Europe aimed at freeing it from the spirit of blocs and confrontation and building a new European structure, as endorsed at the Paris summit, should therefore contribute to a relaxation of the climate in this region, especially in the direction of disarmament.

It is an old aspiration of the Mediterranean peoples **to** turn their region into a zone of peace, security and fruitful co-operation, free from conflicts and confrontation. But, regrettably, contrary to this aspiration, we note that this basin continues to have a huge military presence. **The** military presence of foreign fleets is undoubtedly a **permaneat** cause **of** coacera **for** the Mediterranean peoples, especially in the light **of** increasing military activities and the recent deployment to the region of more naval units. They create aew dangers to peace and security and the general equilibrium in the region.

There is therefore **strong**logic in the persistent demand **for the withdrawal** from the Mediterranean of **foreign** fleets and **any** foreign military **presence** whatsoever and for the cessation **of** all their military exercises, **It is** the duty **of all the countries Of** the region **aot** to allow any foreign forces to use their



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lands, territorial waters and air space for military activities against countries of the region or beyond. Albania, as in the past, will in the future, too, continue to do its share in this 'direction.

Aware of the existence of some hotbeds of tension in the region, the Albanian delegation holds that their exacerbation ● oriously threatens regional peace and security. Experience testifies to the well-known fact that such conflicts have brought nothing good to the peoples of this region or of others; on the contrary, we have been witness to the tragedy, numerous victims and huge material damage that have plagued many countries. In this context, the plight of the Palestinian people and the people of Lebanon, the Gulf crisis and so on bring to light the dangerous consequences of the use of force against peace-loving peoples and countries for the purpose of occupation.

Our view is that concrete steps should be taken by the respective Mediterranean peoples and States themselves, without foreign interference, to remove sources of tension on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. It would be commendable if the logic of confrontation and the use of force gave way to a spirit of dialogue, good understanding and co-operation,

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always welcomed with great pleasure all the efforts made on the Mediterranean plane to create a peaceful climate in this region. As a Balkan country, we similarly hold that a peaceful and stable Balkans directly benefits Europe as a whole and the Mediterranean. In this connection, I should like to bring to the Committee's attention the Joint Communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States, who met in Tirana on 24 October 1990. It says, among other things:

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**"A stable Balkans, which is advancing on the course of current developments, is a factor of peace and security for the entire Mediterranean region and Europe." (A/45/701, appendix I, p. 4)**

**We recognise that only co-operation in a peaceful and constructive climate can lead to the strengthening of economic, commercial and cultural links between peoples. The Mediterranean peoples have many things in common and to share for the mutual benefit of each other and other peoples of the world.**

**With these aims, motivated by good will, my country has participated in numerous Mediterranean activities of different kinds during this year, some of which I shall mention, Albania was represented by a delegation at the Nicosia Ministerial Conference on the environment in the Mediterranean last April and at the meeting of the United Nations Environment Programme in Athens, which discussed the plan of action on the Mediterranean. Likewise, we sent a delegation with observer status to the meeting in Palma de Majorca on the Mediterranean in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process.**

**In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the wish and the readiness of my Government to do its best to contribute to the advantages that our regional co-operation offers for peace, stability, progress and the well-being of our peoples.**

Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): Since this is the first time that my delegation has addressed the Committee, Sir, I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your well-merited election to the chairmanship of this very important **Committee**. I also extend my congratulations to the other **members** of the Bureau.

At the outset **Of my statement**, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for the excellent studies that have been made available to us on so many critical issues of disarmament and international security, including those on nuclear weapons, on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and on verification.

**Many** speakers have already referred to the profound political and democratic **changes** that are taking place in many parts of the world, particularly Central and Eastern Europe. Malta, as a European country, welcomes these changes and supports further measures to promote the **process** of entente and political unity in Europe. **We** strongly believe **that**, while the new democratic forces in Europe have unleashed new challenges, it is more possible now than in the past to anticipate and predict **developments** and therefore plan for peace in the future,

The evolutionary change that has **been unravelling** in Europe is also **moulding** a **new** East-West relationship, strengthening co-operation, causing the abandonment of Power-bloc confrontation, ushering in new **forms** of confidence- and security-building **measures** and leading to openness and transparency in negotiations, particularly on arms limitations and disarmament issues, which are all leading to a unified security framework in Europe.

International security, which for a **time** was under the strong influence of the bipolar dimension, is once again being perceived from its original political perspective as **lined** by the founding fathers of this **Organization** and **embodied** in the **purposes** and principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

The settlement of conflicts by peaceful means rather than by the threat or use of force has gathered momentum. Peace initiatives in Central America, Asia and Africa are a significant indication of the potential that exists for finding solutions by peaceful means to regional problems that are still threatening international peace and security.

Approximately 11 months ago President Bush and President Qorbaohrv met on a stormy day in the sheltered harbour of Malta. While outside the harbour the waves were lashing furiously against the breakwater and the bastions that had sheltered so many generations of Maltese and their friends, the Presidents of the United States and the Soviet Union, on board the liner Maxim Gorky, in a calm and friendly atmosphere provided the world with a historic turning point, ending the cold war and opening avenues to disarmament negotiations.

Since then there have been a number of bilateral and multilateral efforts that have enhanced the prospects of building a common security system, reversing the arms race and reducing the military arsenals in many parts of the world. My delegation sincerely hopes that this trend will help us to establish new concepts of security requirements that will permit all individuals to live their life in dignity, peace and freedom.

Positive developments have undoubtedly been evident in the negotiations that have taken place in Vienna during the last 30 months on conventional forces in Europe and that were successfully concluded a few days ago. The agreements reached in this area have strengthened not only the position of groups of countries but also that of individual States, laying the foundation of greater security and stability in Europe. The signing in Paris last week of the first treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe is a unique event in the annals of disarmament negotiations. Malta welcomes this historic agreement.

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Simultaneously, the Vienna Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process has been building on the 1986 Stockholm document for the purpose of developing additional measures of a confidence-building nature with a view to enhancing security and reducing the dangers of military confrontation in Europe.

The institutionalisation of **security** arrangements in Europe established by the Paris Conference of States participating in the CSCE has cemented the efforts of all European countries to establish a new security order in Europe. This major achievement has created a mechanism for conflict resolution and the settlement of disputes. In this respect, Malta feels honoured, at this particular period in history, to be acting as host next January to the CSCE meeting of experts on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.

In another area, we note with satisfaction the commitment made by the United States and the Soviet Union to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, chemical **weapons**, and missiles capable of carrying such weapons, as well as their agreement to destroy a major part of their stockpiles and not to produce chemical weapons. At the same time, we are all aware that the threat of use of chemical weapons is still a source of concern to all peace-loving countries. Malta therefore joins other delegations that have stressed the need to resolve the outstanding problems without further delay in order to conclude negotiations in the Conference on **Disarmament** on a universal convention banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons.

The specific draft resolutions on confidence-building **measures** and regional **disarmament submitted** this year for consideration by the Committee are a welcome source of encouragement to those **countries** that have consistently urged the need for dialogue on and co-operation in adopting practical measures to establish and strengthen **confidence- and security-building measures** in their region. It is our

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firm belief that progress achieved in reducing armaments in Europe could be applied to building confidence in other regions of the world, thus enhancing their stability and security.

Many delegations have appropriately highlighted these aspects in their interventions in the Committee. Indeed, Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States, has pointed out that

"new concepts of security at a regional level can be developed, notably through the establishment of conciliation mechanisms as well as of innovative forms of multilateral co-operation in the field of security." (A/C.1/45/PV.3, p. 17)

Malta welcomes this statement, knowing quite well that the European Community has been in the forefront in promoting regional co-operation. In this context, Malta, too, along with other countries, has for the past nine years been a principal sponsor in this Committee and in other international forum of the importance of intensifying efforts in promoting peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

In the face of the favourable political environment, Mediterranean countries expect that the positive developments in Europe will have a longed-for positive impact on the region, which remains hampered by some of the most intractable problems. We feel that the pressure released in the political and military policies in Europe will make it possible to direct more attention to the Mediterranean region neighbouring the southern flanks of Europe.

As already stated, Malta, together with other Mediterranean countries, has spared no effort in the search for security and co-operation in the region. Malta, which forms an integral part of the Mediterranean region, has participated actively during past years in important meetings intended to contribute to the enhancement of peace, security and development in the Mediterranean.

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The Declaration on the Prospects of Global Dialogue on Security and **Co-operation** in the Mediterranean, adopted at the Third Ministerial Conference of **the Mediterranean** Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in June 1990, confirms the sincere desire of these countries to work closely with their partners in the search for peace and stability in the region. In their final **communiqué** the **Foreign** Ministers also expressed the will of **the Mediterranean** non-aligned countries to **enhance** their efforts in order to contribute actively to the elimination of all hotbeds of tension in the region, to the promotion of just and lasting solutions, in accordance with the Charter and resolutions of the **United** Nations, and to the **elimination** of the conflicts and crises that are still threatening regional peace and stability.

The first meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the **10** countries of the western Mediterranean, held in **Rome** in October 1990, also declared and manifested the desire to foster a new model of relations in the Mediterranean region as a **whole, aimed** at achieving stability and prosperity and providing support for democratic processes, economic reforms and **development** in the countries of the **region**.

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In many ways this co-operation was reiterated at the meeting on the Mediterranean region of the CSCE participating States, held in Palma de Mallorca in September-October 1990. The meeting broke new ground in that it was the first CSCE meeting on the Mediterranean that all the other Mediterranean countries not participants in CSCE agreed to attend. Many of these countries contributed actively to the meeting throughout all the sessions and on a variety of subjects. A record number of international bodies, all of them members of the United Nations family, attended and also contributed actively.

Security in the Mediterranean was also discussed and an overwhelming majority of States felt the need to express the importance they attach to this question. While the report of the meeting does not reflect fully the interest shown in the security question, the conclusions are a definite step forward on the two previous CSCE meetings on the Mediterranean in this respect.

It is significant that, in reaffirming the commitment of the CSCE participating States to, and in stressing the continuing relevance of, the provisions of the CSCE concerning security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, the meeting took note of the suggestion made that, when circumstances allowed, a meeting outside the CSCE could take place that, inspired by experiences of the CSCE process, could discuss a set of generally accepted rules and principles in the field of stability, co-operation and the human dimension in the Mediterranean.

A common theme that has emerged from the meetings I have just mentioned has been the widespread agreement on the proposal for convening, once the conditions are met in the region, a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) and the readiness of the Mediterranean countries to enter into discussions on that proposal, and in particular on the procedures to follow it up.

The Government of Malta looks very positively on and supports the proposal for



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convening a **CSCM**. Without any doubt, the meetings held in Algiers, Rome and **Palma de Mallorca** have registered the wish of the littoral States of the Mediterranean to hold such a conference.

We must underline the political necessity of embarking as early as possible on a **CSCM process, particularly** in view of the still existing factors of instability, as well as the problems facing the Mediterranean and the continuing tensions in the region. The unresolved questions of Cyprus and Palestine have a direct bearing **on** the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries and regions.

The General Assembly has repeatedly recognized that security in the Mediterranean is closely linked to security in the rest of **Europe** and to **international** peace and security. Time and events have again and again shown that turmoil and tension in the Mediterranean continue to jeopardize **efforts** to bring closer together the Euro-Mediterranean countries.

The seriousness of events in the Gulf region and the reverberation<sup>8</sup> they are having in the Mediterranean have further underlined and perhaps rendered imperative the initiation of a fruitful dialogue between countries in the **north** and those in the south of the **Mediterranean**, as well as with those that are involved in this very important **sea** and crossroad of civilizations.

While we acknowledge the geopolitical and cultural differences existing in the **Mediterranean**, the dimension of **security** and co-operation should **be allowed** to be fully explored by the countries bordering the **Mediterranean Sea**. These **countries** hold **great** potential *for* strengthening the links for co-operation not only among **themselves** but also with other European **States**.

This can be achieved by cohesive and well-co-ordinated **measures** in the region, perhaps through a Council of the **Mediterranean**, a proposal **Malta** has put forward at the **Algiers Non-Aligned** Ministerial Meeting. This proposed **mechanism** would bring

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together the parliamentarians of the political entities in **the** region by their attending regular sessions and also **having** a committee of ministers to monitor and direct **developments** in the Mediterranean.

It is precisely "developments" that has become the magic word for security in the **Mediterranean**. **Indeed, besides** enhancing security through arms limitation and **disarmament** measures, what **will have an** important bearing on security in the Mediterranean in the future is the elimination of disparities in the levels of social and economic development **between** the northern and southern countries of the Mediterranean region. It must be **recognized** that economic **and** social security have to move with the same pace **and** vigour as other areas of military security. Regional military security must complement and not replace economic, humanitarian and environmental security.

**In** this respect, the **question** of co-operation is comprehensively and positively covered in the **CSCE Palma de Mallorca** report. Early implementation of the agreements reached at **the meeting** relating to social and economic development, the **protection** of the ecosystems and the environment, as well as other areas, would enable the **Mediterranean** countries of the south to catch **up** with the **advanced economic and social structures** of those of the **north**.

**My** delegation believes that the United **Nations** can significantly contribute to **matters relating** to the **Mediterranean**, in particular through the **monitoring** of events in **the Mediterranean**, by engaging in liaison with the **specialized** agencies of **the** United **Nations** system, regional **and** subregional **commissions, organisations and institutions, and** by **analysing how agreements and** measures being undertaken in **Europe and surrounding** regions could influence regional security in the **Mediterranean** also.

**(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)**

The improved relations in international affairs and the end of the cold war have opened up new avenues for establishing, within the framework of the United Nations, new opportunities for advancing negotiations on nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons that would enhance international security,

yet it is recognized that the world is far from being a safe place in which to live. The Comprehensive Study on Nuclear Weapons reminds us in its conclusions that, while the quantitative growth of nuclear-weapon arsenals has been stopped, qualitative improvements of nuclear-weapon systems continue without significant restrictions in a few areas. We will therefore need to work, with confidence and trust, in our search for durable solutions to those problems and issues that still confront humanity.

In Europe much has been achieved. Contributions to the ever-increasing transparency in negotiations and understanding have given a new political objective to the action and behaviour of States in international affairs. The seminar on security concepts and military doctrines, held earlier this year in Vienna, and the "open skies" negotiations held in Canada and Hungary have introduced new dimensions in disarmament discussions which should enhance prospects for future negotiations on verification.

Perhaps the now acceptable concept of "open skies" can lead to the other concept of "open seas" and help to dispel the distrust that still prevails in the sphere of naval armaments. In this regard we note with interest the memorandum circulated by Sweden on naval armaments and disarmament. Malta has always given careful attention to maritime questions, and the issue of naval armaments is certainly a concern that merits the full attention of the international community.

Much has been written and much has been said; yet much still has to be achieved. In an interdependent world where disarmament and development are

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intertwined, actions to reduce military expenditures and to allocate resources thus gained ♦ □ • □ □ ■ □ ○ × □ and social development must become a priority resolve for this decade. As I have already stated, security in military matters must be complemented by security in economic and social development.

International security is not the domain of any single State, but must result from the collective effort of all countries in the consolidation of peace, security and co-operation for all States.

Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, allow me first of all to express my gratitude for your introductory statement, in which you presented an extended picture of recent developments in the world's political situation, a time during which many extremely important historical events took place, requiring fundamentally new approaches to problems of ensuring international peace and security and the role played by the United Nations in the development of peaceful co-operation among States in a new

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The regular consideration by the General Assembly of issues of strengthening international security reflects the **fundamental** vocation of the United Nations, namely, to serve as a stabiliser for world policy, a collective co-ordinating centre for the administration of an interdependent and integrated world **in** the universal interests of mankind. **Many** statements made at plenary meetings and in **Committees** of the General Assembly have emphasised the critical **and unique** nature of the current times in the development of international relations. The ice age of the cold war, which only briefly was broken through by political thaws, is being replaced by a post-war **transition** era, **characterized** by the **discarding** of ideological blinkers **and** double **standards**, the establishment of mutual understanding and partnership in the interest of strengthening international peace and security. As was noted in the statement made by **Mikhail** Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at the **Paris meeting** of Heads of State and **Government** of parties to the **Conference** on Security and Co-operation in Europe:

"We are entering into a world of different dimensions, in which universal human values are **acquiring** the **same** significance *for all*, where the freedom **and** welfare of man, the intrinsic value *of* human life, must become both the basis for universal security and the highest criterion of progress."

**The positive** trends in international relations compellingly demonstrate that new political thinking - the philosophical **foundation** of foreign policy *of* the Soviet Union during **the** period of **perestroika** - has firmly permeated the entire fabric **of** today's world **policy**. **The** genuinely revolutionary changes now taking place in Europe and in the entire system *of* international relations, as distinguished **from** the past, are not **accompanied** by global upset and, **despite** their highly dramatic nature, are taking place **in** a *framework* **of stability**. **We** are

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thus seeing the formation of a new world order based on the primacy of law, the philosophy of non-violence and justice.

At the same time, the events of recent months, resulting from the gross violation by Iraq of the principles of international law and universally accepted norms of morality, are demonstrating that the positive processes which are gaining force have not acquired sufficient reserves of stability for a guaranteed prevention of the recurrence of the use of force and aggression. But we cannot fail to see something good as well. In these alarming days, the international community is demonstrating unprecedented solidarity in response to this challenge laid down by the aggressor. As was noted in the statement delivered by Mr. Shevardnadze, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at the present session of the General Assembly:

"We are again becoming united nations and are returning to our own global constitution - the Charter of the United Nations - to those of its provisions which were forgotten for a while but which experience has proved to be indispensable for the most important and most necessary of our tasks, the maintenance of international peace and security." (A/45/PV.6, p. 47)

We fully share the conclusion in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization:

"To build peace and create conditions of stability in the world of the 1990s will require innovative responses to security challenges of a type radically different from those encountered in the past." (A/45/1, p. 15)

The objective of establishing an integral strategy of global partnership for the 1990s and the beginning of the next century is the subject of the memorandum submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, entitled "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world"

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

(A/45/626). Such a strategy, we are convinced, must be **based** solely on the criteria for planet-wide coexistence - balance of **interests** and freedom of choice, political realism and responsible behaviour on the part of States, safeguarding democracy and human rights, adherence to openness and the rule of law. A strengthening of the central role of the United Nations in world affairs, **unswerving** compliance with its Charter, the need actively to support efforts within the context of the **entire** United Nations system aimed at implementing and strengthening the principles and the system of international peace, security and co-operation enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations - these are emphasized in the joint Soviet-United States statement "Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World" (A/45/598).

The goal of strengthening international stability and the legal order requires a pooling of the efforts of all States, **maximum** and full utilization of **all** the **means** and opportunities in the arsenal of the United Nations. As we see it, a substantive contribution to the achievement of this objective must be made through discussion in the General Assembly of the question of the implementation of the **Declaration** on the Strengthening of International Security. The Soviet Union considers the **Declaration**, adopted 20 years ago, as **an** important document, one which is acquiring particular relevance today, at the present stage of world development. The anniversary of our **Organization** does not provide grounds for **solemn** speeches of praise. *Rather*, it marks a watershed for taking stock and for **thinking** seriously about our objectives for the **foreseeable** future.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of **International** Security **was** adopted **during** a period when a definite warming **in** the political **atmosphere seemed** insufficient to **melt** the thick layer of ice **of** mutual mistrust **and suspicion**. **Dangerous competition** was taking place in the world in the arms **race, in** a building

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

up of lethal • r8oaala of weapons of ma88 destruction. Unfortunately, we too were unable to avoid being dragged into a historically futile process of flexing military muscles. Considerable political courage war required to embark firmly on a course of re-evaluating the concept of military parity, bared on fear of mutual destruction, the doctrines of nuclear deterrence and restraint, • o au to become aware that confrontational approaches cannot • n8uro • ocurity and peace.

Of decided significance for strengthening military-political atability is the process of disarmament, first and forrmort nuclear disarmament. Today, no one would dispute that the world ha8 become safer a8 a result of the elimination of Soviet and United States medium-range missiles. And we find the system of international security on a qualitatively now level of reliability today, in view of the conclusion between thr Soviet Union and the United States of fundamental agreements concerning major reductions in strategic offensive weapons, other types of weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons.

It is important that the • ntiro international community is becoming increasingly aware that progress towards a non-violent world is impossible without a rolutioa to questions of reducing the level of military confrontation, non-proliferation of nuclear, chrmiial and bactrriological weapon8 and missile technology and overcoming the ossified militarisation of the economy,

The provision of the Declaration concerning the establishment of an effective system of collective security without military alliance8 continues to be relevant in the now conditions prevailing in today's world. The democratic changes in Europe, where the symbol of it8 split, the Berlin Wall, ha8 arumblod, are creating a real basis for the establishment of qualitatively new co-operative security structures.



**(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)**

Were we should like to **emphasize** the historic nature of the outcome of the meeting of Heads of State and Government of States, parties to the **Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE)**, held in Paris from 19 to 21 **November, which**, as President **François Mitterrand** **stated**, was marked by a particularly high **quality** of relations based on equality of rights, security and solidarity. The Treaty signed in Paris on conventional weapons is an **extremely** important component of the **new** security structure created in Europe. **Worthy** of special note is **the** agreement **on** the establishment of a conflict prevention **centre**, a **kind** of regulator of the military **and** political situation on the continent. The **main** thing, in our opinion, is that the **Paris** meeting laid the foundation **for** internationalisation of the European process **and** the legal forms *for* the **new** European structures in the interests of the peoples **who** inhabit the continent.

The States **parties to this CSCE - as** is **emphasized** in the Charter of Paris for **a New Europe -** are aware that their fate is linked **to** the fates of all other countries and they stand ready **to**

**"join** forces with any and all States in **common** efforts to protect and advance the **commonality** of human values."

Of great significance in this context is the reaffirmation of full support **for** the United **Nations** in the enhancement of its role, as set forth in the Charter, in the promotion of international peace, security and justice.

We **are** convinced *that* the processes developing in Europe will also have an impact on the rest **of** the world, in particular on the situation in the **Asia** and Pacific Ocean region. Speaking recently **in** Vladivostok, Minister **for Foreign** Affairs of the USSR Mr. **Shevardnadze** put **forward** the idea of forming a single united **European-Asian** area of security and co-operation.

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(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

The universal principle of thinking globally and acting locally is in keeping with the spirit of the provisions of the Declaration in support of regional, subregional and bilateral co-operation as an important instrument for strengthening international security. In the coupling of the co-operative effort of the United Nations with those of regional organisations lies a powerful means of strengthening stability of a new, higher quality, on a genuinely multidimensional basis.

The course of VONT confirms the significance of those provisions of the Declaration that deal with the unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Fully in keeping with the Declaration also is the present trend towards the development of the efforts of the Security Council, which is now fulfilling its original mission of serving as an effective instrument for responding to threats to international peace and security. A truly symbolic and extraordinary event was the September meeting of the Security Council at the Foreign Minister level to consider the situation resulting from the aggression committed by Iraq against Kuwait. The valuable experience of interaction among the members of the Security Council has been significantly enriched and can in future be applied to other international crises.

The Soviet Union believes that the course of events in the Persian Gulf dictates the need for speedy implementation of the recommendation contained in the Declaration that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of agreements to make available to it national contingents of armed forces.

As we have already stated here, the Soviet Union is ready to conclude such an agreement and we believe that the very possibility of establishing a multinational United Nations force would have a strong, deterrent and sobering effect on any aggressor.

**(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)**

The Soviet Union is in favour of increasing the contribution of the United Nations to the establishment of a general structure for peace and security in support of the efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General to prevent and to settle conflicts and to improve United Nations peace-keeping operations and enhance their effectiveness.

The Soviet Union is taking definite steps to bring about a speedy cessation of bloodshed in Afghanistan and to settle the conflict by involving all groups of the Afghan population in constructive dialogue and by holding general elections under United Nations supervision. We note with satisfaction that, thanks to the efforts of the five permanent members of the Security Council, Indochinese, the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, and other countries, it has been possible to initiate a process leading to a political solution of the Cambodian problem.

The successful untangling of the Nicaraguan knot should be supported by resolution of the situation in El Salvador and by measures to strengthen confidence and to reduce the level of armaments in Central America. The continuing tensions in the Middle East call for the immediate initiation of a turn-around towards peace and stability and the normalisation of relations among the peoples of the region.

Over the two decades since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the world has witnessed changes of historic importance. These include the achievement of independence by the majority of the peoples that had been under colonial domination. The United Nations has been able to demonstrate that the purposes and principles it proclaims are the postulates for an effective international law and, at the same time, an instrument for a practical policy for transforming the world.

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(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

The settlement of the question of Namibia, which marked a major breakthrough in the post-colonial epoch, opens up good prospects for a solution to other problems of southern Africa; first and foremost for the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa through political means. The Soviet Union hopes that the process of change which has now come to include South Africa will be irreversible, and will promote the strengthening of stability and good-neighbourliness in this region of the world. At the same time, there is a need for the combined efforts of all States and for the active involvement of the United Nations to find solutions to the problems of the remaining colonial territories on the basis of the free choice of their peoples.

The future of a safe world is closely linked to the shift to a new structure of international relations based on the principles of justice and equality - a shifting of resources from the military sphere to development needs, an expansion of multilateral co-operation in the regulation of foreign debt and the fight against hunger, poverty, disease and natural disasters. The global nature of the task of protecting the environment also requires a co-ordinated international approach, the joint implementation of effective technological decisions - solutions to the threat from ecological catastrophe.

The Soviet Union is in favour of consistent implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on universal respect and full guarantees for human rights, and is in favour of further expanding the business-like, objective dialogue on social and humanitarian problems and on issues relating to the free development of the individual. We are therefore in favour of a reaffirmation of universal concepts of human rights and the implementation of the full range of universally recognized standards in this area.

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

Noting with satisfaction the progress that has been achieved in implementing the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Soviet Union, guided by decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, intends to continue the search for multifaceted approaches to the question of securing international peace and security in a post-confrontation era and of ensuring that the United Nations has a central regulating role. In our view, the General Assembly would make a constructive contribution to the adoption of new approaches to the activity of the Organization if it were to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security by adopting a resolution reflecting the universal need for peace and stability, supported by the force of reason and of law.

There is another important question on the agenda of the United Nations. I refer to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. Naturally the Soviet Union is interested in ensuring peace, security and co-operation in that region. We are guided by that fact as the situation in the Mediterranean region is considered at the United Nations within the context of the general European process, and we are guided by it in our relations with the Mediterranean States. The joint Soviet-Spanish political declaration that was adopted during the visit of President Gorbachev of the USSR to Spain last October emphasizes specifically the need

"to promote the process of dialogue between the Mediterranean countries and other interested States, to promote an improvement of the political climate, and to develop co-operation in this region".

We consider the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean region to be a wide-ranging process that involves parallel steps to settle conflict situations, reduce the level of military and naval confrontation, increase trust, and develop

(Mr. Smirnov, USSR)

fruitful regional co-operation in the political, economic, ecological, scientific and humanitarian spheres and in respect of other matters. In this regard, the Soviet Union has put forward a series of specific proposals aimed at reducing military confrontation in the Mediterranean. As those proposals are well known, there is no need for me to repeat them today.

With regard to the practical aspects of current conditions, the provisions of the Charter of Paris concerning the radical political changes that are taking place in Europe have assumed particular and positive significance for the Mediterranean region, as has the reaffirmation by the States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) of their readiness to continue their efforts to strengthen security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, since that is an important factor in the creation of stability in Europe as a whole.

The USSR remains ready to discuss initiatives taken by every Mediterranean country. We support the proposal of Spain and Italy that the CSCE begin a process in respect of the Mediterranean region. In this regard, we view very positively the recent meeting in Palma de Majorca, to which the representative of Malta referred today. We hope that this will result in the successful establishment of a new system of relations in that region. There is no doubt that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and all other regional organisations have contributed to the strengthening of security and to the development of co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

Of course, the United Nations has an important role to play in the resolution of long-standing problems in that region. We hope that the draft resolution on this agenda item will provide a positive basis for progress towards improvement of the situation there.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): **As** we meet to consider once again the **question** of international security, **the** world has reached an important turning-point. The old world pattern is being replaced by a new one. The old pattern has been broken, but the new one has yet to **take** shape. The international **community** is confronted with challenges and **risks**, but opportunities **and hopes** abound.

Over the past year, **thanks** to the concerted efforts of the peoples of all countries, there **has been** a further reduction in military confrontation at a global **level**, and the drive to maintain peace **has been** strengthened. **Namibia** has **won** its **independence**, and the unification of Germany has **been** realised. Co-operation in various regions is increasing, and the trend towards multi-polarisation has increased noticeably.

**In the** area of disarmament, the United States and the Soviet Union have reached **agreement** in principle on the partial reduction of strategic nuclear **weapons and** have agreed to **stop** the **production** of chemical *weapons* and to start to reduce their stocks of such weapons. Agreement has been **reached** in negotiations on the reduction of **conventional forces in Europe**.

**In** the multilateral domain, headway has **been made** in disarmament **efforts**. Furthermore, in **the** case of some hot-spot problems **and** regional conflicts the parties have reached or are **moving** towards political settlement. In short, the international **community** has achieved initial, but **commendable**, results in its efforts to maintain world peace **and** security.

**In** the mean **time**, we cannot but note that there are still many political, economic and national **contradictions** in the world, that new **forms** of power politics continue to jeopardise **international** relations, and that tensions and complications

(Mr. Yu Mangjia, China)

have emerged in • □□□ regions. As many problems pertaining to international security have still to be resolved, our world is far from being tranquil. Many difficulties will have to be overcome before it is possible to achieve fair, reasonable and comprehensive political settlements for • overall regional conflicts, including that in the Middle East.

Recently, the situation in the Gulf region has become especially worrying. Iraq has not yet shown the political will to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions. It still refuses to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. In the mean time, several countries are continuing their massive military build-up in the region, and the danger of war is increasing rapidly.

Although its momentum has weakened, the international arms race has not come to • halt. Multilateral disarmament has not proceeded as was expected, and the process of disarmament is still being obstructed by the tendency to shift disarmament responsibility and to alter disarmament targets. The task of disarmament continues to be arduous.

The growth of the • □□□ • economy and of world trade has continued to slow down. At the same time, long-latent factors of instability have increased. In particular, the • economic situation of the developing countries continues to deteriorate, and serious • economic-development imbalances between developed countries and developing countries, as well as the ever-growing polarisation between North and South, hamper the sustained and stable development of the world economy and, increasingly, constitute a key factor of disturbance that threatens world peace and • security.



(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

The **development** of the world situation over the past year has shown **that** the **relaxation** between the United States **and** the Soviet **Union** and between the two big **military alliances alone** is not sufficient to ensure a lasting **and** universal Peace. **There** still **exist many** factors of **instability in** our world today. At this **crucial juncture** when the old world **pattern** is being replaced by a new **one**, the need **has** become all the more urgent for the **establishment** of genuinely fair, **reasonable and new** Political and economic order so as to ensure a **solid foundation** for a new **global pattern of peace and** security.

In the present situation of rapid changes, the first question people **should** **answer** is this: **what kind** of new **political order** **should** be established **so that** **international peace and** security **can** be preserved?

**Post-war** history has **shown** that **super-Powers cannot dominate** the world, **neither can** a few big **and** rich Powers **manipulate** world affairs. **In** the end an order based on military might, power politics, **and** threat or the use of force **cannot** be reliable. The bullying of the weak and small by the **strong and** powerful, **and the trampling** on the sovereignty of others can only cause conflicts **and** **endanger regional** and world peace and security. Such malpractice might succeed for a while, but eventually they will **inevitably** turn to the opposite **of their** intended **direction and end** in **failure** under the joint opposition of the **people** of the world,

**What** are endowed **with genuine vitality** are the five **principles** of **mutual** respect for **each other's** sovereignty and territorial integrity, **mutual non-aggression, non-interference** in each other's internal affairs, **equality and mutual benefit, and** peaceful coexistence, because **these principles conform** to the **fundamental** interests of all countries **and** of the entire **human race**. Not only would a new international political order based on these principles be **in line** with the basic **norms** of international relations and the **purposes** and principles of the

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

**United Nations Charter; it would also meet the needs of the time and the ardent**

● **aspiration of the people of all countries. We are of the view that such a new political order should include the following points: each country is entitled to choose its own political, economic and social system in accordance with its own national conditions; all countries, and ● especially the big Powers, must strictly abide by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; all countries should respect one another, seek common ground while putting aside their differences, live together in amity, treat each other as equals and carry on mutually beneficial co-operation, international disputes should be settled on a fair basis through peaceful means without resorting to threat or the use of force and all countries, big or small, strong or weak, are entitled to take part in the discussion and management of world affairs on an equal footing, It is in keeping with those principles that China has firmly opposed the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait and made active efforts for a peaceful solution to the present grave Gulf crisis.**

As a country in the Asia-Pacific region, China attaches great importance to the region's security, stability, peace and development. We hope that the countries that possess the largest military arsenals in the world will take the same practical and effective disarmament measures as have been taken elsewhere and stop their arms race in that region and work for the fair and reasonable settlement of regional conflicts and the removal of hot spots. Meanwhile, other countries of that region should also practise restraint and refrain from seeking armaments beyond their legitimate defence needs. In order to enhance peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, efforts should be made starting from concrete issues to remove regional hot spots, properly handle bilateral relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, settle disputes through peaceful means and

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promote dialogue **and** contact. Countries concerned should, first and foremost, advance bilateral dialogue and consultation and take practical measures to increase mutual trust, reduce tension and eliminate conflicts, and then, building on that basis, establish and develop regional security **arrangements** step by step. That way is better suited to conditions in the Asia-Pacific region. For many years, and with this approach, China has made joint efforts **with** other Asia-Pacific countries. **Meanwhile** we are also willing to give positive consideration to all views and proposals **which** are conducive to improving the environment for peace and security in **the** Asia-Pacific region.

In order to maintain world peace and security, in addition to seeking the fair and reasonable settlement of regional conflicts and **the** removal of regional hot spots, the international community should continue its efforts to eliminate military and non-military threats to world peace and security.

In eliminating the military threat, efforts should **be** made to accelerate the **disarmament** process and check the arms race. In **this** regard we welcome the initial disarmament action<sup>8</sup> taken by **the** United States and the Soviet Union as well as the progress in European conventional disarmament. At **the** same time, it should be pointed out that the world armament situation has not undergone fundamental changes: the two super-Powers still possess the largest nuclear, conventional and chemical arsenals in the world. **They** should, as a matter of course, continue to make efforts, earnestly fulfil their special disarmament **obligations, carry out** serious negotiations, take the lead in disarmament actions and reach, at an early date, agreements which will facilitate the maintenance of world peace and security without prejudice to the security interests of other countries and regions. Their **troops**, thus cut, should be disbanded and portions of armaments reduced should be destroyed. **None** of them should be shifted to, or redeployed in, other regions. **We**

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**also hope** that the States participating in negotiations on European conventional disarmament will continue to make progress towards the realisation of their **agreed** objective<sup>8</sup> at **an** early date.

**In eliminating** the non-military threat to world peace and security, the key is the establishment **of an** international economic order. Peace and security are inseparable from development. Without overcoming the difficulties faced by the developing countries in such fields as debt, trade, financial **resources**, money and credit, without changing the extremely vulnerable and **weak** status **of** the developing countries in the **world** economy, and without removing poverty and backwardness **from** the globe, it **will** be impossible to eliminate turbulence and instability in the **world**, and world peace and security will inevitably be adversely affected. At this historic moment when the world situation is **witnessing** fundamental changes **and** a **new** global pattern is taking shape, the international **community** must earnestly consider how to establish, **step** by step, a **new** and fair **international** economic order with a **view** to **fundamentally changing** the vulnerable **and** dismal state of the **developing countries** so as to enable **them** to restore **as** soon as possible **their** growth and **development, and narrowing** the gap between the **North** and the South, thus **strengthening world peace, security and development.**

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

We are glad to note that over **the** past year the United Nations has continued its active role **in** maintaining world peace and security and settling some urgent problems confronting mankind. **This** world Organisation has also made tireless efforts and achieved **commendable** results in promoting regional peace processes and the political settlement of regional conflicts. In the present critical and complex world situation the international community expects to see a further strengthening **of** the role **of** the United Nations. We hold that in order to guarantee world peace and security all countries, and the five permanent members **of** the Security Council in particular, should abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter, and handle State-to-State relations in strict accordance with **the** Five Principles **of** Peaceful Co-existence. Together with all **other** Member States, China is willing to fulfil its obligations and strive for the strengthening **of** the United Nations role in maintaining world peace and security and **for** the establishment of fair, reasonable and new international political and economic orders.

Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): I shall confine my delegation's statement to the **question** of the Mediterranean and **the** strengthening of security and co-operation in this **region**, which is of exceptional importance **for** Yugoslavia. Situated along the northern coast of the Adriatic, Yugoslavia depends **on** the Mediterranean for its outlet into **the** larger world, and is therefore **very** interested in having **this** region of ancient and modern routes, cultures and **civilizations** become an area of peace and co-operation.

On the basis of **this** interest, Yugoslavia is a staunch supporter **of** equitable and comprehensive co-operation **and** dialogue with all Mediterranean **countries**, as well as with other factors outside this region, to bring about easing of tensions, peaceful solutions to crises in some parts of the Mediterranean and the strengthening of security, confidence and co-operation between its peoples and **countries**.

(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

In that context, we believe that the positive changes in international relations and new trends in Europe will be reflected in a positive way on the Mediterranean as well. There is no denying that broader processes, like those in Europe, and developments in the Mediterranean are very closely connected and that they influence one another. This is particularly true of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process, which has taken firm root in Europe as it rededicates itself to the pursuit of universal interests of mankind as the basis of general progress. Yugoslavia has been an active participant in this process ever since its beginning, and we welcome all efforts, European or regional, conducive to the further strengthening of the process of security, co-operation and confidence in the Mediterranean region.

In this context, we consider the meeting in Palma de Majorca, which, apart from all States participating in the CSCE, was attended by non-participating Mediterranean countries, as very useful and conducive to the strengthening of confidence, co-operation and security in the region. Along these lines also is the initiative of Italy and Spain on the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, inspired by the efforts of the CSCE process, which is also supported by some other Western European Mediterranean countries. In the opinion of my delegation, it provides a useful link between the processes in Europe and the current needs of the Mediterranean. Bearing that in mind, we trust that the Mediterranean reflects in the best possible way the degree of Europe's openness towards the world and its readiness for dialogue and co-operation with non-European countries.

A further contribution to the strengthening of co-operation and security in the Mediterranean is provided by various forms of subregional relations between

**(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)**

Mediterranean States, such as Black Sea co-operation, the Maghreb and Adriatic initiatives, Balkan co-operation and the co-operation of Western countries of the Mediterranean.

I wish to make particular mention of the activities of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries and their contribution to the strengthening of co-operation and security in the region. Last June they held their Third Ministerial Conference in Algiers, and in the Declaration resulting from it they reiterated their firm belief **that**

"security and co-operation **in** the Mediterranean and in Europe are closely linked and interdependent\*\* **(A/45/357, annex I, para. 1)**

and that

"an open and sustained dialogue as well **as** an intensive co-operation would increase mutual understanding and trust, thus promoting stability, security and peace in the region." **(ibid., para. 4 (a))**

**The** Algiers Declaration reflects the clearly expressed interest of these countries in the broadest possible co-operation with Europe, as well as an added impulse to the link between Europe and **North** Africa.

On that occasion the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean supported the convening of the conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. Although convinced that the problems of this region **and** the development of the process of co-operation cannot be solved without participation by littoral States, the non-aligned countries expressed their readiness to act jointly with other countries outside the region that have obvious interests in it and that therefore should participate **in** promoting that process,

Despite all the **positive processes**, crises and conflicts have not bypassed the **Mediterranean**. The developments in the **Near and Middle East** have **once** again thrown

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(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

into focus the Middle East problem, at the core of which is the problem of Palestine, the root cause of all other problems, whether political, economic or humanitarian. Additional efforts are needed to bring about a peaceful solution to this crisis. We believe that the Mediterranean concept is one of the avenues worth exploring. With it in place, awareness of the need to address this long-standing problem in all its complexity would certainly increase.

Another problem in the area that gives us much reason for concern is the lack of progress towards a solution of the Cyprus crisis, despite the Secretary-General's efforts. We sincerely hope, however, that the ongoing changes in international relations will facilitate the search for solutions to this and other crises and conflicts in the region.

Let me point out that, in addition to the region's political and security significance, its economic aspect is very important. There is every reason to believe that it will only increase after 1992 with the establishment of a single market in Europe. Since several countries of the European Community are Mediterranean, and maintain fruitful co-operation and diversified relations with other Mediterranean non-Community States, my delegation is of the opinion that ever greater attention should be devoted to promoting co-operation and relations between them in the days to come. This is all the more important if we want to address the increasing problems of the economic development of some of the countries in the region, which is lagging behind that in Europe, a trend that is not likely to be reversed if left unattended.

Environment in the Mediterranean should also be a matter of urgent concern. The Mediterranean is one of the most polluted seas and to clean it collective efforts will be needed, and not by Mediterranean countries alone.



(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

In conclusion, I should like to stress, the belief of my delegation that events in the Mediterranean will lead to the realiaation of a **new** concept of security and co-operation, baaed on the equality of all **its** States, **and** will reflect positively **on** developments elsewhere in the world as well.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Vasiliy Safronchuk.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs): I should like **first** to express my sincere appreciation for being given the opportunity to address the **Committee** on the items related to **international**security.

**This** year the **First** Committee's work is unfolding **in** a changed global political landscape, which creates more **favourable** grououd **for** approaching security issues with a new perspective.

(Mr. Safronchuk)

The transition from confrontation to dialogue, co-operation and partnership, the revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the newly **○ ○ ○ ○ ○** stage in Europe's integration as reflected in the recent decisions taken at the summit Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Paris, the slowing down of the arms race and the progress achieved in the disarmament area, and the resolution of some regional conflicts have been cited here as accomplishments that signalled the end of the cold war and the beginning of the new post-confrontational era. The United Nations entered this era as the central vital mechanism of concerted international action.

Many members of the Committee, however, have **○** emphasized that the present international situation did not become an irreversible trend and that its benefits were *not* automatic, since some factors still threatened the security of nations. This was confirmed by the recent events in the Gulf. The swift, prompt and united action taken by the Security Council to resolve this crisis by political means was highly praised by Member States as a vivid demonstration of the growing role of the United Nations in the modern world,

Many delegations have emphasized the need for renewed political will and for long-term thinking that is *not* overwhelmed by old perceptions and habits in the process of shaping the new concept of security. In this regard, it was repeatedly underscored that a broad concept of security encompassing all its aspects, which has begun to emerge as a result of the end of the cold war, was necessary if the new opportunities were to be realized. Members observed that a concerted response to the challenge posed by the need for more equitable economic relations, the protection of the environment and efforts to address the world's social and humanitarian problems, together with the continued reduction of the level of armaments and armed forces, constituted vital imperative of the new system of

**(Mr. Saifonchuk)**

security. The collective security framework of the United Nations set forth in its Charter was seen as the fundamental ingredient in the overall efforts of States in shaping their security needs in the present environment.

These challenges and concerns are confronting this Committee now, when it is considering issues **of** international security. As members are fully aware, this year the Committee has on its agenda five items relating to international security. One of them - namely, "Implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace"\* - has already been considered and action has been taken upon it. We hope that consideration of the item entitled "Question of Antarctica\*\*" will be completed on Wednesday. I wish to take **this** opportunity to highlight the constructive attitude displayed by the members of this **Committee** in addressing these important issues, **thus** responding to the new **requirements** at **this** time **for** dialogue and understanding.

**Another** item **for** consideration is "Strengthening of security **and** co-operation in the Mediterranean region\*", an important issue that has remained on the agenda since the thirty-sixth session in 1981. Pursuant to resolution **44/125**, adopted at **the** last session, the Secretary-General has submitted his report, contained in document A/45/713. It contains ideas **and** suggestions from Member States and international organizations with regard to **their** potential contribution to **strengthening** Peace, security and co-operation in **that** region. In some replies it was stressed that the outbreak **of** the crisis in the Gulf demonstrated that the settlement of potential disputes in the Mediterranean **and** adjacent regions was a priority for the international community.

I anticipate that the consideration of this item will take place in the light of the present reality **in** the world and **in** the **region**. I would like to mention that two important meetings **of** direct relevance to the **security** of the

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Mediterranean region took place in the course of this year, The Algiers meeting of the non-aligned countries of that region and the meeting at Palma de Mallorca of the countries of the region participating in the CSCE process. Important decisions were taken at both meetings, and it goes without saying that their outcome would help our endeavours to bring into new focus the preoccupation of States regarding this region with the aim of finding solutions to the complex issues in the Mediterranean area, including the Middle East. Undoubtedly, the new, positive changes occurring in Europe would have a salutary effect on the Mediterranean region as well. Accordingly, I hope that your deliberations will contribute to the stability and security of this zone, where there are many opportunities for co-operation in many fields.

Another issue the First Committee has dealt with for quite a considerable time - since 1969 to be exact - is the item entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". It will be recalled that at the forty-fourth session the General Assembly, in keeping with its previous practice, invited Member States to submit their views and comments on the question of the implementation of the Declaration. Consequently, a report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/45/516 and Add.1, was submitted for your consideration. You will observe that Member States emphasized the renewed significance of this Declaration in the context of the post-confrontation era that is now evolving.

Finally, another item that the Committee will consider this year is item 70, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace". A report of the Secretary-General on this issue, contained in document A/45/575, contains the replies of 10 Member States and two organizations of the United Nations system on the implementation of the Declaration, which was

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adopted by the **General** Assembly in 1978. From the comments made by **Member States** on this **matter**, it is evident that a healthy trend is emerging in **many** countries towards strengthening the process of democratization, dialogue and co-operation in resolving pending problems. Such an effort was seen as consciously promoted through education, and the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The rule of law and the prevalence of tolerance and social equality were recognized as essential ingredients for life in peace. The democratization of societies was considered an important **factor in** enabling ordinary citizens to play an important role in promoting peace. The revitalization of the United Nations as the central peace-making forum was regarded as an increasingly sought-after objective by all States regardless of their size or power. The report of the Secretary-General also provides a summary **of** relevant activities of the United Nations and of **some of** its specialized **agencies** in this field.

(Mr. Safonchuk)

The building of **peace** and **creation** of **conditions** of **stability** in **today's** world **requires** innovative **responses** to **security** challenges of a radically different nature from those **encountered** in the past. This appears to be the main objective of this session and of the future activities of the First Committee. The results that will be **recorded** of its deliberations will largely depend on how Member States will be able, for all their **diverse** and at times contradictory interests, to show **Political will** and a new thinking pertaining to the vital need for security of all countries. Obviously, there are many difficult and complex matters to be resolved in the area of international **security**, but with **realism** and pragmatism, solutions can be found in conformity with and in the spirit of the **new** challenges of the **present world**.

The **termination** of the cold war offers many **opportunities** to build a **more** peaceful world. It appears important that serious thought be given to the question whether the **role** and **functions** of the United Nations in maintaining peace and **security** are fully **suited** to the evolving international order. The Department of Political and Security Council Affairs would, if Member States so wish, stand ready and lend any assistance that might be required by the Committee in the **implementation** of its **decisions** regarding the achievement of a more secure world.

At this turning point in history, it is **essential** that full use be made by the international community of **existing opportunities** in fulfilling the obligations set out in the Charter.

#### **ORGANIZATION OF WORK**

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind members that, in conformity with the Committee's programme of work and timetable, the deadline for the submission of draft **resolutions** under agenda items 68, 69 and 70 is Tuesday, 27 November, at 6 p.m. I urge delegations to **co-operate** by observing that deadline.

**(The Chairman)**

I would also like to remind delegations that the list of speakers for the general debate on international security agenda items will be closed today at 6 p.m. In order to make full use of the time allocated for the consideration of those items, I request members to put their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

I have been informed that the text of draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1** will be available in the delegation's distribution booth after 3 p.m. today.

**The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.**

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