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New York

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 42nd MEETING

**Chairman:**

**Mr. MROZIEWICZ**

**(Poland)**

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**General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items (continued)**

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

**AGENDA ITEMS 67 AND 68 (continued)**

**GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTION 6 ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS**

**Mr. MONGRE (Benin) (interpretation from French):** At this stage of our work, which you, Mr. President, are guiding so ably, the delegation of Benin would like to express its views on the items of our agenda that relate to international security. Strengthening that security by preserving peace and promoting international cooperation has been the focus of our Organization's concern ever since it was established "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

When the cold war began, however, because of bloc politics and ideological rivalries in a world where political, economic and military interests clashed, the concern of Member States for their own security became paramount and was reflected in national arrangements, including military arrangements, to cope with any real or potential threat to vital national interests. That gave rise to the increased sophistication and stockpiling of armaments, including nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, which resulted in a balance of terror in relations between States, confrontation through proxies in so-called regional conflicts, paralysis of the United Nations role in preserving and strengthening international peace and security, and thus a failure to use the potential of the United Nations for dealing with nascent or latent conflicts.

Today we can affirm that the cold war is over. Confrontation and rivalry are increasingly being replaced by understanding, political dialogue and international cooperation, and that positive evolution of the international political climate is being manifested in a renewal of interest in the role

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played by the United Nations with a view to strengthening international peace and security. Thus the Security Council was able to demonstrate its effectiveness and its authority when it shouldered its responsibility for dealing with the first threat to international peace and security to arise during the post-cold-war period, namely, aggression by one Member State against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another in what has now become known as the Gulf war.

The Secretary-General was also able to undertake peace missions that helped or will help to dampen hotbeds of tension, such as the mission that will settle the future status of Western Sahara, the one that is already leading to national reconciliation in Cambodia after years of fratricidal conflict, the one that is responsible for ensuring compliance with the cease-fire in Angola or the one that has been carried on for the three-way release of hoatagee in the Middle East.

Equally significant has been the general Assembly's support for the restoration of constitutional legality in Haiti following the military coup of 30 September 1991, which forced into exile a President who had been democratically and peacefully elected a few months earlier thanks to an observer mission from the United Nations.

Furthermore, there is a heightened perception of the need to base security policies no longer on the constant build-up of weapons or on military and strategic superiority but rather on joint efforts to ensure substantial and balanced reductions in armaments at levels compatible with legitimate defence needs. Thus, in the area of disarmament, there have been many initiatives - unilateral, bilateral, regional and even multilateral - that have enabled us to move from a freeze on weapons to the reduction and control of weapons with a view to preventing their proliferation.

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Here I wish to mention specifically the Security Council decisions on eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the total embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia, which at present is plunged into civil war; the draft resolution that our Committee will soon submit to the General Assembly for approval, calling on the Secretary-General to establish and maintain at United Nations Headquarters a universal and non-discriminatory register of conventional arms, to include production and stockpiles, international transfers and delivery systems as well as transfers of armaments technology, pending the preparation of a register which would include weapons of mass destruction and other weapons. The objective is to encourage confidence, which is already being reflected in some parts of the world by measures for integration through cooperation and the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of cooperation and peace, such as that of the South Atlantic, of which Benin is a coastal State.

Despite those welcome initiatives and positive actions, made possible by the end of the cold war and by the spirit of cooperation and understanding that now exists between former antagonists, international peace and security are still fragile. Dangerous hotbeds of tension still exist because of territorial claims, ethnic conflicts, the rise of minorities and national groups, social and political injustices, violations of human rights, the increasing sophistication and proliferation of weapons, including nuclear weapons, foreign debt, impoverishment, environmental degradation, the deterioration of the social fabric owing to drug trafficking and drug abuse, crime and other factors.

How can we preserve the newly restored peace for the benefit of all, weak and strong, small and large, except through the effective operation of a regime of collective security based on the Charter, which, in relations

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between States, recommends respect for the rules and principles of international law, political dialogue and international cooperation? My delegation therefore supports the General Assembly's Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and feels that its effective implementation will require strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace and security. The Secretary-General's tireless efforts to attain the United Nations ideals of peace and justice have unquestionably proved their contribution to the advent of today's new international political climate. But the United Nations can fully play its role only in so far as Member States abide by the principles governing friendly relations and cooperation between States.

Benin has never believed in the effectiveness of using force in international relations. We feel that improved military technology and modern methods of communication have made the security of our States increasingly vulnerable, including those States that possess nuclear weapons, for even they cannot provide their citizens with a 100-per-cent guarantee of security. Moreover, no State and no group of States, however powerful, can guarantee its own security by force without infringing on the security of others.

Anxious to live in peace, we in Benin believe in the policy of good-neighbourliness, cooperation and dialogue, which, in our relations with our immediate neighbours, is reflected in regular summit meetings to discuss matters of common interest and joint ministerial missions to make our frontier populations more aware of the need to create the conditions of peace and security necessary for carrying out the tasks of socio-economic development. The same spirit led to the quadripartite agreement enabling four countries of our West African subregion, namely, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo and Benin, to

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strengthen their cooperation in security matters and thus prevent the danger of building up any tension between them.

Is not prevention always better than cure? The world understood this readily from the difficulties encountered by the coalition of Member States that had quite properly helped Kuwait restore its sovereignty, in keeping with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Not only was Iraq destroyed, having invaded Kuwait, which was then liberated, but Kuwait, too, is in ruins. For that reason, my delegation shares the view that the practice of preventive diplomacy will enable our Organization to strengthen international security. As the Secretary-General states in his annual report on the work of the Organization, that approach not only has the advantage of serving to prevent potential conflicts and flagrant mass violations of human rights and to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes through mediation, good office and conciliation but also implies that the Security Council's agenda will contain items besides those formally placed on it at the request of the State or States involved. Moreover, it presupposes maximum use of the full potential of the United Nations, including recourse to its main judicial body the International Court of Justice, since latent political crises often involve some legal elements.

Over-arming is a constant source of insecurity: in addition to depriving the world of essential resources needed for its socio-economic development, contributing to the exacerbation of conflicts and the heightening of tensions and enabling anti-democratic regimes to cling to power by coercion despite the wishes of the majority, it also increases the danger that a horrifying catastrophe for mankind will be brought about by accident. Therefore, in

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playing its decisive role in strengthening international security, the United Nations must continue its efforts to draw up a genuine treaty on general and complete disarmament under international control.

We are convinced that disarmament can free substantial resources to halt the deterioration of the world's socio-economic situation, which is a major non-military threat to international security, since the interdependence that marks international relations is such that socio-economic factors also undermine international stability. If growth rates fall, or fail to rise, the world may be drawn into a vicious circle of tensions and crises, with a breakdown of political and social cohesion, which in turn can lead to civil war and inter-State conflict.

Therefore, the collective-security regime must take account of the development dimension in international security, through a reorganization of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis - in other words, in a way that will provide growth for all. Such reorganization will require an immediate resumption of the North-South dialogue. In that regard, our joint efforts to restructure and revitalise the socio-economic organs of the United Nations are an encouraging step forward.

International security today must be collective, but to be effective, it also requires contributions from the various regional entities that make up our community. The various initiatives to promote and strengthen confidence, security and cooperation in various regions must be encouraged and developed, particularly with the lessening of extra-regional rivalries, which during the cold war had an impact beyond the boundaries of the regions involved. Such an arrangement, which has already emerged in Europe, until recently the scene of East-West antagonism, was the very welcome outcome of the first Helsinki summit in 1975.

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The Helsinki summit laid the basis for security by promoting relations in such areas as the economy, environmental protection and the protection of human rights, under the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Those arrangements also contributed to the peaceful democratic revolution in Eastern and Central Europe, and it is in the CSCE context that Europe is making commendable efforts to restore peace and security in Yugoslavia. Thus, it is necessary to follow the CSCE example and promote security- and confidence-building measures and cooperation in all regions - naturally taking into account their particular characteristics.

Africa faces enormous problems that undermine its security and thus the security of the world. On 17 and 18 November 1990 a meeting was held at Addis Ababa under the chairmanship of Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum, to develop ideas on launching a process of security, stability and cooperation in Africa. The conclusions reached at that meeting led the Heads of State or Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at their last summit, held at Abuja, Nigeria, to lay the political foundation for integration and for the establishment of the African Economic Community, which we feel can build confidence and security. We would like to be able to count on the support of the international community in attaining that objective.

In addressing the question of strengthening security in Africa, a continent that also belongs to the Mediterranean world, my delegation cannot fail to speak to the item entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region\*\*", an item which has always been among our concerns. The Mediterranean basin is the site of the world's highest military and nuclear concentration; it serves as a theatre for shows of force, posing

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threat to international security. It is time we worked together to eliminate the threat of military confrontation and tension in that region, by settling conflicts in the Middle East, Palestine and Cyprus, by gradually reducing economic disparities in the region, and by bolstering cooperation with a view to building confidence and security, among other measures.

Mr. MAHMOUD (Ethiopia) : Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you and *your* fellow officers on your commendable performance. Much has already been achieved. We have no doubt that you will bring the work of our Committee to a successful conclusion.

One of the virtues of the Reykjavik approach to the resolution of international problems was its attempt to view global problems as comprehensively as possible. When the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union decided to deal with a mixed bag of problems, many doubted the efficacy of the method they adopted. Yet the strength of their approach was its ability to look at global problems comprehensively. Indeed, conflicts with serious implications for international peace and security cannot be viewed only from the military or quasi-military point of view. If an ultimate solution is to be devised with a view to eliminating the real causes of the conflict, then all related humanitarian questions must be taken into account.

Since the historic meeting between the two leading Powers there have been a number of positive developments. The most notable is in the realm of the resolution of regional conflicts. In that field, the previous adversaries worked hand in hand in a common effort to resolve the many intractable problems associated with such conflicts. Perhaps the most spectacular result was the political process that led to the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. Although the leading Powers had a

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more conspicuous role to play in that process, a *number* of countries from the immediate vicinity contributed their share. Another process for peace was that devised for Angola, meant to bring national reconciliation to a country which had had more than its share of suffering. In that process the complementary contributions made by statesmen from the region are laudable.

In Central America, the contribution made by the leaders of the subregion is truly admirable. The peace process in that subregion was protracted, but a solution was ultimately devised that took into account all the components of the problem.

In Western Sahara, the diplomatic efforts made by the Secretary-General have borne fruitful results. Today the United Nations has deployed a peace-keeping team with a view to conducting a referendum in that Territory.

In Cambodia, a painstaking effort, involving a flurry of diplomatic movement, has been under way. Today the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the most directly concerned States in the area, continue to make a last-ditch effort with a view to deploying a United Nations team to conduct free and fair elections and laying a solid foundation for the reconciliation of the people of Cambodia. Quietly but with determination the United Nations is making the necessary preparatory efforts.

Most gratifying to us is the involvement *of* the United Nations in the resolution of many nagging regional conflicts. We *are* also encouraged by the increasingly frequent resort to the good offices *of* the Secretary-General. And the renewed sense *of* partnership demonstrated by the permanent members of the Security Council is without doubt encouraging. We are very pleased with the renewed dynamism of the Security Council. It is quite apparent that the potential of the United Nations can be better harnessed now that the

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Organisation is shielded against the chill winds of the cold war. Today our universal Organisation is not confined only to peace-keeping operations. In fact, in the last few years St has effectively contributed to peace. making efforts that included the monitoring of elections and of human rights, These are indeed good days for the United Nations.

As the lessons drawn from previous efforts aimed at the resolution of conflicts show, peace is indivisible, and its attainment is feasible only when all concerned parties are involved. Above all, we must remember that what is workable for one region may not be effective for another. Yet there are common problems that ought to be subjected to a single formula. That is why the spirit of Helsinki is pervading the air in many regions of the world.

We believe that security must be understood in all its dimensions. Due regard must be given to non-military factors with a bearing on security. It is also our considered view that the maintenance of international security is not the exclusive turf of the powerful. As global problems are interrelated, all nations big and small, developed and developing, can make their contributions. That is why transparency in matters affecting peace and security is of paramount importance.

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For many years my own country was embroiled in a war that wreaked havoc on **its** natural and human resources. Today, I am happy to inform you that the guns are silent. In fact, from 1 to 5 July of this year an all-party conference was held in Addis Ababa, That conference adopted a charter that will be the basis of governance until a constitution is drafted and elections conducted, within two years. In the spirit of the Charter, which bans any form of destabilisation of neighbouring countries, a concerted effort is being made not only to live at peace with ourselves but also to live in harmony with our neighbours. In that spirit the Transitional Government has lifted all visa requirements of all the citizens of neighbouring countries. All this will, we hope, contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in our immediate region,

~~Mr P. ORTIZ~~ p p i n e s ) : At no time in history has the international community, acting through the United Nations, exhibited the kind of resolve and produced the *kind* of results in the area of peacemaking and peacekeeping as we are witnessing today. In the Gulf crisis last year and this year, in Namibia the year before and now in Cambodia, the global concert of nations has progressed from the cacophony of the past to the increasing harmony of the present. For the United Nations, the result has been a reinvigorated role.

In his 1991 report on the work of the Organisation, the Secretary General noted that:

“world leaders assembled at three recent summit conferences in London, Abuja and Guadalajara issued declarations recognising the central place of the United Nations in the international system and solemnly affirmed their reliance on it.” (A/46/L. D. 4)

~~(Mr. Ordonez, Philippines)~~

Meanwhile, even as we in the developing world watch super-Power conflicts diminish, we are now finding more latitude in focusing our attention on regional concerns. My delegation therefore calls upon the First Committee to intensify discussion and forge consensus on new regional approaches to the issue of security. The United Nations Charter, in Articles 33 and 52, recognizes the role of regional arrangements in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We are pleased to note that, consonant with this, the Secretary-General has stated in his 1991 report that the Secretariat has given high priority to organising regional and interregional meetings as a way of exploring solutions tailored to the distinctive needs of the respective regions and subregions. My delegation welcomes that statement.

The efficacy of that approach is borne out by the positive progress in the Mediterranean. We note with satisfaction, for instance, that during the deliberations on the agenda item entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region", statements were unanimous in pointing out that there is a need for linkage between regional and international peace and security. Among the recommendations in the document entitled "Principles of a common Mediterranean policy" (A/46/523 and Corr.1, annex), which the European Parliament adopted on 17 May 1991, is one urging "measures to encourage and promote dialogue and relations between the Mediterranean populations at various levels, including Governments, local authorities and civil groups". (*ibid.*, para. 17)

For our part, in the Asia-Pacific area our continuing search for regional security arrangements has led us to an intensification of dialogue and consultations among ourselves as well as with cooperating States.

At Bandung, Indonesia, last January, the Regional Disarmament Workshop for Asia and the Pacific took place. This was followed by a symposium on the

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changing role of the United Nations in conflict resolution and peace-keeping, which was held at Singapore in March, On May 27 a United Nations conference on disarmament at Kyoto, Japan, was keynoted by our own Foreign Secretary, Mr. Raul S. Manglapus. A week later, on 5 to 6 June, a Manila seminar on the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia Pacific Region focused on the prospects for security cooperation in the 1990s. And just this month a roundtable on regional security cooperation in South-East Asia was held at Bangkok, Thailand. That series of consultations and meetings on security-related issues adds up to an average of one every two months, surely a record for our region.

It is my delegation's hope that such initiatives will lead to new and more effective arrangements that will bring about a more durable peace and security in our region as well as in other regions. Towards that end, the Philippine Foreign Secretary, Raul S. Manglapus, proposed to the ASEAN Ministers Meeting in July 1990 that political-security issues be taken up at future meetings.

At about the same time last year similar initiatives for the Asia-Pacific region were advanced in various forums - notably by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, who called for a dialogue between countries of the East Asia corridor by former Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark, who urged that a North Pacific exchange be initiated, and by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadse, who proposed the holding of a conference of foreign ministers in the region in 1993.

In the wake of all this, there is now a heightened consciousness in our region concerning security matters. The July ASEAN Ministers Meeting at Kuala Lumpur, for instance, took note of the increasing interest in peace and security in South-East Asia and reiterated its view that the Zone of Peace,

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Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia and the Post-Ministerial Conference are appropriate bases for addressing those issues. It is well known, of course, that the Philippines, together with its ASEAN partners, has been actively promoting ZOPFAN and the Treaty of Amity as the twin pillars in the creation of regional peace in South-East Asia.

It has been said many times over - and my delegation wishes to restate it once more - that regional initiatives should come from within the region, based on the principles of sovereign equality, with full participation of the States concerned. While our view is to maintain existing arrangements, we are at the same time committed to continue and sustain this process of consultation and dialogue as a means of developing trust and confidence and mutual respect for our respective security concerns.

Another aspect that the First Committee should examine is the role of conflict prevention to ensure peace and stability in the emerging new world order. The newly forged cooperation between the super-Powers in the wake of the breaking down of ideological barriers has lessened tensions to some degree, but it has not brought about the cessation of conflicts as many had hoped. On the contrary, we are now witnessing strifes brought about by the revival of deep-seated and historical conflicts.

These occurrences suggest that earnest efforts must be undertaken to strengthen existing mechanisms, both global and regional, not only to resolve conflicts but also to prevent disputes long before they arise. The role of "preventive diplomacy" by the United Nations should be seriously explored, along with concepts already proposed in the past, such as early-warning mechanisms through global watch and by trip-wires that would trigger

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preventive **measures** where trouble spots may develop. It is important that the **United Nations peacemaking and peacekeeping capabilities** be enhanced.

**In this period** of transition from **confrontation to cooperation**, vigilance and **anticipatory planning** are **essential**. We must not merely react. We must not be lulled into thinking that an absence of conflict will produce security and stability **ipso facto**. We cannot even presume that peace dividends are **forthcoming**. We must work to bring this about, so that the broader concept of security, which **includes** the **economic and other developmental concerns**, may be fulfilled.

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The regional concerns and contexts vary. In Eastern Europe, it may be peaceful transformation from centrally-governed to democratic systems, and domestic restructuring of centrally-planned into free-market economies. In other regions, the overriding concerns may be pervasive transnational issues such as environmental threats, drug trafficking, organised crime, ethnic rivalries, humanitarian emergencies, and the mass exodus of populations.

In this connection, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the continuing validity of the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which recognized the interdependence of political, military, socio-economic, environmental, technological and humanitarian dimensions of security.

We agree with the view expressed by the Permanent Representative of Brazil in his recent statement that the Declarations

“reflects, on the one hand, the foresight of those who drafted it, but also, on the other hand, what laggards we have been in implementing its recommendations”. (A/C.1/46/PV.40, p. 13)

The time is ripe for the operationalization of these concepts and approaches. Recent studies and commissioned reports bear this out: the Brandt Commission report on North-South relations, the report of the Palme Commission on disarmament and security, and the Brundtland report on environment and development.

The latest of these independent reports, the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance, has this to say on the proposed new order:

“If we are to give a new global security order a chance, we must at the same time start to deal with challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments. We must realise that there is a wider concept of security, which deals also with threats that stem from failures in

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development, environmental degradation, excessive population growth and movement, and lack of progress towards democracy, Only with such a wider concept of security can we find ways of securing a lasting world peace.” This is in accordance with our view that the concept of peace and security must be broader than the mere reduction or elimination of conflict, that it must enable peoples to apply their energies and resources towards development, and that it must provide the motive force for the reinvigoration of the Earth’s environment.

International security is increasingly assuming global dimensions that require global perspectives anchored in regional approaches. We therefore call for more partnership and cooperation if the international security challenges of the future are to be addressed successfully.

Sr. OUDOVENKO (Ukraine) (interpretation from Russian): It is the first time in this Committee, I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of Chairman of the First Committee. You have already demonstrated your great diplomatic and personal abilities. Poland and Ukraine are neighbours and have age-old ties of friendship and cooperation, and Poland was one of the first countries to recognise the State sovereignty of Ukraine and to state its desire to have diplomatic relations with Ukraine. I wish you further successes in your important tasks.

The delegation of Ukraine would like to declare that of particular importance in confirming the new world order is abiding by the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)). Not one of the 27 paragraphs of that Declaration has become irrelevant today. This can be seen in the need for full respect for the sovereignty of States and the rights of people to determine their own future

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without outside intervention, and the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force. There is also a recognition of the need to take effective measures, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to prevent and remove threats to the peace and to crush acts of aggression. There is an appeal to halt and reverse the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. Of course, there is a recognition of the paramount role of the obligations of State Members of the United Nations, under the Organisation's Charter, and confirmation of the unquestionable value of the purposes and principles of the Charter as the basis for inter-State relations.

All of those provisions of the Declaration - which has stood the test of 20 years - now have an opportunity to be fully applied in practice by States. This can be achieved through the disappearance of the ideological confrontation and the increasing understanding of the fact that war is unacceptable as a means for settling disputes, and through affirmation of the broad recognition of the increasingly indivisible nature of security.

International security must be the same for all States and in all ways: military, political, socio-economic, scientific and technological, ecological and humanitarian. Today, the situation is such that there is not one single State in the world, neither the strongest nor the weakest, that can guarantee its own security by national means alone. A satisfactory solution to many aspects of security is possible only on a multilateral basis through collective effort. In view of the growing interdependence of our modern world, many aspects of the world and the life of the international community are becoming increasingly international in nature. This includes the content of such a concept as national security, which can be guaranteed only within the context of agreed and joint efforts by States.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukraine)

At this session, our delegation has already had an opportunity to state the views of Ukraine on ways of strengthening security in all its aspects - nuclear and conventional disarmament and the requirements of broad cooperation in the economic, ecological and social areas. I would like to add the following to what we have already said.

In Ukraine, we are proposing the establishment of our armed forces in three stages, which will take about five or six years. We will need a legal basis for this, and will have to hold talks with the Ministry of Defence of the USSR in order to draft and sign the relevant agreements. And of course we will also need to hold talks with our neighbour Republics: Russia, Belarus and Moldavia. Ukraine will participate fully in the financing, equipping and supplying of the strategic armed forces deployed on its territory, and we will have our own military contingent, financing, equipping and supplying our border forces, internal forces, and those guarding the railroads, which have already been shifted to our jurisdiction. By 1992, Ukraine will be paying fully for these forces.

Speaking on the question of having our own armed forces, Mr. Kravchuk, President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, said:

"We envisage our army as being comprised of under 100,000 men. In addition to this, we will have our border forces and national guard. Thus, what we may end up with is about 160,000 Ukrainians in our armed forces, who will be directly answerable to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence. We will be establishing a mechanism for interaction between these forces and our strategic forces,\*\*

I would now like to comment on the priorities on our priorities on the global, regional, subregional and national levels in ensuring stable conditions for the peaceful development of Ukraine as an independent State.

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At the global level, in any model of collective efforts to ensure the most reliable level of security the United Nations must play a key role. The renaissance of the United Nations and its irreplaceable role in halting the conflict in the Persian Gulf, settling the problem of Namibia and making progress in solving many complex issues in other regions and countries, ranging from Nicaragua to Angola, from Western Sahara to Cambodia, show that the United Nations system is a reliable actor in ensuring the peaceful development of all peoples under conditions of good-neighbourliness, mutual assistance and mutual respect.

Security in this new world must be provided by political means, by consultations, cooperation and - this is very important - within the framework of the United Nations and the agencies in the United Nations system. By joint efforts we can help to confirm the new international order, based on common human values and recognized principles of international law, while not recognising the imposition of will, arbitrary action and hegemonism, refraining from sabre-rattling in international affairs and from the threat or use of force. Now more than ever before there is a real chance that the rule of law can be applied in international life. Democratic methods can now be firmly established. Dictatorship has crumbled once and for all.

There are still a few cases of attempts to impose the old kind of policy by force. Under those circumstances the United Nations must be ready to take effective preventive action. Ukraine, like many other neutral and non-aligned States, does not have large armed forces available to it. In seeking a guarantee of its independence and defending itself against any possible infringements or attacks from outside it counts very seriously on assistance and support which would be provided by the United Nations in keeping with its

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**Charter . A more effective United Nations will give States an opportunity to guarantee their security at the very lowest level of armaments. In other words, all States would have a defence capacity) each country would have the same opportunities to defend itself, but no State would have the capacity to attack another.**

**It is difficult to exaggerate the importance to our national security of disarmament measures, the strengthening of trust and the development of comprehensive cooperation under conditions of peace, good-neighbourliness and mutual understanding. These are measures that have been taken in the region by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), involving Europe, the United States and Canada. This process has made it possible for countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, to choose a path of true independence, self-determination and democratic choice, in keeping with the stated will of our people.**

**On 1 December - next Sunday - the people of Ukraine will state their views on the parliamentary Act of 24 August this year declaring an independent Ukrainian State. The first steps taken by independent Ukraine in the international arena have convinced us that the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and all other documents relating to the CSCE process are reliable and irreplaceable instruments for us as we join the family of independent states and, together with them, build friendly relations of good-neighbourliness on the basis of mutual benefit, partnership and cooperation.**

**Our experience and the experience of other European States shows convincingly that the following are absolute requirements for ensuring national and international security: the inviolability of borders; refraining**

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from territorial claims against *any* other country; increased attention to ensuring the rights of national minorities, including effective measures to prevent any lingering discrimination against any of them; and ensuring they have conditions for exercising and preserving their ethnic, religious and cultural ways. They are all an inseparable part of a policy of good-neighbourliness.

As regards the subregional aspects of security, in Ukraine they mean at least one thing: Ukraine must be surrounded by friends. We believe that the sincerity of our intentions has been demonstrated to Russia, Belarus, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldavia and our Black Sea neighbours - Bulgaria, Turkey and Georgia. As always happens with neighbours, we are bound by common borders, but we also have common problems, and it is easier to solve those problems together. Ukraine attaches paramount importance to establishing and developing friendly relations with our neighbours on a bilateral and multilateral basis. This includes stepping up our cooperative activities in relation to the Black Sea and Danube areas and carrying out measures agreed on within the context of the CSCE and the relevant Soviet-American agreements.

As was noted in the letter sent earlier this month by the President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, to the Heads of State of a number of neighbours, Ukraine is working for the conclusion of the convention to ban chemical weapons and for the acceleration of conventional disarmament in Europe, all in keeping with the doctrine of a minimum level of defensive capacity. We have also confirmed our willingness to follow up measures in the 1991 Treaty on limiting and reducing strategic offensive weapons and the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. We shall also be taking

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measures for the imminent **implementation** and entry *into force* of those instruments.

In this connection, Ukraine is relying on the fact that the members of the CSCE, taking account of the realities of today and the results of the referendum in Ukraine, will at the forthcoming CSCE ministerial meeting take a positive decision on full participation by Ukraine in the all-European process. It is simple logic that, since common European agreements cannot be implemented without the direct participation of Ukraine, such instruments cannot be prepared without such participation by Ukrainians.

At the European level and at the world level new participants are entering upon the scene, many in a new capacity. What we need is political dialogue and carefully detailed work to establish a new united Europe and new security for the entire continent. Ukraine will be an active participant in building a new Europe, recalling that what is happening in Europe is of tremendous importance to global processes as well.

I should now like to make a few comments on the internal aspects of our security.

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Ukraine will soon begin a broad programme of converting our defence industries and a significant part of our military-industrial capacity to social and economic development. Our policy will be to eliminate completely the nuclear weapons and components now deployed in Ukrainian territory.

As we have already announced, in order to protect the independence, rights and freedoms of our citizens, our territorial integrity and the interests of our State, the Parliament of Ukraine has decided to establish a Ukrainian armed force. As my delegation emphasized earlier in the First Committee, the establishment of the Ukrainian army will lead to a significant reduction in the armed forces and armaments in Ukrainian territory, which will be a genuine contribution to the strengthening of the European trend towards disarmament and to efforts aimed at achieving regional and world-wide stability.

We also note with satisfaction that one of the first foreign-policy decisions of independent Ukraine, the decision to make our State non-nuclear, confirmed by our Parliament's Declaration of 24 October 1991 "On the non-nuclear status of Ukraine", has the full support of the international community; it will strengthen our neighbours' confidence in us and provide a firm foundation for mutual security.

The Mediterranean region is an important factor in international security. Ukraine, as a Black Sea State, and consequently a Mediterranean State as well, is interested in broad-based dialogue and collaboration among all the States of that region with a view to making it a zone of peace, security and cooperation. Non-military factors too are important to strengthening security in the Mediterranean region: comprehensive development of regional cooperation in economic development, the environment, transport,

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tourism, culture, science and technology. That would build confidence among the peoples of the Mediterranean.

Also of great interest is the proposal made by France, Italy, Portugal and Spain concerning the possibility of convening a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. That could be an effective instrument for safeguarding common interests and improving relations among the countries of the region, one which attracts the interest of a number of other regions and in which many of the world's critical problems are interwoven.

The tragic events in Yugoslavia cry out for action by the United Nations system European-wide bodies to halt military activity and to find a peaceful solution, in keeping with the procedures and principles of the *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)*, for the problems that have embittered the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The interests of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, inseparable from the fate of the Mediterranean region, prompt us to call upon the participants in the conference on peace in the Middle East to make the fullest possible use of the opportunities afforded by the negotiating process begun at the Madrid Conference in order to bring back peace and tranquillity to the countries of that region. Each side has done its part in moving to the negotiating table. The time for extravagant ambitions, bellicose declarations and implacable threats is past. Only political means can bring an end to the suffering of the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Palestinians and the Israelis. If the conflict continues, there will only be more victims and more suffering for all the parties.

The same is true of the situation in Afghanistan, where through negotiation and conciliation, moving forward towards a just settlement and

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lasting peace step by step, from one stage to the next, overcoming suspicion and prejudice, the leaders of the parties to the dispute will and must put out the last fires of armed conflict.

The cold war, which recklessly poured great quantities of fuel on those "hot wars", is now gone from the stage of history. It is therefore logical to suppose that now, more than *ever* before, there is a chance to end the conflicts in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in other parts of the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind members that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions is rapidly approaching.

Mr. PAK GIL YON (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): I should like first of all to commend you, Sir, for the high ability you have displayed as Chairman, thanks to which the work of the First Committee is proceeding with success.

The issue of international security, now under consideration, is one of the most important among the activities of the United Nations. Peace and security does not simply mean the absence of war and conflict. International security is a comprehensive concept. If peace and security is to live up to its real meaning, we must take into consideration not only the military aspect, but also the political, economic and social aspects such as fair international relations based on respect for the political, social and economic systems of all countries and a just international economic order.

It is noteworthy that remarkable progress has been made recently in the settlement of regional conflicts in various parts of the world. In particular we welcome the signing of the peace agreement on Cambodia. The settlement of the Cambodian issue is a great contribution to peace and security in Asia and in the world at large.

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However, the factors of political and economic instability resulting from the old international order persist. That represents a source of serious concern with respect to world peace and security. Genuine international security should be based on mutual respect, on freedom of choice of social system, and on the sovereignty of nations. There are big and small countries in the world, but there cannot be senior and junior countries. All countries should contribute to international security on an equal footing.

The critical economic situation of the developing countries can never be overlooked in the context of international security. As the world becomes more and more interdependent, it is contradictory and unjustifiable to say that the developing countries are entirely responsible for their deteriorating economies, which are exerting a negative influence on international security.

It is natural that the international community should take a multifacteted and more comprehensive approach to world peace and security. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea would like to reaffirm its commitment to joining other Member States in achieving world peace and security within the framework of the United Nations.

The most important and urgent element in international security today is peace and security on the Korean peninsula. Peace and security in Korea is directly linked to peace and security in Asia and the world at large. It assumes greater importance as the interests of the countries surrounding the peninsula are interwoven against one another.

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Certain countries still gripped by anachronistic concepts are planning to deal with the issue of peace and security in this region in such a way as to put unjust pressure upon us, isolate us, destroy our system and make their interests predominant. That is a miscalculation, and it will only result in a further aggravation of the situation. If the fragile peace is broken and a war is unleashed in Korea, it will not be good for neighbouring countries and will be a great threat to peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has tried very hard, from the point of view of mutual interest, to create a climate for peace and security on the Korean Peninsula, where the legacy of the cold war is deeply rooted. The overriding priority for peace and security in Korea is to remove political and military confrontations on the peninsula. In other words, it is important to replace military confrontation with a stable peace structure.

We have proposed to South Korea and the United States that we enter into dialogue to settle the peace issue in the Korean Peninsula. Dialogue is the only positive means of achieving mutual understanding and trust. We have long proposed to South Korea the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the north and south of Korea. Therefore, it is a step forward that north and south have agreed to adopt a non-aggression declaration at the fourth round of north-south high-level talks, which were held at Pyongyang last October. The adoption of the non-aggression declaration will be a starting-point for confidence-building and for the removal of political and military confrontation and will be a contribution to peace and security in Korea.

At the same time, we have proposed to the Government of the United States the holding of talks to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. The United States is a real party to the Armistice Agreement and

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signed that Agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; it is a responsible party that has been deeply involved in the Korean problem for many years. If the United States concludes a peace agreement with my country and withdraws its military troops and nuclear weapons from Korea, it would be a very important contribution and a breakthrough to peace and security in Korea.

The United Nations for its part also has an obligation to fulfil with regard to the Korean problem. South of the Military Demarcation Line that divides the peninsula, the United Nations flag is hoisted as a belligerent party opposed to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. There may, perhaps, not be many in the world who are aware of the fact that there is a United Nations force in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Of course, the United Nations force is not under the direction of the United Nations politically, militarily or even financially, as the United Nations itself confirms. However, it is now high time the United Nations paid due attention to the Korean issue and took appropriate measures to recover its flag, which it once lent, and established a stable peace in Korea.

A climate for peaceful reunification will also be established when a non-aggression declaration is adopted between the north and the south, thus promoting reconciliation and interchange, and when the Armistice Agreement is replaced by a peace agreement and the United States force is withdrawn from South Korea. Korea should be reunified if the peace and security on the peninsula are to be complete and enduring. We think that the most reasonable and realistic way to peaceful reunification is to achieve reunification through confederation based on one State, one nation, two governments, two systems, on the condition that the different ideologies and systems existing in the north and in the south are mutually recognized and tolerated. This is

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the approach that we think most reasonable, taking into account the objective reality existing on the Korean peninsula,

I should like to express my expectation that the United Nations and its Member States would make just and sincere contributions to peace and security in Korea,

Mr. NAIMI-ARFA (Islamic Republic of Iran): With the end of the cold war and its positive aftermath, the emergence of a better international environment and a more secure world is no longer a dream. It is a hope - a hope for the beginning of a new era, the era of the rule of international law. But the unfortunate paradox is that while global tensions are being eased by détente and cooperation among the major Powers, new areas of tension and confrontation are rapidly emerging. The alarming increases of general violence, ethnic conflicts and refugees flows are significant enough to cause international concern.

Mindful of those realities, we believe that there is still a window of opportunity to create a better world, a better tomorrow for our children. This opportunity must be seized in all urgency, however difficult it may be to do so.

If the dream of a more secure world is going to be realised, we believe the concept of security must be globalized and collectively defined, collectively designed and collectively defended. While the identification of the issues involved in this new conceptualization is the task of more qualified experts, it is important to mention the correlation of global and regional security with development, poverty and the time bomb of over-population. Because those issues are currently being studied in various governmental and non-governmental agencies and United Nations bodies, I should

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like to limit my remarks to several important aspects of regional security, specifically in the Persian Gulf region.

Needless to say, efforts for the strengthening of international and regional security should be pursued concurrently, and in this regard it is important to maintain the balance between regional and global security. To that end we believe that each region has to be clearly defined and that arrangements have to be determined freely among the States concerned according to clear principles, some of which I shall enumerate here: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, inviolability of internationally recognised boundaries, non-resort to force in the settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, and dialogue and mutual understanding,

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It is imperative to emphasise that formula8 cannot be dupliated or imposed from outside and that no region can be dependent for its security on outside forces. In fact, the presence of foreign forces has historically resulted in domestic instability within the host countries and heightened the existing tensions between these countries and other regional Statee. Therefore, my country has always maintained its opposition to the presence of foreign forces in any region, particularly in the Persian Gulf area. The underlying principle in our approach towards regional seaurity is cooperation among the countries of the region in areas of common interest, on the one hand, and confidence building in areas of hietorical concern and mistrust, on the other. This approach stands in sharp contrast to the formation of competing bloc8 which would naturally entrench and sharpen historical divisions and rivalries, and thereby pave the way for foreign forces to come in.

Based on this principled approach, we believe that the problems of the Persian Gulf, which have resulted in two disastrous wars in the span of just one decade, can be tackled. The Persian Gulf countries share deep-rooted bonds of religion, history, culture and commerce. More importantly, their security and economic well-being are interdependent, albeit to varying degrees, on a *secure* Persian Gulf. These are the foundation8 for cooperation among us. Mutual arrangements in area8 such as oil production and export policy, reconstruction and development programmes, and the economic, technical, social, cultural and humanitarian fields could prove extremely helpful in further fostering confidence and mitigating mistrust.

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Other confidence-building measures, such as mutual commitment to the principle which was mentioned earlier, might also provide a positive and constructive step in this regard. In addition to these principles, we think that unconditional commitment by all Persian Gulf States to the unimpeded commercial use of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman, coupled with the free flow of resources to and from the region, will be of great importance in the formatting of a sound security arrangement in our region. It is also possible to envisage, with the help of the United Nations, the gradual creation of verification mechanisms and the development of responsible and balanced methods of arms control, in particular with regard to weapons of mass destruction.

It must be emphasized here that any regional disarmament and arms limitation scheme must be balanced and take into full account the necessity of not diminishing the security of the Persian Gulf countries within the larger context of the Middle East as well as the South-West Asian regions. Moreover, we must once again emphasize our opposition to the presence of foreign forces in our region, since it is a direct contradiction to the objectives of regional security.

We believe that all countries of the Persian Gulf region must be included in the security and cooperation arrangements in the Persian Gulf area. Any exclusion will be the seed of future mistrust, tension and crisis. Furthermore, to prevent the domination and/or imposition of the views of any single country or group of countries, arrangements should be envisaged within the framework of the United Nations and with the cooperation of its Secretary-General. The necessary institutional framework has already been provided in Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

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We think that the participation of the United Nations and the Secretary-General, with the assurances and guarantees that it would generate, should mitigate some of the immediate concerns among the Persian Gulf States, particularly the smaller ones. In addition, such a United Nations role, furnishing the necessary umbrellas, would also provide the international community with assurances as well as the mechanisms for safeguarding its legitimate interests. The United Nations would also provide the necessary linkage with regard to issues that go beyond the boundaries of this or any subsystem. A good example, as my delegation indicated earlier, is the area of arms limitation. Therefore, while maintaining the necessary international character and linkage, the area would not be so large as to make its issues unmanageable.

Toward this end we have already taken quite a few significant steps. A process of dialogue has already started among the countries of the Persian Gulf region. The Secretary-General, in his recent trip to Iran and Saudi Arabia, held extensive and fruitful consultations with Iranian officials and the Foreign Ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries concerning the implementation of paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which deals with regional security arrangements. He has reported a very positive impression of these talks and plans to follow up on these consultations. At the same time, diplomatic contacts and visits between GCC members and the Islamic Republic of Iran have also significantly increased.

While the countries of the Persian Gulf region have also expanded their cooperation in the economic and technical fields, cooperation in the area of the environment remains an urgent necessity and has progressed steadily within the context of the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine

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Environment, as well as through bilateral arrangements, including the successful participation of Iranian experts in controlling and extinguishing Kuwaiti oil-well fires. The International Conference on Oil in the 1990s, convened in Iran last June with the participation of oil producers and consumers as well as oil companies, and in which a number of high ranking officials from Persian Gulf States participated, was yet another practical step forward not only to promote cooperation in this vital area, but also to foster regional and international confidence.

We know that the establishment of a viable programme for regional security and cooperation in the Persian Gulf area is not an easy task. While some may be tempted to fall into the old trap of inviting outside forces or forming military alliances and blocs, it is essential to build a new system in this strategic region, based on the lessons that we have learned from the past, in order not to repeat the same mistakes. For the Islamic Republic of Iran, this is a fundamental criterion and the basic point of departure.

Mr. SIDOROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Nearing the turn of the century, the world community, having put an end to the cold war, has entered a totally new period of its development. Within a brief historical period, important advances have been made in the field of disarmament, in the European process and in overcoming a number of regional crises. The threat of a global nuclear-missile catastrophe has in fact been removed. A truly historical breakthrough in the strengthening of military and political stability was achieved when the Soviet-United States Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was signed in Moscow.

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

**It marked yet another important atop towardr the demilitarisation of international politics and a consolidation of the irreversible shift from confrontation to aooeration and trust. The initiative taken this autumn by President Bush of the United States and the reply to it by President Gorbachev of the USSR constituted an important breakthrough towardr a denuclearized and secure world.**

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

The key role of the United Nations as a central link in ensuring global security is being strengthened. The community of nations has begun to engage in unprecedented political dialogue and cooperation to solve the multifaceted problems confronting mankind.

The new realities must be objectively analysed and taken properly into account in working out United Nations approaches to the ensuring of security. They will also make it possible to undertake the creation of a system of solid security based on stability, openness and predictability. In that content, we regard it as necessary to concentrate the world community's efforts on practical solutions to problems on the basis of a balance of interests and full operation of the machinery for ensuring international security under the Charter of the United Nations in combination with measures to strengthen regional security,

The Soviet Union is convinced that the creation of firm structures of global security is indissolubly linked to building up the pan-European house on the principles proclaimed in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. This requires developing and promoting something which has already received some impetus from integration in Europe in the context of the general movement towards new relationships and the integrality of the world.

An important political task today is that of making maximum use of the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations in settling existing conflicts and preventing new ones. Due attention should be paid to setting up and juridically consolidating mechanisms to deter and halt aggression, on the basis of the *Charter*, and perfecting the United Nations system of peace-keeping operations. The experience of Namibia and Nicaragua and the operation of the United Nations machinery for resolving the questions of

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Western Sahara, Cambodia, Central America and other problems show that making use of the Organisation's capabilities the only way to balance the interests of all parties and solve the most complicated regional problems.

The international community must also actively oppose violence and military conflict inside individual countries, supporting democratic solutions of their internal problems and working to secure respect for human rights everywhere.

We believe that a complex and many-sided joining of United Nations peace-keeping operations with the activities of regional organisations would greatly strengthen the structure of global security. The Soviet Union is convinced that the surest and most sensible course of action in conflict situations is that of open dialogue and collective effort. It is important for all opposing sides, whatever countries of the world they are in, to face each other and realise that nobody can or will have any security at the expense of others.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has played an essential part in the task of maintaining international peace and security. Since its adoption by the General Assembly in 1970 it has served, in difficult conditions of political, ideological and military confrontation as a positive factor, a role in which it was aided in large measure by many countries, including Yugoslavia. At the present historic juncture in world developments, the fundamental principles of international relations reflected in the Declaration can contribute to establishing a new world order, founded on the principle of freedom of choice, on a balance of global, regional and national interests, on democracy and on humanism.

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

Taking into account *the* profound, positive changes in the international situation, we find it particularly important to bring opposing positions closer together, to channel dialogue on questions considered in the United Nations towards a search for universally acceptable approaches to the Organization's activities and its adaptation to new realities.

The new nature of international relations creates a situation that truly satisfies the requirements for strengthening security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union attaches great significance to ensuring security and stability in that important part of the world, which would contribute to the creation of a broad zone of peace and cooperation in the European-Asian and African areas.

The Soviet Union views the strengthening of security in the Mediterranean region as a comprehensive process including parallel steps to settle conflict situations and eliminate hotbeds of conflict, the strengthening of trust between Mediterranean and other States and the development of fruitful regional cooperation in all fields. In that connection, we welcome the initiative of Italy, Spain, France and Portugal to convene a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. *We* are convinced that efforts to strengthen security and cooperation in that region are part of the pan-European process and must be carried on in conjunction with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Soviet delegation hopes that the businesslike spirit prevailing in this debate in the First Committee will help to translate constructive ideas put forward by various delegations into draft -resolution language acceptable to all and thus contribute in a practical way to strengthening the role of the United Nations in guaranteeing international security,

The CHAIRMAN: I have been informed that the sponsors of the draft resolution under agenda item 68 are still carrying out last-minute negotiations, and they have asked me to postpone the deadline for submitting the draft resolution for half an hour. If the Committee agrees, I am willing to postpone the deadline for half an hour, but no longer. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.