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Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 38th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 14 October 1992, at 3 p.m.

**President:** Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

**later:** Mr. ELHOUDERI (Libyan Arab  
(Vice-President) Jamahiriya)

**later:** Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros)  
(Vice-President)

**later:** Mr. ELHOUDERI (Libyan Arab  
(Vice-President) Jamahiriya)

## - Programme of work

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization:  
reports of the Secretary-General [10] (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Earlier this month I gave the General Assembly a tentative programme of plenary meetings for the remainder of October. The following is a tentative programme regarding some agenda items to be considered during November and the first week of December.

As announced earlier, on Monday, 2 November, and Tuesday, 3 November, the General Assembly will hold a debate on agenda item 79, "Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development".

On Monday, 16 November, the Assembly will consider agenda item 18, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", and reports of the Fourth Committee.

On Tuesday, 17 November, in the morning the Assembly will take up agenda item 22, "The situation of democracy and human rights in Haiti", agenda item 36, "The situation in Central America: procedures for the achievement of a firm and lasting peace and progress in fashioning a region of freedom, democracy and development".

On Tuesday afternoon, 17 November, on Wednesday, 18 November, Thursday, 19 November, the Assembly will consider agenda item 78, "Apartheid of the Government of South Africa", together with agenda item 77, "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africa".

(The President)

On Wednesday, 25 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up agenda item 26, "Zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic", as well as the reports of the Sixth Committee.

The following week, starting on Monday, 30 November, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up agenda item 30, "Question of Palestine".

On Tuesday, 1 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will also take up a report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council".

On Wednesday, 2 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up agenda item 48, "Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1945".

On Thursday, 3 December, in the morning, the Assembly will take up agenda item 49, "Question of the Middle East".

I shall keep the Assembly informed of the progress of the work of the Committee on the Middle East. I shall keep the Assembly informed of the progress of the work of the Committee on the Middle East. I shall keep the Assembly informed of the progress of the work of the Committee on the Middle East.

I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible. I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible. I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/1, 1992)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible. I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible. I should like to say that the Assembly will be able to deal with the agenda items as closely as possible.

(The President)

remaining speakers will be heard at a subsequent meeting to be held on Monday, 26 October in the afternoon.

The report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, and in particular his report "An Agenda for Peace", address a multitude of issues and relate to many items on the agenda of the General Assembly. The debate on agenda item 10, which began last Friday and continues today, is indicative of the importance Member States attach to issues raised therein. It is evident that the discussions to be held under other agenda items will contribute to this debate and to the further examination of the Secretary-General's proposals in general and specific terms.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of the debate, the proposals that Member States will submit as the outcome of these discussions and consultations must be considered in coordination with the Main Committees which, in connection with the agenda items allocated to them, will also be taking up various aspects of the issues raised in "An Agenda for Peace".

I shall conduct informal consultations and put in place a working mechanism.

Furthermore, I should like to suggest that all items directly related to "An Agenda for Peace" remain open pending the conclusion of discussions among Member States on the issues raised.

Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): Allow me to begin by expressing our sincere felicitations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, for his thought-provoking report "An Agenda for Peace" and also for the report on the work of the Organization. They represent a timely and essential contribution to the reform and reorganization of the United Nations, in view of the recent transformations in international relations, and contain innovative ideas and concrete proposals to make the United Nations an effective and efficient

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

Organization responsive to the needs and challenges of contemporary times and realities. Hence they deserve our sincere and careful consideration.

We are meeting at a turning-point of world history. The divisive era of the cold war is gone, but a unifying and constructive structure is yet to emerge in its place. Inter-State and intra-State conflicts abound with potential to threaten international peace and security. Poverty, hunger and underdevelopment in many parts of the globe provide ever new breeding grounds for more conflicts and threaten inter-State harmony and security. Unabated environmental degradation all over the world is pushing us to the brink of disaster. Fairness, justice and equity in inter-State relations have been replaced by brute power politics based on short-sighted gains. Against this backdrop, we need to think and work harder together and to redouble our efforts to bring about necessary and realistic changes in our Organization, which stands as our only hope in the face of so many built-in adversaries and difficult challenges.

Legitimate security concerns of small States remain largely ignored and, what is worse, ameliorating operative actions are hardly taken in time. Small States, which constitute the majority of the international community, are the most vulnerable in terms of security. The provisions of the Charter, if followed and implemented, are the best guarantee of their sovereignty and security. The world of today, which is free from ideological rivalry, offers a unique opportunity to the United Nations to act decisively and resolutely to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the small and weaker States.

I should now like briefly to present my delegation's comments on the key proposals of the Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations in the field of maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

We agree with the prescription articulated in the report to employ diplomacy and all pacific means to ease tensions before they develop into conflicts, on the basis of the age-old golden rule that prevention is better than cure. Confidence-building measures and strict adherence to the norms of good-neighbourliness are the very preconditions to avoid conflicts and promote peace and harmony between States. The Non-Aligned Movement therefore attaches great importance to the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Resort to fact-finding missions and the growing emphasis on strengthening the early warning systems of the United Nations are - and indeed should be helpful tools to help preventive diplomacy work. We do not therefore have any hesitation in going for the proposal of preventive deployment, since an impartial and prudent use of such a measure may prove to be "a stitch in time" that can save "nine stitches" later. Such steps, although they involve high risk, have the potential of preventing both internal and inter-State conflicts. Bangladesh hopes that the Security Council will provide due leadership in such situations.

It is axiomatic that all Member States would abide strictly by the letter and spirit of the prescription for the pacific settlement of disputes set forth in Chapter VI of the Charter before taking any peacemaking measure referred to in Chapter VII of the Charter. There can be no two opinions about the fact that the Charter provides a central role for the Security Council in the realm of making, keeping and enforcing peace in the world. But the current world political setting also provides opportunities to the

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

Secretary-General to play an important role in assisting the Security Council and the General Assembly in performing their peacemaking role.

The role of the General Assembly also needs to be strengthened in the domain of the maintenance of international peace and security. The General Assembly, as the conscience of the world, can and should be made more effective in creating a world public opinion and legitimizing United Nations actions against aggression and containing any situation that might threaten peace and stability in any region of the world.

The important and decisive role of the International Court of Justice in the United Nations system should be utilized for the resolution of conflicts wherever possible in the changed global context. Greater resort to the Court, which has so far been underutilized, would surely enhance contributions to peacemaking and promote the rule of law in international relations.

Although an innovation on the Charter, the United Nations peace-keeping operations have been resorted to on very many occasions and have been successful in implementing many peace settlements. The increase in the number of regional and ethnic conflicts in recent years has without doubt imposed tremendous demands on the United Nations peace-keeping operations. This has posed problems with regard to logistics, equipment and personnel and, most importantly, with regard to finance.

Bangladesh is participating in a number of United Nations peace-keeping operations, such as the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and the United Nations Operations in

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

Somalia (UNOSOM). And these troops are going through the joys and tribulations of maintaining peace. We stand ready to provide military and civilian personnel for deployment in United Nations peace-keeping operations in any part of the globe.

We are, however, deeply concerned at the limited availability of resources for peace-keeping operations as this is bound to create problems for present and future United Nations operations. Bangladesh, in this context, agrees with the Secretary-General's proposal to establish a peace-keeping reserve fund of \$50 million to meet the start-up costs of peace-keeping operations. Bangladesh also supports the proposal for the establishment of a United Nations peace endowment fund in order to make available a support base for future United Nations operations.

The concept of peace-building is very important and constructive since it would make peace durable and reduce the chances of conflicts reoccurring. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's view that measures to consolidate peace and instil a sense of confidence in people are essential for peacemaking and peace-keeping operations to be truly successful.

Adequate international support and a conducive environment are essential for healing the wounds and restoring the damage caused by conflicts. Financial and technical assistance are very important to the rebuilding of the battered economies so that people's confidence can be restored. The promotion of regional cooperation is of great significance to the attempts at post-conflict peace-building.

The Secretary-General's proposal to streamline the Secretariat in order to make it more efficient and to avoid duplication of work deserves our

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

attention. We think he is on the right track when he considers measures to reform and revitalize the Organization by 1995 to ensure the fullest utilization of its potential. Making the Organization more democratic, transparent and responsive to new realities is as essential as ensuring proper coordination between the various organs and agencies of the United Nations.

There is a growing realization that international peace and security have very important socio-economic dimensions. The inextricable link between socio-economic development and peace needs to be recognized. Widespread poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, social backwardness, deprivation and economic stagnation constitute potential sources of conflict. It is imperative that no agenda for global peace and security be formulated or implemented without giving due attention to eradicating poverty and reactivating the economic growth of developing countries. Can any durable peace be achieved when more than one fifth of the world's population lives in absolute poverty?

The post-cold-war era has provided the United Nations with a unique and central role in international relations. The future of our planet and our well-being depend on how best we can utilize the potentials of the Organization and how efficiently and speedily we can translate into reality its objectives as enshrined in the Charter.

The proposals of the Secretary-General are certainly aimed at making our Organization more efficient in facing the new challenges and adapting to the new realities. We strongly feel that an open-ended working group should be established to consider the Secretary-General's valuable proposals. This group could study the proposals in detail and Member States would also be able to contribute to the efforts to strengthen the United Nations.

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

In conclusion, my delegation would like to underscore the importance of enhanced cooperation of the States Members of our Organization to make it more dynamic and equip it with the necessary tools effectively to maintain peace and stability in the world. I sincerely believe that our concerted efforts in this direction will enable us to achieve a better United Nations and build a better future for future generations.\*

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\* Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. AL-HADAD (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, at the outset, to extend to the people and Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt our sincere condolences over the natural disaster that befell that country, and the resultant death of hundreds of people and much material damage.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for preparing the valuable report before us at the request of the Security Council at its summit on 31 January 1992. By reviewing a wide range of issues, and by putting forward proposals aimed at enhancing and reinforcing the efficiency of the United Nations under the Charter to enable it to undertake the tasks of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking, the Secretary-General has been able to generate among the Members of the General Assembly a fruitful discussion on how this might be achieved.

The post-cold-war era is characterized by the spread of democracy, pluralism and support for human rights. All these principles have been adopted by a number of countries at a time of widespread belief in their validity and in the need to ensure adherence thereto in the interests of international peace and security. However, we still believe the point of departure in dealing with such concepts should be the realization that they are social variables that are very difficult to entrench outside the context of interaction with national characteristics, namely, the demographic composition, religious beliefs and cultural values of every people.

Coercion and the projection of specific ready-made models of democracy will create nothing but tensions and will lead to nothing but social imbalance. Proceeding from this, wisdom demands that the international

(Mr. Al-Hadad, Yemen)

community, while trying to enhance the principles of democracy, should encourage the adoption of democracy in every country without imposing any ready-made models.

In any case, we need to generate consensus regarding the model that we assume would be applied in an absolute manner. However, this conclusion does not preclude other endeavours by the human mind to search for alternative models that may be applicable to all. None the less, unanimity can be achieved through the effective means of promoting the concepts of democracy and human rights as being indispensable to shouldering international responsibility with regard to the socio-economic-development process and as being the pillars for enhancement of the democratic process.

In this context, we must expand the concept of international security to include action to deal with matters related to the elimination of racism and the dismantling of apartheid as well as with the dangers of pollution of the environment. Most importantly, we must deal with the causes of disputes and wars that are still rampant in the world. All of these matters should be dealt with on the basis of collective responsibility and through the promotion of equitable socio-economic development.

The role of the United Nations is growing in this period of transition in international affairs. While that role has been enhanced, the importance of the Organization's being a model of democratic practice would be clearly demonstrated by an approach of consultation and by the participation of Members in decision-making, which would produce the balance that is necessary to revitalize the role of the General Assembly and the nature of its links with the Security Council.

(Mr. Al-Hadad, Yemen)

With regard to issues relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Organization must demonstrate its credibility. The litmus test is the avoidance of duplicity and double standards, and full compliance with the provisions of the Charter when it comes to matters that may be regarded as breaches or violations of international peace and security.

We do not know what course the transformations of the present era will take, and we do not deny the increasing interdependence or the common interests of us all. However, by entrenching the conviction that democracy must be enhanced and that human rights must be upheld, we should be adopting as our guide the principle of national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This should be protected by the Charter of the United Nations and by the rules of international law.

In this connection, the role that ought to be played by the United Nations in respect of collective security and preventive diplomacy with a view to prevent disputes or to de-escalate them and prevent them from deteriorating into conflicts, as well as in respect of all questions of peace-keeping and peacemaking, should not be allowed to become a vehicle for violation of the Charter or for the adoption of resolutions in a selective manner.

In conclusion, I should like to say that my delegation agrees with the this comment by the Secretary-General in the report that is under discussion: "The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt): I wish to begin by conveying the appreciation and gratitude of my delegation to the President and to all those who have expressed kind sentiments of sorrow following the tragedy that struck Cairo and other parts of Egypt last Monday.

Almost 50 years ago the international community collectively decided to establish the United Nations as an instrument to maintain peace and to ensure a more just, peaceful and humane international order. Many consider that the record of our Organization falls short of the original expectations.

I do not intend to dwell on the reasons behind the inability of the United Nations to fulfil the vision of its founding fathers; what is relevant to our deliberations now, and what I wish to emphasize, is that we must seize every available opportunity to redirect and rededicate our course towards achieving the fundamental objectives of the United Nations. The international climate now is propitious, the political will now seems to exist, and we have before us the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" a thought-provoking document that focuses attention on the issues that could determine the future role of the United Nations.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

The United Nations by way of trial and error was forced to undergo many changes in a pragmatic, piecemeal and sometimes improvised manner. The pressure of circumstances dictated that the United Nations membership abandon some of the original Charter concepts and seek ways and means to adjust to the future requirements of the international community. As long ago as 1959 the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, recognized the inevitability of change to cope with the dilemma confronting the United Nations. In his 1959 introduction to the annual report he wrote the following:

"The statement of objectives in the Charter is binding and so are the rules concerning the various organs and their competence, but it is not necessary to regard the working methods indicated in the Charter as limitative in purpose. Thus, they may be supplemented by others under the pressure of circumstances and in the light of experience if these additional procedures are not in conflict with what is prescribed."

(A/4132/Add.1, p. 2)

I believe what he wrote more than 30 years ago is as valid today. The working methods contained in the Charter have indeed taken a turn away from the original plan.

The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", is a valuable and timely document. It offers a genuine opportunity for Member States to revisit the Charter and reflect on the adequacy of the existing working methods as Dag Hammarskjöld asked us to do more than 30 years ago. We should launch an in-depth, comprehensive study of "An Agenda for Peace". The scope of the study should not be confined only to the proposals therein. We should reach out and analyse all the dimensions and implications that will result from the implementation of the various proposals. The Charter is essentially based on a comprehensive, multidimensional concept of security. However, owing to

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

cold-war conditions the politico-military aspect of security took precedence over all other aspects. The Secretary-General in his report has succeeded in recapturing the original comprehensive concept of security, with its economic, political, environmental, humanitarian and military dimensions.

Egypt supports an increased role for the United Nations in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. Activities of the United Nations in these areas should be based on the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and independence of States. The maintenance of international peace and security cannot be achieved if the United Nations role is confined to tackling a crisis after its eruption. Anticipation of potential threats and timely action by the United Nations is imperative and should be accorded the utmost priority. Furthermore, the United Nations should endeavour to settle international disputes peacefully according to Chapter VI taking into consideration Article 36(3) of the Charter, which stipulates that legal disputes should, as a general rule, be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice. The provisions of Chapter VII could and should be applied in specific situations when international peace and security is threatened and the circumstances warrant recourse to these provisions. In this context it is relevant and timely to point out that serious consideration should be devoted to the right of States, confronted with special economic problems, in accordance with the provisions of Article 50, to consult and seek remedial measures from the Security Council. Furthermore, the Secretary-General should be encouraged to exercise the responsibilities conferred upon him in Article 99 of the Charter. In addition, it is of the utmost importance in our contemporary world that the

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Secretary-General, on his own authority and as a corollary to Article 99, utilize fact-finding missions, dispatch observers, and use his good offices as a means of strengthening his ability to contribute positively in the maintenance of international peace and security. In short, the report contains many commendable proposals. While we support the thrust of these proposals, it should be emphasized that they must be considered against the backdrop of the changes that are taking place in the international system, particularly what seems to be an increasingly undefined line that distinguishes what is an internal or domestic affair of a State and what is not. I have in mind the tragic and chaotic situation in Somalia today.

The substance of the report "An Agenda for Peace", as it deals with measures designed to promote international cooperation towards the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations, clearly falls within the purview of the General Assembly. It is for this reason, as well as the necessity of upholding the principles of transparency and democratization of international relations, that the General Assembly should deliberate on the report. It is our considered opinion that it should be addressed by all Member States in an integrated, comprehensive manner that will allow States to pull in all elements of the security equation. Towards this end we propose the establishment of an open-ended working group to consider the report, as well as any other proposals aimed at enhancing the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. As we are approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations the time factor cannot be more important. It is therefore necessary that the working group should work with this in mind. As a first stage it would be helpful if the working group could present the results of its deliberations to a resumed session of the General Assembly to be convened early next spring.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

An integrated approach to "An Agenda for Peace" is essential but not sufficient; it needs to be complemented by a fresh overall look at the existing structures and organizations of the United Nations. The mode of operation and membership of the principal organs of the United Nations must be reconsidered and updated if we are to undertake a serious and determined effort to realize comprehensive peace and security.

The deliberations of the working group should take into consideration the long-term objective of improving and strengthening the work of the United Nations. It should deal with specific proposals in the report. Perhaps new proposals will also surface during these discussions, and it should either take a decision regarding them or direct them to the appropriate forum. Ultimately, these discussions may lead to the reconsideration of the mandates of various existing committees and subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly.

Before concluding I should like to support the proposal made by the United Kingdom to create a memorial for all those valiant individuals who lost their lives and made the ultimate sacrifice to uphold the Purposes and Principles enshrined in the Charter.

In conclusion, allow me to point out that the United Nations was established in 1945, equipped with a Charter embodying universal and enduring Purposes and Principles. These Purposes and Principles are as relevant today as they were in 1945. What is needed is to ensure that the course the United Nations follows in the future will lead to the realization of its fundamental objectives. That is the challenge we face today. We cannot allow this historic opportunity to be missed. We must harness our collective will and political determination to make our Organization an effective instrument towards establishing a more just, peaceful and humane world.

Mr. CASTANEDA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Central American countries - Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and El Salvador.

First of all, may I express our sincerest condolences to the Government and people of Egypt, through its delegation, on the tragedy that that country had just suffered. Central America has often suffered the scourge of natural disasters, and we therefore understand the tragedy that has occurred in Egypt in all its dimensions.

Our participation in the debate on agenda item 10, concerning the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization and on the document entitled "An Agenda for Peace", is prompted by the experience of our subregion in the application of the concepts of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building, which has been regarded as a sui generis case in the Organization's peace-keeping procedures and mechanisms. Central America considers it to be timely and important to express some views on vital principles that must be upheld in an initiative which, although of general interest and deserving the support of the whole international community, must be studied carefully in order to adopt the most appropriate procedures and mechanisms, thus avoiding any action that might not serve the shared interests of the international community.

For several decades, as the Secretary-General indicates, there were obstacles to multilateral action by the Organization aimed at achieving its purposes international peace and security and the promotion of development. These obstacles resulted from the prevailing conditions in international relations, characterized basically by confrontation between two different ideological, economic and political systems, each eager to make its own authority and its security concepts prevail. These factors were compounded by

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

negative structural economic and social conditions in a large majority of developing countries, generating instability and conflict and endangering international peace and security, a situation that was reflected in the United Nations.

With the cold war at an end, the present decade has begun with an encouraging outlook, because of the spirit of cooperation and the strengthening of multilateralism. We welcome the range of ideas and proposals contained in the reports of the Secretary-General aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations so that it can respond appropriately to old and new challenges that threaten to increase instability in the international community, not only for political or security reasons or because of the arms race, but also because of new rivalries and the further deterioration of the living conditions of many peoples in the developing world.

We hope that this initiative, aimed at the renewal and revitalization of the world Organization so that it can contribute with greater strength to the building of peace and of a safer world, will come to fruition with the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, because there is an evident confidence and commitment on the part of States, particularly the members of the Security Council, which declared at their Summit Meeting on 31 January this year their commitment to cooperate closely with the Secretary-General in the attainment of his objectives, including that of improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations system. That means responding adequately with regard to the financial requirements created by the increase in United Nations activities and respect for the principles of international law and of the Charter in resolving international disputes.

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

There can be no doubt that the responsibilities of our Organization have increased as they have evolved over time, and we are aware of the scope and variety of the complex tasks that it has to carry out today. That is why its institutional restructuring, within a concept of globalization, must be accomplished with a sense of responsibility and a shared commitment to international cooperation and solidarity, with the full participation of all States, based on the principle of sovereign equality recognized in the Charter.

In this context, we believe that some matters need to be reaffirmed. The first is that institutional restructuring presupposes democratization, which means achieving a balance and harmony of responsibilities in the quest for peace, both between the General Assembly and the Security Council and between them and the Secretariat. This also applies to other organs of the system, including the Economic and Social Council, because of the contributions that they can make to the attainment of the objectives.

Secondly, it should be taken into account that, although there is a tendency to form large blocs a source of concern, because of the possible harm to the interests of the developing countries the State still plays a central role in the changes taking place in the world order. This means that respect for sovereignty and for the right of peoples to govern themselves freely and democratically, and the principles of territorial integrity and non-intervention in internal affairs, remain fully valid as preconditions for greater harmony in inter-State relations.

Thirdly, intergovernmental regional organizations should be more involved in the process of seeking peace and development, with coordination based on United Nations guidelines. Non-governmental organizations that already have an infrastructure allowing them to shoulder greater responsibilities should also be involved.

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

Fourthly, we agree with the Secretary-General that the United Nations must be an institution that inspires confidence. As we see it, this means that its activities and decisions must display transparency, integrity and independence, so that its principles can be applied uniformly and impartially. Only to the extent that Member States feel that the United Nations responds to shared concerns and interests will a consensus be reached to support explicitly and unconditionally the proposed ways and means of achieving peace. Failing this, distrust will rule, and the capacity of the United Nations will be weakened.

Fifthly, any activities undertaken by the United Nations to restore peace in particular, those involving economic sanctions or the use of military force - must be in strict compliance with the provisions and mechanisms contained in the Charter. The scope and objectives of any peace-keeping operation must be clearly and specifically established in order to avoid in every way possible the Organization's losing control over its activities.

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

We might point out that the globalization of situations and interdependence render obsolete and outdated the era of unilateral problem-solving, an effort that was often based on the use of force. On the contrary, it is now possible to develop more constructive action based on dialogue, consultation and harmonization, since there is a consensus among Member States that our Organization should be the harmonizing centre, as it is the only organization with a universal dimension that can make it a collective instrument capable of confronting global problems in all their dimensions.

In this respect we share the Secretary-General's view on the Security Council as expressed in his "Agenda for Peace":

"A genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations." (A/47/277, para. 78)

The conflict in Central America, in particular in Nicaragua and El Salvador, was not invented by anyone; rather, it emerged as a manifestation of grave shortcomings and errors within our societies. However, once unleashed it assumed the characteristics of an international conflict, and this caused it to be prolonged, with all the results. This also created special cases in which our Organization, upon the request of the States concerned, and without violating the provisions and procedures of the Charter, adopted innovative measures and mechanisms to respond appropriately to each specific situation on the basis of, and following up on, the Esquipulas II Agreements signed by the Presidents of the region. These are clear examples that enrich the experience and the record of the United Nations in the sphere of peacemaking and peace-keeping. But reality shows that the structure of the crisis, shared by the great majority of the developing countries, still

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

exists. This allows room for the application of preventive diplomacy and peace-building measures.

In this context, and recalling that it is acknowledged that peace and development are closely related and interdependent, it is vital that the solution to the grave economic and social problems suffered by millions of human beings be given appropriate priority so that sustainable, fair and equitable development can be integrated into the agenda for peace as a basic objective of preventive diplomacy, or of peace-building, as appropriate, in order to avoid and eliminate the roots of violence and the conflicts caused by extreme poverty, hunger, illiteracy and so on.

Consequently, and given the failure of tested models of development, in particular in the poor countries, to overcome stagnation and economic backwardness, as well as on the basis of the mandated responsibility of the United Nations, we share the opinion of the Secretary-General that

"In the new climate of international relations, we must not miss the opportunity to develop the necessary international consensus and policy instruments and also to adapt United Nations structures, and interactions within the United Nations system - to promote this integrated approach" (A/47/1, para. 68)

to development.

Still in the context of preventive diplomacy, we consider that the International Court of Justice is a mechanism that should increasingly be used by Member States to resolve disputes by peaceful means. This would contribute to generating greater credibility and confidence in the system and logically would strengthen the objectives of the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace", particularly if there exists the political will to comply with the rulings of the International Court. It is appropriate to mention that El Salvador and

(Mr. Castaneda, El Salvador)

Honduras placed their trust in the Court to resolve an old border dispute, and we are now at the stage of implementing the ruling.

In conclusion, we are pleased to see that there is a widely held view that we are now in a special period that offers an opportunity for the renewal of multilateralism. We agree that the reports of the Secretary-General, in particular the "Agenda for Peace", as we have already said, deserve further thought and more profound consideration in order to attain a consensus on the most appropriate ways and means of achieving the objectives of international peace and security. We reaffirm the appropriateness of the suggestion that the General Assembly establish an open-ended working group for this purpose, but this should not be at any additional cost to the Organization.

It is our hope that the expressions of faith in and support of the United Nations will be reflected in concrete acts for the benefit of the international community, in which the solution of global problems requires the participation and full cooperation of all Members.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset I express my sincere condolences and sympathy to the people of Egypt on the recent disastrous earthquake.

The winds of change are sweeping the world and gaining increasing momentum as nations and States try to adjust themselves, seize the new opportunities and face the new challenges that are simultaneously being presented in the post-cold-war era.

The reports of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization and on "An Agenda for Peace" reflect the resolve of our new Secretary-General to take stock of the opportunities regained in the new international era, not only to revitalize the United Nations system to correspond to new demands, but

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also to be able to function as an efficient, versatile and strong world body that truly represents all nations and is capable of shaping the future in the interests of justice, peace and the common prosperity of mankind. My delegation wishes to express its sincerest appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his able staff in the Secretariat for these reports.

We have noted with interest that the Secretary-General has indicated in these reports that the United Nations system is being revitalized to focus on the following areas: global partnership for development; management of crisis and humanitarian assistance; and maintenance of international peace and security.

"An Agenda for Peace" contains a series of new ideas and innovative proposals aimed at building a stronger and more effective United Nations in various areas of international peace and security. The Islamic Republic of Iran agrees with the Secretary-General that political progress and economic development are inseparable, equally fundamental and mutually reinforcing, which must be pursued simultaneously. Thus, in our view the United Nations should adopt such an integrated approach if we are to seize the opportunity regained for the materializing of the ultimate objectives of the United Nations that is, to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

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As the representative of a developing country, one that is also a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, I wish to say that my Government sees a shining ray of hope that the United Nations will make a rational choice at this juncture and adopt a course of action for the future that is marked by a balanced and integrated approach to international security, on the one hand, and to economic development and social progress on the other. In this context, we have studied the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), and we anxiously await his report "An Agenda for Development". We feel strongly that the international climate in which to address the North-South problem has never been as conducive as it is now. Therefore, in our view the decision of the Rio Summit to establish the Commission on Sustainable Development constitutes a substantial and encouraging step in the right direction.

Having said this, I should like to make some general observations concerning "An Agenda for Peace" and leave the detailed and in-depth deliberation of the ideas and proposals to an open-ended working group of the General Assembly, which we hope the President will establish.

"An Agenda for Peace" elaborates on the role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General in maintaining international peace and security in terms of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, and post-conflict peace-building. Each chapter includes proposals that may require consensus, as well as some that will need to be further studied, better defined and elaborated. The General Assembly, as a truly universal body whose conduct of work is most transparent within the United Nations, is thus uniquely qualified to identify and distinguish between the two sets of proposals.

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The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the role of the General Assembly in issues pertaining to international peace and security has not yet been fully explored. We therefore welcome the suggestions in the report aimed at achieving a better balance among the principal organs of the United Nations. In our view, the role of the General Assembly, the truly universal body of the Organization, as the forum for deliberation and decision-making on all issues of a global character including the maintenance of international peace and security, should be strengthened and given prominence in the follow-up deliberations on "An Agenda for Peace". The strengthening of the Organization should take place within the functions and responsibilities assigned to each of the principal organs and, in this context, the time is ripe for the General Assembly to assume its major role, in accordance with the Charter, in dealing with issues concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

In this connection, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, speaking in the general debate this year, emphasized that:

"... the preservation of international peace and security is a responsibility entrusted to the Security Council by the international community. That being the case, the Council, in accordance with the Charter, is accountable to that community, which is represented by the General Assembly." (A/47/PV.5, p. 48)

"An Agenda for Peace" elaborates extensively on the role of the Security Council with respect to such innovative ideas as the various types of preventive deployment, the use of military force and peace-enforcement units. We have already noted the unprecedented expansion of the Security Council's

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activities. The quantitative comparison of the workload of the Security Council in the first seven months of 1992 and all of 1987, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, is both mind-boggling and alarming. It is mind-boggling because it has stretched the capacity of the United Nations system to the limit. It is alarming because it required a great deal of trust and confidence on the part of the international community to be placed in the Security Council, particularly on the permanent members. And there is more. The new international climate is perceived to require an even greater role for the Security Council and a further expansion of the scope of its mandate.

The prospect of such a greater role and expanded agenda for the Security Council would be frightening if an equally energetic process for its responsiveness and accountability to the general membership, and also the transparency of its work, did not begin in the Council particularly on the part of the permanent members.

The Islamic Republic of Iran concurs with the Secretary-General's view that:

"the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

Regrettably, that has not always been the case in the Security Council. My Foreign Minister enumerated some examples of the selective approach of the Security Council in applying the principles of the Charter. Those examples were by no means exhaustive, and included the decades-old aggression of the Zionist regime against the Palestinians and the half-hearted approach to

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Serbia's blatant aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In our view, the Security Council should strive to gain the trust and confidence of the general membership. To do so, the international community in general, and the general membership of the Organization in particular, should be reassured, in practice, of the following: that the Security Council will not be the tool for imposing the will of the strong upon the weak; that the Security Council will avoid selective and discriminatory approaches to international crises, leading to a condition in which world affairs would be determined by a small group of powerful States; that the Security Council will respect the principle of transparency in its work and will become responsive to the views of the general membership of the Organization; and that the Security Council will not exceed its mandate.

In the light of those considerations, I cannot over-emphasize the fact that the effectiveness of the United Nations in the prevention of the outbreak of conflicts and in their peaceful settlement, as well as in the maintenance of international peace and security, is undeniably a function of the credibility of its decisions and the degree of consistency with which it applies the principles of the Charter.

In the new international era when, as the Secretary-General rightly maintains, States perceive the United Nations as an instrument capable of maintaining international peace and security, of advancing justice and human rights, of achieving social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and also in the light of the increased workload of the Security Council and the expected expansion of its mandate, it would be a dire mistake not to seize the opportunity regained to democratize the Security Council and adjust it to the realities of the 1990s a time in which the general

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membership has increased to 179 States. Specifically, there is an urgent need to address the undemocratic element of veto power that has led in the past, and will lead in the future, to influence-peddling by certain powerful members in the Council. The United Nations of tomorrow cannot afford not to abolish the anachronistic veto power.

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My delegation endorses the Secretary-General's view on cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. We believe such cooperation should be strictly in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, preserving, in all cases, the primacy of the United Nations. In cases where regional organizations are involved, in our view the consent of all parties concerned is of the utmost importance. In this connection, attention must be drawn to the large discrepancy that exists in various parts of the world on the degree of coherence and development that regional arrangements and organizations enjoy. Therefore, the United Nations role in peace-building should, in our opinion, include concrete programmes of action to promote regional arrangements and organizations where needed.

My delegation also supports the Secretary-General's proposal to establish a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of \$50 million, provided it has clearly defined purposes and is financed through contributions from Member States, whether on an assessed or a voluntary basis. While the Islamic Republic of Iran believes that a secure and well-financed United Nations is a prerequisite for effective operation, it is of the view that other proposals, such as the imposition of interest on unpaid contributions, private funding, commercial borrowing and the levying of a tax on arms transfers, require further consideration.

Furthermore, in our opinion, it is essential to institutionalize the current formula for calculating the scale of assessment for peace-keeping operations.

In conclusion, I cannot but remind everyone that the end never justifies the means. Some of the ideas and proposals in "An Agenda for Peace" have the potential of being construed in a manner that, in the final analysis, will be

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detrimental to developing countries under the pretext of collective security. The Islamic Republic of Iran fully subscribes to the Secretary-General's statement that the cornerstone of the work of the United Nations "is and must remain the State" (A/47/277, para. 17). Respect for the fundamental sovereignty of States is critical in any endeavour on the part of the United Nations.

My Government firmly believes that revitalization of the United Nations, which has gained significant momentum with the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" and the anticipated follow-up work on the report, must ensure respect for the following principles: sovereign equality of States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, peaceful settlement of disputes, and the right to self-determination of peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation.

Change is inevitable now. It is our duty to make rational choices in the interest of the majority of the people on this planet. History will judge both our actions and our intentions. For our part, however small, we are ready to work with Members energetically and in a spirit of international cooperation to seize the "opportunity ... regained" (A/47/277, para. 3). It is in this context that my delegation proposes the establishment of an open-ended working group of the General Assembly to study the report and determine the priority to be given the proposals: early implementation or further consideration. This working group will play an important coordination role in the activities of the Assembly's subsidiary bodies, which have already initiated discussion on some of the proposals of the report that relate to their agendas. The General Assembly should gain the relevance and authority

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that the Charter stipulates it should have and should collectively resist being marginalized again.

Mrs. HEPTULLAH (India): The year 1992 represents an epochal phase in the history of the United Nations. Thirteen more nations have joined the Organization, making it near-universal. In keeping with the spirit of the times, we have received two reports, "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) and the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/47/1), which, in large part, contains an agenda for development. These reports embody the Secretary-General's vision of an international society in which mankind lives in peace and harmony and is able to devote its energies fully to the attainment of the goals of peace, economic and social growth, and development. I extend my deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for these reports.

It may be recalled that the Secretary-General's report on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping was prepared pursuant to the request made by the meeting of the Security Council at the summit level on 31 January 1992, and its purpose is to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security within the framework and provisions of the Charter. It was the express wish of the summit meeting of the Security Council that the report should be submitted to all the Members of the United Nations. It is therefore appropriate that this debate should take place in the General Assembly concurrently with the work being done in the other relevant bodies of the United Nations.

The "Agenda for Peace" contains several valuable and practical recommendations on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building. Together, these and the proposals contained in

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the annual report on development of the developing countries form the framework of a peaceful, stable and vibrant international system.

The principles of the Charter provide the bedrock foundation for the functioning of the Organization. These principles have well served the international community until now and must be faithfully adhered to in all the future work of the Organization. A basic criterion in examining the proposals contained in the report "An Agenda for Peace" should be that they are in full conformity with the spirit of the Charter. Given such a consideration, my delegation believes that many of these recommendations can be implemented without much delay. These recommendations therefore deserve immediate and detailed consideration by the international community.

The report also contains several proposals for a strengthened and reinvigorated United Nations that can more effectively fulfil its complex and multifaceted tasks in establishing and promoting international peace and security. Such proposals, which are in accordance with the principles of the Charter, can contribute to the credibility and impartiality of the United Nations and the confidence of Member States in the capabilities of the Organization. My delegation supports the Secretary-General in his endeavours and will continue to work actively with him in the achievement of these goals.

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The Secretary-General has made many concrete proposals in the chapter on peace-keeping. These include recommendations to the Member States to inform the Secretariat on the kind and number of skilled personnel they would be able to make available to the United Nations as the need for new operations arises. The Secretary-General has also recommended that arrangements be reviewed and improved for training civilian, police or military peace-keeping personnel. Yet another recommendation by the Secretary-General calls for the establishment of a pre-positioned stock of basic peace-keeping equipment so that some vehicles, communications equipment, generators, and so on, would be immediately available at the start of an operation. The report also calls upon Governments to consider the option of keeping some equipment on stand-by for immediate sale or loan to the United Nations when required. These proposals will contribute to the effective launching of peace-keeping operations as and when necessary.

We agree that Member States should undertake to inform the Secretariat promptly on the nature of personnel and equipment they are prepared to provide at short notice. I am glad to state that India was one of the few countries, referred to by the Secretary-General, to have given this information to the Secretariat when we were asked to do so some time ago.

With respect to obtaining equipment and supplies for peace-keeping operations, I believe that it is also necessary for the Secretariat to observe the principles of transparency and cost effectiveness. All efforts need to be made to ensure that supplies are procured for United Nations peace-keeping operations at the lowest cost possible, without compromising the effectiveness of operations.

India, in fulfilment of its responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations, has always been active in contributing to United Nations

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peace-keeping operations. Our contributions to the operations in the Congo as early as 1960 are still well remembered. As one of the foremost contributors to United Nations peace-keeping operations, India's personnel have also suffered a large number of casualties in discharging their role in the maintenance of international peace and security. From this point of view, we are in agreement with the Secretary-General on the need for devising measures to ensure the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel. This matter needs the urgent attention of the United Nations so that the abiding cooperation of all Member nations in peace-keeping efforts is ensured.

The success of peace-keeping operations depends, in large measure, upon an assured financial footing. Proposals made by the Secretary-General in this regard need exhaustive and objective examination by the entire membership of the United Nations to ensure that the financial difficulties of the United Nations are resolved without delay and without affecting its credibility, objectivity and impartiality.

One of the proposals made by the Secretary-General calls for the establishment of a peace-keeping reserve fund to meet start-up costs for peace-keeping operations. My delegation supports this proposal and suggests that contributions to the fund should be made by States Members of the United Nations, on the principle that financing peace-keeping operations is the collective responsibility of all Member States. We also agree with the observation made by the Secretary-General that Member States should consider the possibility of making their contributions for peace-keeping operations from their defence budgets.

In the final analysis, the only durable solution to the financial problems of the United Nations is the prompt and full payment by Member States

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of their assessed contributions to both the regular budget and the peace-keeping expenditures of the United Nations. This will also address the long-felt need for the United Nations to make timely payments to Member nations for their contributions to peace-keeping operations.

We welcome the proposal made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 41 of his report (A/47/277) which calls for devising measures to insulate States from difficulties caused by economic sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter. Over the last two years, the international community has witnessed increasing recourse to the provisions of Chapter VII to enforce the will of the community vis-à-vis States guilty of breaching international peace and security and violating the principles of the Charter. While such sanctions are an important mechanism available to the Security Council in fulfilling its role of maintaining international peace and security, the international community has also become increasingly aware of the difficulties caused for third-party countries by sanctions and the immediate need to redress the difficulties of unintended victims. Measures under Article 50 of the Charter, as suggested by the Secretary-General, should be put in place so that mechanisms can go into operation immediately and automatically as soon as sanctions are imposed. As the Secretary-General has stated, this would encourage States to cooperate with the decisions of the Council.

The proposals of the Secretary-General provide a comprehensive framework for the maintenance of international peace and security, not only by dealing with peace-keeping operations but also through a greater vision of an overall process of detecting threats to peace, dealing with them before they turn into conflicts and the process of rebuilding peace after such conflicts are over. We agree that the question of peace cannot be dealt with only within the ambit of peace-keeping operations and that a more thorough approach to international

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peace has to be adopted. In this context, all organs of the United Nations have their defined role to play. For instance, the dispatch of fact-finding missions, peace-keeping efforts under Chapter VI, consultations and negotiations with the concerned parties and economic assistance as a way to ameliorate circumstances leading to conflicts are within the mandates of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. These organs should be allowed to play fully their assigned roles in such efforts. This will lead to a greater efficiency in the discharge of their responsibilities and transparency in their actions.

We also agree with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that enhanced cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council can provide a more effective use of the capacity of the United Nations in resolving conflicts. There are provisions in the Charter, such as Article 15, calling for special reporting by the Security Council to the General Assembly, which can be used for this purpose to achieve greater coordination between these two most important organs of the United Nations.

A strengthened and vigorous United Nations in maintaining international peace and security calls for a corresponding democratization of United Nations decision-making. The Security Council, as structured at present, is unlikely to be able to function effectively to meet the increasing needs of the international community in this most important aspect of United Nations activities. It is necessary that serious consideration be given immediately to the question of Security Council reforms to reflect changing realities. An expansion of the Security Council will increase its moral authority and enable it to carry out the enhanced mandate "An Agenda for Peace" will eventually give to the Council.

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The Secretary-General states,

"The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State.

Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress." (A/47/277, para. 17)

We fully support this view. The sovereignty of States cannot be abridged whether on the grounds of finding a balance between globalism and nationalism or on the grounds of self-determination. The right to self-determination should apply only to peoples under colonial domination and not to integral parts of sovereign nations. The sovereign equality of all States, the inviolability of the territorial integrity of any State and non-interference in internal affairs are sacrosanct principles enshrined in the Charter itself. The principle of request by a Member State and consent by all concerned parties should be adhered to without exception, whether in the case of fact-finding missions under the concept of preventive diplomacy or of the dispatch of peace-keeping operations. Naturally, enforcement measures adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter fall into a different category.

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Military force as a means of maintaining peace or preventing conflicts should be used only as a matter of last resort. The very spirit of the United Nations Charter focuses on building a peaceful and stable international society in which there is a minimal role for the use of military force. It is therefore necessary that all peaceful means should be fully exhausted before considering the use of force to prevent conflicts or to make peace. Even under circumstances when it becomes necessary to use force, it should invariably be under the control and command of the United Nations. This will enhance the moral authority of the Organization, its credibility as an agent of peace and the confidence of the international community in such enforcement actions.

As I have stated before, the proposals in the Secretary-General's report demand a thorough and detailed consideration by the overall membership of the United Nations. We suggest that a working group of the General Assembly should be established at the earliest opportunity to examine the proposals and to suggest possible courses of action on the recommendations contained in the report. Meetings of this working group should be open-ended and led by the President of the General Assembly, at least in the initial stages, so that its deliberations can be conducted meaningfully and with the attention and gravity that the report deserves.

The maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries are two major concerns of the United Nations. The international situation has undergone rapid changes in the last few years, and yet problems of the past, both political and developmental, increasingly afflict many nations. The two reports by the Secretary-General - the annual report and "An Agenda for

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Peace" - provide a comprehensive framework for dealing with the question of international peace and security and the developmental needs of developing countries. Just as economic assistance can be used to mitigate threats to international peace, the development of developing countries, as discussed in the "agenda for development" in the annual report, plays an important role in the achievement of stable international peace and security.

There are strong linkages between international peace and security on the one hand and the development of developing countries on the other. As the Secretary-General himself said in his annual report,

"Political progress and economic development are inseparable: both are equally important and must be pursued simultaneously."

(A/47/1, para. 64)

Inasmuch as political stability is necessary for implementing effective economic policies for development, the pursuance of such policies inevitably contributes to the realization of stable international peace and security.

As a developing nation, India naturally has as its first priority improving the living standards of all its people, policies for which can be effectively implemented only in the framework of an equitable international economic order. The United Nations, with its universal character, is the most important forum for analysis and conceptual formulation of socio-economic problems of concern to developing countries. We agree with the Secretary-General that

"the Organization's responsibilities and commitments in the political and security area should not be carried out at the expense of its responsibilities in the development field ... It is essential that they be pursued in an integrated, mutually supporting way." (A/47/1, para. 66)

My delegation would in fact go a step further and suggest that realizing the

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economic development of all developing countries is an important contribution towards ensuring stable international peace.\*

My delegation therefore supports the elements of an integrated approach as proposed by the Secretary-General in his annual report regarding the economic and social dimensions of development; the interrelationships between trade, financial investment and technology; the needs of development and the protection of the environment; meeting immediate needs for emergency and humanitarian assistance; and setting the conditions for long-term development. It is the hope of my delegation that the "agenda for development" will receive as much attention from the entire membership of the United Nations as the "Agenda for Peace", and that questions relating to free trade, international finances, resource availability and the transfer of technology, which have so far hampered the efforts of the developing nations to achieve rapid economic growth and development, will be resolved under the overall leadership of the United Nations.

Mr. SY (Senegal) (interpretation from French): When he spoke on 30 September 1992 from this rostrum, which has witnessed so many significant events in the evolution of our Organization, President Abdou Diouf, Head of State of Senegal, warmly and sincerely congratulated the President. He also expressed the appreciation of the Senegalese delegation for the masterly way in which, since his election a year ago to head our Organization, the Secretary-General has been performing his lofty mission with such competence, selflessness and effectiveness.

In his address, which I hope will be an inspiration to the work of this session, President Abdou Diouf emphasized and welcomed the important recent

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\* Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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qualitative changes in the international arena in the fields of disarmament, the defence of human rights and peace-keeping, which are also essential for progress in international economic and technological cooperation. For that reason he highlighted the increased confidence being placed in the United Nations and the significant role that it will have to play in constructing a new world in which its Member States work together in a spirit of mutual respect to bring about international relations based on peace and security as well as solidarity and mutual trust.

In the light of those pertinent comments, which I felt it was important to recall, it can be readily understood that the Senegalese delegation attaches great importance to our consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, and especially of "An Agenda for Peace", the subjects of this debate.

A careful reading of the documents vividly recalls that historic period from 25 April to 26 June 1945 when a number of States, having learned the lessons of the appalling consequences of two of the most devastating wars humanity has ever experienced, came together in San Francisco to bring into being our prestigious Organization.

Since then, a long road has been travelled and significant progress has been made, including the end of the cold war and a greater commitment of peoples to their freedom and to their national sovereignty. The framers of the Charter of the United Nations, whose essential concern was to avert the risk of tension and war, surely could not have hoped that in less than half a century so many States - 179 in all - would have rallied to their cause and that their undertaking would in so short a time have led to such an era of détente, albeit one beset by many uncertainties.

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The framers of the United Nations Charter were undoubtedly also bearers of a new vision of the world, a world in which there would be a stronger determination to achieve rapprochement between all States. This is more necessary today than ever before if the peoples and the nations wish to build together a more secure and prosperous future for present and future generations. The Secretary-General's excellent report (A/47/1) on the work of the Organization provides a striking illustration of that vision of the future, which is the only one that can help preserve collective peace and security.

I should like to take this opportunity to offer once again my delegation's congratulations and encouragement to the Secretary-General and to pay a tribute to the founders of our Organization and those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations for their visionary spirit. It is to their credit that, above all, they set forth principles and established purposes for our Organization which, although they might at times have seemed to be illusory and Utopian, nevertheless have made it possible for us today to respond, if we really want to, to the profound aspirations of the peoples of our respective countries.

The line of conduct which they traced for us has enabled us to attenuate the suffering caused the world by the cold war and by all the tensions and to help in various ways to promote respect for human rights and democratic principles. These are undoubtedly actions that constitute decisive steps towards our ultimate goal, which is to create a more just and equitable new world order.

Obviously, our task is far from accomplished. On the contrary, it has only just started, because after having regained its credibility and aroused

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so much hope, the United Nations is now more in demand than ever before.

The resurgence of international and regional conflicts, which are a constant source of concern and worry to us, is a good indication of the dimensions of this task and the need to give the Organization the means to perform it in the most effective way possible.

It is therefore fortunate that, at the initiative of the Heads of State or Government of the members of the Security Council, who met in New York on 31 January 1992, the Secretary-General first devised "An Agenda for Peace". This valuable document contains concrete and pertinent proposals on how to strengthen the Organization's capacities in the spheres of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building, and on the ways and means of enhancing its effectiveness in the framework of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

Among the measures proposed in "An Agenda for Peace", those which relate to preventive diplomacy, to peacemaking and to cooperation with regional arrangements and agencies prove on close analysis to be of particular importance. In this connection the Senegalese delegation believes that confidence-building, fact-finding, the setting up of an early warning system, preventive deployment and the establishment of demilitarized zones, are an excellent basis on which to approach the resolution of crises and the creation of the necessary conditions for economic international cooperation that could better serve mankind.

The course to be followed also involves vesting more responsibility in the International Court of Justice and resorting to arbitration in the quest for peaceful solutions to disputes. The establishment of a system to mobilize adequate resources to make United Nations humanitarian assistance activities

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more cost-effective is essential if we are to meet the needs and challenges of the present day.

The proposals on peace-keeping operations also have our full support since their aim is to enable the United Nations better to fulfil its task in this sphere, in which Senegal has always been a very keen and attentive participant.

With respect to peace-building, the Senegalese delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the Secretary-General to include this element in "An Agenda for Peace". This concept is particularly attractive to the Senegalese delegation since it implies an obligation on the part of the United Nations to involve itself more in the quest for solutions to the underlying causes of conflicts. As we all know, these are generally connected with economic and social factors, poverty or specific interests. In other words, in our opinion the idea of peace-building has the additional advantage of echoing a deeply felt concern of President Abdou Diouf, for whom the other cornerstone of peace is development.

Peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building are undoubtedly our common objective, but it should be amply supported by our determination to create the necessary conditions for sustainable development. In the implementation of this concept, which was broadly endorsed at the historic United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, the problems of poverty and underdevelopment, which seriously threaten international peace and security, in our opinion can be resolved only in a climate of generalized growth taking broad account of the concerns of the developing countries, and with increased participation by those countries in the building of this new world.

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This shared responsibility in the management of international affairs should therefore, in our view, be brought fully into play in the framework of the peace-keeping operations, by strengthening, as proposed in the Secretary-General's report, cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations. Naturally, the Senegalese delegation cannot but welcome such a recommendation because it is dictated not only by a laudable desire to make rational use of the already too limited resources of the United Nations but also, and above all, by a concern to respect the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Articles 52, 53 and 54 of Chapter VIII. It should be recalled that this Chapter advocates cooperation between the United Nations and the regional arrangements and agencies in managing and resolving crises.

In this spirit, President Abdou Diouf, on 30 September 1992, in this very Hall, in his dual capacity as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and President of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), proposed the convening of an international conference on Somalia, under the auspices of the United Nations and in cooperation with the OAU, the OIC and the League of Arab States. This kind of cooperation is particularly necessary in the light of the statement in the Secretary-General's report that from 1945 to 1987 the United Nations, albeit with difficulty but certainly effectively, conducted 13 peace-keeping operations, and since then it has conducted 13 others.

One of the consequences of this situation has been that the United Nations has had to place greater emphasis on peace-keeping, which is undoubtedly a noble task but which has the drawback of sacrificing to a certain extent the achievement of the economic, cultural and social objectives set forth in Chapter IX of the Charter.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

It is precisely because Africa is aware that on its own the United Nations cannot ensure the defence of the world and at the same time promote genuine international economic cooperation that Africa took the important initiative, of which members were reminded here by President Abdou Diouf, of setting up machinery to prevent, to manage and to settle African conflicts. By means of this initiative, taken at the twenty-eighth Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 29 June to 1 July 1992 in the Senegalese capital, Dakar, Africa's aim was, with the international community's assistance, to restate its resolve to take its destiny into its own hands. Africa is equally convinced that the aspirations of the developing countries to justice, equity, democracy and peace cannot be effectively met if the specific characteristics of the various societies concerned are not taken into account and if they do not participate effectively.

For all those reasons, we believe that the recommendations made in "An Agenda for Peace" are consonant with our own concerns and deserve our closest attention.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

Like the Secretary-General, the delegation of Senegal is convinced that all the proposals contained in this document stem essentially from the pertinent provisions of the Charter and can help to prevent any trend towards unilateralism, as well as to strengthen international confidence and solidarity. The need to promote confidence and solidarity fully warrants the proposal concerning the creation of a general agreement on solidarity (GAS) an idea mooted by President Abdou Diouf for our consideration.

This need also constitutes a strong argument in favour of a renewed North-South dialogue, based on a spirit of partnership and shared responsibility, in the true interests of both parties. We find this approach particularly interesting because any conflict of interests between the North and the South cannot be of benefit to either side. The world of peace and prosperity to which we all aspire can be built only if all States work together for the benefit of their populations.

We must never tire of repeating that the North and the South are interdependent and, therefore, condemned to live together. Their chances of achieving harmonious economic and social development hinge essentially on their capacity to pool their strengths and their means, as well as the creative talents of their peoples, in a genuine spirit of solidarity. Their chances of establishing lasting global peace and security are especially dependent on their determination, through peaceful coexistence and joint endeavours in the service of development, to set aside any threat of mutual destruction.

That is why the delegation of Senegal is profoundly committed to the achievement of a general agreement on solidarity (GAS), which we believe would be the best possible means of meeting the target set in "An Agenda for Peace" - to make available to the United Nations the resources not only to

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

forestall conflicts and to keep, build and strengthen international peace and security but also to give fresh hope and confidence in the future to the majority of those peoples suffering from the detrimental effects of poverty and squalor.

I cannot conclude this statement without sharing with other Members a very wise and very appropriate thought voiced by a prominent figure of this century, Chancellor Willy Brandt may he rest in peace who, as a part of what he did throughout his life in the service of good causes, emphasized that the loss of a human life in wartime was as morally reprehensible as indifference to someone condemned to die of hunger, thirst, disease or poverty.

Hence it will not be sufficient for us to silence the cannons and halt the tanks and then consider that we have completed our mission. A great deal more needs to be done, because peace is not merely the absence of war. The reality is that we shall have to convert these frightful machines for the destruction of the human race and its environment into tools of production and instruments that will help to safeguard the balance of ecosystems. We shall have finally to vanquish war, disease, hunger and illiteracy.

In this way we shall help to alleviate the plight of the disadvantaged and to avoid despair, which leads to behaviour that is prejudicial to our endeavours to preserve peace and security throughout the world. In fact, we really have no choice. While it is true that there will never be development without peace, it is equally true that peace and security without development are doomed to remain a pious wish or merely an illusory and fragile dream.

I should like to thank representatives for their kind attention and to take this opportunity to reiterate to the delegation of Egypt our deep condolences and sadness, as well as our sympathy and solidarity, in the wake

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

of the recent natural disaster that has so sorely tried its friendly and fraternal people.

Mr. ELHOUDERI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): Among the objectives and purposes of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end, the international community has encouraged initiatives to enhance the role of the Organization in this field. Accordingly, the delegation of my country welcomes the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace", which is contained in document A/47/277, as a valuable contribution to the international Organization's efforts to realize its purposes and objectives. It is a timely contribution as it coincides with joint international efforts to overcome the negative consequences of the cold war and to formulate new approaches for a secure and stable world.

In his report "An Agenda for Peace" the Secretary-General touches upon points that would enhance the role of the United Nation in the maintenance of international peace and security and includes in his report several important proposals and recommendations, concerning which my delegation would like to make some comments.

My country supports all efforts aimed at enhancing the capability of the United Nations in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping in accordance with the goals and aims of the United Nations Charter. We emphasize that respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as defined in the Charter, should be the fundamental basis of international relations and of any measures adopted by the United Nations in that regard.

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

My country also supports the call for all United Nations organs to discharge their mandates under the Charter. In this context, the General Assembly should play an effective and practical role in the maintenance of international peace and security. Also in this regard, we should like to reaffirm the importance of coordinating the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. The General Assembly, like the Security Council and the Secretary-General, should play the role defined for it by the Charter and should take the necessary measures to guarantee the implementation of its resolutions and see to it that all United Nations organs scrupulously abide by provisions of the Charter without discrimination or disregard.

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

Proceeding from the fact that a well-balanced and integrated approach that would enable all United Nations organs to perform their allocated roles in maintaining peace and security is the best way to observe the letter and spirit of the Charter, we support the call for greater reliance on the International Court of Justice and recommend that all international disputes of a legal nature should be referred to this Court. We should also make sure that other organs within the United Nations do not encroach the functions of the Court by interfering in the settlement of disputes that fall essentially within the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

We also support the call for the Secretary-General to be authorized to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Charter has called for regional arrangements in dealing with issues relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, my country supports the call to enhance cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations on such issues provided that that is done in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter and that the primacy of the United Nations should be ensured in maintaining international peace and security. There should also be agreement by the concerned parties in cases where regional arrangements and organizations are involved.

The maintenance of international peace and security cannot be achieved without solving economic, social, humanitarian and environmental problems. That is why we support the call for the Economic and Social Council and other related agencies to perform the roles entrusted to them by the Charter by preparing studies and reports on economic and social developments that may endanger international peace and security. In our opinion, international

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

peace does not consist solely of the absence of armed conflict but requires the promotion of development, the upholding of human rights and the eradication of hunger and poverty in all parts of the world.

Regarding post-conflict peace-building, the Secretary-General submitted valid recommendations, including his reference to war remnants as an impediment to reconstruction. My delegation expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General for raising this question because we, in Libya, have greatly suffered from the remnants of war, especially the mines that were planted in Libyan territory during the Second World War. In addition to the prohibitive human and material price the Libyan people have already paid, these mines are still causing death and injury to many people as well as damage to much property. These mines are a great hindrance to our efforts to combat desertification and conserve the environment.

Easing the financial situation of the United Nations and safeguarding the rapid and effective implementation of peace-keeping operations require providing the United Nations with a solid base, namely the availability of sufficient funds. The United Nations cannot perform the role entrusted to it without adequate financial resources. In his report "An Agenda for Peace" and in his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General referred to old proposals and submitted new ones. In order to create a sound and stable financial base for the Organization, my country deems it necessary to prepare a detailed study of these proposals.

The Secretary-General has stressed that, when confronting various problems related to the maintenance of international peace and security, the principles of the Charter should be applied in a consistent, non-selective manner. We deem it important that this rule should govern all the

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

deliberations of the United Nations and especially the Security Council, which is the body primarily entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. This means that the Council should steer away from applying the provisions of the Charter in accordance with the whims and interests of some major Powers, particularly when it comes to the use of Chapter VII. The Security Council should also make it possible to conduct wider consultations on its draft resolutions. Moreover, the resolutions should be clear and must be implemented in a manner free from discrimination and double standards. This would serve to maintain the credibility and moral authority of the Security Council while ensuring respect for, and implementation of its resolutions by Member States, without hesitation or questioning.

The delegation of my country wishes to refer to the fact that at the Security Council Summit last January, certain delegations stressed in their statements that a collective security system could not be dependable in a situation in which some States enjoy a veto power in the Security Council. My country, together with many other countries, has often drawn attention to the fact that the right of veto constitutes an impediment to the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in realizing and maintaining international peace and security. We are pleased that new international developments have enhanced the tendency whereby many Security Council resolutions are adopted by consensus. However, we are not convinced that this trend will guarantee that the veto power will not be used again, especially in disputes in which one of the parties concerned is a permanent member of the Council. In our opinion, the radical solution lies in abolishing the veto right.

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

In conclusion, the delegation of the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya looks forward to participating in any action related to the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace". That is why we support the proposal for the establishment, by the General Assembly, of an open-ended working group to assess the recommendations and proposals contained in the report and to recommend the ways and means properly to deal with them.

Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): Allow me, at the outset, Sir, to express, on behalf of the Government and people of the Philippines, our sincere sympathy to the Government and people of Egypt for the hundreds of lives lost and property destroyed during the earthquake that struck Cairo and its environs. As frequent victims of natural disasters, we can well appreciate the agonizing experience that our Egyptian brothers are going through.

The Philippines, as a Founding Member of the United Nations, is committed to the Organization's central role in shaping and maintaining a framework through which relations among sovereign nations can be geared towards global peace, stability and prosperity. It is thus with much satisfaction that we welcome the reports of the Secretary-General under agenda item 10. We congratulate the Secretary-General on his first annual report on the work of the Organization and on his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace".

My Government accords both reports the serious study they deserve. We agree with their basic premise that the time is ripe for all States the State being the bedrock upon which the United Nations stands to buckle up for the task of undertaking a fundamental renewal of the Organization. Now is the time to strengthen and make more efficient the Organization's capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping, and, in the words of the Secretary-General, for

"dealing comprehensively with the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of human development." (A/47/1, para. 9)

As we do so, it is useful to bear in mind, however, what the representative of Indonesia, speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, said earlier in the debate:

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

"The international community must ensure strict adherence to the immutable principles of sovereignty and non-interference, which should not be diluted or abridged under any pretext." (A/47/PV.37, p. 33)

As there will be other opportunities during this session to give our views on the specific topics covered in the Secretary-General's first annual report, I will limit my present intervention to his path-breaking document, "An Agenda for Peace".

The Philippines agrees that the easing of tensions and the early containment of conflict situations are the most efficient means of maintaining international peace and security. Effective preventive diplomacy, however, requires that an efficient monitoring mechanism is complemented by a rapid-response capability. In this light, the creation of geographically-based divisions within the Department of Political Affairs appears to us to be a step in the right direction. If supported by appropriately skilled staff and provided with adequate infrastructure, including access to data and risk-assessments in the hands of specialized agencies and functional offices of the United Nations, particularly those in the field, those divisions could provide valuable early-warning capability. We view favourably the Australian proposal that to enhance this capability Member States should consider the secondment of their experts for the purposes of creating a rapid-response information network, developing creative proposals for specific disputes and training middle-level staff in political analysis and dispute resolution.

Confidence-building measures, including systematic exchanges of military missions, formation of regional risk-reduction centres and monitoring of arms agreements must, in our view, be more widely and routinely employed. Intra-regional seminars on security issues, such as the two already held in

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

Manila and Bangkok, could provide valuable insights and impetus for further joint action and consensus.\*

Wider use of fact-finding and good-offices missions, carried out in full accord with the Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security and the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, has the unequivocal support of my Government.

The Philippines agrees with the Secretary-General that preventive deployment and the establishment of demilitarized zones could, in certain instances, prove useful in preventing the outbreak of armed conflicts.

My Government fully supports the Secretary-General's call for greater utilization of the means included in the various declarations on peaceful settlement of disputes. In this regard, the Organization should further develop a capability to undertake "quiet" diplomacy of the sort that enhances trust, ensures fairness and avoids unnecessary "internationalization" of disputes. Also, the General Assembly should be more involved in peacemaking in cases where the weight of the moral authority of the international community could make a difference.

The Philippines supports the granting of authority to the Secretary-General, pursuant to Article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter to avail himself of the advisory competence of the International Court of Justice. We agree that the World Court has important contributions to make to peacemaking, of which Member States should avail themselves.

Having itself been gravely confronted by special economic problems arising from the application of sanctions under Article 41, the Philippines

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\* Mr. Elhouderi (Libya Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Security Council should urgently devise a set of measures involving financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system to cushion affected States from the impact of such sanctions. We also support the proposal made by the Nordic countries that the Security Council consider initiating a study on the effectiveness and management of different types of sanctions.

Chapter VII measures, by their very nature, always produce grave consequences and must therefore be employed only after other means, including those in Chapter VI, have failed. It would be most desirable that a mechanism for speedy but thorough consultations between the Security Council and the general membership of the United Nations be put in place to take up proposals involving Chapter VII measures.

The Secretary-General has called members' attention to the special arrangements foreseen in Article 43 of the Charter. He also introduced the concept of peace-enforcement units. My Government is prepared to participate in discussions to achieve broader understanding on these matters.

The Philippines supports the greater involvement by the United Nations in peace-keeping operations and commends the deepening cooperation between the United Nations Secretariat and Member States in this most important work of the Organization. We have participated, and continue to participate, in some of those operations. We too have responded to the Secretary-General's questionnaire on forces that could be employed in such operations, and we continue to reassess our capabilities, particularly in regard to the identification of a pool of potential civilian political officers, human-rights monitors, electoral officials, refugee- and humanitarian-aid specialists and police, in order to determine what other resources we could make available upon request.

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

The Philippines shares the concern of the Secretary-General relating to the gap between the growing demands for peace-keeping and the wherewithal to meet those demands. We are exerting our best efforts, given our own economic difficulties, to meet our obligations. We await with keen interest the proposal by Japan aimed at ensuring availability of start-up resources for major peace-keeping operations without imposing new financial burdens on Member States.

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

My Government considers the Secretary-General's addition of the topic of post-conflict peace-building to his report to be most thoughtful, for, after all, peace takes its nourishment from the flow of decency, civility and well-being of all mankind. To paraphrase a passage in the presidential statement at the first Security Council Summit, peace and prosperity are the two faces of the one currency of humankind.

The Philippines concurs with the Secretary-General's ideas on fostering peace after conflicts have been resolved. The United Nations and its specialized agencies should develop greater coordination in providing assistance where required. We are pleased to note that the Secretary-General has been exerting his utmost efforts to achieve more efficient coordination within the United Nations system through the Administrative Coordination Committee.

The Secretary-General has also called for greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements or organizations in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security. We agree that more substantive consultations between them could do much to achieve international consensus on the nature of a problem and the measures required to address it. None the less, such cooperative activities must remain in full accord with Chapter VIII of the Charter: the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security should remain with the Security Council.

My delegation considers this debate to be the mere beginning of an important process of consultations and consensus-building to achieve the goals set forth in the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace", and we are heartened to note that this may later be joined by a companion agenda for development, already outlined in the Secretary-General's first annual report, which will extend the reform process to the economic and social activities of the

(Mr. Arcilla, Philippines)

Organization. We support the proposal of our non-aligned colleagues that a working group be established to undertake in-depth studies of the Secretary-General's recommendations.

My delegation is prepared to work with all other representatives in this body on the ways of transforming this our United Nations into a universal organization true and faithful to the trust we have all reposed in it.

Mr. GHAFORZAI (Afghanistan): The initiative of the Security Council Summit of 31 January 1992 will undoubtedly be marked as a milestone in the coordination of the United Nations efforts towards bringing more peace and prosperity to the present changing and turbulent world situation.

My delegation congratulates the Secretary-General for submitting a useful and comprehensive report entitled "An agenda for peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping".

The delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan has studied with particular attention and interest the report of the Secretary-General on agenda item 10 and would like to make the following contribution to the debate.

The United Nations has always been a source of expectation for millions of our world population, especially where poverty, illiteracy and under-development, as well as scarcity of natural resources, continue to threaten their economic development, prosperity and security.

The recent substantial positive changes in international relations towards the creation of a world more responsive to the needs of the needy and the safer and favourable international climate emanating from the collapse of communism, the end of the cold-war era and world-power polarization have increased that expectation.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Therefore the present favourable atmosphere of peace, understanding and cooperation, as well as a more responsive attitude towards respect for human rights and the dignity of man, should be utilized for the purpose of maximum strengthening of the effectiveness and usefulness of our Organization, particularly where it can prevent conflicts, end conflicts, and remove threats of conflicts by the early detection of their sources.

In line with the views and position of the Non-Aligned Movement on the matter, it is our conviction that, taking into account the profound political changes in the international arena, the necessary substantive change and reforms in the international economic system, as a result of which the developing countries can have a fair chance of achieving social and economic progress for their peoples, will also have a positive impact on ensuring real peace and development throughout the world.

My delegation attaches priority to preventive diplomacy, which is the first step towards avoiding conflicts, and also the first step towards avoiding the disruption of peace and stability. The identification of situations, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building efforts, especially reference to the deepest causes of conflicts, as referred to in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report, are of considerable importance. However, in the view of my delegation the "Agenda for Peace" beyond the current General Assembly should include the identification of risk areas for stability on the basis of the following criteria: first, the areas where the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States is hardly breathing; secondly, where people are about to see their right to self-determination and aspirations to democracy strained due to violation of the basic principles of sovereignty and political independence; thirdly, as a complementary measure

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

for strengthening the peaceful efforts of the Organization, conciliation should enforce preventive diplomacy.

Appropriate conciliation machinery seems to be lacking in the United Nations system. Today's circumstances and situations may call for serious consideration to be given to the idea of creating conciliation machinery, perhaps under the Security Council or the General Assembly, which would greatly contribute towards enhancement of the cause of human security. Furthermore, the manner in which appropriate provisions are foreseen in the United Nations Charter, and the particular procedure and methods for dispute settlement through, inter alia, conciliation, should be taken full advantage of, and we hope that at the end of the debate the General Assembly will make specific recommendations to this end.

Fourthly, the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity should continue to constitute the basis for the conduct of international relations. The undertaking by the Secretary-General of periodic consultations on confidence-building measures with parties to potential, current or past disputes, with regional organizations, as promised in paragraph 24 of the Secretary-General's report, can play an important role in reducing the likelihood of conflicts between States.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Conflicts of political origin in the developing countries are always characterized by complexities based on their own characteristics and political tendencies. The vulnerability of some of the developing countries to the risk that conflicts may proliferate beyond their natural boundaries may make it necessary for the United Nations to undertake an objective and cautious approach in dealing with such complex cases.

In some cases, conflicts, because they involve factors beyond a country's natural boundaries, cannot be dealt with directly by a concerned party. It may be necessary, therefore, for the United Nations, in cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations, to conduct its peace mission through the use of preventive diplomacy, conciliation, peacemaking and peace-keeping endeavours.

Regional arrangements can be useful not only in providing early warning but also in resolving or preventing conflicts from spreading.

The establishment of joint cooperative projects among States that bring them together through the development of many beneficial joint programmes, as explained in section VI of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", in the majority of cases deserves support. Though greater attention needs to be paid to the political considerations that continue to represent potential causes of instability, it is the resolution of political problems that prepares the ground for the consolidation of projects that brings nations closer and builds more viable guarantees for peace and stability.

It is equally important to refer to paragraph 58 of the Secretary-General's report, which stresses the importance of addressing the problem of land mines, tens of millions of which are scattered throughout current or former combat zones.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Afghanistan, a country in which 14 years of imposed war left behind more than 10 million land mines, believes that there can be no complete peace in a land where the population cannot walk freely on its own soil.

We take this opportunity to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the gravity of that problem in Afghanistan. The inadequacy of financial resources is seriously hampering the de-mining efforts currently being carried out by organizations in my country. At a time when almost 5 million refugees are repatriating, hundreds of returnees are being killed or injured by the numerous mines that are scattered on the way to their towns and villages. Agricultural activity, of course, has been seriously affected by the fear of land mines.

The creation of a working group, as suggested by the delegation of Argentina, would be a positive step towards undertaking a detailed deliberation of, and thoroughly analysing, the different specific recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" in the light of the provisions of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

As to the financing of United Nations peacemaking and peace-keeping operations, we continue to believe that the scale of assessments for the financing of such operations should objectively reflect the capacity to pay of the developing countries, particularly of the least developed and geographically disadvantaged developing countries.

Two important aspects of the report of the Secretary-General on the item under consideration, in the view of my delegation, are cooperation with regional arrangements and the role of the General Assembly in securing peace and stability.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

The Islamic State of Afghanistan believes that the United Nations Charter not only does not exclude the possibility of a group of States undertaking to deal with a matter that lends itself to regional action conducive to the maintenance of regional and international peace and security, but actually encourages such joint, cooperative efforts.

It would be timely at this point to mention the usefulness of regional gatherings and conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations as a temporary means of reducing tensions and containing the spread of instability, particularly in Asia, where its Members do not enjoy the regional arrangements that are in place in Africa and Latin America. This is without prejudice to the peaceful role of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, which will continue to act as a subregional organization.

Owing to its historic strategic importance and to the substantial geopolitical changes that have recently occurred around it as a result of the collapse of communism and the subsequent emergence of independent States with many of which we enjoy religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and historic relations - Afghanistan believes that its peace and security have a direct, positive influence on the security and stability of those countries and on that of the region as a whole. Continued insecurity in Afghanistan and in the region could seriously affect international peace and stability.

As Iqbal, the great poet of the subcontinent, said:

"The essence of Asia is a moving mixture,  
Of that blend, the Afghan nation is the core,  
Her tranquillity is Asia's peace,  
Her disturbance is Asia's turbulence."

My delegation is anxious for the United Nations to remain seized of its

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

responsibility to see to it that effective measures are taken to ensure a peaceful and stable Asia.

According to the Charter of our Organization, the General Assembly, as a universal forum, has great potential for settling regional disputes and consolidating regional political stability, which can have direct consequences on the maintenance of international peace and stability. This potential has yet to be utilized.

We agree with the conclusion in paragraph 36 of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" that it is essential to promote the General Assembly's utilization by all Member States so as to bring greater influence to bear in pre-empting or containing situations that are likely to threaten international peace and security. However, we believe that the General Assembly should take the lead in initiating specific peace and stability missions in turbulent situations, and that the membership should support such initiatives.

My delegation hopes that the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly under the presidency of Mr. Stoyan Ganey, will take such a lead in initiating decisive and specific actions so as to make full use of the role that the General Assembly was assigned under the Charter, for the good of the millions of innocent people throughout the world who live in regions where peace and tranquillity have yet to be achieved, and so that areas of conflict that might lead to regional instability can be contained.

In conclusion, my delegation would be pleased to take part in any action by the General Assembly towards raising further hopes for the safety, prosperity and security of troubled areas of the world, areas where currently there is no hope for a better tomorrow, for a safer and more peaceful environment or for future generations to live in peace and prosperity.

Mr. VOHOR (Vanuatu): The Charter of the United Nations begins with the oft-quoted words, "We the peoples of the United Nations". However, while deeply concerned with the peoples, their lives and their aspirations, the Charter in Article 2 explicitly states:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state ..."

Thus the Charter primarily addresses the interaction of nation States.

Today a changed and still rapidly changing world in the economic and social sphere, the environmental sphere and the sphere of international peace and security demands a new and fresh look at the Charter and the ways in which the United Nations functions and responds. Accordingly, we, like others, greet the Secretary-General's important report entitled "An Agenda For Peace" with considerable interest and appreciation of the vision and foresight it exhibits.

The representative of Indonesia, when he spoke on behalf of the non-aligned countries, succinctly expressed some views of my own country. We now take this opportunity to expand on a few of our own specific views on this very important report and its far-reaching proposals.

Several issues raised in the report require careful thought and consideration, particularly in the light of the very delicate balance between the rights of people on the one hand and the rights, duties and obligations of nation States on the other.

Democracy within, between and among nations is a sound foundation for the development and promotion of peace and social progress in the world. We have all borne witness to the wave of democracy sweeping over the globe. However, that wave of democracy may prove to be deceptive if the current relations

(Mr. Vohor, Vanuatu)

between nations are not also democratized and do not reflect the sovereign equality envisaged in the Charter.

Every country has an interest in international peace and security, and every country has the responsibility to help foster and uphold international peace and security. This is true, no matter how large and wealthy or how small and economically less well situated a country may be. We are one of those countries that believe it is not healthy for international democracy for a small group of countries to make all the major decisions involving peace and security for the entire international community. How can such decisions be made, and then supported by all of us, without the benefit of the thoughts and other possible contributions of all members of the international community?

All of us have ideas to offer. All of us have abilities which could and should be utilized on behalf of the effort to develop international peace and security. All of us have values, perspectives and points of view that should be considered when decisions involving international peace and security are about to be made. We thus concur with the very relevant observation by the Secretary-General that democracy within the family of nations would require

"... the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization." (A/47/277, para. 82)

A very critical issue for my country is respect for the human rights, dignity and equality of all human beings. For us, human rights, including their very important civil, political, economic, social and cultural components, are indivisible and interdependent. We see the right to economic and social development as an essential element of human rights. Thus it saddens us to see human rights addressed selectively at the expense of the legitimate economic, social and cultural concerns of developing countries. We

(Mr. Vohor, Vanuatu)

would wish to proceed with great caution in endorsing proposals that would allow overt intervention by developed countries in the affairs of developing countries for the selective promotion of certain aspects of human rights. After all, what country, either developed or developing, can claim to have a spotless record giving it immunity from the scrutiny and even the criticism of others when it comes to every dimension of human rights?

We certainly agree that the international community should not sit idly by and witness widespread patterns of human-rights abuse. We do not want to see innocent people victimized and in some instances even have their identities erased. However, we must respect the rule of law even in developing and fostering international human-rights law; we cannot take part in a selective infringement of the sovereignty of certain States while leaving the sovereignty of others untouched. Many of the proposals made in this area have merits. However, they can gain broad international acceptance only if they are general in nature and non-discriminatory, and if their provisions can be objectively applied in all instances.

Every nation represented here is very well aware of the historic reason why developing countries, particularly those that have only recently emerged from colonialism, are cautious when it comes to proposals that might be seen as affecting their national sovereignty. Some have now begun to speak of certain limits to national sovereignty as a natural progression in mankind's political and social evolution. For those of us who have had to struggle to reclaim our legal, political and cultural identities it may be somewhat premature to propose potential limits to our deeply cherished national sovereignty. This is especially true when so many of the historic grievances of developing countries are not even addressed, let alone resolved.

(Mr. Vohor, Vanuatu)

On balance, we support "An Agenda for Peace". However, we feel that everyone's views must be carefully solicited and that we must carefully analyse and weigh the potential impact of provisions which could be seen as potentially restricting national sovereignty.

(Mr. Vohor, Vanuatu)

Therefore, we join with others in proposing the establishment of a working group to study the report. We believe it to be appropriate to assign detailed consideration to a working group given that specific mandate. This will accord the matter the importance it merits.

In conclusion, we consider "An Agenda for Peace" to be a very valuable contribution. We look forward to making our own contribution to the process which will see the ideas contained in the report evolve into useful tools for the future growth and development of international peace and security for all countries and all peoples.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.