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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 48th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. RANA

(Nepal)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

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

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section D)

Mr. KAPAMBWE (Zambia): I have asked to speak to make a statement on the question of international security on behalf of the following delegations members of the front-line States, namely, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and my own delegation, Zambia.

The importance of the issue of international security has been stressed by the various delegations which have spoken before me. For us in the region of southern Africa this issue has particular significance, for in no other region does there exist a régime that practises a policy which the whole international community, through this very Organization, has condemned as a crime against humanity.

The violence of apartheid and its adverse consequences on both the people of South Africa and the countries in the region are well documented. I shall, therefore, not endeavour to enumerate them here. One thing for sure is that the devastating effects of apartheid in the region will continue long after the demise of apartheid.

As long as apartheid continues to exist the region and peoples of southern Africa will never enjoy peace and security. Indeed, no country in southern Africa has enjoyed total security since its independence: apartheid has seen to that. It goes without saying, therefore, that only the total dismantling of apartheid will remove the threat not only to the peace and security of the southern African region but also to international peace and security as a whole. And, because the raison d'être of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations is not only inexorably linked to the process of dismantling apartheid, but its involvement should be seen to be active.

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

In these days of momentous international changes we may be tempted to become overly optimistic about the prospects for change in South Africa. In the process we may forget just why and how far we have come to reach the present stage. Whatever has happened in South Africa could not have taken place without the international pressure exerted on the Government of South Africa. The people of South Africa on whose behalf the United Nations has mounted the campaign to isolate South Africa have requested us to maintain the pressure. No less a person than Mr. Nelson Mandela himself made the appeal for keeping the pressure on South Africa when he spoke in the Assembly Hall in June this year.

Until the South African Government has set in motion an irreversible process for dismantling apartheid, there will be no compelling reason why the United Nations should pass the not guilty verdict on the régime. To do so would be to serve interests other than those of the South African people.

Another aspect to which the front-line States would like to see more attention paid is the matter of non-military threats to international peace and security. While the front-line States believe that general and complete disarmament occupies priority importance in the achievement of international peace and security, they are convinced as well that poverty will emerge as the biggest non-military threat to this security.

The signs are already too many and too obvious for us to ignore. We cannot fully understand crime, disease, drug abuse and other social vices, nor can we find effective remedies for them outside the context of the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment. In this regard the United Nations should take a leading role in seeking effective solutions to the debt problem and the fair management of the international economic system. For their part the developed countries should realize that, if the economies of the developing countries remain depressed through the continuation of unfair trade practices, the growth possibilities of the

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

economies of the developed countries will also be limited. But, even more important, the economic stagnation of the developing countries is a time bomb that will explode sooner rather than later and engulf the developed countries as well.

Mr. SOUVANNAVONG (Lao People's Democratic Republic): As this is the first time I have spoken in the First Committee, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election. May I also offer my congratulations to the other members of the Bureau on their election.

Almost 20 years ago the United Nations adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970 - the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security - on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That Declaration is considered to have been of paramount significance in creating an atmosphere of trust and co-operation that would make possible the peaceful solution of any problems that might arise in international relations.

In recent years we have witnessed profound changes in the world situation. The cold war has come to an end. Our world is moving towards detente and co-operation, so that conflicts between States in many fields can be resolved and dealt with by peaceful means. The international situation is moving from confrontation to dialogue, and from tension to relaxation of tension. The rapprochement and co-operation between the two super-Powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, in the sphere of disarmament have created favourable conditions for easing tensions in international relations and have taken another step towards the strengthening of international security. In Paris recently President Gorbachev and President Bush, as well as the leaders of 20 other countries from both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty organization, signed the most ambitious arms control treaty in history, pledging themselves to destroy tens of thousands of tanks, howitzers and other non-nuclear weapons.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have reached agreement in principle on the partial reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, and on stopping production of chemical weapons. A reduction of conventional forces in Europe has also been brought about through negotiation.

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

Although the world situation has changed positively, many conflicts and problems in various regions remain and are far from being solved. Worse still, a new and highly explosive crisis has arisen in the Persian Gulf and may ignite a disastrous war in the region at any moment; and the danger of war is increasing rapidly. Huge stockpiling and the military build-up, modernization of weapons, and continuing nuclear weapons tests and research for military purposes are a threat to all of us. Furthermore, overseas military bases still have not been dismantled, and continue to threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. In the economic field, the gap between the developed and the developing countries is widening, and for many of the latter the heavy burden of foreign debt is hampering their growth and development; time is needed to solve these problems.

As a country of the Asia Pacific region, the Lao People's Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the security of the region. Together with the non-aligned countries and other peace- and justice-loving forces throughout the world, we have spared no effort to achieve peace and disarmament. We believe that the positive changes in international relations and the new trends in Europe will be reflected in the Asia Pacific region as well.

We welcome the efforts made by various parties concerned - including the five permanent members of the Security Council, the co-Chairmen and other participants in the Paris Conference, as well as the Secretary-General and his colleagues - to resolve the Cambodian conflict. The question is one of the main focuses of international public opinion, especially in South-East Asia. We are of the view that the problem can be solved only by the Cambodians themselves, who should make their contribution to the process through the Supreme National Council on the basis of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia.

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

Nowadays in our world political confrontation is being superseded by partnership and co-operation. Dialogue on a wide range of issues is becoming a new element of peaceful coexistence. The positive changes in political relations should be translated into better economic relations, particularly in bridging the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries. In that spirit, all countries have to intensify their contacts and dialogue, proceed to an exchange of views, assist one another and co-operate with one another in different fields on the basis of respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence, thereby responding to the earnest aspiration of peoples the world over to the promotion of global and durable peace and prosperity for all.

Peace, security and development are related to each other. The concepts of our politics today are co-operation, interaction and partnership in facing the global challenges of combating economic backwardness, poverty and social inequality. At the same time, we cannot solve these problems without stability in the international climate. Therefore, it is necessary to co-operate and establish, step by step, new international orders, both political and economic, thereby strengthening world peace, security and development.

We are happy to note that in recent years the United Nations has continued to play its central role in maintaining world peace and security, and in solving the many problems facing us, and we expect to see the role of our world Organization further strengthened.

I should like to reiterate the commitment of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the many declarations adopted by our Organization for the maintenance of world peace and security and the promotion of co-operation for a better life for us all.

Mr. AWAD (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The cold war has come to an end with its military alliances. In the wake of the historic Paris Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the world turned over the last leaf of the cold war, of disputes and wars. The historic document of the Paris Conference gives us cause for hope that Europe is on the threshold of a new era of co-operation, reconciliation and, security complementarity and the non-use of force in resolving disputes.

A terrible period of division and confrontation has come to an end and a new era of democracy and respect for human rights, especially the right to a safe settled existence and the right to democracy has dawned.

However, what has taken place in Europe is not sufficient in itself because this transformation should embrace the whole world. Otherwise, stability will continue to be a far-fetched dream.

The world continues to suffer from the enormous gap between rich and poor countries. In addition, a great many countries of the south continue to suffer under occupation, domination and racial discrimination. We should like to see international détente embrace all the regions of the globe and thus strengthen the primacy of law and respect for the obligations arising from the United Nations Charter and United Nations resolutions.

In the Middle East, Israel continues to consider force as the essential mainstay of its expansionist policy. It continues to occupy the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and the south of the Lebanon. It continues to commit acts of aggression, annexation and colonization and to tighten its grip on the occupied Arab territories. It continues to threaten to wage yet more wars on the Arab peoples of the region regardless of the fact that the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force is a fundamental principle of international law and of the United Nations Charter. None the less, Israel



(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

continues to violate that principle. It rejects any just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem through an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations. It continues to do this, despite the intifadah of the heroic Arab Palestinian people which has demonstrated to the whole world that the occupation will not last and that the will of the people will triumph in the end.

My country's delegation considers that the United Nations is the appropriate forum and the appropriate instrument which should be trusted by the international community to produce appropriate solutions for all issues concerning international peace and security. Article 1 of the Charter very clearly stipulates that the maintenance of international peace and security requires the adoption of effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and to bring about by peaceful means the settlement of disputes and the development of friendly relations among nations.

My country hopes that the ending of the cold war will lead to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and promote the adoption of practical measures that would ensure adherence to the provisions of the Charter. This would safeguard the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity and economic independence; ensure the non-use of force and non-use of the threat of use of force; make possible the resolution of disputes by peaceful means; protect the right of all peoples to exercise self-determination; put an end to colonialism; eliminate all forms of racial discrimination; bring about the end of all occupation and achieve disarmament and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Syrian Arab Republic has always shown particular interest in the consolidation of international peace and security. It has also contributed effectively to the consolidation of peace and co-operation in the region of the

(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

Mediterranean by participating in adopting all the statements issued by the Mediterranean non-aligned countries in the meetings of their ministers of foreign affairs, particularly the Brioni Declaration of 1987 and the Algiers Declaration of 1990.

The consolidation of peace and security and of co-operation in the Mediterranean region requires the elimination of all hotbeds of tension in the region, a peaceful solution to all conflicts, respect for the sovereignty of States and their independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in their internal affairs, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force, and the application of the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter.

On the basis of these concepts, my country continues to work to put an end to one of the major hotbeds of tension in the world and to achieve a just peace and a comprehensive settlement to the Middle East crisis. We are trying to do so through the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all parties involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the Security Council in order to bring about a full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and guarantee all the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has already congratulated you, Mr. Chairman, on your election as Chairmanship of this important Committee, but now, as we are moving towards the end of this session, I should like to express the great appreciation of my country's delegation for the very effective and competent manner in which you have conducted proceedings in this Committee. As a result of that, we have attained the desired fruitful results. My long-standing confidence in your skills and your abilities, as demonstrated by the prominent role you have played both in the Security Council and in the United Nations system as a whole assured me of the success of our work

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

in this Committee. I base that on our co-operation over the years. As a member of the non-aligned group, may we say that we are very proud of you.

I should now like to discuss paragraph 68, which concerns the Mediterranean basin to which my country belongs, given the fact that our coast is the longest on the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

This important strategic area is one of the most sensitive in the world. And the most tense. Consequently, it is our collective responsibility as a world community to do everything we can to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace in the service of mankind. The Mediterranean region has always been at the crossroads of the culture and science of many continents.

At the present time, the Mediterranean is an area of great tension as a result of an abnormal situation in the eastern part of its basin. This is largely due to the occupation of the territory of Palestine by the Zionist régime, and the policy of aggression against and occupation of Arab territories which that régime pursues. Day in and day out we witness air raids against Lebanon. Day in and day out we witness the manifestations of the policy of persecution, oppression and killing that is being pursued against the Palestinian people.

The Israeli threat is not confined to the eastern Mediterranean alone. It has spread to North Africa. Israeli planes have bombed Tunisia and its capital, Tunis. Over the past few months, the Mediterranean has also been used as a firing range for Israeli missile tests. One of those missiles fell near the Libyan coast.

The effects of the tension are not confined to the eastern Mediterranean. It has spread to the entire basin and, consequently, threatens international peace and security. In addition, several foreign flotillas now ride the waves of the Mediterranean. Some of those navies are from outside the region. This poses a threat to the security, stability and safety of the States of the region. Not long ago, my country was a victim of aggression. You may recall that other countries in the area have also been victims of aggression.

Peace and security in the Mediterranean are also threatened by the fact that in the past the Mediterranean was the scene of confrontation between various major Powers. Military bases consequently proliferated in the region. The

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Jamahiriya)

non-aligned countries have spared no effort in working for peace in the Mediterranean and have striven for the withdrawal of all foreign fleets. My country, in co-operation with other States, managed to help Malta rid itself of military bases. Indeed, we have supported Malta's efforts to transform its economy by helping that country to end the dependence of the Maltese economy on military bases and rely on its own resources and the support of its neighbours.

My country was one of the States which signed a document with Malta that respects Malta's sovereignty and its non-aligned status. We now consider Malta to be a country that plays a prominent role in the maintenance of the Mediterranean region's security. The convening of the non-aligned countries' first meeting in Malta was proof of that.

The failure to resolve the problem of Cyprus also affects safety and security in the Mediterranean. We have always called for and tried to find a solution to that problem so as to guarantee the independence, unity and non-aligned status of the island by resolving the conflict between the two parties to the dispute.

Despite the tension in the Mediterranean region, various attempts have been made by its countries to bring about co-operation and understanding. Several conferences have been held, the most recent of which were those between the countries of North Africa and certain European countries of the western Mediterranean. There was a conference in Rome which produced good results. The countries of North Africa also held a meeting in Brussels with a group of European Economic Community countries at the ministerial level, with a view to promoting co-operation between Europe and North Africa as well as between Europe and other Mediterranean countries.

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Jamahiriya)

One of the reasons of our concern regarding the presence of navies and military bases as well as the continuing military manoeuvres in the Mediterranean is that the Mediterranean has been polluted as a result of all this, to the detriment of the whole region. Although several timely technical conferences have been held in an attempt to address the problem of pollution, we believe that a political solution to the problem is needed. We had hoped, and continue to hope, that the end of the confrontation between the two military blocs and the resultant détente in Europe will help bring about a similar détente in the Mediterranean that would lead to the withdrawal of foreign fleets and the dismantling of military bases.

The security of the Mediterranean basin has always been linked to the security of Europe. The Mediterranean region and North Africa in particular have been the theatre of military operations between the European countries. My country suffered a great deal as a result of that confrontation. Even to this day we still face the problem of the mines planted in Libya's soil during the Second World War, especially in the areas which were contested by the Axis countries and the Allies. We have lost thousands of victims because of those mines. The continued menace of the mines has had an adverse impact on our economy and our growth. Consequently Libya's security is directly related to the security of the Mediterranean. We have welcomed and followed closely all of the European conferences held in Helsinki and, recently, in Paris. Obviously we support the resolutions of the Paris Conference. However, we do not accept that the security of the whole world is the security of Europe alone. The security of the world is one and indivisible, especially with regard to the Mediterranean region.

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Jamahiriya)

We have called persistently for a nuclear-weapons-free Mediterranean. All the Mediterranean States are signatories of the international agreements regarding the prohibition of the acquisition and use of nuclear weapons, with the single exception of the Israeli Government, which has persistently refused to commit itself to any such international convention. Israel continues to produce nuclear weapons without any international control and that, of course, aggravates the threats to the security of the region.

The existence of other weapons of mass destruction also affects the Mediterranean region. My country has always declared, both at the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons and in the United Nations, that we are prepared to adhere to an international agreement that would completely eliminate weapons of mass destruction from the Mediterranean region. We strongly supported President Mubarak's proposal to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone free of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. We hope the United Nations will adopt the necessary measures in that respect.

The security of the Mediterranean can be established only through the co-operation of all the coastal countries of the Mediterranean. Such co-operation will be possible only if we resolve the fundamental problem that faces us, namely the problem of Palestine, and enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination, to return to their territory and to create their state on the national soil. The resolution of the Palestinian problem will contribute directly to the achievement of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. Co-operation between the region's coastal countries will do the same.

Co-operation has already begun between the countries of North Africa and European countries of the north Mediterranean and this too should be viewed as an important contribution.

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Jamahiriya)

We are very concerned about what is happening in the Mediterranean basin. The security of the Mediterranean region is not merely a regional question, but an international one. For that reason, we will co-operate with all the Mediterranean countries and, in particular, with the non-aligned countries in whose meetings we have participated, in trying to establish peace and security in the region and turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace in the service of international communications that would be free of military confrontation and tension.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): It is indeed a great pleasure to address the Committee under your chairmanship, Sir.

The items under consideration by the Committee today are ones to which my delegation attaches particular importance, as it has done for many years.

In fact, those amongst the members of the Committee who are veterans will remember the elderly Ambassador of Cyprus, the late Zenon Rossides. He dedicated himself to the work of this Committee and particularly to international security, disarmament and the role of the United Nations. He was a firm believer in the imperative need of co-operation for collective security in the common interests of peace and survival. He felt - and I quote from his book entitled "International Security, Disarmament and the Role of the United Nations" - that:

"to build collective security, our primary concern should be to restore to the United Nations its intended effectiveness, as required by the Charter".

He was also of the opinion that

"the founders of the United Nations, in their wisdom and foresight, provided in the Charter for a security system, resting on the effective implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, through enforcement actions where necessary. This system constitutes the central axis around which the whole structure of the United Nations revolves."



(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

When Ambassador Rossides raised these issues many years ago, there were those who brushed them aside as being out of touch with reality. Today, in the face of the changing international political landscape, his words and ideals have been fully vindicated and are very much in tune with reality.

The effective end of the cold war and, with it, bloc politics has shifted attention to the urgent need for a collective security system where we unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. We are at last seeing recognition of the fact that the development of a system of international security is, and remains, the primary responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter. In the declaration in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament it was stated that

"Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces". (S-10/2, para. 13)

The recent spate of both nuclear and conventional arms reduction agreements, the revolutionary changes taking place in Europe, and the reunification of Germany, as well as the move by the two super-Powers and their military blocs from the cold-war posture of distrust and confrontation to dialogue and co-operation, have given us all the hope that peace will in fact be the order of the day. We welcome these positive changes as well as the recent impetus towards solving regional conflicts through peaceful means and the more prominent role played by the United Nations in this respect.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

There is no doubt that the euphoria created by the dawning of a new era was dealt its first serious blow with the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. This crisis, however, has brought to the fore a United Nations that is determined not to stand silent and inactive in the face of flagrant violations of international law and the Charter which thereby threaten international peace and security. The collective message that United Nations Security Council resolutions are binding and must be implemented is one with which my delegation agrees and which it wholeheartedly endorses. It was in fact on the initiative of Cyprus that the General Assembly inscribed the item "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Cyprus, having suffered both an invasion and continued occupation by a larger, militarily more powerful State, considers that the time is now ripe for serious consideration of the significance of Security Council resolutions in particular and United Nations resolutions in general and as a whole, and for the search for ways to ensure their transformation from mere words into deeds.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

A word of caution should, however, be offered here. If the collective international moral conscience that has shown itself in the Gulf crisis is to be transformed into a permanent effective force to be reckoned with, then the call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions must be applied to all crises. To quote from a statement delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Iacovou, in New York on 3 October 1990:

"In the new world order that we are resolved to build, there can be no selective application of principles, nor selective implementation of resolutions."

I do not believe that the international community wishes to appear to be condemning aggression in one case and condoning, through inaction, other cases of aggression. All Security Council resolutions carry equal weight, for they are all binding. Or is it that - to paraphrase George Orwell, in Animal Farm - all resolutions are binding, but some are more binding than others?

The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, stated recently at the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Paris:

"As a small State, our first and most urgent concern is security. Small States cannot depend for their security on their own defensive capabilities. They are more dependent than powerful States on the surrounding environment and its stability, on the rules and principles of international law and, most of all, on the determination of the community of States to uphold and defend these principles."

In my delegation's first statement before the Committee we said that the international community was mesmerized by the speed and level of change that the international political architecture was undergoing. There is no more shining

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

example of this than events that have been witnessed in Europe over the last 12 months. Cyprus welcomes the positive events in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as the disarmament agreements culminating in the signing in Paris last week following 20 months of negotiations in Vienna, of the first Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The halting and reversing of the armaments race, both in the nuclear and in the conventional field, augurs well for the prospects of a collective security system.

The challenge that awaits us now is no longer to overcome the division that existed for so long between East and West in Europe, but to enhance and augment European unity and security through co-operation. Cyprus, as an active participant in the CSCE process, will continue to play its part in the realization of this objective. As a Mediterranean European country, Cyprus has twin reasons to watch very closely the unfolding of security developments in Europe.

The security of Europe and that of the Mediterranean are undeniably linked. The ripple effect of conflict in one region is felt in the other. Conversely, the positive developments in one region should also spread to the other region. This principle of the interdependence of the two regions was recognized in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. The applicability of this - particularly the Mediterranean chapters - as well as of the Madrid and Vienna follow-up meetings, maintains its significance and importance for the States of the Mediterranean.

It is in this context that the Republic of Cyprus continues to be alarmed at the persistent conflicts and tensions in the region. Whether it is a matter of the Gulf crisis, the Middle East conflict, the question of Palestine, the situation in Lebanon or the continued occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey, peace and security in the region is eluding us. For our part, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus recognizes and believes that a demilitarized Cyprus can contribute substantially to peace and security in the

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Mediterranean and in Europe and to international peace and security in the wider context. I take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the total demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus upon the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces. A solution to the Cyprus problem is long overdue. The Secretary-General himself recently recognized this when he said at the Paris summit meeting only last week:

"The persistence of this problem, despite my continuous efforts, is incongruous with the attention given to and the drive towards peace-making demonstrated at this time."

The Secretary-General's singling out in Paris of the Cyprus problem as a European one is clear evidence of the inextricable link between Europe and the Mediterranean. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is firmly committed to a just and viable negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Cyprus must not be allowed to remain a symbol of the confrontational past and an anachronism in a period when progress towards dialogue and peace is gaining momentum. We want to shed the image of a forcibly divided island in favour of a united one, for the benefit of all Cypriots.

My delegation welcomes and embraces the proposals for the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. We believe that such a conference should take as its inspiration the experiences of the CSCE process, both in substance and in procedure. We envisage that co-operation in the economic and social fields, protection of the environment and culture would be among the main issues to which a future conference would address itself. We believe that a Mediterranean document broadly on the lines of the Helsinki Final Act is needed, setting out the principles that would guide relations among the Mediterranean States.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

The non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean have made, and are continuing to make, a significant contribution to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. The Algiers Meeting, in June 1990, at which the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean expressed their support for the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, was a further example of the readiness of the countries of the region to co-operate, thereby increasing mutual understanding and trust and in turn promoting stability, security and peace in the region.

My delegation also fully recognizes and welcomes the outcome of the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 10 countries of the western Mediterranean, held in Rome in October 1990, which outlined the desire to establish a new model of relations in the Mediterranean region. Co-operation between the countries of the region was expressed both in Rome and in the important meeting held in Palma de Mallorca in September-October 1990. The significance of this meeting cannot be overstressed as for the first time its participants included all the Mediterranean countries not participating in the CSCE. The central theme emerging from all the meetings was widespread agreement on a Mediterranean conference. We believe, further, that the process should begin sooner rather than later.

The Permanent Representative of Malta, Mr. Borg Olivier, succinctly expressed the sentiments of my delegation in his statement before the Committee on 26 November, when he said:

"besides enhancing security through arms limitation and disarmament measures, what will have an important bearing on security in the Mediterranean in the future is the elimination of disparities in the levels of social and economic development.... Regional military security must complement and not replace economic, humanitarian and environmental security." (A/C.1/45/PV.44, p.23)

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

I must again bring to the fore the necessity for the early implementation of the agreements reached at the CSCE meeting at Palma de Mallorca. With Europe rapidly transforming itself into an area of peace through dialogue and co-operation in formulating shared approaches to tackling common problems, there exists the opening and opportunity to convert the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and prosperity.

In ending, I wish to recount again the central argument of the late Ambassador Rossides concerning the need for co-operation for collective security in the common interest of peace and survival. Each and every State, large or small, can contribute to the furtherance of this through collective effort. Similarly, every time aggression is resorted to by one State against another, international peace and security is further threatened. We each have a responsibility, both individually and collectively, to restore to the Organization its intended role and effectiveness, with the community of nations defending right over might and peace and security for all.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Two decades ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The Declaration contains 27 operative paragraphs, every one of which retains its relevance to the present day - its relevance in respect of reaffirming that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention and that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force; recognizing the need for effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, to prevent and remove threats to peace and to suppress acts of aggressions; and calling for the cessation and reversal of the nuclear and conventional arms race. Of course, the Declaration also recognizes the primacy of the commitments of Members of the United Nations under the Charter and reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter as a basis of relations among States. These are the things to which we refer when, today, we talk about the primacy of international law.

All these provisions of the Declaration have stood the test of time and retained their relevance. Many of them were further developed in numerous proposals of various States. In all of them a particular and central role is assigned to the United Nations and to the Charter of this world Organization. We could point to various initiatives to encourage a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security, encompassing all aspects of the problem - political, military, economic, scientific, technological, ecological and social - as well as to views concerning the role of the United Nations and of international organizations connected with it in an interdependent world and views on the strengthening of the preventive functions of the United Nations which have already been developed in proposals made by other States.



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In this regard the Soviet Union and the United States have taken large-scale joint initiatives concerning the strengthening of international peace and security and international co-operation in all its aspects, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and responsibility for peace and security in a changing world supported in the United Nations.

Recently, significant positive changes have taken place in the international situation as a whole and in the attitude of many countries towards the resolution of existing and emerging problems. This is happening against a backdrop of new international approaches, which - on the basis of shared creativity and development, the rights and freedoms of the individual, universal ideals and values, freedom of choice and a variety of types of social development, in conditions of peace and security, for countries and peoples - are shifting from the area of studies and theory into the sphere of State policy. That concept assumes the rejection of opposition by force and confrontation in favour of a peaceful search for mutually acceptable decisions through negotiation and the total rejection of the use of force.

Security must be achieved through political and legal methods, and not through military solutions to existing or emerging problems. Rejection of the threat or use of force must become the rule of the international community and a principle of international contacts.

On the question of ensuring political security, it would be difficult to overestimate the role of the United Nations as a genuine world political centre. The United Nations has already, on many occasions, demonstrated its enormous potential in this regard. Suffice it to recall the settlements in respect of Namibia and Nicaragua, the very important efforts to resolve the Afghan and Cambodian problems - processes that are not entirely complete - the Organization's

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contribution to mobilisation of action to rebuff the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, and a number of other achievements.

Moreover, there is great potential to enhance the role of the United Nations further by increasing the effectiveness of its structure and mechanisms - above all, the Security Council - with a view to preventing the emergence of conflict situations or achieving political settlements to those that do emerge.

In the sphere of military security, in our view, there is now a need for closer involvement by the United Nations in the disarmament process and a need to expand the Organization's peace-keeping operations.

Of great significance in the context of resolving the political aspects of security are the processes taking place in Europe - the unification of Germany, the adoption of the Paris Charter for a New Europe, the planned institutionalisation of the general European process, the establishment of joint structures for security in Europe. The Paris summit meeting of States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has great significance. Its results demonstrate that the era of confrontation and division on the continent has come to an end. The cold war, which at times threatened to develop into a hot war, has ended. A solid foundation has been laid for the construction of a new Europe. Europe is confidently entering a new era of democracy, peace and unity, in which the success of all will be based on economic freedom, social justice and equal security.

In his message to the parties to the Paris meeting, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Mr. Kravchuk, noted, among other things,

"The Ukraine is a major European State. The history of the culture of the Ukraine is an integral part of European civilization. As one of the founding States of the United Nations, and as a participant in the post-war peaceful settlement in Europe, the Ukraine, together with other States, is ready and

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able to bear responsibility for ensuring peace and the development of international co-operation in Europe."

That is our approach, and it is based on the provision of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, which proclaims that the Ukrainian SSR is a fully fledged participant in international contacts, is actively promoting the strengthening of general peace and international security and is participating directly in the general European process and in European structures.

Thus the Ukraine, on the basis of its Declaration of State Sovereignty, intends to play an important role in building a common European home, in strengthening peace and in developing good-neighbourly relations between States on the basis of principles of humanism and democracy.

The Ukraine attaches great significance to the dynamic development of direct relations of various kinds with bordering States. For example, in October this year the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine and of Poland signed a declaration on principles in major areas for the development of Ukrainian-Polish relations. That Declaration laid a solid basis for the active development of political, diplomatic, consular, trade, economic, social and cultural ties. Intensive dialogue is taking place with Hungary and with other neighbouring countries. The Ukraine's ties with the Russian Federation have a particular role to play. The Treaty signed recently by the Heads of the two Republics, which regulates bilateral relations, is an important event to them as sovereign, equal States.

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The security of States is guaranteed not by a maximum build-up of weapons but indeed on the contrary by a minimally low level of weapons, by restricting military potential to limits of reasonable, that is defensive, sufficiency, where each side has every possibility to defend itself but does not have the capability to attack others. The way to military security lies through disarmament.

In this area also, significant results have recently been achieved: the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles; the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on destroying chemical weapons; the European countries are implementing many unilateral disarmament measures; and the long-awaited agreement has been signed on the reduction of conventional armed forces and arms in Europe. There is a need for more active involvement of the United Nations to ensure continuity, order and the global nature of the disarmament process, that is, to ensure that it encompasses all types of weapons and armed forces and provides an opportunity to all countries to participate in it.

The significance of the non-military components of security is also growing. Extremely relevant now in our view was the solution to serious economic, ecological and medical problems, problems of scientific and technical development, which are fraught with very serious consequences. Social and humanitarian problems are indeed momentous.

In public life there should be a reaffirmation of the ultimate primacy of universal human values, the priority of international law, fundamental human rights and freedoms. One of the basic objectives of the United Nations Decade of International Law should be the establishment of international law as a basis for peaceful relations in the post-confrontation period. Here, in our view, a great

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role can be played by the United Nations as a universal centre where the positions of States are agreed upon and methods are worked out to resolve these global problems.

In the complex mosaic of the problem of strengthening international security an important place belongs to the region of the Mediterranean Sea. The Ukrainian SSR as a Black Sea State and consequently also as a Mediterranean State is interested in seeing broad dialogue and interaction between all States of the region to transform it into a zone of stable peace, security and co-operation. The military-political situation in the Mediterranean region could be improved. On the rest of the European continent we can see an improvement in the international situation, a departure from confrontation, a strengthening of trust among States and a beginning of disarmament processes, but the Mediterranean Sea still remains a focus of intense Middle East conflict, an area of a continuing arms race, which threatens to spread throughout the region nuclear, chemical and other types of sophisticated weapons, in particular, powerful missiles. Here major naval strike units are still deployed.

Such a threatening situation in the region clearly could be defused by the implementation of the proposals made by the Soviet Union for a stage-by-stage demilitarization of the Mediterranean Sea. A beginning here could be a freeze on the numbers of Soviet and American ships, the naval potential of these countries, and the introduction of agreed upon quantitative limits, an exchange of information concerning military exercises, the sending of ships, and then a full and simultaneous withdrawal from the Mediterranean of American and Soviet warships.

Extremely careful study should be given to the proposals of several countries of the region concerning the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all foreign bases and fleets and a reduction of naval activity to a minimally necessary level. In

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this region too, to strengthen security, non-military factors are extremely important: a comprehensive development of regional co-operation in the areas of the economy, transportation, tourism, culture, science and technology. This would lead to a reaffirmation of trust among peoples who inhabit the Mediterranean region and a lowering of the level of confrontation among States. Ecological problems are an important element of security in the Mediterranean and are extremely serious. The meeting held recently within the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Palma de Majorca was extremely useful for stimulating the socio-economic development of countries of the region, the protection of ecosystems, the biosphere and the natural resources of the Mediterranean. The speedy implementation of the recommendations of that meeting would allow for the strengthening of security and improved co-operation in the region which is of great significance for international security in Europe and in the world as a whole. The Ukrainian SSR is ready actively to participate in constructive efforts in this area.

The Ukrainian SSR is convinced that active dissemination of ideas of peaceful co-operation and mutually advantageous development of all States and peoples of the planet is playing a great role in establishing a new world order, in the formation of a spiritual and moral basis for a non-violent, safe world, a solid system of international security. The reaffirmation and people's awareness of the inalienable right to life in the world as a fundamental universal human value is one of the most important elements of the concept of new political thinking. The basis of that concept is the primacy of universal human values, freedom of choice, repudiation of confrontation as a basis for foreign policy, a total renunciation of the use of force, demilitarization and disarmament. There is a rejection of obsolete concepts and designs, a wish to see everything in black and white. Thus

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the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace are being implemented.

The Ukrainian SSR attaches great significance to the dissemination of ideas of friendship, good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation in conditions of peaceful development, mutual understanding and respect for the integrity and unique character of all peoples. A significant expansion of contacts among people on the whole promotes the implementation of the ideas of friendship and peace and clearly dispels the antiquated stereotypes of the enemy, promotes a strengthening of mutual trust and the establishment of normal human relations. Article 67 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states:

"The international duty of a citizen of the Ukrainian SSR is to promote the development of friendship and co-operation with peoples of other countries to support and strengthen universal peace."

The popularization and propagation of these principles is considered in the Republic as an important objective and they play a very important role in the entire system of upbringing, training and education.

An important role in reaffirming in people's awareness the idea of the right to live in peace is played by public organizations in the Ukraine, such as the Ukrainian Republic Peace Committee, the Ukrainian Association to Advance the United Nations, established last year, the Ecological Association, Green World, the Committee of Youth Organizations and others. For example, the measures carried out by the Ukrainian Peace Committee are well known and include walks, marches and cruises for peace. The association, Journalists for Peace, established with that Committee, the group, Travels for Peace, and the human rights associations are very active in the Ukraine. A great deal of attention is being paid in our Republic to

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bringing up the growing generation in a spirit of peace, peaceful co-operation and internationalism. The clubs of international friendship are now widespread as is the practice of having Ukrainian high school and college students travel abroad for study and study tours with return visits of their contemporaries to Ukrainian schools, institutes of higher learning, pioneer and youth camps.

Every year on 1 September there are lessons on peace in schools, technical institutes and vocational schools. These and other such undertakings promote the bringing up of Ukrainian youth in a spirit of the ideals of peace and co-operation, mutual understanding and good neighbourliness. Thus, inasmuch as it attaches great significance to implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, the Ukrainian SSR is undertaking all possible measures to implement them and considers it extremely important to make new collective efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security, once and for all eliminating the threat of war. Here the role of the United Nations is invaluable as a link which can organize and co-ordinate these efforts. The Ukrainian SSR is actively co-operating with the United Nations for this purpose and is ready to continue to develop such interaction in the future.



Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): On behalf of the group of countries consisting of Algeria, Bangladesh, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.66.

Proceeding from the significant changes in international relations that have taken place in the period since our last session, the sponsors of this draft resolution point out in particular their positive consequences, manifested first and foremost in the cessation of the cold war, the creation of a new, more diversified relationship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, new developments in Europe, and the progress made in dealing with some regional crises.

At the same time, the sponsors recognize that despite all positive developments problems continue to exist which threaten international peace and security and the solution of which calls for additional efforts by all. In this context the sponsors emphasize that the strengthening of international security and the maintenance of international peace do not depend only on the solution of crises, on the prevention of the use of force or on disarmament.

In the opinion of the sponsors, international peace and security are also dependent on the solution of other important global problems that continue to beset the current international situation. These include the problems of development, the difficult economic situations in developing countries, the environment, respect for human rights, and so on. In this connection, the draft resolution stresses the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and the strengthening of security, and the need for the strengthening of the Organization's role in the changed international circumstances.

We believe that the solution of such a broad complex of problems calls for a concentrated and comprehensive approach at the multilateral level, particularly

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within the framework of the United Nations. This would bring about respect for the principles and the attainment of the goals enshrined in the Charter of our Organisation in the best possible way.

Finally, I should like to draw attention to a typographical error in the draft resolution. In the second line of operative paragraph 5 the word "limitation" should read "elimination".

In conclusion, let me express the expectation of the sponsors that the draft resolution will be supported by the great majority of the countries represented in the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.