



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 54th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic)

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GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67, 68, 69 AND 141 (continued)

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

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The First Committee is now discussing ways and means to strengthen international security, a matter of exceptionally great importance for the present and future of mankind. Today's world is a multicoloured mixture of countries with differing social and political systems and varied cultural traditions; it is a diverse and complex world in which the new and the old coexist. There is no need to prove to members of this Committee that it is a world that has greatly changed and is very different from the world of 40 years ago, when the United Nations was founded and the basic purposes and principles of its Charter defined.

The problems facing mankind are extremely diverse and complex. Thanks to the intelligence and ingenuity of mankind, science and technology have made unprecedented advances, including the invention of nuclear weapons, which now pose a threat to survival itself. The atom, which held out the promise of well-being and progress, now threatens to pulverize the very civilization that was so proud of having discovered it. It was the atom that changed the traditional thinking and attitude regarding war and peace and the security of States. The contrasts of the twentieth century are growing increasingly intolerable; far from serving the endeavour to eliminate the poverty and misery from which the greater part of mankind suffers, science has been working to create increasingly complicated and sophisticated tools of death and devastation.

(Mr. Tavetkov, Bulgaria)

Unresolved conflicts and hotbeds of tension in different parts of the world give rise to instability and increased danger to peace. Social and economic inequality among States is growing; instability and ever graver problems affect international economic relations and constitute additional sources of insecurity and tension in today's world.

Environmental protection; proper use of the resources of the world's oceans and outer space for the benefit of all; the urgent need to conquer underdevelopment, hunger, poverty and illness: these are all world-wide problems that require immediate solutions. Nor must we forget the additional suffering that results from the anti-human policies of human rights violations, apartheid, racial discrimination, Fascism and the suppression of individual and collective rights and freedoms.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

Of all these important, urgent and complex problems, there is not one that we can underestimate or set aside. The realities of today's world have uncovered another important aspect: the increasing democratization of interdependent and inter-State relations. The days are over when a country could isolate itself for its own self-interest, disregarding the interests of others, either to shirk its responsibilities or simply from a lack of interest in co-operating in finding solutions to international problems. Such a policy is impossible today. It will inevitably backfire against those who practise it.

Political realism demands recognition of the simple fact that the world is unique and interdependent, and that its interdependence manifests itself on the political and economic levels, as well as on the level of humanitarian co-operation. Political realism demands that we all recognize the paradox, one created by mankind itself, whereby what unites us today is, in fact, the common danger of extinction we all face. At the present time, it is a question of surviving together or perishing together. That being said, above and beyond all the differences, the various problems, there is only one paramount problem: responsibility for the burden we all bear, namely, responsibility for the survival of mankind and the preservation of life on this planet.

An understanding of the new realities and of the urgent need to find a solution to accumulated problems that can guarantee the material and spiritual conditions necessary to all people, as well as go beyond obsolete stereotypes vis-à-vis inter-State relations and national security, is to adopt a new mode of political thought, a new approach to international affairs.

Basing themselves on such an approach, the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have proposed the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security that applies to all. We do not pretend that we have invented anything new or foreign to the international community. The

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vast majority of States, many Heads of State or Government and eminent political leaders, have more than once stressed the need for a completely new approach to security. An appeal in that regard was contained in the Final Document of the Eighth Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Harare this year.

As was noted in the Statement of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues presided over by the late Olof Palme, document A/41/124, in the nuclear age it is impossible for nations to seek security at the expense of others. They must seek security together since they confront the common danger of nuclear war. The remarkable advances made by science and the constant improvement of weapons to which those advances give rise increasingly demonstrate that, under present conditions, no one State, no matter how powerful, can ensure its own protection by military or technological means alone. It is becoming increasingly clear that we cannot count on force alone to consolidate national security. To an ever greater degree, guaranteeing security is becoming a political problem.

As the study of the governmental Group of Experts on Security Concepts, document A/40/553, security is in principle a status in which countries feel themselves safe from military attacks or economic constraints and able freely to pursue that chosen path towards development and progress. The socialist countries are now suggesting such an approach. If in the past security was simply seen in relation to the military and political spheres, it is now linked to all areas of inter-State relations - military, political, economic and humanitarian.

With regard to the military sphere, the underlying principles must always be the mutual renunciation of war by the nuclear Powers either against each other or against a third State, and whatever the nature of such a war, nuclear or conventional; the prevention of an arms race in outer space and its cessation on earth; a total and comprehensive nuclear-test ban and the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the end of the century; a ban on and destruction of

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

chemical weapons and an undertaking not to create other weapons of mass destruction. The system must further include a strictly controlled reduction in the level of the military potential of States to the level necessary for national defence, the dissolution of military blocs and a proportional reduction in military budgets. Each of those measures proposed in the military sphere must be accompanied by effective measures for a viable control, including on-site verification and other international procedures if necessary.

In the political sphere, the comprehensive system of international security requires united efforts and co-operation in eliminating hotbeds of tension and settling conflicts in various parts of the world - the Middle East, Central America, South-East Asia and southern Africa - and strict respect for the rights of peoples freely to choose their own path of development, negotiated settlement of disputes between States and the elaboration of a group of measures aimed at building confidence among States. Particularly important in any such system of security is the adoption of effective measures to prevent international terrorism, including ways of improving the security of international communications, land-based, air and naval.

The international economic climate also has a tremendous influence on the overall status of international relations. The barriers to and limitations on the development of economic and technological co-operation have a destabilizing effect on international security. The establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security depends on the efforts that are made to transform the entire system of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and to establish a new economic order ensuring equal security for all States.

We also attach great importance to co-operation between States in the humanitarian sphere and to the achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Are not all our efforts being exerted on behalf of man and his

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well-being, his security and his future, be they political, concerned with disarmament or in the economic and social spheres? If we fight to reduce and eliminate weapons, if we fight to overcome famine, disease and poverty, if we fight to promote science and technology and if we fight to put an end once and for all to all gross violations of human rights - like apartheid, racism, racial discrimination, Fascism, genocide, foreign oppression and domination - we do so solely for the benefit of mankind and to ensure its survival and its well-being. In its humanitarian aspects, the comprehensive system of international security is a guarantee for all mankind's human rights and freedoms, and, first and foremost, of man's right to live in conditions of peace and freedom. Our goal, therefore, is a world in which the free development of the individual is a prerequisite for the free development of all.

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We have no pride of authorship in this either. The international community already possesses the means to achieve such co-operation, which must be broadened and nurtured. They are the various international legal instruments, in particular, the International Covenants on Human Rights. The obligations contained therein must be more strictly observed, just as there must be a wide recognition of the interdependence of all the rights and freedoms of mankind - whether civil rights or political, social, economic and cultural rights. There must be a true realization and a guarantee of the basic rights of mankind to employment, education, and health services, without which it would be impossible to guarantee what is called a dignified existence. Interdependence and the relations among States in our era postulate the need for continuing contacts between human beings, organizations and institutions and the exchange of information, ideas and cultural values. It is no doubt true that better understanding between peoples is increasingly necessary and that this would contribute greatly to enabling us to overcome prejudice and mistrust and obstinate opinions that have the effect of setting peoples against one another and hampering understanding and co-operation.

New ways must be found to extend co-operation with regard to human rights, since violations in this area also lead to tension. Without the exercise of human rights, without a free development of the human person, the establishment of a lasting system of international security would be unthinkable.

In proposing that an overall system of international peace and security should be established, we are fully aware of the fact that existing problems cannot be resolved with a magic wand. We realize full well that the ideas we have put forward are not exhaustive. International security is of concern to all countries and must be the result of our united efforts. But we are sure that there is a need

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for dialogue on all questions with the participation of all, in the name of peace, human prosperity, human survival and the ideals our Organization has espoused.

As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, declared recently:

"The only way out of the present situation is through political dialogue. The main problems of our times cannot be settled by military force. That would be self-destruction. It must be understood that the era in which we live involves an exceptional responsibility, since the very survival of the planet is at stake."

Allow me to express our conviction that it is here, within the United Nations, which, 40 years ago gave us the example of modern thinking and which has done so much to reaffirm the most essential norms and principles of relations among States, that the dialogue should take place. It is here where the whole idea of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security will be given its genuine and real content. Thus, the essential norms and principles of the Charter will be given effect and will be developed as required by today's world.

Mr. OLZVOY (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): In this room we have the representatives of virtually all the countries of the world, with different social and political systems as well as different traditions, histories and levels of development. One thing, in our opinion, unites us today: we must find the solution to the essential problems of the contemporary nuclear world, for mankind is faced today with one single choice: either peaceful coexistence or mutual destruction. This explains the importance of the item we are considering, that is, "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security". In putting this question before the General Assembly of the United

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Nations for consideration, the socialist countries have based their thinking on the idea that, together with other nations, we must try to prevent a nuclear conflagration which might very well burn our house down altogether - this planet Earth. We call on the international community to consider in a practical manner the strengthening of security and progress to be made with regard to disarmament. In so doing a foreign policy must be evolved in such a way that no State, however powerful and highly developed, could undertake to defend itself solely by military and technological means, including the creation of defensive systems extending even into outer space.

This is the important issue nuclear-space age, and this is why, in today's world, we must create an order guaranteeing for each and every State separately and all of us collectively a form of economic and social progress ensuring a peaceful future. With this in mind, we therefore propose that the members of the international community join together in order to secure the right of all peoples to peace, for security must cease to be the prerogative of a chosen few. It must be general and equal for all. This means that the responsibility for its creation falls on all States and must be shouldered by all States together. We are therefore pleased to see the efforts undertaken by statesmen, leaders of society and scientists, who wish to implement this concept of security for all. Mongolia, which participated as an observer at the Eighth Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, fully supports the position adopted in its Political Declaration that it is important to guarantee comprehensive security through disarmament.

The proposal by the socialist countries echoes this aspect and is directed towards its practical implementation. During the general debate at the beginning

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of the current session of the General Assembly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic, Mr. Duqersuren, stated:

"This initiative of the socialist countries further strengthens the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter on the system of collective security. Its objective is to give practical effect to these provisions, duly taking into account the realities of the nuclear-space age."

(A/41/PV 20, p. 37)

In this connection, I should like to stress that, first we do not intend to replace the provisions of the Charter, but on the contrary, we favour their strict observance on a new basis at variance with the thinking prior to the nuclear era and, secondly, the United Nations itself should serve as an irreplaceable instrument for concerted action on the part of States aimed at ensuring universal security and peace. The United Nations itself is the forum which should unite all channels and streams of innovation. In this connexion our delegation supports the significance of many documents adopted by our Organization, particularly the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, among others. Their provisions are truly significant in restructuring the approach and attitude of States to questions of war and peace.

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The creation of a comprehensive system of international security means that through joint efforts on the part of all countries an entire series of measures should be undertaken in various aspects of world politics. For example, in the military sphere that would mean steps towards the full and complete elimination of nuclear weapons; in the political arena, the solution of the most acute regional problems around the negotiating table; in economics, the restructuring of economic relations, placing them upon a just and democratic basis; and in the humanitarian sphere, the development of contacts, observance of human rights, first and foremost, the right to live in conditions of freedom.

Without underestimating the importance of the basic forms of struggle for creating such a system may take, it should be pointed out that the central focus should be the speedy achievement of the aims and purposes of putting an end to the arms race and, first and foremost, the nuclear-arms race, to ensure general security through disarmament.

In that connection particular responsibility is borne by the nuclear Powers. They should not only be aware of their responsibility but also translate it into the language of practical policies and actions and revolutionize their political thinking in such a manner as to preclude any violent approach in solving the problems of security, thereby demonstrating their refusal to seek military superiority and to use force or the threat of force in inter-State relations.

At the recent Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik, the question of disarmament was advanced to a new threshold. At that meeting the Soviet Union demonstrated through General Secretary Gorbachev a new model approach to matters affecting the fate of mankind. This new approach was reiterated a few days ago in the message of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to all parliaments and

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peoples of the world, in which the Soviet Union declared that it would not withdraw any of its proposals in Reykjavik aimed at the elimination of all nuclear devices.

Mongolia warmly welcomes that decision and regards it as a genuine desire, indeed a resolve, on the part of the Soviet Union to do everything that it can to ensure that peace, dignity, development and progress become the heritage of one and all - an appeal which, incidentally, is contained in the Final Document of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare.

There is today particular concern over the fact that in the United States there is an ever clearer tendency to downplay the agreements reached at Reykjavik - an indication that forces are showing an irresponsible attitude to the most important question of the present day, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. The danger of their position is that they are unaware that curbing the arms race is a prerequisite for survival.

The concept of creating a comprehensive system of international security is universal, since it is intended to encompass all regions and parts of the Earth. Hence the Mongolian People's Republic attaches particular importance and significance to improving the situation on the Asian continent, where more than half of the Earth's population lives.

In recent decades the peoples of Asia have experienced a number of wars. There has been imprinted in the social consciousness of these peoples an indelible picture of the tragedy of the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To this very day in the Asian and Pacific regions there continue to be nuclear test explosions and nuclear weapons are in fact being deployed. Militarism is rearing its ugly head. Peoples that have chosen their own way of development are subject

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to aggressive actions by imperialist and reactionary forces and there continues to be intervention in their internal affairs.

The deep concern of our country in assuring the security of the Asian continent is completely legitimate. The trend in the political process in Asia will, to a large extent, affect not only the security interests of Mongolia, its allies and friends, but also the fate of world peace.

As an Asian State Mongolia is therefore anxious to make its contribution to forming and achieving a broad concept of Asian security consistent with the interests of each and every State of the region. By way of example, I refer to our proposal that a convention be concluded on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between States of Asia and the Pacific. In its aims and content that proposal is fully in accord with the general precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and the ideals proclaimed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, as well as the spirit and the principles of Pancha Shila and Bandung. In other words, our proposal is aimed at furthering in practice the creation of a secure and safe world for all.

The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes and fully supports the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and other States of Asia and the Pacific to strengthen the foundations of peace, trust and confidence in that region and to create non-nuclear and peace zones in various parts of Asia, including our tremendous continent and the Pacific Ocean as a whole, in the general process of creating a world system of international security.

There is no lack of proposals and initiatives. However, it is important that these political platforms for the settlement of all conflicts should be used for that purpose in order to normalize the situation as a whole throughout the region, and should be carried out in a concrete meaningful way.

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Therefore we believe it is necessary to proceed immediately to a far-reaching political dialogue to attempt to discern in specific proposals the rational kernel making it possible to reach agreement. In this way our concept of Asian security as well as world-wide security envisages joint efforts to find ways and means of guaranteeing peace in Asia on the basis of the development of broad political dialogue, combining the efforts of all States of the continent and taking into account the experience accumulated by the Asian countries themselves as well as the States of other continents.

We hope that our position is in keeping with that of others, since all peoples should be actively and constructively involved in the creation of guaranteed world peace and security.

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The Mongolian People's Republic is prepared to work in close co-operation with all countries in their efforts to remove war from the life of mankind and to expand peaceful co-operation among States in all fields. We believe that this is the quintessence of our duty as a member of the international community. Everyone should be aware of his responsibility to mankind and for his own acts. This is the most reliable way to universal security for all.

Mr. FAN Guoxiang (China) (interpretation from Chinese):

Nineteen-eighty-six is the International Year of Peace, and people of various countries have carried out different kinds of activities to mark the occasion and made many meaningful suggestions and proposals regarding ways to preserve world peace and ensure international security. This year also coincides with the sixteenth anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Against such a background, it is undoubtedly important to review the international security environment of the past year and to explore steps further to strengthen international security.

The current international situation still remains disturbing. The meeting between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union in Iceland, though a welcome development, ended without concrete results, and the subsequent meetings by representatives of the two countries in Vienna and Geneva have also failed to achieve progress. While hoping to see their talks continue, people must also note that the two big Powers that bear special responsibilities for halting the arms race remain seriously divided in their positions and proposals on the question of disarmament. Not only is the arms race going on, but it has been extended from the Earth to outer space. Meanwhile, regional conflicts are continuing, and acts of aggression, intervention and military occupation of other States keep occurring from time to time, threatening and jeopardizing the sovereignty and security of

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many small and medium-sized countries. The serious debt crisis and unfavourable trade terms are weighing ever more heavily on many developing countries, while the economic gap between the North and the South is widening with each passing day. Such an irrational state of affairs is bound to affect adversely world peace and stability.

Disarmament, development and regional conflicts are all issues closely related to the maintenance of world peace and international security, and are the principal elements in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. What is important now is to implement the various principles laid down by the Charter and that Declaration. The Chinese delegation is of the view that efforts should be made in the following areas.

First, in State-to-State relations the principle of peaceful coexistence must be strictly observed and hegemonism and power politics opposed. China adheres to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. On such a basis, China strives to establish, restore and develop normal relations with all other countries, with a view to living in amity and entering into friendly co-operation with them all. We do not predetermine the state of our relations with other countries in accordance with similarities or differences in social systems and ideology. The principle of peaceful coexistence is applicable not only to countries with different social systems, but also to countries with similar social systems. We oppose the use by any country of differences in social systems and ideology as a pretext to occupy the territories and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. We maintain that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, strong or weak, aligned or non-aligned, should be treated as equals, and such

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acts as the big bullying the small, the rich domineering the poor and the strong humiliating the weak must be resolutely opposed. While not seeking hegemony itself, China is firmly opposed to all forms of hegemonism, no matter who practises it.

Secondly, efforts should be intensified to oppose the arms race between the super-Powers. It is the super-Powers, with the world's largest nuclear and conventional arsenals, that are capable of fighting a world war, especially a nuclear war. Bearing a special and unavoidable responsibility for disarmament, the super-Powers should take the lead in drastically reducing their armaments, particularly their nuclear armaments, so as to create conditions for general nuclear disarmament by all nuclear-weapon States. At the same time, efforts should be made to oppose the extension of the arms race into outer space, to ban totally and destroy completely chemical and biological weapons, as well as to cut conventional armaments. As disarmament bears on the security interests of all countries, every nation has the right to be heard on this question. In this respect, the United Nations can play an important role. The super-Powers should heed, respect and accept the reasonable demands and proposals of various countries, particularly the small and medium-sized countries. Any disarmament negotiations or agreement between the super-Powers must not jeopardize the security interests of other countries.

Thirdly, to maintain international security, the hot spots resulting from foreign aggression, intervention and occupation must be removed. Today people can see more than smoke in these hot spots in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Central America; what is more disturbing, they see the dark shadows of certain big Powers in these troubled regions. In fact, some of these areas might not be hot spots if the big Powers had not been directly involved. As an Asian country, China is

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naturally concerned about the security of the region. We are of the view that in order to safeguard security in Asia and the Pacific region, concrete steps must be taken first and foremost to reduce substantially the nuclear missiles deployed by the two super-Powers in the region and relax the tension there, including the removal of two hot spots, namely, the Afghanistan and Kampuchea issues. With these problems unresolved, it will be difficult to bring peace and security to the entire Asia and Pacific region. Regional conflicts can be resolved only when countries' sovereignty and security are respected, the use or threat of force are renounced, interference and aggression of all forms against other countries are stopped, foreign occupation troops are totally withdrawn and, in this context, the people of the countries concerned are allowed to solve their problems on their own.

We welcome the progress made by the European countries in confidence- and security-building measures, and hope that this will help them to reach agreement on disarmament issues.

We also support the efforts made by the countries concerned in establishing zones of peace through mutual agreement in regions where the necessary conditions obtain.

Fourthly, while peace and security are prerequisites for development, the economic development of the developing countries and the improvement of North-South relations are important factors for the maintenance of international peace and security. At present the majority of the developing countries are experiencing acute economic difficulties and face numerous pressing problems. Such a situation not only puts the economic development and political stability of the developing countries in peril, but, in the long run, it will also bring adverse effects to the developed countries.

(Mr. Fan Guoxiang, China)

It is our hope that the developed countries will adopt a far-sighted approach to positive co-operation and, proceeding from the overall interests of the world economy, will help create an international environment favourable to the developing countries, thus making their contribution to the common economic prosperity of all countries and to the maintenance of world peace and security.

Fifthly, the United Nations, the only universal intergovernmental organization dedicated to the maintenance of world peace and international security, should play its role more vigorously. For the United Nations - its Security Council in particular - to discharge its responsibilities more fully and play its role more vigorously, it will require, in the final analysis, the ability to ensure that the Charter is fully respected, power politics rejected and opposed, and the struggle to defend national sovereignty and maintain international security carried out in real earnest. The permanent members of the Security Council should faithfully discharge the special duties entrusted to them by the Charter and take the lead in complying with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, through concrete actions.

In evaluating the international situation of the day, although we should remain vigilant against the possible outbreak of another world war, we should also be aware that both the factors for containing war and the forces for peace have seen gratifying developments. The aspiration of people everywhere to peace has become an irresistible trend in the world today. In response to the call of our times and the wishes of the people of all countries, the Chinese delegation would like to commit itself to working together with other delegations to implement the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and to making its own contribution to the maintenance of world peace and security.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): As usual, the Committee's consideration of the items before it provide an opportunity to assess the Organization's activities in carrying out one of its essential functions; the maintenance of international peace and security.

This year, the debate has gained by the initiative of 10 socialist countries, including Romania, to propose an in-depth analysis of the present international situation with a view to establishing a general system of international security. That is a new approach which, in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place over the 40 years since the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, attempts to meet the urgent need to overcome difficulties currently blocking efforts to eliminate the threats to the future of mankind and to guarantee the right of all peoples to economic and social development in conditions of peace and security for all.

The constructive nature of this initiative should be stressed, along with the democratic way in which it views the identification and establishment of the basic elements of a general system of international peace and security and of the actual measures to be adopted for putting such a system into effect. This would involve wide-ranging dialogue with the full-fledged participation of all States and taking into account the interests of all peoples, whatever their size or level of development.

Any realistic analysis of the current international situation would show that situation to be extremely serious and complex. Major economic and political problems have arisen, and, unfortunately, new factors have continued to be added this year which have further complicated and exacerbated the situation. The arms race, including the nuclear-arms race, has continued and new nuclear weapons are being manufactured at a feverish pace; medium-range missiles continue to be

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

deployed in Europe; nuclear-weapon tests and activities to militarize outer space are under way. Military expenditure has reached absurdly high levels, with profoundly negative implications for all aspects of the life of the world's peoples.

Armed conflicts in various parts of the world continue to consume human lives and large quantities of material resources. This year there have been further acts of force against independent States, which has broadened the arena of tension and confrontation.

The economic situation is in no way reassuring. Underdevelopment, the external-debt crisis, and, in general, the unjust and inequitable nature of world economic and trading relations have increased. The threat to the very life of peoples and the widening gap between rich countries and poor countries are impeding efforts to guarantee fundamental human rights and freedoms and to create the conditions essential to ensure a free and dignified life for every individual.

In the world-wide political situation there are two radically conflicting trends. On the one hand, we have seen manifestations of the policies of force, interference in the internal affairs of other States and armament, including nuclear armament. On the other hand, there has been intensified action by progressive, anti-imperialist and realistic forces, and growing adherence by peoples, the world public and various political, scientific, cultural and religious groupings to a position in favour of peace, disarmament and the development and progress of all peoples. The facts show that those two trends are at present in a state of relative balance. For that reason we believe that everything should be done to unite the forces in favour of détente, disarmament and international peace and security and to enhance their effectiveness.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

That is the general political context of the initiative of 10 socialist States, including Romania, to establish a general system of security. Building a true system of security is a complex problem requiring sustained effort by all States. It involves a long-term process ensuring the gradual elimination of sources of tension and friction among States and mistrust among peoples, creating a climate of understanding, co-operation and mutual respect, and promoting the solution of the basic problems facing mankind.

In the view of Romania and its President, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, the maintenance of international security requires a system of firm commitments by all States, and concrete measures, to eliminate the threat and use of force in relations among States, and to guarantee fully that all States shall be safe from all acts of aggression and shall be able to develop freely.

Thus, a general system of international security should be based on genuine agreements on halting the arms race and on disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, and on resolute measures to put an end to military conflicts, to resolve all disputes among States by peaceful means, to develop broad economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural co-operation, to eliminate underdevelopment, and to solve the grave problems of the present world economic situation, for the benefit of all.

At the same time, such a system of peace and security involves, above all, new relationships of full equality and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social and political systems, based on rigorous respect for the principles and unanimously acknowledged norms of international law.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

It is widely recognized that at the end of this millenium the world is at a turning-point. It lies within man's power to destroy the planet, but he also has at his disposal means of transforming Earth into a fertile garden for all. The quantitatively new element that adds a particularly serious dimension to the era in which we live is undoubtedly the fact that we have witnessed the accumulation of vast quantities of nuclear and other means of destruction with awesome power. If another world war were to break out, it would obviously result in the total annihilation of mankind.

In light of that prospect, weapons can no longer, in the final analysis, be regarded as the proper bases for the security of any State, and even less so for international peace and security.

Action designed to put a halt to the arms race and to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament but conventional disarmament as well, must rise above differences in the social systems of States, their philosophical or religious differences, or differences in their economic and social development. As the President of my country recently stated:

"In the present international situation, we can state that the fundamental problem of our age is comprehensive nuclear and general disarmament, the preservation of peace on Earth. Today, nothing can or should be more important than guaranteeing the supreme right of all peoples and nations to life in freedom, independence and peace."

That is why any system of international peace and security, and especially a comprehensive system, calls for resolute action towards disarmament. That is a fundamental prerequisite without which it is impossible to conceive the maintenance of international stability, trust, peace and security in the world.

Romania's position on disarmament problems has been set forth in detail in my delegation's earlier statements in the Committee and during the general debate.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

However, I cannot fail to reiterate the particular importance my country attaches to the undeniable need to proceed resolutely from statements on disarmament to actual negotiations, from words to deeds, to practical measures aimed at the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons under strict and effective international control and verification.

In response to that urgent and timely need, Romania has taken a unilateral decision to reduce by 5 per cent its weapons, troops and military expenditures and to submit that decision to the people of Romania in a referendum. According to data that has just been made public, that unilateral measure will consist, first, with regard to armaments, a reduction of 250 tanks and armoured personnel carriers, 130 cannon and other artillery pieces and 26 airplanes and combat helicopters. Components of such groups can obviously be converted to peaceful purposes and used in other sectors of the national economy. Secondly, with regard to troop strength, there will be a reduction of 10,000 officers, non-commissioned officers and regular troops, who will be integrated into civil activities. Thirdly, with regard to military expenditure, there will be a reduction of 1,350 million lei in the 1987 budget for national defence, and the funds thus made available will go to financing economic and social development programmes in the country.

It gives me great pleasure, furthermore, to inform the Committee that the decision to carry out those reductions has been ratified by the Romanian people as a whole in the national referendum that was held yesterday, 23 November. By voting in favour of a 5 per cent unilateral reduction in its armaments, troops and military budget, the Romanian people have evidenced their unflagging desire to bring about disarmament and their determination to contribute to it with all their power and to participate actively in the struggle for a peaceful world without weapons and without wars.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

At the same time, Romania once again addresses a solemn appeal to all the European States, the United States of America and Canada to proceed, individually, to effect similar reductions in weapons and military expenditures. Such a measure could in no wise endanger the security or defence capability of any State but would, on the contrary, have a very positive impact on both trust and confidence among States by demonstrating the genuine desire of each nation to enter into the path of disarmament and to do everything it can to reduce tension and the danger of war.

It is obvious that in today's world political security cannot be separated from economic security. In this connection, we are deeply concerned at the fact that the world economy is still beset by a series of negative phenomena that have been created by the economic crisis whose consequences have been felt everywhere to some degree. The vast majority of developing countries have been prevented from developing their economies and advancing along the path of economic and social progress because of the external debt with which they must cope and also because of the increasing protectionism being practised in various forms by the developed countries as well as because of the existing credit system of international financial institutions.

It is regrettable and, indeed, paradoxical, that in our time, when the greatest scientific and technological revolution in mankind's history is in full swing, the developing countries - and not only they - should find themselves denied all access to the achievements of that revolution. We should not harbour any illusions that the world, given the prevailing volatile economic situation, can continue to live in tranquillity and that the sources of conflict and tension can be removed and that international peace and security can be maintained and strengthened.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

A comprehensive system of lasting peace and security, real and equal for all States, also requires radical changes to eradicate underdevelopment and to usher in a new international economic order. The present and long-term vital interests of the peoples of all countries, both developed and developing, urgently require that we abandon our selfish attitudes and tackle the solving of major economic problems while it is still possible to deal with them, through negotiations and through a return to dialogue carried out in a constructive spirit. At the same time, all States must refrain from adopting any constraints and economic sanctions, for political or other reasons, that are incompatible with the norms and principles of international law as well as with the demands created by the economic interdependence of nations. It is also essential that ways and means be found to increase the transfer of technology to developing countries and give those countries easier access to the achievements of science and technology.

Today, more than ever, the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security make it essential that relations among all States be based on a strict and permanent respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, equal rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, as well as on mutual advantage, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of all disputes among States. In view of the many instances of violation of those principles, often in a brutal manner, we cannot say that the United Nations or States Members have done enough or too much in reaffirming the universal validity of those principles or in developing and spelling out their content, and particularly in finding ways and means by which the United Nations can contribute to their consolidation and to their systematic implementation.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

We would like, in particular, to emphasize the need to do everything to renounce the threat or use of force, to put an end to existing conflicts and to set about resolving them only through negotiations.

The appeal adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in 1985, at the initiative of Romania, called upon all States in conflict to put an end to armed action forthwith and to proceed to the settlement of their disputes by negotiations. At the same time the appeal called upon all States to comply with the obligations they had assumed to resolve conflicts and disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

We believe that Member States should act in a more decisive way in order to make full use of the framework, machinery and means made available in the United Nations for the solution of their conflicts.

The position of my country in this connection was expressed in the proposals and initiatives which, in 1982, led to the adoption of the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and to the debate which took place in the Sixth Committee on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations among States. Romania also proposed that a procedure be devised whereby one could resort to good offices, mediation or conciliation aimed at preventing fresh armed confrontations and to bring about a peaceful resolution of conflicts and any other problems between States.

The creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security requires the democratization of inter-State relations in accordance with the profound transformations that have occurred throughout the world and on the equal participation in the settlement of all current problems of all countries, including

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

the medium-sized and the small, developing and non-aligned countries - the vast majority of the world - which are directly concerned in promoting a policy of peace, independence and international co-operation.

In view of the role played by Europe in the military, political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, we consider that the countries of that continent should make an increased contribution to improving the international situation and to the resolution of the complex problems of international peace and security.

As the President of my country stated:

"Without underestimating other forces, I think we can say that no other continent, no other force, can play as important a part as Europe in determining how to undertake negotiations and to help to achieve adequate agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the problems of nuclear weapons and conventional disarmament, as well as to resolve other complex problems relating to peace security and economic development in Europe and throughout the world."

The democratization of international life requires the enhancement of the role of the United Nations as a single, universal forum based on the recognition of the equality and national sovereignty of all Member States. Romania is resolved to make its contribution to help to transform this Organization into an effective instrument available to all States for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In this context, we wish to emphasize the role of the General Assembly as the supreme body responsible, with the participation of all Member States, for

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

resolving the major problems of concern to all peoples. A particularly important step along these lines would be respect for the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly - something which, in the final analysis, is in the interest of all nations.

Romania supports all proposals conducive to improving the machinery of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under present circumstances, it appears to us quite timely to consider the overall activities of the Security Council, so that we can identify practical measures to be taken to make it possible for that body to discharge the duties incumbent upon it under the Charter.

Nevertheless, we believe that an essential prerequisite is for the permanent members of the Security Council to enter into constructive negotiations in a spirit of good faith to resolve the problems before the Council, while respecting the independence and the security interests of all States Members of the United Nations.

An analysis of the problems relating to international security reveals a far from positive picture. This does not, however, diminish the validity and importance of what has been done within the United Nations to secure lasting peace and security. Rather, such actions are more than ever necessary.

It is in this context that the initiative of the 10 socialist countries advocating the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security should be seen. As a sponsor of this initiative, Romania would like to express the hope that the discussion on this initiative at the current session will make a striking contribution to a new, more realistic and responsible approach to the complex problems of international life, so that ways to take action can be defined which through the intensification of concerted efforts by all States can ensure the equal right of all peoples to live in peace and security and to develop freely in a world without weapons or war.

Mr. MURIN (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): The maintenance of international peace and security is the primary and most crucial objective of our Organization which as has already been emphasized here, is enshrined in its Charter.

However, in present conditions this objective acquires a new meaning; it embraces a new content and requires that new ways and means be sought in order to attain it. Nowadays, we speak not just about saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, but rather about the need to save the entire human race from extermination. That is why the task of strengthening peace and security predominates over all others. It has become the order of the day. What is also important is the fact that it has inevitably gone beyond the scope of purely military and politico-military concepts and is in fact encompassing all fields of current international life.

This is due to the fact that the foundations of relations among States and peoples and the prerequisites for their development in conditions of the nuclear and space age are substantially different from those that used to determine international life even two or three decades ago. The entire political and economic picture of the world, and especially the relative importance and significance of individual parts of its structure, have fundamentally changed. The destructive capability of modern weapons, too, has reached a qualitatively new level. A number of other new factors have appeared and continue to appear on the world scene, making it possible and, indeed, imperative to formulate a more creative, civilized, humanistic and binding approach to the norms of international law, particularly regarding the implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

In other words, the problem of survival and the new international conditions for the realization of national, regional and global interests will require concerted efforts on the part of the international community, a new multilateralism to be instrumental in reaching solutions of national tasks on the basis and by means of mutual harmonization of interests, so that dangerous collisions can be avoided and so that a collective endeavour to establish concord between the general and the particular, the national and the international, might prevail.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

All those circumstances strongly urge us to take a fresh look at the problem of maintaining international peace and security and at the role and the possibilities of the United Nations in this field. That is why we are so insistent in calling for a truly new political thinking, which could, inter alia, realize a jointly created comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The crux of the matter is that former circumstances whereby national or bloc security proceeded from military-technical arrangements and policies based on strength must be replaced by a system of security encompassing all fields of international relations, a system growing out of political will, stemming from a full understanding of the fact that in the nuclear and space age national interests involving 160 sovereign States can be attained in international relations only by combining efforts and joining forces with others on the basis of agreement on and mandatory compliance with norms of conduct of States in the process of the pursuit of their interests.

The establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security in the present circumstances requires the introduction of norms of conduct among States that would regulate all their multifaceted, sometimes parallel and sometimes conflicting, interests which intersect at various levels so as to enable nations and each individual to live and develop fully in conditions of peace and guaranteed security.

The aim is that a new way of thinking and new conduct on the part of the protagonists in international life should turn the contradictions of our time from a source of antagonism in international relations into a dynamic force for the safe development of all countries and peoples and for the solution of all the pressing tasks and problems.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

We are convinced that the United Nations is duty-bound to take the first practical step in this direction without delay. That is why Czechoslovakia, together with other socialist countries, has submitted to the current session of the General Assembly a joint proposal to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security and has called upon all States to join in the elaboration of its fundamental ideas.

International peace and security are historic concepts that have undergone a long evolution. Their present meaning is completely different from their many past meanings. The purpose of our initiative at the present stage - when the era of nuclear missiles gives an entirely new perspective to the question of world interdependence and the prospects of mankind's survival in general and objectively calls for specification - is to move the concepts of and desires for safeguarding international peace and security from the sphere of political theory to that of political practice, not least to the sphere of activities of the United Nations, the fulfilment and practical enhancement of its fundamental principles and the implementation of the objectives of its Charter by means of concrete measures and joint commitments, so that our thoughts and deeds adequately meet the requirements of our time.

We realize that the establishment of a comprehensive system of security based on the effective application of international guarantees, pursuant to the requirements set forth in the Charter, is a new, complex task of a long-term nature. Yet we believe in the political and moral strength of the United Nations to undertake it. We are encouraged in this regard by the fairly practical, businesslike tone of the ongoing session, which has also been felt in the deliberations of the First Committee.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

Hence it is necessary to start building, step by step, an effective system of political, legal, moral and psychological as well as material guarantees based on the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, and safeguarding their implementation in real terms.

In our opinion such a system of guarantees must express a collective awareness of the fact that managing the fate of the world, which has entered a new phase of its development, can no longer remain subject to the outdated stereotypes or ephemeral selfish interests of one or another country. What is required is the existence of certain agreed rules governing the practical actions of States in conditions of growth and diversity in international life, so that all States, large and small, can share equally in the benefits of guaranteed adherence to the general principles of peace and security enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in other fundamental documents of the international legal system.

Such a civilized and inevitable concept of international relations must be formed by a purposeful process, beginning with reaching an agreement to this end in the United Nations and proceeding gradually to the introduction and refining of the individual components of an overall system over the course of its implementation.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

Within such an approach, global efforts aimed at strengthening security could be combined on a mutually complementary basis with effective measures at the regional level designed to eliminate local hotbeds of tension, build confidence and promote co-operation, with due regard to the specific features and needs of each particular region.

The experience and achievements of individual States, groups of States, regions and political and public movements could provide important sources of inspiration for the establishment of such a comprehensive system of peace and security. Those sources include the all-European process. We would in particular remind all those who have joined us in the process and who share its fruits that the United Nations Charter applies to Europe just as it does to other regions. After all, the revitalization of détente and dialogue in Europe is now having a positive impact in shaping the global political atmosphere.

Of course, the all-European process has been proceeding against the backdrop of the specific military-political situation that has developed on our continent. It stems from the principles of the Charter, but at the same time it is governed by its own specific rules, and it gains momentum from the needs and political will of the participating countries. It meets the common interests of European countries and at the same time helps to improve the overall international situation and to strengthen international peace and security. It is thus in no way contradictory to the Charter. On the contrary, it is now part and parcel of the international effort to put the Charter into practice. Those who are experts on the contents of the Charter do not need to be reminded that that is precisely what both its letter and its spirit call for.

If we are to lay solid foundations for universal peace and security, it is of prime importance that solutions be found to some of the most acute problems of arms

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

limitation and disarmament. We believe that it is here that the most significant material guarantees of security are to be found, consisting of measures designed to free the world of all nuclear weapons, prevent an arms race in outer space, reduce the military capacity of States to levels of reasonable adequacy and, finally, achieve general and complete disarmament.

If we examine all the specifics of the new situation, we are inevitably prompted to conclude that there are complex realities stemming from the structures of the current international community. In particular, we must conclude that today the security of the international community as a whole or of any individual State or group of States is not and cannot be essentially a matter of military technology. It is now predominantly a political question. This means that security can be attained only by political means and that it must be viewed as a single universal phenomenon applying to all in equal measure.

It is obvious that in this direction, which is the most important of all, the establishment of a comprehensive system of peace and security must begin with an overall review of the obsolete concepts of building up military strength, doctrines of deterrence and mutually assured destruction. Such concepts run directly counter to the real vital interests of the whole international community. In the nuclear and space age the concept of a balance of terror flies in the face of the interests of the international community, and it must be replaced by the concept of a comprehensive system of international security.

It stands to reason that such a concept must include, as a significant inherent feature, strict, all-embracing measures of international verification which would create confidence and ensure complete certainty that States will comply with all the disarmament commitments entered into on a reciprocal basis.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

We are convinced that that approach provides the key to real guarantees of true security - to disarmament. That was clearly demonstrated by the outcome and the lessons of Reykjavik, which have now entered the awareness of the international community as a symbol of unfulfilled desires and expectations, yet at the same time also as a symbol of hope for the victory of reason and realism.

We also attach particular importance to the international economic aspects of the safe development of the world community, to the task of ensuring international economic security as an autonomous, yet at the same time integral, part of the comprehensive security system. Ultimately, the attainment of this objective presupposes the liberation of world economic relations from everything that encumbers them, everything that prevents States from formulating and implementing with certainty stable long-term economic policies. The lack of real - and, above all - internationally guaranteed security is one of the main factors making for the general destabilization of today's world and is organically related to the threats posed to security in the military-political sphere, both at the regional and global levels.

As we see it, the concept of international economic security includes normalization of international economic relations, a normalization which is incompatible with policies of discrimination, economic blockades and sanctions, unless they are specifically provided for in decisions of the world community. It is imperative that we eliminate from international economic relations any coercive practices, threats of force or the use of force or the use by any State of its economic, technological or financial superiority to put pressure on other States, in violation of their sovereignty, including their sovereignty over their natural resources.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

Stable peace and genuine security urgently require proper and positively directed progress in the world economy. In order to achieve that, we must start seeking jointly ways and means to resolve the acute problems of external debt, to reduce high interest rates and deficits in State budgets and to eliminate balance-of-payments instabilities and currency fluctuations. We must bar from trade relations policies of preference, protectionism, national selfishness and self-centredness which constitute a direct source of tension between States.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

Thus, we advocate the formulation and adoption of a body of democratic norms and effective measures providing for equal economic security for all States, based on joint political will and taking into account the relationship among political-military and economic conditions of security. In our opinion, such measures should be guaranteed through the establishment of a new international economic order in accordance with the United Nations decision to that effect.

A significant step towards strengthening security would be to identify and purposefully make use of mechanisms reflecting the relationship between disarmament and development, including reductions in expenditures on weapons and the formulation of principles for the use of the resources thus released for the solution of the global problems facing mankind and for providing effective assistance to developing countries. This process should also encompass such matters as the future reorientation of production capacities now being used for military purposes to serving the objectives of peaceful construction.

Our concept of international economic security also includes expanding world-wide scientific and technological co-operation for exclusively peaceful purposes, and focusing the scientific and technological capacity of States on solving major global issues, including problems of the ecology and the peaceful uses of outer space.

Czechoslovakia fully supports the idea of convening a world conference on economic security. This could be a significant milestone in the process of dealing with the whole range of pressing tasks and problems of international economic relations, and could give an impetus to the needed enhancement of international economic co-operation.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

A significant place in the structure of the comprehensive system of international peace and security belongs also to guarantees of co-operation in the humanitarian field. I emphasize that the humanitarian field in this context does not mean some sort of charity; that concept should not be misused as an instrument of ideological struggle in international relations. When we speak of the humanitarian dimension of the effort to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security, we are thinking primarily of the interests of man - all his rights and freedoms - and of the creation of conditions for the full realization and general advancement of those interests. Internationally, we are focusing on the democratization and development of international relations so that they can be instrumental in causing the ideas of humanism to be reflected in concrete deeds and commitments on the part of all States.

That would include, inter alia, the duty of States to encourage the dissemination of ideas of peace and to strengthen their place in the consciousness of societies as a fundamental prerequisite for the implementation of all other human rights and freedoms. It is necessary also to promote the flow of objective information to promote the growth of mutual understanding among nations. Hand in hand with this, of course, goes the need for effective measures to eradicate the dangerous remnants of the past that violate human dignity, such as racism, apartheid and the advocacy of concepts of Fascism, national exclusiveness or religious intolerance, as well as discrimination against individuals on that basis. It would then be truly possible to focus our efforts on the full implementation, expansion and enhancement of all the human rights and freedoms of every individual, in full diversity and interdependence. That must be the ultimate goal of our joint endeavour and of a new humanism worthy of the end of the twentieth century.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

The concept of establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security is primarily one of far-reaching universal international co-operation, of action in keeping with the rules and concrete commitments of the equal, sovereign members of today's international community aimed at realizing all the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. In other words, it is a concept intended to bring the form and content of our behaviour into harmony with the thrust of the general development of the world and its civilization. It is also a concept of new ethics in international relations and in the conduct of Governments, one of honesty in the pursuit of the international goals of States.

We agree that there is no need here for further words or declarations; by themselves these can really change nothing. That is why we are making this proposal, which could ensure the unity of words and concrete, practical deeds truly to implement the Charter and its basic provisions.

Such a system is not only feasible; it is historically inevitable. The world today is moving ahead at a much faster pace than before, and therefore requires new operating rules reflecting its inherent internal laws.

The United Nations Charter remains the highest, the irreplaceable law. Yet its collective security provisions have not been put into practice as effectively as they should have been. Therefore, the need of the day is a system of practical measures and commitments by States to provide for the effective implementation of the Charter.

Socialist countries have proposed that this year and next we consider the establishment of such a system of practical measures to embrace not only the political and military security, but also the economic and humanitarian security of all States, including the establishment of a new economic order and the eradication of international terrorism, including State terrorism.

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

Such a system would provide concrete guarantees that peaceful coexistence will in all circumstances continue to be the highest principle of international relations as well as a material prerequisite for securing the exercise of the inalienable right of all States and nations freely to choose their paths of development. The discussion of this question must be broad and democratic.

However, we have the impression that some States members of a certain group that now enjoys an influential political and economic position in the world are not ready to enter into constructive dialogue and co-operation for the establishment of such a system. They argue that the system of collective security to be found in the United Nations Charter in itself constitutes the comprehensive and irreplaceable system for maintaining international peace and security. In that connection we feel it necessary to emphasize that to oppose consideration of such an issue or demonstrate reluctance to consider it, or even to attempt to block such consideration, is in fact, first, tantamount to an expression of satisfaction with the current state of affairs; secondly, it is equivalent to refusing to consider any practical measures to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and collective security under its Charter; thirdly, to rejecting and opposing the democratization of the United Nations; fourthly, not to desire security for all States on an equal basis; fifthly, an in n g of free, democratic discussion on ways and means of achieving collective security for all; sixthly, a manifestation of unwillingness to support the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and a rejection of the idea of devising practical measures for a comprehensive system of international security; seventhly, a demonstration of a lack of readiness to consider questions relating to the economic security of States and to the new international economic order in the context of other aspects of international security; eighthly, it would signify that they are acting virtually counter to the enhancement of the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

United Nations and in the structure of collective security as set forth in the Charter, obviously in the effort to secure for themselves two additional, quasi-permanent seats in the Security Council that is now discernible in that most important United Nations organ; and, lastly, the rejection of or opposition to the consideration of the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security in this context represents at the same time a denial of the right at the present time of such a significant force as the Non-Aligned Movement to take part on a permanent basis, on one way or another, in the work of the Security Council and an unwillingness to create the needed room for the engagement of other important forces and factors in current international life in the process of implementing the objectives of the United Nations Charter.

The socialist countries do not seek confrontation. They propose to hold a free and constructive discussion in the United Nations, strictly within the scope of its Charter, on practical measures that would safeguard comprehensive security for all States, large and small alike, in all fields of international relations.

We believe that the proposals put forward by a number of non-aligned countries regarding the implementation of the provisions on collective security of the United Nations Charter in the interests of preserving international peace and security are prompted by the serious concern those countries feel about the alarming state of world affairs and the lack of practical effectiveness of the United Nations in its endeavours to preserve international peace and security. We share their concern, and we are prepared to co-operate constructively with the authors of those proposals.

Thus, our draft resolution in no way questions the United Nations Charter. Quite the contrary, the concept of a comprehensive system of international peace and security is aimed at promoting the reactivation of multilateralism by creating the prerequisite conditions required for the daily, systematic and comprehensive

(Mr. Murin, Czechoslovakia)

implementation of the Charter in international life. That, however, can be achieved only if we join forces and if all States and nations, having learned to understand the character of our time and the demands it puts before us, exert their combined efforts towards that end. That is what we are calling for.

Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): No political system, however democratic and broad based, no development plan, however well conceived and resourced, no social programme, however noble and well integrated, can hope to bring benefit to the people they are meant to serve unless the regional and international environment in which the nation promoting them is placed is one that offers peace and security. The question of strengthening international security is therefore no abstract issue, and I value this opportunity to present our views before this Committee.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security serves as a useful focal point for the consideration of the items under the cluster now under consideration. That Declaration was adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly as a new initiative to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind, and as a means of making the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security. The Declaration was firmly rooted in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, reaffirming in its operative paragraph 1 the universal and unconditional validity of the Charter.

(Mr. Fernando, Sri Lanka)

The review of the implementation of the Declaration concerns a multiplicity of issues, progress on which is to be measured against the yardstick of the Charter. We must endeavour to appreciate the integral relationship between these issues and their over-all impact on international peace and security. The 1970 Declaration emphasized, for example, the relationship between international security and disarmament and between disarmament and development. In the same way, draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.90 emphasizes that the security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with European security and with international peace and security. Similarly, the situation in the Middle East vitally affects security in the Mediterranean.

The contemporary global situation leaves little doubt that the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security are regrettably a long way from being realized. Profoundly disturbing trends in the political, economic and social fields characterize international relations and these are described in the preambular sections of draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.91.

The prevailing climate of mistrust and mutual suspicion has only aggravated this situation, eroding the co-operative, multilateral approach which alone could bring about an amelioration of the various global problems that plague us.

A comprehensive and just solution to the major international questions relating to the security of nations, to disarmament and to global development can only be achieved through negotiations in which all States, irrespective of their size or strength, could participate on an equal footing. Confrontational attitudes can only lead to conflict.

In the immediate post-war period of the cold war, when confrontation between the two main military alliances was at its most dangerous peak, two parallel trends emerged. First, the old colonial empires broke down as national identities were

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being asserted and countries were achieving independence. Secondly, this process of decolonization was paralleled by the growth in membership of the Non-Aligned Movement. Sri Lanka hosted in 1954, six years after our own independence, the Colombo Powers Conference, the Colombo Powers consisting of Sri Lanka - Ceylon, as it was then called - India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma, which served to launch in the following year the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung. The Bandung Conference in turn provided an impetus to the First Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade. The Movement welcomed into its fold virtually every one of the new States emerging into the light of independence. On their attainment of independence, few if any of these States opted to become party to one or the other of the mutually hostile military alliances.

This, in turn, served two positive trends which have considerably enhanced the prospects for international security. First, the military alliances could not strengthen themselves - and thereby the potential threat to each other and the world - because they were denied the recruitment of additional members to their ranks. Secondly, the increase in membership in the Non-Aligned Movement widened the horizons of international co-operation through the Movement's pursuit of international security through means other than military. An important aspect of non-alignment is the belief that the further militarization of defence alliances, far from strengthening security, in fact fosters more mistrust and suspicion among members of these blocs; accelerates competitive arms acquisitions as well as their increasing sophistication; and creates conditions prejudicing the settlement of international issues.

The polemical residue of the cold war still surfaces in attempts to impart an extraneous East-West ideological dimension to many issues which have nothing to do with such tensions. On the other hand, non-aligned States face the danger of being

(Mr. Fernando, Sri Lanka)

sucked into the vortex of great-Power confrontations. We can see this in Latin America and in Asia. On the other hand, in Africa, an East-West character is erroneously applied to the situation in South Africa and Namibia, where the struggle is really one between a vicious and anachronistic racism maintained by a minority régime against democracy, human values and majority rule. The implementation of a global strategy against apartheid is thus needlessly retarded.

At the heart of the non-aligned approach to international security, therefore, is a plea for co-operation rather than confrontation, an attempt to identify, enlarge and develop areas of agreement rather than blot differences into fruitless propaganda exercises.

Integral to this approach is a total commitment to Charter principles enhancing security, particularly the peaceful settlement of disputes, the renunciation of the use or threat of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. A further essential principle without which the security of States cannot be guaranteed is the sovereign right of all States, big or small, of whatever ideological persuasion or geographic location, to pursue without external coercion or pressure, that political, economic and social system and form of development which best fulfils the national aspirations and genius of their people. I mentioned geographic location because for some States, located by an accident of geography in so-called "strategic" and sensitive areas of the globe, the danger is very real of being pawned off, traded off, in some geo-political game of strategy played by powerful States. We note that draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.90 emphasizes, in the promotion of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, the primary role of the Mediterranean countries themselves. The thrust of this draft resolution is to assert that the security of these States cannot be cast aside by other States perceiving interests of their own in the area.

(Mr. Fernando, Sri Lanka)

Armaments do not guarantee security. In the military field, the greatest percentage - probably well over 80 per cent - of all armaments is concentrated in the hands of the major military alliances. The figures, however, are ever on the increase; but the sense of security is not. The nuclear dimension of the arms race makes global annihilation - a prospect that would involve not only the two super-Powers, but the entire globe - that much more of a threat, with the possibility of even an accident triggering off a conflagration.

This Committee has, I understand, in the last weeks debated a number of issues relating to disarmament matters and the Sri Lanka delegation has striven to enlarge areas of agreement to advance progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament under effective international control.

To this end, effective negotiations to implement the recommendations and decisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, must be pursued. Regional measures such as the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, an initiative of Sri Lanka, are vital to promoting security in specific areas of the globe.

(Mr. Fernando, Sri Lanka)

Sri Lanka has been particularly anxious that the last frontier of mankind, outer space, be free of the ultimate pollution of armaments.

There can hardly be any genuine stability or security in the world while economic disparities continue to increase. It is tragic that so much technical and scientific knowledge is being devoted to military purposes rather than to the economic and social development of mankind. The irony of the twentieth century is that the vast strides in science and technology made in this century alone have not been matched by progress towards a sense of greater security for humankind. The choice between development and destruction is dramatically evident in this field of science and technology.

The limited resources of the globe, when equitably shared and rationally managed, could foster a greater sense of security among nations than myopic policies of economic nationalism which pursue narrow economic gains for the few. It is in full recognition of the economic interdependence of the developed and the developing world that we have supported the call for negotiations on ways and means of reviving the world economy and for restructuring and reorganizing international economic relations within a co-operative framework with a view to establishing the New International Economic Order. International security as a concept is indivisible, and the framework for its establishment is contained in the United Nations Charter.

The choice posed in the explanatory note in document A/41/191 between the perilous path of confrontation, on the one hand, and the saner course of co-operation, on the other, as a basis of international relations, is not a new one but is central to the issue. The crisis which the United Nations is now confronting is poised essentially on this same choice. It can be translated in the context of this Organization as a conflict between the deceptive attraction of unilateralism and the more rational counsel of multilateralism. The latter implies

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a pragmatic recognition of interdependence as a central reality in inter-State relations. It also implies the acceptance of the need to democratize international relations in which all States participate on an equal footing in vital issues of our time and in the creation of a secure international environment for all.

The choice between confrontation and co-operation sharply manifests itself in particular within the Security Council, on which the Charter has conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Although the Security Council has to its record a number of resolutions, many of them adopted unanimously, such as vital resolutions on Namibia, Cyprus, the Middle East, Palestine and apartheid, those resolutions remain unimplemented. Why must the interests of the few thwart the hopes and aspirations of the many?

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security urged all Member States to implement decisions of the Council in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter and to respect the resolutions of United Nations organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The United Nations system is the central negotiating forum for harmonizing views on measures to promote and strengthen international peace and security. The United Nations must not be weakened. We must not allow it to be. There is, furthermore, an urgent need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its principal role. It has been suggested that the Council consider holding periodic meetings in specific cases to consider and review outstanding problems, thus enabling the Council to fulfil its responsibility under the Charter.

The Charter is the embodiment of the ideals of the United Nations and thus has clear primacy over other international declarations. Other important documents have since been adopted but these do not derogate from the Charter. They have helped to suggest guidelines for the effective implementation of the Charter. To

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the extent that they serve to enhance the collective security provisions in the Charter, they deserve our support.

In this regard, we stress the importance of the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. The last named Declaration adopted at the initiative of the non-aligned countries deals not only with the most obvious forms of physical intervention, but also with the more subtle and insidious means of interference in the domestic affairs of States, including economic pressures, destabilization and terrorism. We also wish to refer to the Non-Aligned Summit Declaration at Harare, in which the assembled Heads of States or Government stated that they were deeply perturbed by the escalation of acts of terrorism which endanger or take innocent human lives and may endanger the very territorial integrity and security of States.

We look forward in accordance with resolution 40/61, to a careful examination at the forty-second session of ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism contained in its Report to the General Assembly contained in document A/34/37. The representative of the Soviet Union described the suppression of international terrorism as one of the "top priority tasks" in ensuring global security. The representative of the European Economic Community (EEC) stated that

"the horrifying phenomenon of terrorism also threatens the fabric of international security and must be tackled collectively and implacably".

We completely agree with these views. It will be seen, therefore, that the range of issues which needs to be engaged in the consideration of international security is very wide, covering political, military, economic, social and other concerns. The proposal before the First Committee in document A/C.1/41/L.89 for

(Mr. Fernando, Sri Lanka)

the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security seeks to launch "a broad and productive dialogue" on the entire range of issues relating to the establishment of such a system. This exchange of ideas that has been proposed - a cross-pollination of concepts and views, as it were - could bear fruit if it is firmly rooted in the United Nations Charter and does not drift away from nor vitiate the principles and purposes of that document to which we are all deeply committed.

Much has already been done to identify and analyse the concepts that are essential to create conditions of international peace and security. What is vital now is to establish the means whereby the provisions for a system of international security in the Charter can be put into practice. It is in this respect that a concerted international endeavour would be extremely important and timely, and we will participate in the exploration of basic ideas for this purpose.

Only an appreciation of the common destiny of all nations and a serious effort to deal peacefully with questions of conflict, in co-operation with others, through negotiations, can assure real progress towards the strengthening of international peace and security.

Mr. MARIN BOSCH (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The strengthening of international security is the very essence of the Charter of the United Nations. This specific item has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1969 and, in 1970, when commemorating its twenty-fifth anniversary, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Since then, year after year, the First Committee has considered the implementation of the provisions of that Declaration including specific measures adopted to ensure full compliance. Under this item, consideration has been given

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to regional aspects of international security and the need to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter, in particular the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States.

The general interest of the international community in the role which should be carried out by the Security Council has been highlighted. This is why last year the General Assembly emphasized the urgent need to increase the effectiveness of the Security Council in carrying out its main task of maintaining international peace and security; hence, at the request of the group of socialist countries, the inclusion of this new item 141, "Creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security".

(Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

We believe that the consideration of these questions is useful, and that the time is ripe to make some comments on the strengthening of international security. At the outset it must be noted that the military alliance set up on 1 January 1942 on the basis of the Declaration made by the then 26 United Nations broke up shortly after the end of hostilities in 1945. It is true that some interpreted the Charter of the United Nations as a kind of political pact stemming from that ephemeral military alliance. It is also true that during the spring of 1945, after the surrender of Nazi Germany, and throughout the San Francisco Conference and the establishment of the Organization many of the differences between East and West were hidden or set aside. But the seeds of what was shortly to become open rivalry between the two super-Powers had already been planted. The swords of the Second World War were never turned into ploughshares. Even worse, the efforts "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" were to give rise to the biggest and most dangerous accumulation of weapons ever seen in history. Unfortunately, military power continues to be the main source of political influence in the world.

The true legacy of the Second World War was not, as stated in the Charter, that of uniting our strength to maintain international peace and security and to promote economic and social progress. Rather, it was the division of Europe, followed by attempts to divide up the rest of the world into spheres of influence.

After the war the United States and the Soviet Union became locked in an intense military competition which from the outset included nuclear weapons. The creation of rival blocs - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact - was accompanied by other military agreements which included other countries from every latitude and attempts to draw other countries into the respective camps. However, the consolidation of a bipolar world was only partially attainable, and that at tremendous cost.

(Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

To maintain their predominant positions within their respective blocs the super-Powers have been investing astronomical sums in weapons, to the detriment of social programmes. They have also paid a high political price to maintain intact military alliances that have sometimes included the most unlikely partners.

In both blocs one can nonetheless see an increasing concern, even among the staunchest allies. It seems that some countries resent being regarded as obedient allies rather than friendly partners. But a more serious reason for the concern is the growing awareness that security alliances based on nuclear deterrence are illusory. Nobody enjoys security any more, and it is probable that it will rain first on those who have a nuclear umbrella rather than on those who do not. To all this must be added the fact that some of the closest military allies within the blocs are at the same time important economic rivals, which gives rise to an extremely delicate and potentially explosive political situation.

The United Nations was to a large extent the creation of the major Powers. Therefore, the main provisions of the Charter were aimed at protecting their interests. However, the Charter was not conceived of as an unchangeable document. As President Roosevelt said on 12 October 1944, only three days after the text of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was made known - and I quote in English because at that time Spanish was not an official language of the United Nations -

(spoke in English)

"Just like the Constitution of the United States, the Charter of the United Nations must not be static or unchangeable, but must be adapted to the changing conditions of progress - social, economic and political - throughout the world".

(Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

(continued in Spanish)

The idea that the Charter would be adapted to a changing world prevailed throughout the San Francisco Conference, and at its closing meeting on 26 June 1945 President Truman said that it was only a first step towards lasting peace, adding:

(spoke in English)

"This Charter, like our own Constitution, will be expanded and improved as time goes on. No one claims that it is now a final or a perfect instrument. It has not been poured into any fixed mould. Changing world conditions will require readjustments ...".

(continued in Spanish)

However, those adjustments or readjustments have been impossible to make, except for certain minor changes. The idea of adapting the Charter to the changes taking place in the world was quickly forgotten by many countries, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council. But the world has changed. New States have emerged. Others have improved their economic and trade position. The old empires have disappeared and in their place new practices and systems of international relations have emerged - undoubtedly less unfair, but by no means equitable. The ministries responsible for the colonies or overseas ministries have now become ministries of co-operation. So a step in the right direction has been taken, but there is still a long way to go.

I must repeat, therefore, that the world has changed, but the Charter has remained the same. In the 1960s, the most noteworthy decade in the Organization's history with regard to decolonization, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was consolidated, the number of self-proclaimed neutral countries increased, new mechanisms for economic and trade negotiations were established, the Group of 77 appeared and serious efforts began in order to achieve disarmament and in

(Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

particular nuclear disarmament. Those three "D's" - decolonization, development and disarmament - embody the aspirations of the great majority of mankind and sum up the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a more just and secure world with lasting peace.

It was by no means purely by chance that in the 1960s the need to amend the Charter was raised again with renewed insistence. In 1969 the General Assembly's agenda already contained an item entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations". A committee was established, but no progress was made. Subsequently another item on the strengthening of the Organization was included on the agenda. Yet another committee was set up, but no progress was made. Some 10 years ago those two committees were merged in what is today known in short as the Special Committee on the Charter. The history of that Committee has been just as frustrating as that of its predecessors. The reason is simple; the Powers to which the Charter gave certain privileges in 1945 simply are not ready to give them up, although this may run counter to the role that should be played by some of the principal bodies of the Organization, and despite the fact that the world today is very different from what it was 40 years ago.

(Mr. Harin Bosch, Mexico)

Many times we have been told that the Charter should not be changed, that its provisions continue to provide the best basis for the maintenance of international peace and security - at least, when Member States meet their obligations. We have been told too that the authority of the Security Council should be strengthened; emphasis is placed on the role of peace-keeping operations. Those who have attended meetings of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations know how difficult its work has been. Those who have followed the work of the Security Council have seen how the indiscriminate use of the veto has often prevented that body from fulfilling its purposes under the Charter. Not only has the Security Council been unable to resolve some of the differences between the great Powers, but it has been powerless to deal with situations outside the East-West confrontation as well.

That is why many of the most important aspects of international security have been considered and debated outside the United Nations. Nuclear disarmament is one example. For the same reason, the search for peaceful solutions to many regional conflicts is carried out not within the United Nations, but outside it, or, at best, with its sporadic support. Here, the question of the Middle East is an example.

Perhaps part of the problem is that the great Powers feel they may not have obtained all the benefits they expected of the Organization in 1945. The prevention of a third world war in this century was without a doubt one of the main motivations behind the establishment of the United Nations. But even though another war has been averted in Europe, the rest of the world has not been so fortunate. And faced with regional conflicts the Organization in general and the permanent members of the Security Council in particular have not done much to promote peace and security in countries directly or indirectly involved in such

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conflicts. A common question is, "What has the United Nations done for me?" But, to paraphrase a President of the United States, the question every Member State should be asking is, "What have we done to enable the United Nations to implement the provisions of the Charter concerning international peace and security?" It is in that context that we should view the Contadora Group's peace efforts in Central America, pursued with the assistance of the Support Group.

The results in the field of disarmament are equally discouraging. For that reason, and in order to encourage the super-Powers to reach agreements on substantial reductions in their nuclear arsenals, the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania undertook a joint initiative in 1984; its main elements are set out in the New Delhi Declaration of 28 January 1985 and the Mexico Declaration of 7 August 1986.

There is no doubt that the United Nations is at a crossroads. Its viability as an institution for bringing about and maintaining international peace and security has been questioned by nations large and small. Its present financial crisis, ostensibly precipitated to promote efforts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the Organization, could be the beginning of the end. Some have said that the root cause of the crisis is the growing disillusion and open impatience of some Member States with the form and substance of the work of the Organization. But there may be other explanations.

The potential role of the United Nations was curtailed from the outset with the creation of military alliances outside the Organization and with the initiation of an arms race which has undermined the purposes of the Charter. However, throughout the past decades the United Nations has had the determined support not only of non-aligned and neutral countries but of those that are members of military alliances as well. But the very nature of these military or strategic agreements

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often prevents the latter countries from adopting a more positive attitude towards the United Nations and the many international problems on its agenda. They are often forced to take positions that do not necessarily coincide with their own interests and often to oppose countries with which they have no quarrel. This happens so much in the United Nations that it resembles a parliamentary pantomime which sometimes does not reflect reality but rather creates a false impression of conflict, owing to the inertia of obligations stemming from military pacts.

This is truly a paradoxical situation, since many Members of the Organization share a common vision of a more just world order based on lasting peace and genuine security. They include countries with differing levels of social and economic development, with their own regional security concerns, and even with formal military agreements with one or another of the super-Powers. Individually, they seek to improve the world, to strengthen international security and, above all, to achieve a world free from nuclear weapons. In the not-too-distant future perhaps they can achieve this jointly, within the United Nations.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): This Committee's annual discussion of items relating to international peace and security has assumed special significance this year in view of the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, entitled "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security". The Government of Pakistan has given careful consideration to this initiative, which emanates from a super-Power whose policies affect not only international peace and security in general, but also the security of the region in which Pakistan is situated.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

The provisions of the United Nations Charter continue to constitute a sound basis for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. The trials and tribulations of our world today are a consequence of the consistent violation of the purposes, principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter over the past four decades, including by those States which were entrusted with a special responsibility to ensure their strict observance. Since the establishment of the United Nations the great Powers and their military alliances have been engaged in unrelenting military, political and ideological competition, leading to frequent resort to the threat or use of force.

In the present era, armaments - especially nuclear armaments - have become the currency of power and the most valued coin of diplomacy. While nuclear deterrence has maintained a precarious peace between the rival blocs in Europe, the third world, where virtually all the 150 conflicts since the creation of the United Nations have occurred, has become the playing field of power politics. As the Political Declaration adopted at the Harare summit stated,

"the particular security perceptions and policies of the major Powers and their alliance systems, which are often inconsistent with the concept of collective security enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, heighten their military and political competition, threaten the security of non-aligned and other States, and pose an increasing risk of nuclear war". (A/41/697, p. 21)

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

As a consequence of those policies, the procedures laid down in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security have been untested. The reality remains unrelated to the vision of collective action for peace. The sad record of the past, however, should not preclude a fresh approach to the question of restoring and preserving international peace and security.

Speaking at the Secretary-General's dinner on 24 October 1985 on behalf of the leaders assembled for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the President of Pakistan stated:

"In the 40 years since the founding of the United Nations the world has been transformed by the march of freedom, technological progress and the emergence of nuclear weapons. Now peace is indivisible. The danger of nuclear devastation is real. War should be unthinkable.

"We must break from the doctrines and philosophies of the past which provide cover for aggression and hegemony. Our nations are dependent on each other for their development, security and survival. Diplomacy must no longer be regarded as an extension of war. It should be a vehicle for peaceful coexistence and co-operation."

The initiative taken by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries would deserve careful and close consideration if it represents an important evolution in their political approach. For the moment, however, the main objective and eventual shape of that proposal remain somewhat obscure. Our chief concern is that the precipitate pronouncement of a new concept of comprehensive security should not derogate from the universally accepted norms and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter or divert the international community from addressing the pressing issues that threaten the fabric of world peace at present. With that reservation, Pakistan would be prepared to enter into a dialogue on possible new approaches to enhance and strengthen international peace and security.

Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

A new approach to international security would acquire greater credibility if it were to follow the amelioration of the present global tensions and confrontations and the resolution of the bitter legacies of past policies. A new structure of durable global security will be easier to construct once the decks are cleared of the political debris accumulated during the past four decades. Our foremost task should be to secure the application of the letter and spirit of Article 1 (1) of the Charter, which seeks to prevent and remove threats to peace, to suppress acts of aggression and to settle amicably all disputes. The General Assembly's agenda identifies the Middle East, Namibia, apartheid, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, among others, as threats to world peace and security that cry out for early and just resolution. The manner in which those issues should be resolved has also been prescribed in the repeated resolutions of the United Nations, which are the authentic expression of international public opinion.

The global arms race is another consequence of the quest for security, unilaterally or through military blocs, instead of the system of collective security envisioned in the Charter. The reduction of the massive nuclear and conventional arsenals accumulated by the major Powers will contribute to the lessening of international tensions and the building of mutual confidence and trust.

Pakistan believes that genuine disarmament is an indispensable condition for global survival and the preservation of international peace and security. Like the rest of the world, we sincerely hope that the far-reaching proposals conceived by the super-Powers at the Reykjavik summit meeting will soon result in concrete agreements aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons from the earth and preventing their spread to outer space.

Many explanations have been offered for the inconclusive nature of the talks at Reykjavik. Whatever the obstacles, it was the absence of political trust and confidence between the two super-Powers and their alliance systems that prevented

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

an agreement of historic proportions. It is disingenuous to argue that it would be wrong to contrast disarmament with the settlement of conflicts. To us, it appears self evident that disarmament and the resolution of international conflicts and disputes must proceed hand in hand. This mutual relationship between disarmament and security is well acknowledged, particularly in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Any new approach to international peace and security needs to be accompanied by a conscious effort to respond to the security problems and dilemmas of the small- and medium-sized States of the world. Pakistan believes that those nations must evolve measures, independent of the great Powers, to promote security in their respective regions at the lowest possible level of armaments. While they are fully entitled to have the capacity for legitimate self-defence, they would do well to reject the rationale of the arms race pursued by the great Powers. Their true interests will not be served by acquiring vast and costly arsenals for potential use against other or for the purpose of dominating their neighbours. A new approach to international peace and security predicates active encouragement of all endeavours for the promotion of regional peace and harmony, including the establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Treaty of Tlatelolco and other similar arrangements offer examples for emulation in different regions of the world in accordance with their specific conditions.

The realization by all peoples of fundamental freedoms, human rights and a life of dignity must also obtain more prominent recognition in a new political approach to international security. The first objective of any humanitarianism must be the preservation of life, saving the 5 million children who die each year from hunger and malnutrition and averting a repetition of the African tragedy, and to provide the basic needs of almost a billion people in the third world who

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subsist in absolute poverty. In our interdependent world, neither prosperity nor poverty can be contained within national frontiers. Poverty and hunger, unless comprehensively redressed, will constitute a grave threat to international stability and peace in the coming decades. The responsibility to promote the welfare of all peoples devolves on all States. This collective responsibility must be categorically and clearly acknowledged in a new approach to global peace and security.

In spite of the clash of ideologies and national interests, there is now a great deal more that unites than that divides the States Members of the world Organization. Any new approach to international peace and security must be based on this realization. The tragic nuclear accident at Chernobyl demonstrated our mutual vulnerability and interdependence. A modern war, even one waged with conventional weapons, will threaten the security of all nations. It is also evident that only through greater co-operation and collaboration can the world community progress beyond the present plateau of economic development. The interdependence of our present-day world is a reality that may not be spurned without courting disaster. Only by acknowledging its potential can global peace and security and universal progress be assured.

If I may be allowed to quote the President of Pakistan again, he stated:

"In this increasingly interdependent world, States have no alternative to mutual co-operation and collective action through the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations remains an embodiment of mankind's hope for a just, peaceful and prosperous world."

The present financial crisis confronting the United Nations should not obstruct efforts to enhance the capacity of the world Organization to respond effectively to emerging challenges and opportunities. We can commence by small practical steps, such as supporting the mediatory role of the United Nations

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Secretary-General, providing unanimous encouragement to United Nations peace-keeping functions, strengthening its role in the settlement of conflicts and disputes and in the negotiation and verification of disarmament agreements. Bolder initiatives could be undertaken once confidence in the United Nations as a viable mechanism for collective action has been fully restored.

Consistent with the views I have expressed, the Pakistan delegation has suggested some amendments to draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.89 sponsored by the socialist countries. We hope that those suggestions will receive the sympathetic consideration of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.