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**VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 56th MEETING**

Chairman: Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NEENGEYA (Zaire)

**CONTENTS**

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

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73 (continued)

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call upon the representative of Yugoslavia to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.92.

Mr. KALUDJEROVIC (Yugoslavia): I am very pleased to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.92 on behalf of Algeria, Bangladesh, the Congo, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda and Yugoslavia.

Proceeding from the fact that the current session of the General Assembly is unfolding in a slightly more favourable atmosphere, as well as from the conviction that every effort should be made to promote international security, the sponsors of the draft resolution have pointed out once again the principles that should be respected in order to achieve lasting peace and security. In so doing, they had in mind contemporary international relations that are still characterized by the arms race, bloc divisions, maintenance of old forms of domination and attempts to impose new ones, and the continued deterioration of international relations reflected in the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. This situation is not free from attempts to slow down multilateral negotiations, particularly within the system of the United Nations.

The sponsors of the draft resolution believe that the maintenance of peace and security and the securing of development and disarmament is a task second to none in the present-day interdependent world, a task in the pursuit of which the United Nations should retain its irreplaceable role and importance. We are therefore entrusted today with the most important work of strengthening this role and importance of the United Nations as the unique centre of international co-operation

(Mr. Kaludjerovic, Yugoslavia)

aimed at realizing the goals contained in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the sponsors earnestly hope that the draft resolution will receive the broadest support from the members of the First Committee.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): While the world remains turbulent, with frequent outbreaks of war and conflict, international peace and security continue to constitute a major issue of concern to the people of all countries. Many agenda items under discussion in the United Nations are also related to this central issue. It is therefore an important task of the international community to explore the sources of the ills with which the question of international security is beset and to find effective ways to treat them in the light of actual circumstances. It would be very significant if our present deliberations could help us to arrive at a somewhat clearer understanding of this question.

(Mr. Li Mengjia, China)

Recently the United States and the Soviet Union have reached agreement in principle on dismantling all their medium- and short-range missiles world-wide, thus achieving some progress in their disarmament talks. After many years of tension, there has been a certain measure of relaxation in East-West relations. In the meantime, some new progress has been made towards seeking a political settlement of regional conflicts. We welcome this. However, we must not overlook the fact that the fundamental factors causing tension and turbulence in the world have not been removed. The arms race is still continuing. None of the long-standing hotbeds of tension has been resolved.

As we all know, the South African régime has obstinately clung to its policies of apartheid, prolonged its illegal occupation of Namibia, and launched repeated invasions and wrought harassment against neighbouring countries in an attempt to obstruct a settlement in the long-standing southern African impasse. In the Middle East, Israel is still occupying large tracts of Arab territories and constantly instigating conflicts. The situation in the Gulf has become even more volatile. The sufferings and humiliation of the Kampuchean people are continuing as the foreign military occupation of that country continues. And Afghanistan remains an impetuous battle-zone, since the super-Power shows no real wish to withdraw its troops. The peace process in Central America has shown encouraging development, but it is still faced with the threat of external interference. Those are the realities in the present-day world that call for strenuous efforts on the part of the world community if international security is to be achieved.

There are many causes for the turbulent international situation. In our view, however, the principal causes of international tension are that the two super-Powers are still continuing their arms race and that some countries are refusing to implement relevant United Nations resolutions and persisting in their policy of aggression and expansion in defiance of the purposes and principles of the

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

United Nations Charter and the basic norms guiding international relations. In addition, the deterioration of the world economic situation and the continued widening of the gap between North and South are also having a serious impact on international security.

On the basis of our analysis of the main threats to international security, we are of the view that, in order to maintain international peace and security, practical steps should be taken in the following areas:

First, the super-Powers should stop their arms race. As mentioned earlier, we welcome the agreement in principle reached between the United States and the Soviet Union on the elimination of their medium- and shorter-range missiles. We hope that that will lead to the signing of the relevant treaty and the speedy elimination of their medium- and shorter-range missiles deployed worldwide. However, even if they were completely to destroy their medium- and shorter-range missiles, that would account for less than 5 per cent of their total nuclear arsenals. The testing and production of new types of nuclear missiles and other weapons will continue, and so will their arms race in outer space and other high-tech fields. Therefore, the realization of genuine disarmament still requires the unremitting efforts of all countries and, first and foremost, the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess the largest arsenals. The two countries should proceed further with earnest negotiations in other fields of disarmament and drastically reduce their armaments at an early date.

Secondly, strenuous efforts should be made to remove regional hotbeds of tension. To maintain international security, it is imperative to seek just and reasonable solutions to regional conflicts and to remove hotbeds of tension. To that end, aggression and expansion against other countries must first of all be stopped and the military occupation of victim countries be brought to an end by the countries perpetrating such misdeeds. Foreign troops must withdraw promptly and

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

unconditionally from the territories they have occupied, and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries victims of aggression be restored. In addition, problems of countries and regions should be settled by the people of the countries and regions concerned, free from outside interference, and the principle of self-determination genuinely realized.

The key to the removal of regional hotbeds of tension lies in whether or not the countries concerned have the sincere wish for a political settlement instead of trying, under the pretext of a political settlement, to maintain interests wrested through aggression and expansion, thus delaying the solution of the problems. If they, indeed, have a desire and determination to achieve a political settlement, they should abide by the relevant principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, earnestly implement the relevant United Nations resolutions, respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the occupied countries and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all their troops from those countries. China is ready to join all countries that uphold justice in the continued and unremitting efforts to maintain and strengthen the peace and security of various regions, as well as of the whole world.

Thirdly, in the area of socio-economic development, practical actions should be taken to help overcome the difficulties faced by the third-world countries. Peace and development are inseparable. Peace provides the conditions for development, but it falters if not accompanied by development. A world free from turmoil and disturbance would be inconceivable if hunger, poverty and backwardness were not eliminated. The deteriorating international economic situation constitutes a major factor contributing to international insecurity. At present, most developing countries are confronted with serious economic difficulties at home and beset with many problems, such as shortage of funds and mounting debt burdens.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

Since the world economy is an integral whole, the North and South are interdependent and in need of each other. The continued widening of the gap between the developing and developed countries has not only done harm to the economic development and political stability of the developing countries, but will hamper the economic prosperity of the developed countries as it adversely affects the development of the world economy as a whole. The harsh economic situation in the world today has fully borne out this point. The developed countries, in our view, should adopt an attitude of far-sightedness and active co-operation, maintain and strengthen their dialogue with the developing countries and work together with them to establish a new type of North-South relationship based on justice, reasonableness, equality and mutual benefit, in order to energise international co-operation, invigorate the world economy and contribute to the common prosperity of all countries, thereby helping maintain world peace and strengthen international security.

M. Yu Mengjia, China)

Promoting development through disarmament is another important aspect in addressing the question of socio-economic development. The developed countries, especially those possessing the largest arsenals, should take the lead in taking concrete actions. The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held not long ago, represents a preliminary effort by the international community in this regard. We need to move forward on this basis.

I also wish to take this opportunity to speak in broad outline on the relationship between the Charter and international security. As everyone knows, the Charter and the United Nations system were brought into being, on the basis of the bitter experience of the Second World War, by the peace-loving countries of the world. The Charter and that system serve no other purpose than that of maintaining international peace and security. Although a few countries believe that some provisions of the Charter call for amendments, on the whole, the Member States agree that the Charter should be respected as the most important norm governing international relations. All countries should conduct themselves in strict accordance with the spirit of the Charter, abide by its purposes and principles, observe the well-known five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, and, on such a basis, strive to check the arms race, remove regional conflicts and promote international co-operation. If all countries can truly measure up to this standard in the conduct of their mutual relations, international peace and security will be fully assured.

It should be pointed out that it is also of major importance to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the enhancement of international security. In order to enhance the dual role of the United Nations, and the Security Council in



(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

particular, in preserving and strengthening international security, the permanent members of the Security Council should take the lead in faithfully discharging their special duties entrusted to them by the Charter, abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter in actual deeds and fulfil their obligations in earnest in safeguarding international security.

Some countries have suggested that, in order to maintain and strengthen international security, it is necessary to establish a comprehensive security system or a concept of comprehensive security. After careful study, the Chinese delegation has come to the belief that, although we all need constantly to explore new ways to solve the question of international security, we still have many questions conceptually about the establishment of the proposed comprehensive security system. The main questions are as follows. What is the relationship between this new security system and the Charter? Is it going to be in parallel with the Charter or replace it? In our view, the fact that the international situation has remained turbulent and volatile is not because of a lack of an all-embracing system or of better principles. Rather, it is because certain countries have acted in violation of the Charter and the norms governing international relations. If these countries could take concrete actions towards solving the relevant issues by correcting their wrongdoings, it would be a more effective way to safeguard international security. My saying so is not meant to negate the positive elements contained in some concrete proposals in this regard. The Chinese delegation is ready to consider them seriously with all other delegations.

In conclusion, while reviewing today's international situation, we should point out that the popular will for peace has become an irresistible trend of the times. As long as all peace-loving forces join hands in the concerted efforts to

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

oppose hegemonism, aggression and expansion, check the arms race and strengthen international co-operation, it will be quite possible to maintain and strengthen international security. We hope that all countries will make endeavours towards this noble goal.

Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): The First Committee is at the final phase - and a very important phase - of its work. As we debate the items grouped under the general rubric of international peace and security, I wish to state that my delegation has observed some positive and encouraging trends in international relations, which appear to forecast a gradual acceptance of a multilateral approach to problem-solving. Thus, the outcome of our work - the adoption of resolutions and decisions on disarmament and related international peace and security questions - could have a salutary impact not only on the disarmament process, but on our approach to other pressing issues of our time.

In this regard, the United Nations has a pivotal role to play, since it is entrusted with the primary responsibility in the spheres of disarmament and international peace and security. As the principal organ of the General Assembly for such questions, the Committee has a role to play and work to do of undoubted importance. We were, therefore, pleased that you, Sir, a distinguished son of Zaire, were elected to guide our deliberations.

Guyana is deeply committed to an effective multilateral approach to arms control and disarmament and to the problem of world peace and security. We reiterate our belief that the Charter represents an ideal instrument for the preservation of peace and security. The collective security system embodied therein needs to be fully activated if it is to function effectively. It is most successful when States scrupulously adhere to the principles and provisions enshrined in the Charter.

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

Likewise, the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly must be complied with and fully implemented if peace and stability are to be maintained. Actually, the role of the United Nations needs to be strengthened, particularly in the area of peace and security. My delegation is fully pledged to achieving this goal. Our sponsorship of the draft resolution entitled "Review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament" and our support for the constructive proposals advanced in the Committee on ways of strengthening and improving existing United Nations disarmament machinery, including the rationalization of the Committee's work, is indicative of our commitment.

A review of the international political situation over the past year reveals that, despite some positive developments in the field of nuclear disarmament and concerted efforts to resolve peacefully various regional conflicts, threats to international peace and security are still manifold. We must therefore work to ensure that the system of our world Organization is able to deal with these situations.

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

We are indeed encouraged by developments in the area of nuclear disarmament. The elimination of nuclear weapons remains our top priority, and the impending agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to remove an entire category of nuclear weapons - intermediate-range and short-range missiles - from their arsenals offers real prospects of proceeding in the right direction. Though not significant in quantitative terms, the accord could lead to further arms agreements and could usher in a new phase in super-Power relationships based not on confrontation, but on healthy competition within the framework of collective international co-operation.

In this regard, we welcome the greater degree of openness and transparency now evident in military matters, as well as the important confidence-building measures adopted, which offer a greater chance of peace and security.

We realize that armaments have not made the world a more secure or safer place. Now, perhaps more than ever, we need to re-evaluate the concept of security and the premises on which it is based. The growing realization by the international community that the world is over-armed and that over-armament and underdevelopment both pose threats to peace and security may be a basis from which to start.

Thus, we were heartened by the assessment of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development that

"security consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects." (A/CONF.130/21, para. 14)

This view not only accords with our thinking, but found expression in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development. It is our hope that this apparent review of the concept of security is part of an evolving process of

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

restructuring global relations in which the United Nations will be allowed to assume a leading role.

It is in this context that we view the proposal by the group of socialist States for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We all agree that the collective security system envisaged in the Charter is fundamental and irreplaceable for preserving peace and security. We further agree on the unconditional validity of the Charter. Similarly, no one would dispute the fact that the United Nations has not always been allowed to operate in those crucial areas, not because of any inherent imperfections or flaws in its provisions, but essentially because of the fundamental attitude of Governments whose narrow self-interests dictate actions contrary to the principles of the Charter.

Because of this the conduct of States needs to be brought into line with what was originally envisaged in 1945. Here we are not short of guidelines or blueprints. Over the years the United Nations has adopted numerous instruments in this regard, including the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes; the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States; and the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. Those instruments have contributed to our understanding of the complex problems relating to peace and security, and have also served to remind us that our conduct has sometimes been less acceptable and that all is not well. This message cannot be too often repeated or reiterated.

The proposal advanced by the socialist States can therefore be regarded in that light, in so far as it reflects a conscious and sincere effort to enhance

(Mr. Karran, Guyana)

effective functioning of the United Nations. Like the Palme proposals on common security, it can provide a new impetus to our efforts to reassert the role of the United Nations and, by extension, reaffirm the centrality of the collective security system to a well-ordered world. In our view, this does not constitute a redefinition or reformulation of that system, but an attempt, rather, to enhance our common security through it.

While we are not entirely sure of some of the notions raised in the proposal, we should like to believe that the proposal could be further defined and improved following the further submission of views by Member States.

It is our hope that out of the process would emerge practical and implementable measures which could create a climate of greater peace and security. In the meantime, all States should renew their commitment to upholding the principles of the Charter and have greater recourse to the United Nations, as a practical demonstration of that commitment.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): One representative wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Since our meeting this afternoon will be devoted to consideration of the draft resolution on agenda items 71, 72 and 73, I shall, therefore, with the agreement of the Committee, call now on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, merely reminding him of the procedure that we have adopted.

Mr. ARNOUSS (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): Yesterday the representative of Israel spoke of my country in his usual way, falsifying the facts and distorting the truth. He told lies that can deceive no one here. He disregarded the fact that his entity implanted itself in Palestine by using terrorism and that it was his entity that introduced terrorism into the Middle East. Tension has prevailed ever since in the region, because Israel has

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

persisted in its terrorist practices, such as the massacres of Deir Yassin, Sabra and Shatila and other terrorist acts mentioned in official United Nations resolutions and instruments.

It is sufficient to study the General Assembly's agenda to appreciate the concern of the international community at the persisting Israeli practices and challenge to international peace and security. Its very presence among us is defiance of our Organization and demonstrates scorn for its resolutions. Israel has even violated the resolution which created the State of Israel - resolution 181 (II), containing the Plan of Partition.

Everyone is aware of the Israeli practices against the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in general. These include repeated acts of aggression, murders, deportations, harassment and expulsion, all of which have as their object the elimination of the Palestinian people so that Israel may achieve its expansionist designs. Its wars of aggression, its practices and its failure to respect United Nations resolutions threaten international peace and security and make the region a permanent hotbed of tension. A just, lasting and comprehensive peace will not be established in the region until Israel implements the many United Nations resolutions on the question, including those concerning the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): There are no further speakers on the items on our agenda. We shall therefore meet this afternoon at 4 o'clock to consider and take decisions on all the draft resolutions submitted on agenda items 71, 72 and 73.

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.