



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 57th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BAGBENI ADDETTO NZENGEYA (Zaire)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): This afternoon, the Committee will take decisions on the draft resolutions on international security, namely, draft resolutions A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, L.90, L.91 and L.92. I shall first call upon representatives who wish to make statements other than in explanation of vote.

Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): On behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Cyprus, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Romania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia and Malta, I have the honour to introduce, under agenda item 71, draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90, "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region".

The draft resolution is the result extensive consultations. The sponsors have taken into account the comments and suggestions of delegations of other Mediterranean States as well as those of other interested delegations so that a consensus may emerge in the First Committee on this important item. In this context, and following further consultations, I wish to inform the Committee that the sponsors have agreed to two revisions in the text.

The first relates to the tenth preambular paragraph, which begins with the words "Taking note of". The words "documents adopted by the" are to be deleted. The paragraph would now read:

"Taking note of the important meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, on 3 and 4 June 1987, '.

The second change relates to paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which should be revised by substituting the word "including" for the words "in particular" in the fifth line: "including those provisions relating to the Mediterranean," and so on.

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

Having announced those changes, which have the agreement of all the sponsors, I should now like to comment briefly on the content of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90, as orally revised.

Delegations will note that most of the paragraphs of the draft resolution are similar to those in General Assembly resolution 41/89, adopted by consensus by the Assembly on 4 December 1986. The draft resolution before us continues to build on what has been achieved so far in this forum as well as in other forums such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE).

I shall start with the preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution. The Assembly would once again recognize the importance of promoting peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and of strengthening further the economic, commercial and cultural links in the region. While expressing concern at the persistent tension in parts of the Mediterranean region and the grave dangers that they create for peace, security and general equilibrium in the region, the Assembly would reaffirm the primary role of Mediterranean countries in the promotion of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

The Assembly would also reaffirm the importance of follow-up action in the context of the Mediterranean chapter of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. It would also recall the declarations of the non-aligned countries concerning the Mediterranean, in particular the 1984 Valletta Final Declaration and the commitments assumed by the participants that opened the process of joint efforts with the objective of contributing to peace, security and co-operation in the region. The draft resolution refers to the important meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, which would be noted by the General Assembly.

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

The Assembly would welcome efforts realized by the Mediterranean non-aligned countries to strengthen regional co-operation in various fields among themselves and between them and the European countries.

The significant results achieved by the 35 participants in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, held at Stockholm, are again highlighted.

Through an addition to the text which we, the Mediterranean States, consider to be very timely, the General Assembly would take note of the new developments evolving in the ongoing negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament in Europe, which have a direct relevance and importance for peace and security in the Mediterranean. The announcement in the Committee yesterday by the United States delegation of the agreement reached at Geneva for the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles makes that preambular paragraph even more meaningful.

The Assembly would also recognize the strong desire of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries to intensify the process of dialogue and consultations with the European-Mediterranean and other countries aimed at strengthening efforts towards the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean and thus contributing to the stabilization of the situation in our region.

As far as the operative part of the draft resolution is concerned, the Committee will note that, with the exception of paragraphs 3, 6 and 7, no other substantial changes have been made in the text contained in last year's General Assembly resolution 41/89.

In paragraph 3, the General Assembly would call upon all States to make every effort to ensure that substantial and balanced results are achieved in the implementation of the principles and goals of the Helsinki Final Act, including the provisions relating to the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Borg Olivier, Malta)

In paragraph 6 the Assembly would reaffirm the importance of intensifying and constantly promoting contacts in all fields where common interests exist in order to eliminate gradually, through co-operation, the causes preventing the faster social and economic development of the Mediterranean, particularly the developing States of the region, and in that regard the Assembly would take note. In paragraph 7, of the idea of the establishment of a Mediterranean forum as a multidisciplinary framework for the promotion of co-operation in the region.

In the other operative paragraphs the Assembly would reaffirm important principles which have been unanimously accepted at previous sessions. The Assembly would again welcome new proposals and recommendations from all States, in particular the Mediterranean States, and invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to give due attention to the question of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region and, if requested to do so, to render advice and assistance to efforts by Mediterranean countries in the promotion of this question.

The relevant regional organizations are also invited to lend support and to submit to the Secretary-General concrete ideas and suggestions on their potential contribution to the strengthening of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

Finally, the Secretary-General would be requested to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-third session an updated report on this item which, according to paragraph 12, would be included in the provisional agenda of the forty-third session.

On behalf of all the sponsors I would like to place on record our sincere appreciation for the co-operation and understanding we have received from all delegations involved in our consultations.

In conclusion, it is the strong desire of my delegation and of all the sponsors that the Committee will adopt draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90 by consensus.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): There are no delegations wishing to make statements in explanation of vote before the voting. The Committee will therefore take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90. The draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Malta at the 53rd meeting of the Committee, on 23 November. It is submitted under agenda item 71, "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region". The representative of Malta has just introduced oral amendments to the draft resolution in the tenth preambular paragraph and in paragraph 3. The draft resolution is sponsored by Algeria, Cyprus, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malta, Morocco, Romania, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

The sponsors of the draft resolution have expressed the hope that the Committee will adopt the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Committee wishes to do so?

Draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90, as orally amended, was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call upon those delegations wishing to make statements in explanation of vote.

Mr. GOKTURK (Turkey): I should like briefly to explain my delegation's position on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.90, "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", which the First Committee has just adopted. My delegation has, as in previous years, participated in the adoption of the draft resolution without a vote. This is an expression of our strong interest in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in the entire Mediterranean region.

I should note, however, that the draft resolution still refers to some meetings held and documents adopted without the participation of Turkey. My delegation does not, in principle, have difficulty with the inclusion of those references in the draft resolution. However, the draft resolution deals with the

(Mr. Gokturk, Turkey)

security interests of all countries in the Mediterranean region rather than the concerns of some. I would therefore like to put on record that our taking part in the adoption of the draft resolution should not be construed as Turkey's agreement with each and every element contained in the documents adopted at those meetings.

Mr. IMMERMANN (United States of America): The United States in recent years has joined in the traditional consensus adoption of this draft resolution on strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. However, the text this year contained a new element, which created very real difficulties for my Government. I am referring to the preambular paragraph taking note of the important meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Brioni, Yugoslavia on 3 and 4 June 1987.

(Mr. Immerman, United States)

The communiqué adopted by the Ministers is highly objectionable to my Government because it directly condemns the United States by name on two occasions and also contains many other assertions on North-South issues which the United States does not accept. We are well aware that the Government of Malta, the prime sponsor of this draft resolution on the Mediterranean and a country with which the United States enjoys close and friendly relations, specifically declined to associate itself with those aspects of the Brioni communiqué which condemned individual States by name. We are appreciative of Malta's action in this regard. However, the injection of a new and contentious element into what has heretofore been a non-controversial draft resolution made the decision to support it a difficult one for my country.

We have, nevertheless, joined consensus on the draft resolution in the hope that next year's draft resolution will not contain language we might find objectionable. We will work, of course, with its co-sponsors towards that end.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The Committee has concluded its consideration of agenda item 71.

We shall now turn to agenda item 72. The Committee will first take a decision on draft resolutions A/C.1/42/L.91 and L.92, submitted under that agenda item.

I call upon delegations that wish to make statements in explanation of vote on either of the draft resolutions before the voting.

Mr. IMMERMAN (United States of America): I would like to address draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91. To live in a peaceful and just world is the common aspiration of all humankind, and the realization of that aspiration is a fundamental objective of United States policies. In that sense the moving spirit of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91 accords with our own. Yet the specific terms of this draft resolution, like those of its predecessors, are based on premises that my Government cannot accept.



(Mr. Immerman, United States)

First, this draft resolution suggests that societies are not prepared for life in peace even now. This is not so in my nation and we presume in the majority of others.

Secondly, the notion that Governments should mould the thinking of their people is totally alien to societies where, as in the United States, it is the people who mould Governments.

Thirdly, the draft resolution stresses the right to "life in peace" but ignores other basic human rights, respect for which is, for individual citizens, an essential ingredient of life in peace.

Draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91 also refers to "valuable experience" gained in the course of the implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. In this connection one cannot help noting the fact that only one year after the adoption of that Declaration in 1978 one of the Governments sponsoring the present draft resolution launched, together with massive foreign forces, a brutal war on its own population which is continuing to this day. The value of that experience is clear. It is not words, but actions, that count.

For all of these reasons the United States will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): There are no other delegations wishing to make statements in explanation of vote on the two draft resolutions before the voting. The Committee will therefore take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91. The draft resolution was introduced in the Committee at the 53rd meeting, on 23 November 1987, by the representative of Poland under agenda item 72 (a), "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace". The draft resolution is sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Cameroon, the Congo, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia,

(The Chairman)

the German Democratic Republic, Ethiopia, Hungary, Indonesia, Madagascar, Mongolia, Panama, Peru, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.91 was adopted by 106 votes to none, with 26 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.92, which was introduced by the representative of Yugoslavia at the Committee's 56th meeting, on 25 November. The draft resolution was submitted under agenda item 72, "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", and is sponsored by Algeria, Bangladesh, the Congo, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar,

(The Chairman)

Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda and Yugoslavia.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.92 was adopted by 108 votes to 1, with 24 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): We now turn to the consideration of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, submitted under agenda item 73.

I shall first call on those representatives who wish to make statements other than in explanation of vote.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): On behalf of the group of countries for which I speak, I wish to express our thanks to the many delegations with which we have had intensive consultations, especially the delegations of Mexico, Australia, Cameroon, Peru, India, Brazil and Sweden. After further intensive consultations with interested delegations, including those of a number of non-aligned countries, in a wish to accommodate the proposals and viewpoints put forward in the course of talks, and bearing in mind the desirability of the broadest possible support for the draft resolution, the sponsors have decided to revise their draft resolution orally, as follows.

To emphasize the importance of the collective security mechanism embodied in the Charter, the tenth preambular paragraph is moved to the operative part, to become paragraph 2, with "reaffirming" being changed to "reaffirms".

Paragraphs 2 to 14 should be renumbered, because of the insertion of the new paragraph 2.

In what now becomes paragraph 13 we delete "ensuring" in the fourth line and substitute "promoting".

In what is now paragraph 14 we take account of reservations about some of the wording. In the first line the words "look into" are replaced by "explore". Then, in view of some reservations concerning the meaning of "outstanding personalities", although we felt that their participation would be very useful, we delete those words. We are trying to meet half-way those delegations, both non-aligned and Western, that emphasized the importance of ascertaining the opinions of Member

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

States on the subject, and therefore after the word "subject" in the second line, we delete the words "with the participation of outstanding personalities" and substitute "among the Member States". The paragraph now reads:

"Requests the Secretary-General to explore the ways and means of organizing an exchange of views on the subject among the Member States and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session".

Those changes should meet the concerns of many delegations which have expressed in their statements and in informal consultations the view that Governments should be closely associated with any examination of the subject from the beginning of the exercise.

In making these changes, we are guided by a spirit of compromise and the wish to accommodate the position of other delegations, being convinced that this will further the dialogue on the important matter of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): I understand that what has become paragraph 14 now reads:

"Requests the Secretary-General to explore the ways and means of organizing exchange of views on the subject among the Member States and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session".

What is it that the Secretary-General is to report on to the Assembly? Is it on the results of his exploration or on the views of Member States?

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland) (interpretation from Spanish): Our idea clearly is that the Secretary-General should explore the possibilities and report to the General Assembly, without in any way prejudging what should be done.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call on the Secretary of the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): In the revised paragraph 13, now paragraph 14, of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, the Secretary-General is requested to explore ways and means of organizing an exchange of views on the subject among the Member States and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session. In connection with that, I have been asked on behalf of the Secretariat to read out the following statement:

"Should the draft resolution be adopted, the Secretary-General would assign responsibility for the implementation of this request to the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, which would implement it within its current appropriations. Such additional work can be undertaken without effect on the delivery of outputs in the approved programme of work."

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call on members who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): I begin by pointing out that, as I said on 26 November 1986, we believe that on occasions such as this what the United Nations, and particularly the First Committee, is called upon to do is what is done in domestic politics when preparing and adopting a law regulating the constitution. Therefore, none of these resolutions or declarations should be construed as changing the provisions of the Charter in any way.

This has been done many times. For example, with regard to the matter now before us, I may mention the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. To give a more recent example, I may mention the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations, adopted this year. And if we need a more important example with respect to this item, I should mention what is in my opinion perhaps the leading example of such instruments, the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which in fact constitutes a charter on nuclear disarmament.

Therefore, my delegation has never had, and does not now have, any hesitation about approving documents such as the one we are about to adopt.

However, if my delegation had had to draw up such a draft resolution, it would have done so more succinctly; we believe that Mexico's document would have been one third the length of the draft resolution before us. But there is a Spanish proverb that one cannot have too much of a good thing, therefore we do not find it difficult to support the draft resolution.

I hope that next year we shall have a draft resolution submitted to us that can be adopted by consensus, or without a vote. To that end, I hope that the Secretary-General, in the report requested in what is now paragraph 14, will - as is the custom with the Secretariat - ensure that the report ends with conclusions, which should be as brief as possible, and very clear and precise, so that they do not give rise to debate.

Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): The delegation of Jamaica warmly welcomes the initiative of the Soviet delegation which led to the Committee's consideration of this item, "Comprehensive system of international peace and security".

We are particularly happy that this item has been brought here, because it seems to represent a new kind of thinking by a super-Power with respect not only to international relations in general but to the United Nations and the United Nations system in particular, and to show the desire of that super-Power to work within the framework of established norms of international relations, norms that have been agreed by the members of the international society.

Therefore, the draft resolution can be interpreted as encapsulating the views of General Secretary Gorbachev with respect to this issue, and to the extent that they represent new thinking by a super-Power concerning relations between States they are welcome. General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of 17 September did not stand alone; there had been others, made in Vladivostok, Murmansk and elsewhere. Therefore, we are entitled to believe that an approach is being explored. We may note that with respect to the United Nations that approach has been buttressed by an announcement that certain arrears will be paid, payments which, again we are entitled to believe, represent a reversal of long-held views concerning certain United Nations operations.

Notwithstanding all that, we have difficulty with the draft resolution, because we find it diffuse and unfocused. We say that with distinct regret, for we would have hoped to have an opportunity to explore these new ideas thoroughly, because they are worth exploring, and we should not simply dismiss out of hand what could be interpreted as new thinking, new approaches, by a super-Power. Unfortunately, therefore, my delegation finds it difficult to support the draft resolution, but obviously we cannot in all honesty vote against it. Therefore, we shall abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.



Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): Last year my delegation voted for what became resolution 41/92, on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We did so because we saw it as a decision designed to strengthen the United Nations security system.

However, we shall vote against draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, although it has the same sponsors as last year's draft resolution, the title is similar and there are other similarities. Therefore, we feel obliged to explain our vote by stating the reasons for our change of attitude.

The first is the lack of certainty in the proposals made and the abrupt changes in terms and concepts in the various versions of the draft resolution. The only explanation can be lack of clarity over the objectives or an intention to leave matters in a deliberately confused state.

Secondly, our opposition is prompted by the difference between the aims of the preambular and the operative paragraphs which is revealed by a careful reading of the draft resolution. The preambular paragraphs seem to be designed to result in respect for United Nations actions in the field of international security and to strengthen and support those actions. However, the operative paragraphs must be construed as seeking revision or reform of the Charter through a procedure set out in what is now paragraph 14, which seems designed to replace the Charter Committee, although that is not clearly stated.

Those views were written before the latest change in the text, as a result of which paragraph 13 became paragraph 14, but it seems to me that they remain true of the amended paragraph 14, in view of the explanation given by the representative of Poland.

The Charter, like all things created by men, is open to improvement and modification. If that were the spirit of the draft resolution it would be appropriate to attach more importance to the Charter Committee, which is studying

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

reform, so that changes might be suggested for adoption after the Organization had completed its first 50 years of existence, so that we might benefit from experience and the Organization might work more effectively in its second 50 years. A procedure already exists for that task, and we should not establish the basis for another.

For all those reasons, we shall vote against the draft resolution while recognizing that it contains concepts that are valid, but sufficiently thought out.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): This statement is made in explanation of the vote the Australian delegation will cast on draft resolution A/C.12/42/L.89/Rev.1 as recently orally amended, entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security".

Australia abstained on a draft resolution with a similar title at the forty-first session. We did so because we saw no need for a new system of international peace and security. We have such a system. It is the system embodied in the Charter, one of whose central purposes, of course, is the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a system designed to provide, collectively, for the security of all.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

A new system is not required. The United Nations system does not need to be replaced.

In considering the proposal made in A/C.1/42/L.89, as revised, we have had to be convinced that it does not purport to create a new system or seek to replace the existing system embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. We would have been unable to support such a proposal.

On this occasion, we think that the sponsors of the proposal in A/C.1/42/L.89, as revised, hold similar views and that the proposal does not, in fact, seek to replace the Charter system. Indeed, former tenth preambular paragraph, as orally amended by the representative of Poland, and which is now operative paragraph 2, would seem to reaffirm this.

A fundamental objective in Australia's foreign policy is to give support to the United Nations system. We continue to believe strongly that the Charter and the system established under it are essential to the conduct of modern international relations and are as relevant today - perhaps even more so - than they were when the United Nations was founded 42 years ago.

But, our practical experience under that system, particularly the system for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been mixed and too often a cause for concern. Too often that system has been misused, abused or ignored.

Those sorry realities are at the core of our concern and of our strong wish to see early action in the United Nations to ensure that the Charter system for the maintenance of international peace and security is faithfully implemented, as it was intended to be.

The period of international relations since the Charter entered into force has been marked by extraordinary change and dynamism. There have been many developments, but two, in particular, are outstanding and demand our attention:

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

the great movement of decolonization and the emergence of this age as the most heavily armed age in history.

The coming to independence of some 100 States calls us to respond to a new set of problems, across the board, in the political, economic, social and human rights fields. Those developments have also clearly increased the importance of our ensuring that the system for the maintenance of international peace and security embodied in the Charter is implemented fully and fairly.

The unprecedented global growth in the acquisition of arms, both nuclear and conventional, that we have witnessed in recent decades, has also put considerable pressure upon our established system. This has made the negotiation of balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements an urgent necessity. The Australian Government is deeply committed in both of those fields - in response to the needs of developing countries, and to disarmament.

The Charter, and the system it embodies, has not always dealt as effectively as it could with such dynamic changes as we have seen in our time. This is not because of any fundamental weakness in the Charter system. But it has been unable to play its full role in helping us to deal with a period of great challenge and change, mainly because some Member States, while claiming full commitment to the Charter, have acted inconsistently with its terms.

As we Australians look into the future, we feel deeply concerned to see that this system, in which we firmly believe and which we strongly support in both word and deed, works in the future in the way it was intended to work. For this reason we are prepared to address and consider any proposal that offers the chance of strengthening the Charter and the system of collective security it established.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

It is in this spirit that we have examined the proposal for a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We have also examined closely the proposals in elaboration of a comprehensive system of international peace and security made by General Secretary Gorbachev on 1/ September. We found that those proposals included some ideas with which we agree. Some others of those proposals seemed to us to require further explanation or discussion and there are also some other proposals with which we did not agree, at least not without further elaboration.

In addition, there seems to my delegation to be some inconsistency between the words of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89, as revised, and the broader proposals as elaborated in the General Assembly and elsewhere. We shall be happy to discuss those questions as future work under this heading proceeds. We are conscious too that, in the past, there has sometimes been a gap between the words and the actions of the sponsors' group. This also points to the need for further co-operation and discussion under this item in the future.

Having said that, we must, in all fairness, note the emergence of a new and more constructive approach towards the work of the United Nations on the part of the sponsors' group.

There are also very constructive developments which have been taking place in relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We applaud those developments and give our full support both to their continuation and further growth.

Australia has sought to play its part in those developments from its position as an ally of the United States, as a member of the Western association of nations and also as a country which is seeking to develop a more constructive and wider relationship with the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

I have noted some of our concerns about issues we will want to see addressed in the future. We have considered this draft resolution objectively and on its merits and without regard to its origin. That consideration, together with our fundamental policy with regard to the United Nations and its existing system for the maintenance of international peace and security and some of our doubts, to which I have referred, has led the Australian delegation to decide to abstain on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89, as revised.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): The importance of agenda item 73 has been appropriately outlined by the nature of the debate held in this Committee. Significantly, a resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year drew calculated attention to the concept of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The delegation of Cameroon joined in welcoming the topic for a number of reasons, including the fact that we firmly believe that the United Nations must fulfil the historic role of a centre for harmonizing not only the actions of States in international life, but also for stimulating dialogue in a process of progressive development of norms and principles enshrined in the Charter.

That effort, while not entailing undesirable modifications to the Charter, must address the sporadic challenges brought about by remarkable changes in a fast-moving nuclear age, a cause for adaptations as well as modifications, to life-styles, to the character and scope of relations among States, to definitions of power and its effect, and to the nature of approaches to the universal quest for new and peaceful solutions within the political values expounded by the purposes and principles which launched the United Nations as an organization.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The sponsors of the present draft resolution invited this session to address a next step in giving some content to those new ideas. We consider their move to be a genuine attempt to introduce an action-oriented programme of deliberations on this subject.

However, new concepts do not always induce sustaining enthusiasm unless given such content as demonstrates clear relevance to existing needs or even wants that are mutually shared.

The sponsorship of last year's resolution, understandably, has not at this session been graced with the follow-up envisaged by the promoters. The reason is not abandonment of support for the process begun a year ago; it relates more to doubts which becloud a clear vision of what directions we should invite States, including those that are indispensable to an impending dialogue on peace and security, to take.

The contemporary history of international relations catalogues inconsistencies and other façades which permit convenient interpretations, sometimes misinterpretations, of international instruments. For most nations it is therefore imperative that insistence be placed on clear definitions of what each State undertakes in pledging support even for international decisions the juridical status of which remains undesirably questioned.

We have had the opportunity and privilege of involvement in a number of consultations on texts produced by the sponsors. We have also had the privilege of listening to the amendments made this afternoon. We have been encouraged to join in an active endeavour to seek ideas and formulations geared to ensuring consensus. However, we are dismayed that a set of ideas finally proposed to the sponsors that were intended to respond to fears and doubts across the political and ideological spectrum were rejected for presumably considered reasons. In spite of

(Mr. Enzo, Cameroon)

our conviction regarding general acceptability, we do not feel advised to change the situation by directly or indirectly substituting for those who deserve credit for the original proposal. Therefore we do not want to join in making a proposal counter to document L.89, now before us.

Consequently, bearing in mind that proposals such as those contained in document A/C.1/L.89/Rev.1 and the amendments submitted this afternoon will succeed only if they are generally supported, especially by all parties having the power to dictate the course of peace and security in this age; unable to identify a clear consensus of interpretation on many issues involved in both the preambular and operative parts, especially with regard to the interrelationship between the new system proposed and the valid system, albeit unsuccessful so far, prescribed by the Charter; unsure of the nature and content of the mandate ascribed to the Secretary-General, even in the amended form, as to whether he is required to present options and nothing more, or to undertake initiatives involving States; apprehensive of the fate of a good idea - we still feel this is a good idea - prematurely exposed to the challenges of doubting Thomases and undesirable ideological diatribe; and wishing to remain available to build, not to burn, bridges to international dialogue on so important an issue, the Cameroon delegation deeply regrets its inability to subscribe to, or to lend support to the draft resolution in its present form.

We continue, however, to hope that serious consultations will continue in order to ensure that any endeavours upon which we embark in this important field do lead us to a constructive and productive new look at the critical issues involved in this initiative by the countries of Eastern Europe. We still find considerable interest in the official position outlined by the Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev, and hope that the ideas outlined in his statements will be pursued, and in such a way that others can fully support them.



(Mr. Ingo, Cameroon)

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we wish to congratulate you for your active support of the rather delicate consultations that have just ended, which has once again demonstrated your attachment to the need to reach consensus on all issues that are critical to international peace and security.

Mr. BRUCKNER (Denmark): Speaking on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community, I will briefly explain our votes on draft resolution A/C.1/L.89/Rev.1 as orally amended.

First of all we would like to thank the sponsors of the draft resolution for their willingness to seek changes in the text. The present draft certainly contains elements to which the Twelve can easily subscribe. From the outset, the Twelve have welcomed the renewed interest in the United Nations which the originators have demonstrated through this initiative. We remain ready to join with the sponsors and all other Member States in practical efforts, in the relevant United Nations forums, directed towards strengthening international peace and security.

The changes, however, have not taken account of our fundamental problems with the draft resolution which relate to the notion of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Consequently, and for the reasons set out fully in our previous statements of 19 November and yesterday, we are unable to support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan): In our statement on the item on security, my delegation recalled that last year we were able to vote in favour of the resolution adopted under the item relating to comprehensive security. We did so because sponsors of the proposal had demonstrated a positive approach and a constructive accommodation of various views and suggestions which were made to them in order to ensure that the draft resolution we adopted reflected the broadest possible consensus within the Committee.

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

Unfortunately, events on this subject during the present session have unfolded in a different direction. The draft resolution proposed by the sponsors, both in its original and in its revised form, departs very substantially from the text which was negotiated last year and approved with the affirmative votes of many of the members of this Committee. My delegation had offered certain suggestions to the sponsors at an early date on that text and had hoped for a positive response. Unfortunately, we did not have the opportunity or the benefit of a dialogue with the sponsors until a most belated stage of the proceedings of the Committee - that is, yesterday.

In the consultations yesterday there was a general plea to the sponsors, not only from my delegation but also from a number of other States, for greater clarity in the text and for greater brevity in its provisions. Unfortunately, we were informed today that the sponsors decided to maintain draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, with certain changes, which of course we welcome. But my delegation has a number of specific and important problems with its text, which I should like to mention now.

First of all, unlike last year's text, in the preamble of this draft resolution, there is no mention of the numerous threats to peace and security arising from the persistent violations of the United Nations Charter. Secondly, in preambular paragraph 2 the draft resolution indicates that the most acute and urgent task of the present day is to remove the threat of a world war, a nuclear war. This may well be the priority of the sponsors, but for many of us - smaller, non-nuclear countries - the priority is the regional disputes raging across our borders. What we should like to see here is emphasis on the elimination of such regional disputes, and, as political solutions to such disputes, the end of foreign occupation of independent countries. That is not included in the text of the draft resolution.

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

In preambular paragraph 8, the draft resolution mentions that States must give priority to "universally accepted human values". We are, of course, unclear as to what are those "universally accepted human values", except those which are contained in the Charter of the United Nations. That is what the text should have said.

In preambular paragraph 11 - which now becomes 10 - there is, in our view, an attempt to replace the concept of collective security by reference to the concept of universal and comprehensive security, a concept which, as was stated in our debate, is unclear to many of us. Moreover, there is no reference in this paragraph to the elimination of colonialism and racism, or to alien or foreign occupation of States.

In operative paragraph 7 - which now becomes 8 - there is, in our view, insufficient projection of the threat to security which arises from underdevelopment and poverty. Indeed, in this paragraph there is no reference at all to the plight of the developing countries. The very words "developing countries" are not used in this paragraph.

In operative paragraph 10 - which is now 11 - we believe that there is a possible effort to distort the very objectives and role of the United Nations, in that it states that the measures to strengthen the role of the United Nations should be, apart from solving international issues, to elaborate guarantees of comprehensive security for all on an equal basis. Our most charitable interpretation of this is that it connotes ambiguity; an uncharitable interpretation would take us further afield.

Finally, in operative paragraph 13 - which is now 14 - the Secretary-General has been asked to explore ways and means of organizing an exchange of views on the subject among Member States. The question in our mind is: What subject? What is the subject on which the Secretary-General is to explore modalities and ways and

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

means of organizing an exchange of views? We should be grateful for clarification from the Secretary-General - whether he understands what he is supposed to do under the terms of this operative paragraph.

For the reasons I have cited at some length, my delegation finds it impossible, regrettably, and despite our positive approach, to support this draft resolution. At the same time, we are concerned that the manner in which the discussions and consultations on this draft resolution have been conducted this year raises doubts as to whether the objective of dialogue the draft resolution seeks to sponsor will be served by its adoption.

My delegation will therefore be constrained to abstain in the vote on draft resolution L.89/Rev.1.

Mr. IMMERMAN (United States of America): Yesterday the United States delegation reiterated its interest in enhancing the role of the United Nations system in strengthening international peace and security. My delegation also reiterated our continuing concern that draft resolution L.89/Rev.1, if implemented, would have the opposite effect. I should like now to explain how we came to this conclusion.

The United States delegation acknowledges that the draft resolution before us this year improves upon its predecessor, General Assembly resolution 41/92. It finally recognizes, although somewhat belatedly, the principles on which the United Nations was founded over 40 years ago. However, while making this acknowledgment of the importance of the Charter, the draft resolution is still basically a vague initiative, full of sweeping generalizations which could ultimately distort the very foundation of the Charter. The sponsors of this initiative have begun to pursue the establishment of a new system in several United Nations bodies but have carefully refrained from defining what they mean.

(Mr. Immerman, United States)

The United States delegation believes that this Organization and its existing associated bodies already constitute a world-wide system fully capable of maintaining international peace and security. There is no need, therefore, to create duplicative mechanisms. What is needed is that Member States should comply fully - and even comprehensively, to coin a phrase - with the political commitments which they undertook when they subscribed to the Charter.

In the view of my delegation, the General Assembly should postpone consideration of this proposal until its sponsors explain their goals more clearly to the Member States. Since the sponsors did not provide us with the necessary explanation, we have been forced to make our own analysis, which I would like to share now with other delegations.

Let me give a few examples drawn from the draft resolution. The paragraphs I mention correspond to the most recent revisions just offered from the floor by the sponsors. The second preambular paragraph emphasizes the threat of world war or nuclear war, to the detriment of the principal responsibility of the United Nations, which is to ensure international peace and security by removing all threat of war without qualification.

The word "integral" in paragraph 1 is an attempt to establish automatic and inflexible links among various aspects of security, enabling Member States to inject non-germane issues into deliberations of the various organs of the United Nations, so long as they claimed thereby to be "strengthening international peace and security." As our delegation remarked yesterday, the First Committee should not be asked to consider proposals relating to non-military aspects of security. The proponents of this initiative may, however, if they so desire, select other appropriate forums within the United Nations system in which to put forward concrete proposals on various subjects.

(Mr. Immerman, United States)

Paragraphs 8 and 10 refer to various proposals by Member States which would be more appropriately considered in the Second Committee and whose inclusion in this text underscores United States concerns about paragraph 1. Paragraph 9 also underscores that concern, even though it contains a welcome call by the sponsors of the draft resolution for all Member States to "encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."

From the perspective of the United States delegation, the insertion of paragraph 12 into the revised draft resolution calls into question the sincerity of the sponsors in their avowed quest for consensus on this initiative. Every delegation here has voted in the past against draft resolutions which its Government could not support. We cannot see how any delegation could support a blanket endorsement of all such resolutions.

Paragraph 13 calls upon international and national non-governmental organizations and political and public figures to contribute to a dialogue "within the United Nations framework." The United States delegation supports dialogue, of course, but it does not believe that others than the Member States should play a major role in the decision-making machinery of the United Nations.

The United States delegation will oppose this draft resolution because the full implementation of the concept of "comprehensive security" would inevitably result in a major restructuring of the United Nations system along lines which would be duplicative, ideological and financially burdensome. The United States will oppose any draft resolution similar in thrust to the one before us because we believe that its basic premise is unfounded and dangerous to the system of collective security enshrined in the Charter. The United States will not support any effort to redefine, amend or rewrite the Charter, a document that has served the Member States well for four decades.

(Mr. Immerman, United States)

As I stated earlier, the United States will vote "No" on this draft resolution.

Mr. GARCIA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation would like to pay tribute to the flexibility and spirit of co-operation demonstrated by the sponsors in the presentation of amendments to draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as well as to the interest shown by all delegations with regard to that draft resolution.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution. It will do so because it recognizes the importance of putting greater emphasis on non-military factors which are nevertheless threats to the security and well-being of peoples. This is especially important for us, the developing countries, which see threats to our security, as well as to international peace and security, not only because of the constant military threats but also because of the consequences such threats have for small and poor countries.

Cuba will vote in favour of the draft resolution because it recognizes the close link between disarmament and development, because it recognizes that it is indispensable to create a new and more just international economic order in the world and because it is convinced that the draft resolution is destined to strengthen the role of the United Nations, to maintain international peace and security and to complement the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA (Brazil): In the Brazilian delegation's view, the text of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as revised and amended orally by its sponsors, is a stimulating and important initiative by a group of countries taken with the declared intention - which we share - of furthering the cause of peace and security in the framework of the United Nations.

(Mr. Noqueira-Batista, Brazil)

As stated during the debate on this agenda item, the Brazilian delegation understands that the follow-up of this proposal, namely, the discussion of the question of enhancing the security system embodied in the Charter, can take place only in the context of a broad intergovernmental process of accurate and time-consuming analysis and debate.

I would like at this point to put on record the appreciation of the Brazilian delegation for the flexibility shown by the sponsors in introducing successive revisions of the text in a manner and to an extent which make it possible for my delegation to vote in favour of its adoption. In giving support to the draft resolution before the Committee, however, I cannot fail to express the doubts of my delegation as regards the structure and length of the text and also as regards the wisdom of the drafters in resorting in its elaboration to sources of unequal political and legal status. We believe that that method of work is responsible for much of the draft resolution's lack of clarity and consistency, which remains in its final revised version.



Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): The delegation of Malta is grateful to the sponsors for the very important initiative they have undertaken in bringing before the Committee a far-reaching proposal for a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We have followed very carefully the very interesting debate generated in the Committee by this proposal, which is very healthy for the Organization in all its functions.

Malta certainly welcomes all constructive efforts intended to strengthen the United Nations in its existing framework. We have noted with encouragement and satisfaction recent actions taken by the Soviet Union in this regard, as well as that country's reaffirmation in recent months of the importance and value of the United Nations, particularly in the maintenance of international peace and security.

We have studied the proposal in draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1 and we are conscious of the efforts made by the sponsors to meet the concerns of delegations expressed in the debate. Those efforts provide clear evidence to us of the spirit of co-operation and understanding that motivated the sponsors, and they are very much appreciated by my delegation.

While we are able to support many of the constructive elements and ideas in the draft resolution, we are not fully convinced that the time has arrived for the international community to embark on the exercise proposed, which is very far-reaching in its scope and the full implications of which are not yet clear. As other delegations have stated, an exercise of this nature can succeed only if there is a consensus on its terms of reference. We are not yet at that stage, and as far as the Maltese delegation is concerned more information, clarification and analysis are necessary for us to understand the full meaning and scope of the proposal.

In those circumstances, we feel that we have to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): We have heard the last statement in explanation of vote before the voting. The Committee will therefore now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, which was introduced by the representative of Poland at the 54th meeting of the First Committee, on 24 November. The draft resolution is submitted under agenda item 73, "Comprehensive system of international peace and security". The draft resolution has been orally revised today by the representative of Poland. In particular, the tenth preambular paragraph has become operative paragraph 2 and the other paragraphs have been renumbered accordingly and amendments have been introduced to the former paragraph 13, now paragraph 14, and the former paragraph 12, now paragraph 13. The draft resolution is sponsored by the following countries: Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Egypt, Fiji, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Malta, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Zaire

Draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, was adopted by 70 votes to 12, with 49 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call upon those members who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. FISCHER (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Uruguay voted in favour of the draft resolution, with the express reservation that its support was given to the extent that the purpose of the draft resolution remained strictly that of strengthening respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter on which international peace and security are based, as defined in the text; and to the extent that it is not designed to promote an alternative institutional structure to the system of collective security, which Uruguay considers to be a fundamental, indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security; and to the extent that its intent does not remain a prisoner of the ambiguity of the text. Two of the amendments introduced meet some of the wishes and objections conveyed to the sponsors by my delegation, among others, including one that was raised by another Latin American delegation here during the debate. However, Uruguay does not really agree with the general drafting of the draft resolution, in which there are still certain ambiguities.

We believe that in voting on this draft resolution it should be borne in mind that, with regard to any possible future action to ensure the effective implementation of the fundamental principles of a system of collective security, the countries with the greatest decision-making ability in the international

(Mr. Fischer, Uruguay)

sphere - namely, the major Powers, in particular the five permanent members of the Security Council - have the main responsibility, both jointly and individually. A condition of the effectiveness and viability of the initiatives which in one form or another could be taken in the future as a consequence of the draft resolution is that such joint responsibility be evidenced through concerted, non-antagonistic action, which of course means the participation of all United Nations Member States.

Mr. ROCHE (Canada): The Canadian delegation abstained in the voting on the draft resolution because we take the view that it represents a new, more co-operative approach to international affairs by the Soviet Union. If we had not taken this large view of new aspirations for the global community by the Soviet Union we would surely have opposed the draft resolution, for it does not represent the approach to international peace and security that Canada tries to follow. We do not think that the draft resolution is a practical response to current problems. The magnitude of the proposal is clear from the words of General Secretary Gorbachev himself in his article of 17 September, when he noted that the Soviet Union was seeking an answer to the question

"whether a model for national security that did not threaten universal catastrophe could be constructed today". (A/42/574, p. 3)

We believe that the answer to Mr. Gorbachev's question is indeed yes, but we already have that model: it is called the Charter of the United Nations.

The draft resolution seeks to create by one single act of will a new global system of international peace and security. While it recognizes the existence and value of the United Nations Charter, any approach which does not embrace the Charter as the irreplaceable touchstone for an international system risks undermining the Charter and diluting both the legal imperatives contained therein and its stature as the norm for international behaviour. It also risks replacing those irreplaceable assets with less-than-precise concepts susceptible to interpretation, to misinterpretation and even to reinterpretation.

The very title of the draft resolution, "Comprehensive system of international peace and security", is filled with ambiguity. Canada holds that we must work to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of, first, the Charter and then the other existing mechanisms and institutions and incorporate practical, realistic measures in an ever growing and well-founded structure.

(Mr. Noche, Canada)

In short, Canada believes that the most effective route to an effective system of international security is through putting in place specific measures that are now being negotiated - those on nuclear and conventional disarmament. This is what we would describe as a building up of peace. This approach is quite different from the "top down" philosophy of the draft resolution, which suggests that a new, umbrella-like structure would solve present problems. Instead of spending our time contemplating new structures, let us use our political will to energize the present machinery of the United Nations.

There are also other factors that motivated us to vote as we did. Among them is the fact that the First Committee is being asked to judge proposals which have implications for the entire United Nations system. These should be examined in detail by the appropriate existing bodies of the United Nations system which they most directly concern.

Finally, concerning the exchange of views on the subject to be conducted by the Secretary-General in accordance with the new paragraph 14, as orally amended this afternoon, we do not interpret this as meaning that the Secretary-General must prepare a report on a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Indeed, we would be opposed to any such interpretation. Rather, it is clear that paragraph 14 is confined to asking the Secretary-General merely to explore how an exchange of views might be organized.

Mr. SHI Jicheng (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation abstained in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised. The Chinese delegation is of the view that in present circumstances safeguarding international peace and security is still the crucial task facing all States Members of the United Nations. To achieve that end the States with the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals should take the lead in ending the arms race and in drastic disarmament, particular nuclear disarmament.

(Mr. Shi Jicheng, China)

At the same time all States, particularly those States directly concerned, should make an effort to eliminate regional hotbeds and end all foreign armed aggression and occupation. Practical measures are also urgently called for today in the economic and social sphere, particularly measures that would contribute to solving the real problems facing the developing countries.

The adoption of an all-encompassing draft resolution the content of which is not entirely clear will not contribute to the solution of those problems. In particular, the draft resolution fails to state clearly the relationships between the concept of comprehensive security and the United Nations Charter, which could easily lead to confusion.

The Chinese delegation notes that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, have accommodated the views of some delegations and made amendments to the former paragraph 13. We view that as a positive attitude. We had hoped, however, that the sponsors of the draft resolution would give further consideration to the views of the Chinese and other delegations and make some deletions and amendments with regard to certain other controversial elements of the text. That, however, has not been the case.

The Chinese delegation has therefore, with regret, abstained in the voting on the draft resolution.

Mr. NOREEN (Sweden): In explaining Sweden's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, I should like to summarize some concerns which guided us in our consideration of that draft resolution.

The United Nations and its Charter already offer principles for the conduct of international relations and a machinery for co-operation among States. They offer every nation an opportunity to participate in the work for peace and a better future. We would be living in a much safer world if all States lived up to their commitments under the Charter and complied with its clear and unambiguous provisions. We agree that much can be done in concrete terms to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to maintain peace and prevent conflict.

My delegation sympathizes with many of the considerations which lie behind the draft resolution. We share the view that in an increasingly interdependent world States have no alternative but to increase their co-operation and seek peaceful solutions to their common problems. We should like to express our appreciation to the sponsors for the flexibility they have shown during the informal consultations; we see that spirit as a positive sign for future deliberations on these matters.

In the light of my previous comments, we are pleased to note the clear references in the draft resolution to the central role of the United Nations and its Charter. As my delegation has stated before here, it is not the United Nations which has not lived up to us; it is we who have not lived up to the ideals of the United Nations. At the same time, my delegation regrets that some elements and concepts which continue to cause problems for us remain in the draft resolution. For example, we do not share the view that the inadmissibility of interference is a generally recognized principle: the recognized norm in question is applicable to non-intervention.

For those reasons, my delegation had to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised.



Mr. LYRA (Finland): Finland voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security". We did so taking into account the general thrust of the draft resolution, which is to strengthen international peace and security in the framework of the United Nations.

The draft resolution calls upon all Member States to strengthen and enhance the role and efficiency of the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. That is fully in accord with the basic goals of Finnish foreign policy. On numerous occasions Finland itself, often together with other Nordic countries, has put forward proposals to enhance the role of the United Nations. The United Nations is our tool in striving to reach common goals. Any support given to the United Nations is welcomed by my country.

In our view, the draft resolution rightly emphasizes the growing interdependence of States and the importance to international peace and security of non-military factors. International security is a broad concept, and also includes economic and cultural contacts and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We regret that no consensus solution could be found on this agenda item. Broad agreement is an essential prerequisite for successful efforts to develop the ideas contained in the draft resolution.

Although my delegation supports the general intention of the draft resolution, we have reservations on some of its elements. For example, formulations such as "confrontational approaches", "norms of civilized conduct" and "atmosphere of information" are unduly vague. Also, considering the length of the draft resolution, we would have hoped that the ideas might have been presented in a more concrete form.

(Mr. Lyra, Finland)

Now that the draft resolution has been adopted by the Committee, we hope that concrete measures will be taken to strengthen the United Nations capacity to maintain international peace and security.

Mr. TIONGSON (Philippines): My delegation recognizes that it is in the interest of the international community to promote the common security of all nations through joint action in all fields, giving priority to universally accepted human values and to the promotion of the rule of law. Before that can be done, and in order to achieve international peace and security, there must be co-operation and trust among all nations. That is precisely what was envisioned in the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations. The basic principles enshrined in the Charter remain as valid today as they were in 1945, when the Organization was established; we dare say that on the whole the Charter remains valid as the embodiment of the aspirations of mankind.

We agree with the proposition that the essential objective of the international community must be to ensure the effective implementation by Member States of their fundamental obligations under the Charter. Still, we see the need to review the Charter and to make it more responsive to the great and momentous changes that have occurred since 1945. It was, in fact, the Philippines, in the person of the late Foreign Minister of the Philippines, General Carlos P. Romulo, that initiated the proposal to review the Charter. The Charter basically serves our purpose at the present time. However, it is essential to develop political will, enhance co-operation and build trust among all nations in order that, with the modifications sought in the ongoing review, the Charter will be strengthened as the main instrument for the promotion of international peace and security and the social, economic and cultural progress and well-being of mankind.

(Mr. Tiongson, Philippines)

My delegation took note of the revisions made by the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, including those just made by my good neighbour in this room, the representative of Poland, in response to the comments and views expressed about the text. My delegation appreciates those efforts at clarification. However, because the draft resolution before us still contains ambiguities and because its basic purpose remains unclear, my delegation was compelled to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1 as orally revised.

Mr. ADAM (Sudan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security", because of our conviction that it can stimulate a new collective approach to strengthening the role of the United Nations and preserving international peace and security, which is an urgently important necessity towards the realization of which we must all work very hard.

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

The realization of an international concept of international peace and security necessitates an unequivocal and genuine demonstration of the necessary political will by all Member States, especially the major military Powers which sometimes enjoy overriding rights thanks to their military might or their privileged status in the Security Council.

Our positive vote on the draft resolution should be interpreted in the light of the following points: First, any initiative connected to the maintenance of international peace and security should adhere strictly to the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization. Secondly, such initiatives should remain within the framework of the United Nations, with full recognition of its invaluable role in the preservation of international peace and security; in other words, they should operate in the direction of strengthening the role of the Organization in that area. Thirdly, such initiatives must be geared also to enhancing and strengthening the role of the Security Council as the sole body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Fourthly, full recognition of the importance of the principles of the collective security system embodied in the Charter as fundamental and irreplaceable for the preservation of international peace and security. And finally, such initiatives must address themselves, within the United Nations system, to the present inherent root causes of problems negatively affecting the international political and security environment, in the search for just and lasting solutions in all spheres: military, political, economic, social and humanitarian.

Mr. YUSOF (Malaysia): My delegation has followed with keen interest the debate on the subject of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We have noted the evolution of draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, from a similarly titled resolution adopted at the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We have furthermore noted the many changes made to the original text. Those changes made it possible for my delegation once again to vote in favour of the approaches to consolidating world peace and security contemplated in the draft resolution.

We are, of course, not entirely satisfied with every aspect of those approaches, but given the spirit of co-operation shown by the authors of the draft resolution and the flexible manner in which the text was formulated, we can entertain the hope that our reservations can be met through further refinement and clarification of the ideas espoused in the text.

Having voted in favour of the draft resolution, my delegation would like also to underline our strong commitment to the Charter of the United Nations. We have repeatedly reaffirmed our determination to strengthen the role of the United Nations with respect to world peace, progress and development. We have also stressed our support for all the efforts of the United Nations system in every field of endeavour; we continue to support those forms of co-operation as the basic platform for the evolution of world peace and security.

In our view, the doctrines of collective security and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as set out in the United Nations Charter, and the machinery that has been established to discharge the Organization's role in connection with those doctrines are a sound basis for the construction of global peace and security. We recognize too that in addition to that machinery, various international instruments such as legal and other conventions, treaties and declarations of zones of peace and international and regional co-operation have contributed to the strengthening

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

of those doctrines. We wish to see that machinery and those instruments taken into account in the new rationalism that characterizes this search for comprehensive international peace and security. The mosaic of the contemporary world demands change, but only change that will foster rather than destroy what has been achieved and the prospects for genuine international harmony.

The Malaysian delegation wishes to place on record its satisfaction with this new rationalism; it does not surprise us. Since its fortieth anniversary the United Nations has stood at a crossroads. The majority of the Members of the Organization have been demanding the emergence of this new approach, and it is now beginning to take shape. Let us hope it will be received with an open mind. But let us not be driven by euphoria. Let us not regard this new rationalism as a clarion call for one world order, or an indication that mankind, in its perception of a dire common catastrophe, is ready to abandon its infinite variety and creativity. That would be unrealistic.

In our view - and I say this with humility - in this new process of change, the policies of independence and non-alignment will assume greater significance and relevance. It is our hope that we can proceed along this path with responsibility and care. However, we welcome this new desire, especially on the part of the super-Powers, to play, albeit in their own way, a more responsible and integrated role in resolving international issues on the basis of universality, democracy and humanity as enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Our vote today was a vote for the joint investigation of these approaches by Members of the United Nations. Our concern is for the future of mankind, and our mandate must also be based on mankind's desire for global peace, security, development, justice, freedom, equality and independence.

Mr. GYI (Burma): I wish to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised. In so doing, my delegation wishes to state that we view in a positive way the intentions of the sponsors in submitting the draft resolution. We also appreciate the flexibility they have shown with regard to revisions of the text. I wish also to say that there are many positive elements in the draft resolution; at the same time, there are to our mind certain ambiguities. But we do not wish to prejudge these issues.

At the same time, we feel there should be broad support for such a text among Members, especially those that bear a major responsibility for the promotion of international peace and security. It was for that reason that my delegation abstained in the voting.

Mr. FAHMY (Egypt): I wish to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised. I should like first of all to reaffirm what my delegation stated during the discussion on this item: that we are of the view that international peace and security must be further strengthened and that this should be done through concerted efforts, to ensure the full implementation of the United Nations Charter, particularly its collective security provisions, by giving serious consideration to the impediments that have obstructed this and to the ways and means to overcome them, and by consolidating the Charter whenever and wherever necessary to take into account new developments.

In so far as draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised, moves in that direction, we share the views of its sponsors. I should like also to express my appreciation to the sponsors for the efforts they have made to accommodate some of the views of various delegations. Particularly noteworthy was the addition of a new operative paragraph reaffirming the commitment to the collective security system of the Charter.

Notwithstanding those two points, my delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev.1, as orally revised. We did so not because we objected to its content but, rather, because the text contains concepts that remain undefined. Given the importance of the issues before us, my delegation did not find itself in a position to support some of those concepts without first feeling confident that they had been precisely defined.

Finally, I should like to reaffirm that we shall continue to give serious consideration to the issues raised by this agenda item, and that we shall attempt to contribute constructively to the future consideration of those issues.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The First Committee has thus concluded its consideration of agenda items 71, 72 and 73, which deal with questions of international security.

At this stage, I call upon the Secretary of the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I wish to draw the attention of the Committee to conference room paper A/C.1/42/CRP.1, which contains a summary of programme budget implications for the 1988-1989 biennium resulting from draft resolutions and the draft decision adopted by the First Committee during the forty-second session of the General Assembly. That paper has been submitted in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call now on the representative of Malawi, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations.

Mr. PHIRI (Malawi): As we mark the conclusion of the work of the First Committee it is my delegation's honour and privilege on behalf of the Group of African States to express appreciation and congratulations to all on a job well done. We wish first of all to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on the remarkable efficiency, firmness, patience and fairness with which you conducted our work. In that connection, we also congratulate the other Committee officers on the contribution they made to facilitating your work and that of the Committee.

The First Committee had some 26 items on its agenda. That number might not at first sight seem extraordinary, particularly as some of the items were not new. But when one considers the multiple facets and complexities presented by some of the items, as well as the intensity of the differences of opinion that others aroused, one appreciates the feat we would have accomplished just by being able to complete the agenda. Perhaps the staggering number of draft resolutions that have

(Mr. Phiri, Malawi)

emanated from those few items better illustrates the magnitude of the task assigned to the First Committee.

But to its credit, the Committee did not just simply complete the agenda. At the commencement of the First Committee's deliberations, Mr. Chairman, you appealed for efficiency in carrying out our work, and also for realism and pragmatism in taking decisions. We note that the Committee's work has been completed in keeping with the timetable that was agreed upon in September. Meanwhile, it is our belief that the draft resolutions and the draft decision adopted by the Committee are in the main based on realism and, given sufficient political will on the part of all concerned, will be practicable as well.

When the Committee, and indeed the plenary General Assembly, closed their work for the forty-first session last December, a dark cloud of disappointment hung heavily over all as a result of the apparently inconclusive super-Power summit in Reykjavik. By happy contrast, however, as we close the Committee's work for this forty-second session there is an almost palpable excitement as the world awaits with much anticipation the most historic event in the history of disarmament. For all indications are that the leaders of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will indeed sign in the next few weeks an accord on the mutual elimination of their land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces. We wish once again to convey our congratulations to the two leaders on their statesmanship, which made such an agreement possible, and we join all others in looking forward to the signing of the accord. It is our sincere hope that the accord will pave the way towards similar agreements in other areas of disarmament.

However, even as we stand on the eve of this momentous occasion my delegation wishes to congratulate the Committee on the timely reminder expressed in several of its draft resolutions that international security and disarmament are matters of

(Mr. Phiri, Malawi)

concern to all States alike. For the production and proliferation of ever more sophisticated and increasingly destructive weapons of war threaten in equal measure all peoples and all States, big or small, powerful or weak. We therefore applaud the Committee's reiteration of the need for and the right of all States to participate in or be associated with all international disarmament issues and negotiations. In that regard we applaud equally the reiteration of the need for the United Nations to be given a central role in matters of disarmament.

In the same vein, we note with satisfaction the continued attention to the need to assure non-nuclear and small States of security against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. However, as the Committee has rightly reiterated in the relevant draft resolutions, genuine international security will come about only when complete and comprehensive disarmament, in both nuclear and conventional weapons, ceases to be a wishful dream and becomes a reality.

The First Committee dealt also with many issues of particular interest to specific regions, such as the establishment of regional nuclear-weapon-free zones and the promotion of the work of regional institutions for peace and disarmament.

(Mr. Phiri, Malawi)

On behalf of the African Group of States, I wish to express sincere appreciation of the understanding, co-operation and support that we have received from all the other groups in this regard. We remain convinced that, given the growing interdependence of our world, decisions taken today to satisfy seemingly exclusive regional needs will tomorrow benefit the wider international community.

We should be remiss if we did not acknowledge the spirit of co-operation that was so clearly evident among delegations throughout our work. We pay tribute to the readiness to accommodate and reach compromise when this has been necessary, thus ensuring constructiveness and an atmosphere of readiness, which has characterized the Committee's work.

Apart from doing the work set for it in considering the items allocated to it by the Assembly, the Committee adopted a number of proposals and recommendations on ways to improve the Committee's efficiency in future. We endorse them, and hope that they will be implemented.

In concluding, Mr. Chairman, permit us to express, through you, our appreciation to the various members of staff of the Secretariat for the efficient service they have all rendered, as well as for their patience and understanding during the past six weeks over which our Committee has carried on its work. We of the African Group are especially indebted to the interpreters and audio system technicians, who were often called upon to keep inordinately long hours, sometimes being compelled to be here very early in the morning in order to enable us to hold our meetings. Once again, our congratulations go to all.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call on the representative of Bahrain, Miss Bibi Al-Alawi, who will speak on behalf of the Chairman of the Group of Asian States.

Miss AL-ALAWI (Jahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): At the conclusion of the Committee's deliberations at the forty-second session of the General Assembly, I have the honour and privilege to speak on behalf of the Asian Group, which my country has the honour to Chair this month.

On behalf of the delegations making up the Group of Asian States, members and observers, at the forty-second session, including my own delegation, I wish to express to you, Sir, our appreciation and deep admiration of the professional and competent way in which you have guided the Committee's work throughout the session. Your wisdom, dedication, tact, ability and diplomatic skill were all great assets and made an effective contribution to our Committee's achieving positive results and important resolutions, which we all hail. We hope the international community will apply them in such a way as to put an end to the insane arms race and prevent nuclear annihilation and global nuclear war, thus contributing to establishing and strengthening an international system that will allow world civilization to survive, with the establishment of a world in which peace, security and stability reign.

The Group of Asian States wishes to express through you, Sir, our gratitude to the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Carlos José Gutierrez and Mr. Ali Maher Nashashibi, the Rapporteur, the Secretary, the interpreters, translators and all the others who have contributed to our Committee's work, for without their constructive and useful contributions our Committee would have been unable to conclude its work with the desired efficiency and speed.

In addition to expressing our gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, the delegations making up the Asian Group wish all the members of the Committee a safe return to their homes and respective posts.

We hope that the recommendations we have submitted to the General Assembly will be implemented to assist in finding solutions to disarmament problems and

(Miss Al-Alawi, Bahrain)

problems of international security affecting all mankind, so that the world may be governed by justice, law and equity, under the aegis of the United Nations, whose principles we are all committed to respect, as Members, just as we are pledged to implement its resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I now call on the representative of Poland, Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta, who will speak as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): It is my privilege and great honour to speak as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States at the conclusion of our deliberations on disarmament and international security items at the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

As we come to the close of our deliberations, one cannot but express satisfaction over the constructive approach manifested by most of the delegations represented in the Committee to many of the problems. I am sure that that was largely owing to the very positive climate that has predominated during the Committee's discussions.

As many delegations have emphasized, that was because of the encouraging signs that have appeared in international life. For the first time in history, the idea of nuclear disarmament has reached the point where its implementation is about to begin. Work is in progress on a mandate for negotiations on reducing the contingents of armed forces and arsenals of conventional arms in Europe. Progress has been made in talks on banning chemical weapons.

Also promising is the improving dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, and particularly the agreement already announced on the signing in less than two weeks of a treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, and the possibility of reducing the number of strategic offensive weapons.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

by 50 per cent. I am deeply convinced that all of that, particularly the forthcoming Summit meeting in Washington, has significantly influenced the Committee's work.

At the same time, our delegations have reaffirmed their interest in continuing dialogue on a comprehensive system of international peace and security, guaranteeing the security of all States on an equal footing and in all spheres of international relations - political, military, economic, environmental, social, humanitarian and human rights - with due attention to the implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. At the same time, the necessity of enhancing the role of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General has been widely advocated.

I am convinced that progress has been achieved in several of the areas we have been debating. I should mention the consensus resolution on the elimination of chemical weapons. I am confident that, with additional efforts, we shall be able at our next session to arrive at one consensus resolution. Progress has also been made in other areas, but in some we did not move ahead. We shall have the chance to do so at the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held next June.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, I extend my sincere congratulations to you, Sir, as Chairman of our Committee, on the excellent leadership you have given to our deliberations. I also thank the other officers of the Committee as well as both Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Akashi and Mr. Safronchuk, for their support. Our special thanks go to Mr. Kheradi, our Secretary, and all the conference officers, support staff and interpreters who have performed their jobs with great professionalism and dedication.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call next on the representative of Argentina, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States at the United Nations.

Mr. CAPPAGLI (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, I have the honour, on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, to convey to you our sincere appreciation for the outstanding manner in which you guided our work at this session. In carrying out your tasks you lived up to your predecessors and met the demands of our important work; your impartiality, energy and diplomatic skill enabled us to achieve success in our consideration of the items on our agenda.

The forty-second session has taken place in a new climate of dialogue and negotiation reflecting the optimistic atmosphere that exists this year with respect to disarmament matters. The Committee has adopted 73 draft resolutions on disarmament items, 25 of them without a vote, and four on security matters. It is our sincere wish that these will make an effective contribution to the solution of disarmament problems and foster international coexistence.

On behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, I also congratulate the Vice-Chairmen - Ambassador Carlos Jose Gutierrez, Permanent Representative of Costa Rica, and Mr. Ali Maher Nashashibi, Minister Plenipotentiary of the delegation of Jordan - and the Rapporteur, Mr. Kasimierz Tomaszewski of Poland. They all helped us achieve success in our work.

We thank the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Kheradi, whose broad knowledge certainly facilitated our work. We also sincerely congratulate the other members of the Secretariat: translators, interpreters, conference officers and all other staff who efficiently helped us in our work.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call next on the representative of Luxembourg, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States at the United Nations.

Mr. MILLIM (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States, it my honour to thank you sincerely, Mr. Chairman, for the excellent way in which you guided the work of the First Committee and for your outstanding dedication and intensive efforts to help the Committee progress in its work. It is to your credit also that the Committee was able to keep to its timetable of work. I also thank the other Committee officers for their important contribution to the successful outcome of the Committee's work.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call next upon the representative of Yemen, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States at the United Nations.

Mr. AL SAIDI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): As we approach the end of our work in the First Committee, I have the honour on behalf of the Group of Arab States to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations. Your chairmanship of the Committee has been characterized by patience, flexibility and wisdom; your election coincided with a new phase in the history of efforts to bring about disarmament and was a testimony to our confidence in you as an experienced diplomat with long experience in the field of disarmament; you have unquestionably justified that confidence.

I wish also to thank the Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteur of the Committee for the active role they have played. My deeply-felt thanks go also to the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Kheradi, who has carried out his responsibilities with such efficiency, and to the other members of the Secretariat, including the interpreters, who facilitated the orderly functioning of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I am grateful for the kind words and warm sentiments expressed by the representatives of the various groups of States. On behalf of the other officers and the members of the Secretariat, and on my own behalf, I thank them warmly.

During the weeks in which we have all been closeted together, both in formal meetings and in informal consultations and meetings of the friends of the Chairman, the Committee has had to shoulder an extremely heavy work-load. I therefore appeal for indulgence as I once again address the Committee as Chairman; this seems to me an opportune moment to make some final remarks on the Committee's work at this session.

As members are aware, with the adoption a few minutes ago of draft resolutions on international security agenda items the Committee concluded its programme of work for the forty-second session. When we began our substantive work on 12 October, I drew attention to a body of important issues with which the Committee would have to deal. I also stressed the great patience, perseverance and, above all, political will that would be necessary for the Committee to make meaningful progress in the work assigned to it: questions relating to disarmament and international security.

Today, when a nuclear holocaust could destroy all mankind's achievements, disarmament, closely linked to international security, is a matter of constant universal concern. As a universal forum on international problems, the United Nations has a central role to play in the sphere of disarmament; as the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament stressed, the United Nations bears a primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament.

(The Chairman)

But we must also acknowledge the importance of the bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on various priority disarmament issues, especially those concerning nuclear and outer-space weapons. These should be carried out in parallel with multilateral disarmament negotiations and deliberations in the special framework of the United Nations. Because the two great Powers possess the largest military, and especially nuclear, arsenals, they undoubtedly have a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In that connection, as reflected in the general debate in the First Committee, we have welcomed the announcement of the Soviet-United States summit meeting to be held in Washington on 7 December in order to sign a treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear weapons; we have also welcomed negotiations on strategic-arms reductions. These are both important steps towards nuclear disarmament.

(The Chairman)

At the present session delegations submitted to the First Committee the record number of 77 draft resolutions and two draft decisions on disarmament questions. The Committee adopted 62 draft resolutions and one draft decision and took no action on 16 others that were not put to the vote. Among the draft resolutions adopted was a record number of 25 adopted without a vote, marking a certain improvement in harmonizing the varying views of States in certain disarmament fields.

Members will recall that in my opening statement I expressed the hope that the encouraging new developments that we have been following on the international scene would enable the Committee's work to proceed in a constructive spirit, devoid of polemics. From that point of view, as we come to the end of our work I am indeed deeply gratified to note that all delegations have made determined and sincere efforts to enable the Committee to conclude its work successfully.

We are hopeful that the forthcoming summit meeting in Washington in a few days' time will have not only positive repercussions on Soviet-American bilateral relations but a favourable impact on the entire international situation as well.

The majority of the draft resolutions adopted by the First Committee this year are reminiscent of those adopted at the preceding session and relate to issues that have appeared on the General Assembly's agenda for a number of years. I would mention in particular such issues as the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, including the non-use and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the prevention of nuclear war, the cessation of nuclear tests, nuclear-weapon-free zones, security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, chemical weapons and conventional disarmament. The Committee also addressed a number of other important questions, including those concerning verification and compliance with arms-limitation and disarmament agreements, and confidence-building measures.

(The Chairman)

Among the important disarmament issues discussed, the question of the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament, a nuclear test-ban, the prevention of nuclear war, chemical weapons and verification questions were the subjects of many draft resolutions.

The question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space took on special importance this year. Indeed, four draft resolutions on that subject were submitted reflecting the views of various political groups and, following intensive consultations, were eventually merged into a single draft resolution. Although that draft resolution was unfortunately not adopted unanimously, it nevertheless reflects the international community's urgent demand that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

While emphasis continued to be placed on nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament commanded great attention this year and a number of draft resolutions on the subject were submitted.

Among other things, it should be noted that the Committee adopted without a vote a draft resolution on the convening of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which will be held at New York from 31 May to 25 June 1988. Again, this shows the importance the international community attaches to disarmament measures, which can lead to greater peace and security for all mankind.

Moreover, the Committee also adopted a number of draft resolutions on concrete proposals, such as the establishment of a United Nations regional centre for peace and disarmament in Asia, at Khatmandu, to join the centres already established in Africa and Latin America. The Committee also recommended that certain follow-up measures be taken to give effect to the Final Document adopted at the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

(The Chairman)

I must say that at this session the deliberations of our Committee on the items concerning international peace and security have taken place in a more favourable climate owing to recent developments in Soviet-American relations and the disarmament negotiations. The statements made by delegations have been marked by renewed hope and optimism with regard to the goal of building a safer world for all nations.

As happened last year, the proposals of the socialist countries on a comprehensive system of international peace and security gave rise to a lively exchange of views. This time, however, the debate went into greater detail and was marked by a climate of very great frankness. Certain delegations stressed that the need to rethink the fundamental problems of international peace and security in the context of common values and interests was now being increasingly accepted. Clearly divergent views were expressed with regard to the main objective and the form of the proposed comprehensive system of international peace and security. Nevertheless, whatever their positions, all delegations were in full agreement as to the need to strengthen and enhance the role of the United Nations in disarmament matters and as the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. In my opinion, this came through clearly in all statements and it is on this idea that the Committee should base its future debates on the subject of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. As some delegations have said, there are promising signs of constructive dialogue, and all our efforts should be focused on the main objective, namely, the strengthening of the world Organization as an indispensable mechanism for the preservation of world peace and security.

Turning now to another subject, I would recall that at our 45th meeting I submitted a report on the question of the improvement and rationalization of the work of the First Committee. At that time I referred to the useful suggestions

(The Chairman)

made by former Chairmen of the Committee and to those that emerged from the consultations held within the framework of the open-ended group of friends of the Chairman. As members know, a draft resolution on that subject has also been adopted at this session.

Based on the various proposals put forward, and pending the election of the Chairman for the forty-third session, I intend to continue consultations through the appropriate modalities on how those proposals can be effectively implemented. As far as possible, I shall continue to consult with the open-ended group of friends of the Chairman, as well as with former Chairmen and delegations. In this connection I also intend to ask the Committee's Secretary, Mr. Kheradi, to participate and assist me in this procedure so that together we may be in a position to pass on suitable suggestions to the Chairman of the Committee at the forty-third session and, of course, to the Committee itself.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to express my warmest and most sincere thanks to all the members of the Committee, who have contributed to the successful conclusion of our work and greatly facilitated my task by the spirit of co-operation and understanding they have consistently shown. My very personal thanks go, above all, to the Vice-Chairmen, Ambassador Carlos Jose Gutierrez and Mr. Ali Maher Nashashibi, as well as to the Rapporteur, Mr. Kazimierz Tomaszewski, who, by their unfailing support, co-operation and assistance, made my task not only less burdensome but also richly fulfilling.

(The Chairman)

I should also like to convey to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Akashi, and to Mr. Vasily Safronchuk my deep gratitude. I should also like to express my thanks to all the members of the Secretariat, and particularly those of the Department for Disarmament Affairs, who have always given me their willing support and co-operation. I would also thank the Secretary-General of the Conference on Disarmament, Ambassador Komatina.

With regard to the First Committee's work I should like to make special mention of our Secretary, Mr. Kheradi, whose outstanding qualifications and technical competence in the field of disarmament are recognized by all. I should like to extend special thanks to him for the very efficient way in which he has assisted me in conducting the Committee's work. On behalf of the entire Committee, I extend to him our heartfelt gratitude. My thanks go also to the colleagues who assist him, in particular Mr. Sattar, Mr. Zaleski, Miss Patil and Miss Marcaillou, all highly qualified in disarmament matters, as well as to all the other Secretariat members who have so efficiently supported and assisted in the Committee's work.

On behalf of all the members of the Committee I should like to extend to Under-Secretary-General Wyzner and to Mr. Aleksandr Kokorev and his assistants our deepest gratitude for the highly efficient way in which all members of the Department of Conference Services have assisted us in obtaining the documentation and materials necessary for our work at the proper time. I would be remiss, indeed, were I not to thank particularly those who work in the shade: the interpreters, translators and verbatim reporters who, in one way or another, have helped us to conclude our work successfully. My sincere thanks to them all.

In bringing to a close the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly, at the forty-second session, I wish once again to express my gratitude to all Committee members for their co-operation and assistance in our work. I also



(The Chairman)

again thank the Vice-Chairmen, Ambassador Carlos Gutierrez and Ambassador Ali Maher Nashashibi and our Rapporteur, Mr. Kasimierz Tomaszewski for their help, as well as all members of the Secretariat.

To members returning to their capitals or respective posts, I extend best wishes for a safe journey. I would also extend to you all my best wishes for happy holidays and for the New Year.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.