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New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 49th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Nashashibi (Jordan), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73

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

The CHAIRMAN: Today, the First Committee begins its consideration of the agenda items relating to international security, namely items 71, 72 and 73.

Agenda item 71 is entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region"; in that connection the Committee has before it the report of the Secretary-General (A/42/570) submitted in implementation of General Assembly resolution 41/89. The report contains replies received from Governments of Member States on this issue, and reflects the debate on the item during the forty-first session.

In connection with agenda item 72, entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", the First Committee has before it a report submitted by the Secretary-General (A/42/592), setting out the views of Member States, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/90. Under the same item, the Committee has before it a report of the Secretary-General (A/42/668) on the implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

(The Chairman)

Under agenda item 73, in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 41/92, adopted last year, the Committee will continue its consideration at the current session of the item, "Comprehensive system of international peace and security". Delegations may recall that at the forty-first session, deliberations on this item prompted a lively exchange of views, and I believe that at the current session the item will be further clarified and defined in more practical terms.

The question of the maintenance of international peace and security is of serious concern to all of us; I am glad that this year, thanks to recent positive developments, the Committee's debate in this area will unfold against a more favourable background. Indeed, a principal element in this context is the intensified dialogue between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The joint announcement that the leaders of those two great Powers will meet in Washington beginning on 7 December this year and sign a treaty on the total elimination of United States and Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is an important contribution to the strengthening of the peace and security of all nations.

(The Chairman)

The conclusion of a treaty on 50 per cent reductions in United States and Soviet strategic offensive weapons and on non-withdrawal from the anti-ballistic-missile Treaty for an agreed period of time was whole-heartedly welcomed by virtually all delegations during the debate on disarmament issues.

We hope this can become a solid basis for the process of nuclear disarmament and the beginning of a new era both for those two nuclear-weapon States and for the entire international community. It is my sincere wish that these developments in the sphere of disarmament may encourage our Committee to try harder to identify adequate ways and means for solving these problems affecting international peace and security.

We are aware that the world's present realities warn us against euphoria and complacency. Indeed, in spite of the positive trends in the disarmament field, the international political climate is still fraught with many dangers. Conflicts and wars linger in various parts of the world; interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States occur; policies of racism and apartheid persist and human rights continue to be violated. At the same time, the present economic crisis places a heavy burden on the shoulders of many peoples and nations of the world. We can all understand that this situation cannot but generate permanent tension, mistrust, instability and conflict and that, unless comprehensively addressed, these phenomena will pose a constant threat to international peace and stability.

I hope we can all agree that security has to be achieved with the contribution of all States, big or small, developed or developing, regardless of their political and social system. In our increasingly interdependent world, States have no alternative to mutual co-operation. Consequently, joint action is a basic condition for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(The Chairman)

At the same time, I believe that security requires prompt and effective action not only in the military field but in the political, economic, social and humanitarian areas as well. We must take measures to free our world from all nuclear weapons and achieve general and complete disarmament, to eradicate hunger, poverty and racial and religious discrimination, to ensure respect for human rights and the protection of the environment, and so forth.

In this regard, the United Nations, despite its shortcomings, remains the embodiment of mankind's hope for a just, peaceful and prosperous world. In my opinion, there is an urgent need to restore fully the world's confidence in the United Nations as a viable mechanism for collective action. Respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is a sine qua non for enhancing the role of the Organization in discharging its primary responsibility of maintaining world peace and security. It is my firm conviction that peace and security can finally be achieved only through the common wisdom and the common endeavours of the entire international community.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): It is a great honour and privilege for the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to open the deliberations on agenda items which are among the most important at this session: those related to the strengthening of international security.

The course and results of the forty-second session of the General Assembly, including in particular the activities of this Committee, have impressively confirmed that the safeguarding of peace and the transition to disarmament have become the most important concerns of international politics. More than ever before, recognition is gaining ground that in the conditions of our nuclear and space age peace can be maintained and security strengthened only by political

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means. Intensified effort is required to ensure that life on Earth will be more secure for all and that States, despite different systems of society and alliance affiliations, will live together peacefully and get along well with one another.

As was pointed out by the Head of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, during his official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany,

"There is nothing more important today than maintaining peace, despite all differences in world outlook, ideology and political objectives".

This makes it imperative to find new forms and procedures for relations between systems, States and regions in securing peace and solving other global problems. Bearing that objective in mind, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, at the latest session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers, meeting in Prague, reaffirmed their determination to strive to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security including the military, political, economic, humanitarian and ecological spheres.

The aim of such a system, as stated in the official communiqué of that session, is "ensuring the security of all States on an equal footing and in all spheres of international relations" (A/42/708, p. 5).

We therefore note with great satisfaction that yesterday, after 10 years of what were sometimes difficult negotiations, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations. That Declaration points to concrete ways and means by which States, in their bilateral and regional relations and by making full use of the potential inherent in the Charter of the United Nations, could greatly assist in enhancing the effectiveness

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of the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force. We believe that the implementation of that Declaration will be a very useful contribution to the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The concept of comprehensive, equal security presupposes that the maintenance of international peace and security, especially under present conditions, means more than the absence of war and more than the prevention or solution of international conflicts or disputes by peaceful means. Rather it requires a dynamic process of actively developing peaceful relations among States in various fields and equal co-operation to address mankind's global problems. To limit and reduce armaments while intensifying political, economic and humanitarian co-operation in order to develop international peace and security as a comprehensive, stable and durable system in the multilateral, regional and bilateral framework - that is the dialectical content of that process. What is envisaged is a ramified, comprehensive system of agreed, guaranteed and verifiable measures for ensuring international peace and security, a system in which problems will be resolved exclusively by peaceful means. If only because of its significance and global nature, that objective certainly cannot be reached overnight.

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However, the state of affairs in the world requires that we begin, with energy, resolve and full common sense and realism, to lay the foundations of a world without nuclear weapons and without the use of force. We are therefore gratified to note that since the socialist countries submitted their proposal a new security thinking has been gaining ground in East and West, North and South, taking into account the pressing realities of our time. Discussions about the format envisaged in the joint initiative of the socialist countries for political dialogue and co-operation to ensure equal security are increasingly being held, with all orientations and at all levels; they are gaining in substance and are showing the signs of initial results. *

The vivid interest aroused among States Members of the United Nations by General Secretary Gorbachev's article "Reality and Safeguards for a Secure World" heightens our confidence that we can proceed from an exchange of views started at the forty-first session of the General Assembly to intensive and fruitful dialogue on lending substance to a system of comprehensive security. The existence of a number of objective conditions and common fundamental interests should enable us to achieve general consensus on joint efforts to establish a system of equal security. In our approach we should be guided by the following ideas.

First, in the nuclear age war must no longer be a means of politics. If the nuclear-armed alliances resorted to it, it would mean the end of all policy-making, the destruction of all material and cultural values. Safeguarding peace has become the basic premise for the responsible pursuit of policies.

Secondly, in the conditions of our nuclear and space age, peace and security can no longer be achieved by States arming against one another. If it is to last,

*The Chairman took the Chair.

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it can only be agreed upon among States on the basis of political action. It is not the quality of weapons, but the quality of the policies pursued that is decisive for security and stability in the world.

Thirdly, security is indivisible and must not be sought at the expense of others. That requires that each side must take into account and respect the other's legitimate security interests. Each side must concede the same measure of security to the other. That can be achieved only by joint efforts and with ever lower levels of armaments.

And fourthly, in today's world, international relations in their entirety and the interacting military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian factors are characterized by growing complexity and interdependency. A new approach is therefore required in the conduct of international relations.

An essential aim of a comprehensive security system is to banish once and for all from international relations the material basis for any use or threat of the use of force. Accordingly, questions of arms limitation and disarmament acquire a key role. Essential progress, in this field especially, is a decisive criterion for the functioning of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The German Democratic Republic therefore attaches the greatest importance to the conclusion at the forthcoming summit meeting of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on the global elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Implementation of such a treaty would be a start towards nuclear disarmament proper and would lend the first real substance to the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons.

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The German Democratic Republic has therefore made a specific effort, jointly with all others guided by common sense and realism, to facilitate a double-zero solution concerning intermediate-range nuclear missiles. We are deeply convinced that the forthcoming accord will have a beneficial effect on the entire international climate and will lead to the establishment of stability and mutual confidence. It will open the road towards further measures of disarmament, such as a radical reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, towards strengthening the anti-ballistic missile Treaty, towards a world-wide ban on chemical weapons, and towards the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The German Democratic Republic, situated as it is on the dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions, has a particular interest in seeing the armed forces and armaments deployed on the European continent reduced to a degree that would exclude any capacity for attack on either side. We want to establish peace with ever fewer weapons; we want to proceed from one zero solution to another; we want no kind of weapons to be left out, either nuclear or conventional.

The proposals we have submitted together with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, for a nuclear-weapon-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe, were designed to meet that requirement. It should be possible to set in motion dynamic processes on behalf of peace and security concerning other areas of international relations as well. We must not forget that common equal security for all permits no developments in the economic, social, humanitarian or ecological field that could become a threat to security.

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In our talks with representatives of almost all States Members of the United Nations, the question of the role and place of the United Nations in a comprehensive system of security has been a major concern. The comprehensive system of security proposed by socialist countries envisions an active role for existing international mechanisms and institutions, first and foremost among them the United Nations. The world Organization is particularly well equipped to guarantee a harmonious blending of national and international security interests, all the more so as general security presupposes unconditional respect for the Charter of the United Nations. Under the Charter, the principles and norms of democratic international law embodied in it and recognized by all States Members of the Organization are to be applied without restriction to serve as a foundation for political action and as the only reasonable basis for the behaviour of States in their relations with one another.

We believe that the implementation of a comprehensive system of security would lead to a distinct increase in the effectiveness of the United Nations in all its activities. Strengthening the Organization's peace-keeping function and its role as a unique centre for productive political dialogue in the endeavour to resolve mankind's global problems would greatly benefit all nations and regions as well as the overall structure of international security. The United Nations can and should be a major driving force in gaining acceptance for new political thinking in international affairs. We are firmly convinced that there are diverse possibilities for fully employing the peace- and confidence-building potential of the United Nations.

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In this respect, the discussion held so far on the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations has brought out valuable ideas and experiences and has had a positive influence on the conduct of relations between States and peoples.

What is needed above all is fresh thinking and increased activity to enhance the contribution of the United Nations to a peaceful settlement of conflicts. Reinforcement of the preventive role of the United Nations would be a promising field for co-operative efforts among States. We have in mind, especially, the Secretary-General's proposal to establish a United Nations-affiliated multilateral centre to reduce the risk of nuclear war, but also the creation of machinery within the United Nations framework to verify compliance with any disarmament agreements that have been concluded. This is a field in which the Security Council, and especially its permanent members, have a greater part to play. Recent examples have shown that high-level or top-level meetings of the Council members to discuss acute problems of humanity in a constructive and responsible manner may give fresh impetus to the search for solutions. The efficiency and prestige of the United Nations could also be strengthened if resolutions adopted by consensus were given greater authority and made the basis for the conduct of States in international relations. Unilateral declarations of commitment by States, but also in a regional setting, might be an initial, yet significant step towards this end.

The German Democratic Republic is certain that, in the course of our debate on the current agenda item, a host of proposals and ideas will come up that will help to give material shape to the concept of comprehensive security.

An indispensable pre-condition to smoothing the way to a world free of nuclear weapons and to a comprehensive system of international peace and security that will

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benefit all peoples of the world is the readiness of States to join in endeavours for achieving this objective in a constructive and unbiased spirit and on a collective basis. What is required is the wisdom and the wealth of experience of all States and groups of States. Consistent action in keeping with common responsibility, combined with a sense of reality and judgement, is what can reasonably be expected to produce results that fully accord with the needs of our time.

Pursuing its policy of active dialogue, common sense and realism, the German Democratic Republic will continue to be a dependable and predictable partner to all those who are anxious to promote the supreme human right: the right to live in security and in peace.

Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (interpretation from French): Your election as Chairman of the First Committee is a source of joy to us for more than one reason. Speaking for the first time in this Committee, I take great pleasure in extending to you the heartiest congratulations of the delegation of Guinea. We have burdened you with this task, not only in recognition of your moral and diplomatic talents, but also because we have wished to pay a tribute to the great African traditions of your country with which my country, Guinea, has sincere relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation. We should like to congratulate Mr. Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, whose competence and devotion are well-known, as well as the other officers of the Committee.

If international peace and security are indispensable factors for the general progress for mankind, they require tolerance and the relaxation of tension, and mutual understanding among nations. This universal Organization has demonstrated its devotion to those ideals by adopting many resolutions relating to them and by taking broad action designed to strengthen international relations by recommending

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a policy of non-use of force in the settlement of disputes and by advocating sectoral regional and global disarmament. Bilateral and multilateral agreements already exist in this connection. The United Nations declared 1986 the International Year of Peace. Today, everywhere in the world, many initiatives have borne fruit and have served to buttress this programme. Even world public opinion has expressed its anxiety and helplessness and has spoken out. People are also speaking out against war, means of mass destruction and intolerable violations of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Many meetings, conferences and symposia have stressed that life on earth must be spared violence, dissent and futile antagonism, which unfortunately influence our fate. Survivors of both World Wars have given moving accounts of their feelings and have said that this tragedy should never afflict the world again.

As a contribution to the peace process, the Organization of African Unity, in articles II and III of its charter, adopted very precise principles regarding the anti-colonial struggle, the peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiations, mediation and arbitration, continental co-operation to overcome underdevelopment, non-alignment as an act of faith and philosophy aimed at settling relations between Africa and the antagonistic blocs, and finally, the strengthening of the United Nations, which is the ideal centre for harmonizing relations and trends where there are special responsibilities, especially in the area of security.

The non-aligned countries and non-governmental organizations, such as the World Peace Council, have given special attention to this question.

But today, two years after the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, after so many efforts to establish a new order based on lasting peace and strengthened security, how does the balance sheet read? Is mankind finally prepared to take control of its destiny in a courageous way, in a

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dispassionate manner devoid of egotism and marked by the search for solidarity and true unity?

A look at the international arena offers a glimmer of hope but it must be admitted there are also fears. In the interplay of global dynamics it cannot be said that hope has finally triumphed over pessimism in spite of certain encouraging signs.

Yet an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America made concrete by positive developments in current negotiations, progress in talks on chemical weapons and the positive results of the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development - which was held in New York and which, for the first time, established an interrelationship between disarmament, development and security - all these things do, to some extent, meet the concerns of our time.

Though of limited scope, these important events have this year created a propitious climate for the work of our Committee and thus strengthen our conviction that more and more countries are realizing the necessity of interdependence in the promotion of their interests, both collective and individual.

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Guinea continues to provide proof of its good faith and its belief in the ideals of peace and security and has offered its good offices both in Africa and in international organizations. We therefore welcome and support these recent developments. They are in keeping with historical trends and also represent fundamental aspects of our foreign policy.

There are many factors which cause widespread anxiety, namely, the unbridled arms race, great-Power rivalry, the systematic violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, interference in the internal affairs of States and armed wars against sovereign States.

Furthermore, there are many areas of violence in the world. While peace and quiet bless some parts of the world, they are seen elsewhere only as a fleeting shadow.

In southern Africa, the racist régime of Pretoria has given proof of its bad faith by stubbornly clinging to its odious policy of apartheid, repeated acts of aggression and refusal to abide by resolutions of the Security Council.

In keeping with the spirit of the General Assembly's resolution ES-8/2, adopted at the second special session devoted to disarmament, and resolution 41/32, adopted at last year's session, Member States must effectively implement effective action, including comprehensive and binding sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Measures to bring about the total denuclearization of South Africa are also necessary, in keeping with the Declaration adopted in 1964 by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and reaffirmed at the twenty-first summit session on disarmament, denuclearization, security and development in Africa, since possession of nuclear weapons by Pretoria and its military collaboration with certain countries are a very real danger to international peace and security.

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Here too, the supporters of apartheid, notwithstanding injunctions from the international community, refuse to submit their nuclear activities to regular supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Furthermore, the international community should continue to bring more pressure to bear on South Africa in order to bring about Namibia's immediate independence without regard to any considerations other than those referred to in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

In an international climate fraught with threats, the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, contained in the Manila Declaration and in the Charter, deserves priority consideration. The justice and nobility of such a principle need no further proof, since it enables us to dispel our fears and satisfy our aspirations for peace.

Only the non-use of force in international relations and the use of peaceful procedures can give the international community a chance to establish stability and security in crisis-ridden areas in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Central America. This obviously requires Member States to give their support and join in the effort, which should be reflected in the effective implementation of the many resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly.

We should welcome in this connection the courageous mediation efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. His perseverance in his efforts and the political wisdom of the parties to the conflict will most certainly lead to a relaxation of tensions.

Effective action must be taken to guarantee the security of countries not possessing nuclear weapons against the threat posed by those possessing them. States in various parts of the world have expressed their determination to oppose the introduction of such weapons into their territories, through the creation of

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nuclear-weapon-free zones and chemical-weapon-free zones on the basis of agreements freely entered into.

My delegation is convinced that the existence of these zones will facilitate the process of disarmament and peace in the Balkans, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, all of which must become havens of peace, stability and co-operation for the coastal and hinterland peoples.

As regards the Mediterranean it will be recalled that many declarations made in this connection by non-aligned Mediterranean countries and by the General Assembly recommend that further efforts should be made to reduce armaments and tensions, thereby providing viable solutions for the problems of the region.

That is why we have good reason to hope that the Vienna talks held after the positive results of the Stockholm Conference will lead to this objective, considering the parties' expressed readiness to co-operate.

The Security Council, the non-aligned countries, the Ad Hoc Committee and its Working Group must all show the same determination and give fresh momentum to international efforts aimed at convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1988 at Colombo, in compliance with the 1971 Declaration and General Assembly resolution 41/87 of 4 December 1986.

There can be no peace and security without development, just as it is futile, and in fact utopian, to believe that there can be any opulence or well-being in an atmosphere of constant crisis.

The late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in a statement that progress in all countries, whether developed or developing, depends entirely on peace on earth.

The Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, in its operative part, expanded the concept of security to non-military factors. This means that the consequences of

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underdevelopment dangerously compromise the security of the peoples affected and stand in the way of their future today, at the end of the second millennium.

The allocation of resources freed by disarmament to the economic and social development of third-world countries would unquestionably relieve their suffering and help reduce disparities, apart from the fact that such savings would give the industrialized countries additional resources to promote their growth.

The regrettable fact is that the opposite is taking place in most of our countries, which are obliged by security considerations to divert their meagre resources from their proper objective because of violations by certain Powers of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and to dispose of their wealth. Thus, the present crisis in international relations has a direct effect on the peace and security process, and no State is spared.

But the countries of the third world suffer even more severely from the effects of non-military factors which have a bearing on security, especially in connection with their external debts and the persistence of natural disasters. This obviously emphasizes the need to reform the economic order on a just and democratic basis and to achieve international economic co-operation, as recommended by the 1974 Declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order, adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

Furthermore, just as we must promote the political, economic, social and cultural rights of peoples, States must endeavour to ensure the full development of the intellectual and moral faculties of individuals and the full enjoyment of individual rights, without which no lasting security is possible.

At a time when technological progress and communications far transcend national frontiers, no State, great or small, strong or weak, can isolate itself or ensure its own security. The problem of peace and security is therefore everyone's business. They are global concepts and must be seen as part and parcel of the

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effort to bring about a structural balance in the political, economic and social spheres. Education, science, culture, religion and the mass media also have a large role to play in their realization and in preparing societies for peace.

Indeed, since man is the shaper of his own life, he must be trained and educated in such a way that he can use his knowledge exclusively for humanitarian purposes and repress his negative inclinations, which have often caused tensions and disturbances.

There are many well-known scientific and cultural figures who, throughout their lives, have devoted their efforts to the service of peace everywhere in the world. Names such as Albert Einstein, Pierre Joliot and Marie Curie, great physicists of their times, as well as the Roussel Foundation and other outstanding organizations, are perfect examples of this.

To accept general and complete disarmament under effective international control on the basis of transparency and reliable data would be eloquent proof of our devotion to peace, as is rightly stressed by the 1978 Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

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It is in that connection that I should like solemnly to reaffirm my country's attachment to multilateralism, symbolized by the United Nations and its various organs, and in particular the Security Council, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

The members of the Security Council have a special responsibility to play the role of the Council fully and to try to adapt that body to present-day realities, namely, to the nature, scope and complexity of the pressing challenges confronting mankind.

My country, the Republic of Guinea, desires structural changes in international organizations that would help to consolidate the foundations of peace. However, such changes must not jeopardize what has already been accomplished, lest stagnation or fatal paralysis ensue. Instead, we must work for those profound changes which would give the international Organization the moral and spiritual vigour of its maturity.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The work of the General Assembly at its current session confirms the validity of the optimism expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the effect that a favourable wind had begun to blow in the sails of our global vessel. This is the wind of change, above all in the policies and practices of most States, which realize the need to act together as members of a single international community.

This is convincingly demonstrated by the powerful support given to the upcoming conclusion at the Soviet-United States summit meeting of a treaty eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons, medium- and shorter-range missiles. Prospects are now open for reaching agreement in principle on a number of questions, primarily on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms and on adherence to the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems

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and non-withdrawal from that Treaty during an agreed period of time. Agreement on eliminating thousands of nuclear weapons, every one of which, as Albert Einstein warned, is capable of razing to the ground such huge cities as London, New York or Moscow, is further proof of the possibility and effectiveness of reciprocal self-restraint exercised by States in the most sensitive area - the military area.

The physical destruction of the two types of nuclear weapons is important not only in itself, as the first action of actual nuclear disarmament, but also because it will give impetus to the movement in all areas towards shaping a nuclear-weapon-free and secure world, prospects for which were opened up at Reykjavik.

The idea of comprehensive security submitted for the consideration of the United Nations by a group of socialist countries is imbued with the desire to maintain and consolidate on a mutual basis the process of positive development of international relations. Its main purpose is to find, jointly, a balance of interests of States and an optimal correlation of national interests with those of mankind as a whole.

This is not a simple or easy matter. Comprehensive security should be based on common human values. Early in this century Vladimir Ilyich Lenin noted their primacy over the objectives of any particular class. The process of searching jointly for a balance among the different, contradictory but real interests of today's community of States and nations calls for the highest responsibility, for an unbiased attitude towards the opinions of others, for accommodation to their positions, for common creative effort and for an acute sense of everything new.

No one has ready-made solutions. No one holds in his hands the thread that can help us find a way out of the labyrinth of the contradictory contemporary world. We are in the process of searching, and we invite others to join us in seeking ways of building security.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the United Nations Charter is a model for ensuring the security of the international community in keeping with the national interests of all States. We see our task as one of making that model effective and reliable in the new context of the nuclear and space age.

The truth, whether we like it or not, is that the system of security provided for in the United Nations Charter and based on multilateralism and on the joint search for solutions through political means has so far remained mostly a potential rather than a reality. States and alliances of States practically never avail themselves of that potential. They choose the old way, relying on military force. The arms race has reached unprecedented and absurd proportions. It has not been halted yet. Moreover, there is now a real danger of its extension to outer space.

In other words, a joint search for the security for all provided in the Charter is hampered by egocentrism oriented towards narrow, selfish interests and methods of force to ensure them. It is between those trends that the dividing line in world politics now passes. Today it is no longer possible to act as one did in the past.

The 1980s have clearly brought to the surface certain features of world development that have been built up and have taken shape over the entire post-war period. First, the specific features of the nuclear and space age have given rise to the threat of the self-destruction of civilization. Further, the increasing interdependence of the world's countries and nations has been accelerated by today's scientific and technological revolution. Finally, there has been an aggravation of the global problems that challenge the very biological ability of human beings to adapt to the dangers, tempos and stresses of contemporary life.

Aurelio Peccei, head of the Club of Rome, wrote that our planet is not so large and generous as to satisfy the expectation of all groups of the world's population without exception. If each of them tries to grab as much as it can,

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that will ultimately spell catastrophe for the entire system that provides for human life on earth. As a result, no one will get anything he wants or really needs.

This means that the need for multilateral solutions to problems of international peace and security is actually increasing. It is important to ensure greater effectiveness on the part of the United Nations in all its activities. If the United Nations is to become a real centre of co-ordinated actions for maintaining international peace and security, all States must act on the basis of non-confrontational approaches oriented towards a search for realistic and generally acceptable solutions to international problems and towards full use of the potential for co-operation contained in the Charter.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

Mr. Mangwende, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, expressed this idea in his statement at the United Nations General Assembly, when he said:

"This Organization can never be 'our' United Nations as opposed to 'theirs'; nor can it be 'theirs' as opposed to 'ours'. ... Only as the United Nations, meeting everybody's views in part and forcing compromise from all, will it serve anyone at all." (A/42/PV.20, p. 56)

All of this brings out new aspects of the idea of multilateralism and calls for a new approach to and reconsideration of objectives, as well as for an overcoming of existing ideological patterns and stereotypes.

Our approaches to the intensification of the multilateral process and to the internationalization of efforts to build security are epitomized in Mikhail Gorbachev's article, "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," which, in fact, contains a detailed and comprehensive initial project for a possible new way of organizing life in our common planetary home, in accordance with United Nations ideals and on the basis of its Charter, namely, an organization in which the security of all would be a guarantee of security for each and every person.

One can often hear it asked: Why are the new concepts necessary, if what is involved here is the implementation of the United Nations Charter, which was formulated over 40 years ago? First and foremost, the very concept of the Charter is a new element in public thinking and practice, a revolutionary break with the logic of domination by force that has prevailed for centuries. Moreover, the introduction and implementation of that concept is a new undertaking in historical terms.

There is also a new need to find a way to apply the philosophy of security, which originates in the Charter, to the rapidly changing realities of the dynamic era in which we live. Let us take the atom and outer space, which have become a reality since the signing of the Charter. Let us take the development of

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technology, inconceivable at the end of the Second World War, which not only brings the benefits of civilization to people but which is also fraught with growing threats because of its military application or owing to a mere accident. Let us take the rapidly escalating interpenetration and global character of economic, information and other links. In such a world it is no longer possible to live by the logic of confrontation. A great deal must be changed in the ways of thinking and in the conduct of States so that in present-day conditions a system of international peace and security can begin to work in accordance with United Nations ideals. The system ought to embrace all aspects of relations among States, and it presupposes the active participation of all countries. Thus, it should be comprehensive, both vertically and horizontally, in its functional and its structural dimensions.

Indeed, the United Nations Charter was not calculated at all to take account of the existence of nuclear weapons. Since comprehensive security is needed to restore the Charter and since it is the purpose for which its provisions were created, this presupposes the eventual elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction.

We propose the elaboration of such a system by drawing upon the collective wisdom of mankind. In other words, we propose a new mode of action for States or, in the words of H.D. Genscher, Vice-Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, "a strategy of peace". It will be necessary to develop a "reflex of multilateralism", based on the unconditional recognition of the primacy of international law, which must enter into play primarily at the level of the supreme political leadership of States.

It is essential that generally acceptable conceptual approaches be worked out to the complex issues of international relations. Guided by such approaches, Governments would search for responses to arising problems and crises, not in the

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scenarios of power confrontation and conflict escalation but rather in the United Nations Charter.

This is a matter of mutual enrichment and interpenetration of the principles that govern the decision-making process. In other words, discussion of the idea of comprehensive international security must, as we see it, help the international community find fulcrums amidst the weightlessness of contradictions and establish reference points for advancing in all areas of international development. For, no matter what problem we consider, we inevitably encounter the same difficulties, namely, lack of mutual understanding and opposing views.

By working out a comprehensive approach to international security we can shed light on the methodology of communication and co-operation in the international arena and come closer to understanding the common values and objectives that unite us.

A substantive and purposeful discussion of the idea of comprehensive international security could take place within a group of experts that would prepare a detailed report on the subject for the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. The group of experts would conduct an unbiased analysis of the entire gamut of views and perceptions concerning means of ensuring universal security in all spheres of international relations, with a view to bringing the conceptual approaches closer together and expanding the areas of agreement, as well as to finding practical ways.

The idea of comprehensive security did not spring from nothing. It derives from what has already been achieved in the area of the peaceful coexistence of States. There is a need carefully to gather together the smallest grains of insight and the whole of civilization's wisdom, based on universally recognized human values and on the human being's eternal desire for peace. Many theories have

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been subjected to drastic devaluation during the course of history, but the idea of a better and safe world has always retained and increased its value.

Throughout the post-war decades a vast treaty and legal basis has been created that has contained the arms race in some areas. This is a system of negotiations dealing with reductions in nuclear arms, the elimination of chemical weapons, the limitation and reduction of the levels of armed forces and conventional armaments, and the consolidation of confidence-building measures in the military sphere. Statutory acts with regard to human rights have been codified. Regional security and co-operation mechanisms have emerged in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The authoritative Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is active in the international arena. Bilateral, mutually beneficial ties have been developed among many States with different social systems.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted in 1970 opportunely laid down the bases for concrete actions to solve acute problems and improve international relations. Although not all the provisions of the Declaration have yet been translated into deed, that document has enriched the world community with the experience of dealing with the problems of ensuring international security with due regard for the needs of the present day.

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The task the United Nations has to set itself is to continue civilization's ascent towards comprehending the problem of security and to create a synthetic, comprehensive concept thereof. Our perception of a conceptual solution to that task, which is already taking shape today as a result of ongoing discussions, is as follows.

First, in today's interdependent world the weaker security of a member of the international community has an inevitably adverse effect on international security as a whole. The world is a single whole, which is why it is the highest wisdom not to care only for oneself, and even less to do so to the detriment of others. In international relations as a whole, security must be comprehensive and can be built only on an equal basis for all. It is the task of all States, large and small, developed and developing, regardless of their social and political systems and ideologies, to build such security. This presupposes the broad democratization of international relations. Democratization means taking account of the views of each and every one and ceasing to view the world through the prism of relations between two countries - or perhaps three or four - no matter how powerful they might be. As Foreign Minister de Abreu Sodre of Brazil noted in his statement at the current session of the General Assembly,

"No nation or group of nations has the right to impose its own conceptions and solutions on the increasingly complex picture of international relations. No one nation should seek to isolate itself or fail to take into consideration the universal aspirations of the community of nations."

(A/42/PV.4, p. 6)

Secondly, in the age of supersonic speed and super-Power, it is imperative to abandon the dangerous misconceptions that the arms race and the improvement of military technologies can provide national and international security. The problem of security is actually not a technological problem; it is a political problem, and

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it is necessary to begin a search for reliable and guaranteed ways of ensuring it, not by means of armaments, but by political means - by what Ambassador Woolcott, the head of the Australian delegation, in his statement at the forty-second session of the General Assembly, described as

"balanced and verifiable arms reduction and disarmament measures".

(A/42/PV.31, pp. 14-15)

To that end, what is required is the political will of States, a new degree of trust and a new level of flexibility characterized by an active search for compromise solutions to today's acute international problems.

Thirdly, given the growing interrelationship between various areas of contemporary international relations, the problem of ensuring world security presupposes a multidimensional and comprehensive approach, as well as the elimination of the deeply rooted causes of mistrust and suspicion in the world. Today, the problem of universal security cannot be confined to the military and political spheres alone. Economic, environmental and humanitarian aspects, including human rights, must be included within its framework. As Foreign Minister Taleb Ibrahimi of Algeria rightly pointed out in his statement at the current session of the General Assembly,

"the problems connected with world security are indivisible and therefore require a comprehensive, integrated approach." (A/42/PV.28, p. 21)

The task is to achieve real progress in all areas without any linkages, bearing in mind that headway in one area will facilitate the finding of solutions to problems in other areas and will strengthen broad international confidence.

That is the conceptual content of our proposal on comprehensive security. We believe that the concept of comprehensive security, like any other mode of thought, should be embodied in the purpose-oriented political conduct of States, in acts of reasonable will and in practical deeds. It must help translate the common

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awareness of the substantial global realities and universal values of mankind into a language of concrete policies of States in concrete areas and ensure broad application of multilateralism in the security sphere. That is why, in his article of 17 September, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, set forth both the political and philosophical views of the Soviet Union on the problems of building comprehensive security and a concrete programme of practical measures aimed at establishing a qualitative new political climate of trust and co-operation in the world.

For example, let us take nuclear deterrence: Is it really not possible to find a better substitute for it in the contemporary world? The answer is, Yes, it is possible, if we are guided by new political thinking and if we act on the basis of multilateralism. According to the Political Declaration issued by the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare,

"the idea that world peace can be maintained through nuclear deterrence, a doctrine that lies at the root of the continuing escalation in the quantity and quality of nuclear weapons and which has, in fact, led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations than ever before, is the most dangerous myth in existence." (A/41/697, p. 24)

Real security today is guaranteed by the lowest, not the highest, possible level of armed forces, from which nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction would be fully excluded. In the final analysis, a system of comprehensive security is intended to create conditions for a transition to the maintenance of peace and security by an international institution, while States retain their military arsenals at a level sufficient only for their defence needs, without any offensive capabilities. Comprehensive security also presupposes the elimination of the sources of tension and conflicts in the world. It stands to reason that there is and can be no single recipe for settlement, but there are generally recognized

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norms and principles of inter-State relations that can and must form the basis of political settlements to regional conflicts.

The current session of the General Assembly has just adopted an important political document, which will help the international community to advance towards a world without wars and violence. It is the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations. It is the product of the joint efforts of the world community. That document reflects the desire of States to put an end to violence in all spheres of contemporary international relations.

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It is particularly important that the nuclear Powers and the States members of military and political alliances to which those Powers are parties should adhere in practice to the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force, above all armed force, in international relations. We favour consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council for the purpose of working out a code of peaceful relations and conduct in international affairs, both of a universal character and as applied to each individual regional conflict. The main goal is to preclude the possibility of interference by force and the involvement of major Powers in a confrontation. In other words, the idea of such a code was first formulated in one of the most important documents, the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was adopted by consensus.

The establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security is not limited to the elimination of the currently existing sources of tension in the world. As we move forward towards a non-violent world, it is essential to ensure reliable prevention of crises and the peaceful settlement of disputes, which requires making use of the entire range of measures for averting conflicts and of preventive diplomacy, first and foremost within the framework of the United Nations.

It is also time to resolve the question of wider use of the institution of United Nations military observers and United Nations peace-keeping forces.

There is an increasingly obvious need to ensure the economic security of States, to reduce disproportions in the levels of their economic development, and to eliminate economic injustice, which is a cause of tensions in the world.

The unrestrained arms race has an extremely unfavourable effect on the world economic situation. Its cessation would put an end to the militarization of scientific and technological progress and make it possible to release a major part

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of mankind's economic potential for the purposes of peaceful construction. We see disarmament for development as one of the supporting structures in the edifice of universal security and we are ready actively to co-operate with all in the speedy implementation of recommendations of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

There are also other global issues whose solution is on the agenda of comprehensive security. Here priority must be given to the preservation of the environment and the natural conditions of life on Earth. It is only through joint efforts that we can remove the global danger of an environmental heart attack.

Comprehensive security, oriented towards the universal values of mankind, also presupposes creating decent material and spiritual conditions of life for all peoples, making our planet habitable and ensuring an economic attitude to its resources, above all to the main resource which is man himself.

An eminent Soviet scientist, Academician V. Vernadsky, regarded the emergence of life and intelligence as the paramount law of the creation of the world and was the first to suggest the concept of noosphere, that is the unity between man and the world that surrounds him and his special place in it. That is why it is so important to safeguard man's principal right, that is to say, the right to life, and to secure universal observance of, and respect for, fundamental human rights and freedoms and human dignity. A world cannot be considered safe if human rights are trampled upon. It is necessary to focus specifically on strengthening the existing system of obligations of States in the area of human rights and humanitarian co-operation, in particular through the accession of all States to the fundamental international instruments in this field. All States should bring their national legislation and administrative regulations in the humanitarian area into

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conformity with international obligations and norms. It is essential to work out a common approach to the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms - political, civil, social, economic and cultural - on the basis of the generally recognized international instruments in this field.

Agreed international measures to eliminate genocide, racial discrimination and apartheid would contribute to removing acute social evils which tend to erode security in the world. A key area in the molding of comprehensive security is humanitarian interaction and the furthering of co-operation among nations.

The Soviet Union regards the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted by the United Nations on the initiative of the Polish People's Republic, as an important instrument which helps to shape spiritual and moral guarantees of a safe world and to introduce confidence into the practice of international relations.

The establishment of a developed infrastructure of confidence and openness in relations among States is the core of comprehensive security. At present, it is objectively imperative to move over from confidence-building measures in individual areas to a broad policy of confidence permeating all the spheres of contemporary international relations. That is our profound conviction.

An important condition for ensuring confidence is openness and democratization inside and outside the political life of States and the machinery for the elaboration and adoption of major decisions, especially in the military and political spheres.

Guided by the ideas of democratic control over compliance with international agreements, we are in favour of greatly enhancing the role of the public, including the formation, under legislative bodies, of control commissions comprising parliamentarians and public representatives, which would publicly monitor the observance of the obligations arising from international agreements.

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As is stressed in the communiqué of the Prague meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member States, the system of universal security is to function on the basis of the United Nations Charter and within the United Nations framework. The socialist countries favour enhancing the role of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It is necessary that all States provide maximum support in this regard and help to raise the effectiveness of the United Nations and its institutions and to augment their contribution to the resolution of international issues.

We are convinced that there is an urgent need for a United Nations decision that would orient the States and the public towards a broad democratic discussion, on a non-confrontational and constructive basis, of the concept of comprehensive security corresponding to the realities of the nuclear and space age.

As at the forty-first session of the General Assembly, the sponsors of the draft resolution that will be submitted soon will be acting in the spirit of co-operation with all delegations. We are open to any constructive proposals which would help work out and lead to a consensus decision at our present session.

The initiative of the socialist countries on the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security contains considerable creative potential. As was stressed by the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eduard A. Shevardnadze, in his statement at the current session, we regard a comprehensive system of international security as a kind of interim programme for reasserting the role of the United Nations and its Charter as the primary instruments for peace. In other words, we invite a joint search for roads which could lead mankind through the minefield of today into the twenty-first century, into a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

Mr. BIERPING (Denmark): On behalf of the 12 member States of the

European Community, I wish to address items 71, 72 and 73 on our agenda, concerning international security.

More than four decades ago, the Charter of the United Nations laid the groundwork for peace among nations. Built on the ruins that were the tragic result of a devastating world war, the United Nations was established in order to secure peace and security for future generations.

Although refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations was obviously a primary objective for such an endeavour, the prerequisite and, in the last resort, the key to peace and security is co-operation and trust. The acknowledgement and the subsequent realization of this fundamental premise, as embodied in the Charter, may be the most far-reaching consequence of the visionary work done by its original drafters.

However, the drafters also understood that vision had to be tempered with realism. Throughout the history of mankind there has never been a shortage of high-flown ideas and recipes on how the world should be. But the gap between aspiration and reality has often sealed the fate of many good intentions. With this in mind, the drafters concentrated their efforts on providing the basic elements of a safe, secure and civilized world, as reflected in Chapter I of the Charter, on the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Arms control and disarmament have a very important role in the achievement of the goals of the Charter. The prospects for the international security situation a few weeks before the United States-Soviet summit at Washington seem very encouraging.

The United States and the Soviet Union are at present engaged in an intense dialogue covering major issues that affect all people, notably including disarmament, human rights and regional conflicts. The Twelve warmly welcome this

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development. We hope that the summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will lead to constructive progress and concrete results both in the field of arms control and disarmament and in other critical areas in their overall relationship. In our view, it is important to maintain a broad scope for the dialogue, since we know from experience that tangible and durable progress in one area is difficult to achieve if the situation in other areas is not developing in a satisfactory way. On the other hand, it is also obvious that positive results in one area strengthen mutual confidence and thus enhance possibilities of progress in other areas.

The United Nations may not always have lived up to the hopes of its founders. Nevertheless, the Charter sets the standards and goals for which we must all strive and the principles that all Member States have pledged they will strictly observe. Its provisions remain the best basis for maintaining international peace and security, provided that Member States live up to their obligations under the Charter.

One of the basic ingredients of the Charter, and among the most essential of them all, is respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Respect for human rights is an essential factor for international peace. There is no doubt that the record in this regard has often fallen seriously short of expectations. However, the fault lies not in any inadequacy of the Charter of the United Nations, but rather in the unwillingness of many States to see to it that deeds follow words. The Charter imposes on all Member States clear and unequivocal obligations which they should and must live up to. The discrepancy between what some say they do and what they actually do may, in effect, constitute the greatest obstacle to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. When such discrepancies

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exist, it is difficult to lend credence to benevolent statements, however well-intentioned they may sound. The elimination of all violations of the fundamental rights established in the Charter and the international instruments that flow from it is essential for the enhancement of international peace and security.

Ensuring the effective implementation of the fundamental obligations of the Charter should therefore be our essential objective, rather than referring to comprehensive systems, as a group of Member States proposed by introducing agenda item 73. The Twelve are ready to collaborate on ways and means of implementing the security system provided for in the Charter. The Twelve see no need for any other comprehensive system. We are of the opinion that the Charter of the United Nations is sufficient for this purpose and that a reformulation or redefinition, directly or by implication, must be avoided.

One of the fundamental principles of the Charter is the obligation of all Member States to refrain, in their international relations, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The persistence of regional conflicts and foreign interventions and the horrifying phenomenon of terrorism also threaten the fabric of international security and must be tackled collectively and implacably.

In our search for a strengthening of international peace and security, we should not overlook the fact that regional approaches can open up promising avenues. The process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) is an example, and we think a very positive one, of what can be achieved through multilateral co-operation within a regional context. CSCE has played a major role in promoting respect for human rights and furthering confidence and

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security in Europe. The Helsinki, Madrid and Stockholm Conferences have produced substantive and concrete documents. However, compliance with the freely accepted commitments, in particular in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, has largely remained unsatisfactory. The Twelve therefore attach great weight to achieving real progress at the ongoing meeting at Vienna. By progress we mean not only improvement of unsatisfactory or uneven implementation of already existing provisions but also new and substantially improved measures within all main areas of the CSCE process, in particular its human dimension. The Twelve remain committed to working steadfastly for this goal. We also regard the CSCE process as positively influencing the global security situation, and thus as a contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

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The Twelve support and encourage efforts in other parts of the world which can contribute to a lessening of tensions and promote multilateral co-operation in a regional context.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We are encouraged by the unanimity which was achieved in the Council recently with the adoption of resolution 598 (1987). An effective Security Council is essential for the operation of the security system created by the United Nations. We attach great importance to enhancing and strengthening the authority and role of the Security Council and to the necessity of implementing the decisions adopted by that organ, as provided by the Charter. We support the Council and the Secretary-General in their efforts to that end. It remains essential to enable the Council to deal with potential conflicts before they break out into open hostilities.

We should not overlook other, less visible ways in which the United Nations can be used effectively in promoting international peace and security, in particular the Secretary-General's own brand of quiet diplomacy. His patient, sustained and discreet efforts constitute an important element in the process of trying to resolve disputes peacefully. The Twelve would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their endeavours, which have often borne fruit.

The Organization itself is an indispensable forum in which countries, no matter how large or small, can come together on an equal footing to exchange views, bring their problems and seek to settle disputes peacefully in accordance with the Charter. Moreover, the technical and regional bodies and the specialized agencies established under United Nations auspices provide a network through which the purposes and principles of the Charter can be realized in the humanitarian, social, economic and developmental spheres, which are intimately related to the question of security.

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United Nations peace-keeping operations have greatly assisted in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Twelve are strong supporters of those operations, and member States of the European Community have in fact taken part in all but one of the 13 operations that have been mounted over the years. There can be no doubt that peace-keeping has proved an effective instrument in bringing stability to conflict areas and in maintaining the delicate balance of international peace. The Twelve wish to express their appreciation and respect for all those who have taken part, and in some cases given their lives, in United Nations peace-keeping operations. We welcome the increased international interest in this important instrument, which, it is to be hoped, may find wider application.

The Twelve are also interested in further strengthening the ways and means of judicial settlement of international disputes in accordance with the Charter. The Twelve belong to the category of States which, in many different contexts of international co-operation, have accepted binding third-party dispute-settlement procedures, at both the European and the global level.

The rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations go hand in hand with obligations to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. Those obligations are freely entered into and should not be taken lightly. For their part, the Twelve remain prepared to strengthen international peace and security effectively within the framework of the Charter. We are thus ready to consider any proposals to this end in the appropriate United Nations forums.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): The Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted nine years ago by the General Assembly, reflected the tendency, dominant at the time, to develop co-operation and détente. It constituted a confirmation of the political will of States and Governments to seek to reduce tensions and to strengthen international security.

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The 1981 and 1984 reviews of the implementation of that Declaration, notwithstanding the changes obtaining in the international situation, confirmed the important role of the Declaration in alerting public opinion in all countries and in mobilizing consciences, both individually and collectively, in the cause of peace.

The present review also indicates that the tasks formulated in that document not only have not lost their validity but, on the contrary, have grown in importance. Since the adoption of the Declaration, as evidenced by the periodic reviews of its implementation, there has been accumulated a wealth of experience that has broadened and enriched the concept of the preparation of societies for life in peace.

One of the salient features of those reviews has been a conclusion that peace should be approached on many levels and from diverse perspectives. There has been a growing conviction that the elimination of the causes of conflict and threats to peace call not only for active efforts on the part of States and Governments but also for the mobilization of public opinion at large.

In recent years the idea of the preparation of societies for life in peace has entered into international relations as a meaningful component of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, as well as the topic of contacts between societies, in particular between the youth of numerous countries.

As the report of the Secretary-General (A/42/668) rightly states:

"Greater awareness and knowledge of international problems has increased the number of individuals, organizations and institutions capable of contributing to the peace-building process." (A/42/668, para. 68)

Among those which have a role to play are local governments. Many national and international non-governmental organizations and movements are actively involved in the promotion of peace. It is worth noting that the observance of the

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International Year of Peace generated many initiatives from various groups and organizations in favour of peace.

The implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace is an integral part of Poland's foreign policy and a constant element of its international activity on both the bilateral and the multilateral level, especially in the United Nations.

As the Declaration stipulates, inter alia:

"A basic instrument of the maintenance of peace is the elimination of the threat inherent in the arms race, as well as efforts towards general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, including partial measures with that end in view, in accordance with the principles agreed upon within the United Nations and relevant international agreements." (General Assembly resolution 33/72, para. 6)

In keeping with its long-standing tradition, in the period under review Poland has been actively involved in endeavours on the international scene aimed at preserving and consolidating peace. That involvement has manifested itself in numerous disarmament-oriented and security-oriented Polish initiatives, both European and global in scope.

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Among the most important of them are the following: the submission by Wojciech Jaruzelski to the General Assembly at its fortieth session of a proposal to prepare a study under the auspices of the Secretary-General by leading experts of different nationalities, on the various consequences of the militarization of outer space, and we note with satisfaction that these questions are dealt with in the study by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research on disarmament problems related to outer space; a proposal to expand the terms of reference of the Stockholm Conference on Security and Confidence-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to embrace problems of conventional disarmament; an expression of Poland's readiness to act as host, in Warsaw, on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, to representatives of States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to ponder jointly the future of the continent; and the 8 May 1987 presentation in Warsaw by Wojciech Jaruzelski of a plan for decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe.

It is encouraging to note that almost a decade after the adoption of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, the notion of the right of individuals and nations to live in peace is firmly fixed in the conscience of societies as the most basic human rights, transcending all other rights. The Declaration is becoming an important element in building new international relations based on co-operation and on a rejection of confrontation and the arms race.

The joint initiative of the socialist States at the forty-first session of the General Assembly on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security added an important new dimension to that Declaration. The ideas and principles of the Declaration can play a useful role in establishing such a system, which could provide guidelines to all States in fostering peace-oriented

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attitudes among their citizens. We are convinced that the formation of such attitudes and ethical and moral views rejecting armaments, force and violence as a means to attain political ends is an important element of peaceful coexistence in a future world free from war. However, it will be possible to guarantee a peaceful future for mankind only through ceaseless efforts and new initiatives in various fields, not only in the political and military spheres but also in the economic, social and other areas. Hence the importance and timeliness of the initiative of the socialist countries.

Observance of the International Year of Peace provided extremely valuable experience with respect to the idea of preparing societies for life in peace. The process of implementing the programme of observances of the Year helped mobilize public opinion and make societies more keenly aware of threats to peace. As a result it encouraged much greater involvement by individuals and social groups in efforts to promote international peace through co-operation between States and societies and through getting to know one another better.

At the Congress of Intellectuals for a Peaceful Future of the World, held in Warsaw in January 1986, one working group dealt exclusively with questions pertaining to the preparation of societies for life in peace. In its report it noted, among other observations, that the preparation of the younger generation for peace should not be left entirely to school, civic or cultural organizations, but ought also to be the responsibility of the family. It said also that the process of education should serve to foster broadly conceived tolerance and openness to the outside world. It stressed that the basis of each and every endeavour to promote peace and education for peace should be respect for other human beings. The report thus went on to recommend that suitable teaching programmes be formulated and that provision be made, at various levels of the educational system, for education for peace.

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In accordance with resolution 39/157, the Secretary-General convened a panel of experts to discuss the preparation of societies for life in peace. One session of the panel was held at Nieborow, Poland, early in 1986, and another at Osaka, Japan, in autumn 1986. A summary of the in-depth discussions and the comprehensive conclusions unanimously agreed upon by the experts participating in the panel is presented in chapter V of the Secretary-General's report (A/42/668).

In addition, many interesting ideas and conclusions emerged at other international gatherings described in the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Declaration. Their common feature was a search for the means to develop a positive concept of peace and generate action in favour of peace. The importance of the United Nations in providing a forum for sharing ideas and experiences for the attainment of peace was also universally stressed.

We very much agree with the conclusion cited in the report of the Secretary-General that

"the United Nations should work with Member States and the non-governmental community in finding a common orientation capable of encouraging and co-ordinating efforts on various levels for the preparation of societies for life in peace". (A/42/668, para. 70)

The Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace resulted from multifaceted activities; consequently the attainment of its defined aims will be possible only through joint efforts.

The Polish Government is convinced that the ideas contained in the Declaration should be creatively and constructively developed in keeping with the present conditions of United Nations activities. We consider that the following elements are particularly important in the implementation of the Declaration: precise identification of threats to peace, which would constitute a basis for setting up a

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programme to counteract the danger of war, in particular nuclear war, and threats to civilization; creation of a positive vision of peace as the harmonious development of relations between States, nations, groups and individuals; building a comprehensive philosophical system of preparation for life in peace, encompassing moral, social, political, cultural and other aspects.

It is of essential importance for the implementation of those tasks that there be an exchange of experiences between individual States, regarding their achievements both on the governmental level and in more widespread social activities. We consider that certain elements of preparation of societies for life in peace could, to a greater degree than heretofore, become an object of co-operation between various research bodies and non-governmental organizations, especially those involving youth.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I wish to remind members that in conformity with our programme of work and the Committee's timetable the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under draft resolutions 71, 72 and 73 is Friday, 20 November, at 6 p.m. I urge delegations to co-operate by observing that deadline.

As there are no speakers on the list for this afternoon, the afternoon meeting is cancelled.

The following delegations are scheduled to speak at tomorrow morning's meeting: Poland, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Mali, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark speaking on behalf of the 12 members of the European Community, and France.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.