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Chairman: Mr. FAHMY (Egypt) (Vice-Chairman)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Fahmy (Egypt), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 and 73 (continued)

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

Mr. ALMIJAKKAF (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The Mediterranean region is of particular importance, inasmuch as it is considered to be the link between the continents of the old world, Asia, Africa and Europe. It is also the main artery, both on sea and in the air, for international trade, tourism and communications in general. It is the cradle of cultures, religions and civilizations, which developed along its shores, and which made a great contribution to the development and advancement of humanity at large.

However, throughout the ages the area has unfortunately been the focus of avid ambitions of many imperialist rivalries; imperialist forces have aimed at spreading their influence and hegemony over most of the area. That competition and struggle continue to this very day, in many different and more sophisticated shapes and forms. The latest and most acute have involved acts of provocation by outside imperialist, racist Powers, which are following a policy of force, aggression, occupation and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and are acquiring land by force.

The Mediterranean region, especially the Arab Palestinian part on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, has been blighted by the intrusion of a Zionist, racist régime, supported militarily and politically by certain major Powers and based on a policy of repression, terror, killing, displacement, expansion, the occupation of the land of others by force, and the establishment of yet more settlements. It has deprived the Palestinian Arab of enjoying its inalienable

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right to self-determination, a right that has been reaffirmed by the international community in many resolutions of the United Nations. Furthermore, that racist régime possesses and is developing a nuclear capability and delivery systems, made possible through the co-operation with the racist Pretoria régime, co-operation that has been condemned time and again. It is therefore a real threat to the peace and security of the peoples of the Mediterranean and large parts of Africa, Asia and Europe. It is the most serious obstacle to international efforts to consolidate peace and security and co-operation in the area, as well as to efforts to limit and eventually prohibit nuclear arms, to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, and to consolidate disarmament in general.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Zionist racist régime is exploiting the Mediterranean region as a testing-ground for nuclear-weapon delivery systems. The latest example was on 14 June this year, when it test-fired an intermediate-range missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads, which fell near the northern shores of my country, just off Benghazi, threatening my country's security and safety as well as peace and security in the region as a whole.

More than at any time in the past, the international community is called upon to take all the measures necessary to put an end to all forms of co-operation with the Zionist entity, especially on the part of certain major Powers that possess a nuclear capability, in order to make the racist entity comply with the international will, which wishes to transform the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and to make the Middle East a non-nuclear-weapon zone.

Mr. ZIPFURI (Israel): Mr. Chairman, when the representative of Libya refers to Israel, will you ask him, please, to refer to it by its proper name?

The CHAIRMAN: This issue has come up in several meetings of the Committee, and I would urge all delegations in making their statements to take into account the fact that we are trying to expedite our work in an effective manner.

Mr. ALMUAKKAF (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): There is also an international desire to make the Mediterranean region a zone of peace and co-operation. Therefore, there is a need for countries to become parties to the non-proliferation Treaty and to comply with United Nations resolutions, especially General Assembly resolution 43/65 and Security Council resolution 487 (1981), both of which call upon the Zionist entity to place all its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

Because of the region's strategic importance, the situation there is as dangerous as that in any other part of the world. It is an area coveted by many outside colonialist countries. Foreign military fleets and foreign military bases in the region continue to be a threat to the peace and security of my country and of the Mediterranean and neighbouring areas. They cause instability in this vital part of the world. Those bases and fleets have often been used for threats, acts of provocation and direct or indirect aggression against our peoples. The people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has been and still is exposed to continuous provocations and threats. Our airspace and territorial waters have been violated as a result of military and naval manoeuvres held close to our borders in a blatant attempt to interfere in our internal affairs and to deprive us of our sovereign rights on our own territories. These violations of the Jamahiriya's sovereignty and territorial integrity impede all efforts to consolidate peace and security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. They also threaten international peace and security.

The situation in the Mediterranean is further aggravated by the presence of military bases in some of the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean and of

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foreign fleets in their waters. It is also aggravated by the stationing of nuclear and non-nuclear missiles and the stockpiling of conventional weapons in those countries. These acts constitute a growing danger to the other Mediterranean countries.

The Jamahiriya has been the victim of a number of direct military attacks aimed at destroying our civilian areas, killing our innocent people and liquidating our leader, under flimsy pretexts, the falseness of which has become clear to all. The purpose of those attacks was clearly to prevent the Jamahiriya from following a free, independent, non-aligned policy in support of liberation movements in the struggle for freedom and independence. The latest attempt was the downing of two Libyan reconnaissance planes in the Mediterranean last January.

Furthermore, the intensification of the foreign military presence and foreign military manoeuvres has hindered civilian activities, such as civil aviation, mining and off-shore fishing. It has involved the jamming of communications and the obstruction of international trade.

The Jamahiriya, whose shoreline stretches more than 2,000 kilometres along the southern Mediterranean, pays the utmost attention to the question of peace, security and co-operation in the region. In this context, my country calls on the international community to shoulder its responsibility and to take appropriate, effective measures to enable the Arab Palestinian people to return to its land and enjoy all its legitimate, inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of the State of Palestine on the whole of the Palestinian territory.

We reaffirm our full solidarity with the people of Lebanon and our support for all efforts to strengthen Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty on all Lebanese soil, in accordance with the decisions of the Extraordinary Arab Summit Conference held in Casablanca on the question of Lebanon.

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We reaffirm our support for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, for its territorial integrity and for its non-aligned status. We welcome all international and regional efforts to consolidate security and co-operation in that area and to lower tension with a view to preserving the independence of the countries of the region and preventing intervention in their internal affairs.

We have supported initiatives by non-aligned countries of the region, including the final communiqué of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Mediterranean region held at Valletta in September 1984, which called upon all countries to refrain from using arms, bases and other military facilities against non-aligned countries of the region.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya also participated in the conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in June 1987, which resulted in several initiatives on fostering comprehensive and equitable co-operation among the countries of the Mediterranean basin.

My country renews its call for a conference of non-aligned countries and European countries with a coastline on the Mediterranean to adopt an international convention on collective measures and provisions to protect and safeguard the Mediterranean and strengthen the security and safety of Mediterranean States, calling for a ban on military manoeuvres by foreign fleets; the removal of such fleets and military bases from the Mediterranean and its transformation into an exclusive economic zone for the benefit of coastal States; encouragement of co-operation in all forms among those countries; and declaration of the area as a denuclearized zone. We welcome the meeting of Mediterranean non-aligned countries scheduled to take place in Algeria early next year.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports Soviet proposals to reduce confrontation and build confidence in the Mediterranean in the military sphere. We call for the

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withdrawal from the Mediterranean of Soviet and United States naval forces and all vessels carrying nuclear weapons. We call also for a halt to the development of nuclear weapons in Mediterranean countries and a reduction in the level of armed forces, especially naval forces, in the region. Military activities and the arms build-up in the region should cease. The Soviet and United States naval forces in the region should be kept at their present level and a limit should be set for these forces.

We consider that military manoeuvres and activities contradict all that is declared and published about international détente. The mobilization of and manoeuvres by naval forces in the Mediterranean do not serve international peace and security. They turn the Mediterranean into an area of tension and international conflict, and run counter to the call for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a lake of peace, co-operation and security.

As a Mediterranean State, we call on all peace-loving countries to make every effort to put an end to all such manoeuvres and to intervention in the internal affairs of States. We call on all of them to strive to transform the Mediterranean Sea into a lake of peace.

With a view to co-operating with other Mediterranean countries to consolidate peace and co-operation, my country maintains special strong relations with Malta and friendly relations with countries on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Moreover, along with other North African countries, we have established the Arab Maghreb Union as an effective contribution to peace, stability and co-operation in the area.

My country supports all previous General Assembly resolutions on this subject, and reaffirms the importance of the role of the United Nations in consolidating

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peace and security in the Mediterranean and transforming the region into a zone of security, co-operation and peace.

Mr. PHETSAVANH (Lao People's Democratic Republic): Peace, security and the survival of mankind can never be ensured by stockpiling weapons and by the arms race. States and peoples can only live in peace and harmony through peaceful coexistence, a return to détente, disarmament, the building of mutual confidence and trust and the development of international co-operation based on justice and equality. This requires pooling the efforts of the entire international community, with all countries without exception contributing to the goal. In that perspective, all efforts to curb the arms race, in conventional as well as nuclear terms, and to reduce existing stockpiles deserve our strong encouragement.

In present-day world politics, the pressing question - mankind's most crucial problem involving life and the whole future of international affairs - is the prevention of nuclear war. The sad memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is ever-present as a reminder of that. In that connection, it behoves the international community to intensify its efforts to bring about the cessation of the nuclear-arms race, and nuclear disarmament.

Almost 19 years ago the General Assembly adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The Declaration, to which we all attach paramount importance, was considered a historic landmark for our world Organization on the path towards the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of international security. A review of this important issue was a justified undertaking that has made it possible for the international community to evaluate what has been achieved and what is still required in order to identify the necessary tasks that lie ahead.

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In that context, we must take into account the positive events of past years in international relations, which have laid down the basis for détente and co-operation in many fields among States with differing social and political systems. Those events include: the holding of three special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; the signing of the Helsinki Final Act followed by the 1986 Stockholm Conference, establishing the basis for détente and co-operation in Europe; the signing of the Vienna agreement on strategic-arms limitation (SALT II); the adoption of the Declaration on Friendly Relations among States, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament; and the summit meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, which led to the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles.

However, while recognizing those positive events, we note that international relations are still beset by complexities and contradictions. We continue to see large-scale stockpiling and modernization of weapons, continuing nuclear-weapons tests and research into the militarization of space. These are of grave concern to us all. The concept of nuclear deterrence reaffirmed by certain great Powers at a time when all our energies are being channelled into building a non-violent world free from nuclear weapon is a threat to the interests and security of all peoples and nations of the world. It should be noted, moreover, that in certain regions conflicts that have lasted for decades have not been resolved satisfactorily; indeed, they are becoming even more convoluted and tragic. Military bases are not being dismantled, and they continue to threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

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We are happy to note that the peace process has been under way in Namibia, where its people, who waged a decades-long struggle for self-determination and independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), won a historic victory in the recent elections. We are looking forward to welcoming the new independent State of Namibia as the 160th member of the world body.

In Central America and the Caribbean the problems of the region can and must be solved without outside interference through political means, which precludes intervention, threat and pressure and the policy of State terrorism. We highly appreciate the efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group and their contribution to peace. The Guatemala Agreement of 7 August 1987 and the ensuing Tela Agreement of August 1989 between the Central American Presidents testify to the will of the peoples of the region to reach a peaceful settlement of their conflicts without external interference.

A just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation can be attained only through the collective efforts of all parties concerned and on the basis of the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, of the exercise of the lawful rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and national independence and of the guaranteeing of the rights of all States of the region to independent existence and development. To that end we fully support the idea of convening the International Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the five permanent members of the Security Council and other States in the region.

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The situation in Afghanistan continues to be a source of concern to us, notwithstanding the successful conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in April 1988 and the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. We greatly appreciate the strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan. Regrettably, other signatories have not honoured their commitments. We reaffirm our support for the policy of national reconciliation consistently pursued by the Afghan Government. The Afghan question cannot be settled by military means, and only through true and sincere dialogue among all Afghans will peace be restored in that martyred country.

As a small and least-developed country that for many years suffered the disastrous effects of the war of aggression, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is strongly in favour of peace and disarmament. Together with other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the socialist countries and other peace-loving and justice-loving forces throughout the world, we have worked steadfastly in that direction. We act in that way in the firm conviction that international peace and security can be ensured in a lasting fashion only in a disarmed world. We call for positive measures to be taken to clear the way towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control in order to meet the profound desire for peace and security of the peoples of the world.

We highly commend the sincere efforts of the socialist countries, the countries members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other peace-loving countries the world over that have worked resolutely to put a halt to the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. As reflected in the communiqués issued by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Bucharest on 7 and 8 July 1989 and by the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw

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Treaty held at Warsaw on 26 and 27 October last, the countries members of the Warsaw Pact, which pursue the policies of détente and strengthening of international peace and security, have yet again shown their will and determination to consolidate international security, to strengthen détente and to reduce the danger of war, both in Europe and throughout the world.

We also welcome efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to conclude at the earliest possible date a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of their respective strategic armaments. Such a conclusion would certainly constitute a milestone in the noble efforts being exerted by all in favour of disarmament.

Political détente should be complemented by a relaxation in the military sphere. That calls for the reduction of military budgets, nuclear disarmament and the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and the naval arms race, as well as for the elimination of chemical weapons and of foreign military bases.

We reaffirm our support for the proposals put forward by the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other countries of that region on establishing a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in Central Europe and on making the Balkan peninsula a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

We welcome the agreement reached in Wyoming by the Soviet Union and the United States on chemical weapons, which will facilitate the adoption of a convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the production of such weapons and on their elimination.

We also reaffirm our support for the proposal to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone of peace, free of any foreign military base. My delegation is of the view that, taking into account the profound aspirations of the coastal peoples to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the conference that was

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unwisely postponed should be held not later than 1990, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the United Nations, in the interests of peace and stability in the area.

Pursuant to its foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment, the Lao People's Democratic Republic favours the building of relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, irrespective of social and political systems, on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and of mutual interest and of non-interference in the internal affairs of others. In the United Nations framework we have contributed our utmost to activities geared to making the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security a reality.

Positive developments in the international climate in recent years have continued to favour peace, and we are thus encouraged further to improve inter-State relations and, in particular, relations between the major countries that have a determining role in reducing the danger of war and confrontation. In this respect we fully endorse the joint proposal of the Soviet Union and the United States on enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that that does represent an important joint effort for ensuring peace, stability and a better future for humankind.

We continue to extend our unreserved support to the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among States in Asia and the Pacific and to the proposal by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

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Democratic Republic)

We totally support the Treaty of Rarotonga concluded by the South Pacific States on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in that region. The Soviet Union and China have joined in the ratification of the protocols to it. We are of the view that the initiatives on turning South-East Asia into a nuclear-free zone respond favourably to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region. However, it is regrettable that while efforts are being made to fulfil those objectives the intention of certain quarters in the region to open foreign military bases persists, thereby causing serious concern to all countries in South-East Asia.

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The situation in South-East Asia - particularly the Kampuchean question - is one of the main focuses of international public opinion. The recent International Conference on Cambodia held in Paris made a positive contribution to efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement. With the total withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia last September, now generally recognized by Western sources, the first key issue has been solved. Due attention must now be given to the second key issue: the prevention of the return to power of the genocidal Pol Pot régime and the cessation of foreign assistance and arms supply to the Cambodian parties in order to avert civil war, as agreed upon at the Jakarta Informal Meetings. The Lao Government supports all international efforts to promote and achieve national reconciliation and to build an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Cambodia.

We feel some gratification at all the efforts being made by the international community to ensure the total and unconditional application of the principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, as well as those on which it was based, that is, the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations among which are the principle of the sovereign equality of all States, the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes among States, the principle of non-recourse to the threat or use of force against the integrity or the political independence of States and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the commitment of our Government to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and to those principles contained in the many declarations adopted by the Organization dealing with the safeguarding of international peace and security and the promotion of co-operation and peaceful co-existence among all peoples.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Today, as we once again meet to consider the question of international security, we are glad to note that the international situation is moving from confrontation to dialogue and from tension to relaxation. Over the past year the international community has made great efforts and scored fresh achievements in striving for the settlement of regional conflicts, promoting the disarmament process and reducing the danger of war. In the area of disarmament, the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - is being implemented. Conventional disarmament in Europe, deadlocked for many years, has taken a promising turn. Efforts aimed at the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons are making gradual progress. Some countries have taken unilateral disarmament initiatives. Progress of varying degrees has also been made in the settlement of regional hot spot issues. Of late, the Namibian general election under United Nations supervision has been completed, which gives a new push to the decolonization process throughout the African continent and marks yet another gratifying change in the international situation.

The improvement in the world situation does not make it trouble free, and many problems still await solution. As far as disarmament is concerned, even if the United States and the Soviet Union have destroyed all their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles there is still the question of reducing their strategic nuclear weapons and other types of weapons. Regional hot-spot issues have not been resolved. There are still many difficulties to overcome as we seek a fair and reasonable solution to regional conflicts such as those in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America. The economic situation of the developing countries keeps deteriorating, with the debt burden increasingly

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heavy and the gap between the North and South further widening. All this cannot but make people worry. Some international contradictions even appear to have sharpened as a result of violation of the universally recognized norms governing international relations. In State-to-State relations, attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries through various means are still quite evident, which oftentimes leads to strains in those relations. These phenomena indicate that the factors causing turbulence and tension in the world are still in place, which has made achieving and safeguarding international peace and security a major question of universal concern.

In international affairs, China adheres to an independent foreign policy of peace. It has consistently committed itself to maintaining world peace and security, promoting common development and pushing for human progress. The Chinese delegation believes that in order to safeguard international peace and security in the present situation, the international community must make arduous efforts and, in particular, take effective measures in the following areas.

First, the disarmament process must be accelerated and the arms race stopped. Disarmament bears directly on the peace and security of all countries. In order to ensure international peace and security, no country should seek armament in excess of its defence needs.

In view of the actual situation in the world's armament and arms race, the two super-Powers, which possess the largest nuclear, conventional and chemical arsenals, must truly assume their special responsibilities for disarmament; immediately stop their arms race in all areas, including competition in the qualitative area; conduct serious negotiations; take the lead in adopting disarmament measures; and reach early agreements between themselves without

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prejudicing the interests of other countries. Europe, the scene of confrontation between the two military alliances and a high concentration of armaments, is the focal point for conventional disarmament. The European countries, especially the members of the two military alliances, should speed up negotiations and move forward the process of conventional disarmament. The armaments of all countries should be used only for self-defence and not for armed invasion and intervention against other countries. The role of the United Nations and other multilateral disarmament agencies in the disarmament field should be strengthened. Multilateral, bilateral and regional disarmament efforts should complement and promote one another. At present, it is particularly necessary to guard against the tendency to play down the importance of multilateral disarmament efforts.

Secondly, there must be a fair and reasonable settlement of regional conflicts and the elimination of regional hot spots. Peace is indivisible. Regional conflicts have affected world peace and security, inflicting, in particular, direct damage on a large number of third world countries. None of the outstanding hot-spot issues has been finally resolved, while the possibility of new ones cropping up still exists. Although the trend of relaxation continues to develop, twists and turns along the way cannot be excluded, against which a high degree of vigilance is still called for. We maintain that contradictions and disputes among States are unavoidable, but the important thing is to handle them properly.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

We have always supported settling international disputes through peaceful negotiations, and have opposed the use or threat of the use of force. We are opposed to armed invasion and military occupation of one country by another, and disapprove of stationing troops and establishing military installations in foreign countries. As a third world country and also a permanent member of the Security Council, China is naturally concerned about regional hot-spot issues. The Chinese Government will, as always, continue to play a constructive role in bringing about a fair and reasonable political settlement to such problems.

Thirdly, State-to-State relations must be handled properly in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Over the past year or so, many countries have, to varying degrees, improved their relations with one another, which is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security. However, facts have proved that hegemonism and power politics are not yet abolished, but manifest themselves from time to time. Phenomena of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak, countries interfering in the internal affairs of others, imposing their own will on others and even violating other countries' sovereignty with military force and undermining their territorial integrity, are still taking place frequently in international relations. If these practices are not stopped, our world will not enjoy tranquillity, nor will there be assurance of international peace and security.

The world is home to numerous countries which have different social systems, ideologies, values, historical backgrounds, cultural heritages and religious beliefs. This requires that all countries take a realistic attitude in their contacts with one another, recognize the diversity of the world and observe the mutually acceptable norms governing international relations.

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In the early days after its founding, China, together with some of its Asian neighbours, initiated the five principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. These five principles have won broad endorsement internationally. China stands for the establishment of a new international political order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, because they epitomize the fundamental norms governing international relations, reflect the essential characteristics of a new set of genuinely just and rational international relations and are in full accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

We are convinced that so long as the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence are strictly observed in the conduct of State-to-State relations, the following goals will be achievable: all countries in the world, irrespective of size, social systems and ideologies, will be treated as equals; no country will try to impose its will on others and seek hegemony; the internal affairs of a country will be handled by itself; and the common affairs of the world will be dealt with by all countries through peaceful means. Such a world will accord with the interests and aspirations of the people of all countries.

Fourthly, a new international economic order must be established. This is necessary for the sound economic development and common progress of all countries, and would also be conducive to removing non-military threats to international peace and security. The developing countries have long suffered deeply from inequitable exchanges as a result of irrational international economic relations. In recent years their terms of trade have continued to worsen and their debt burden has become even heavier. Moreover, the phenomenon of reverse capital flow from the poor countries to the rich ones continues unabated. These tendencies, if allowed

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to develop unchecked, will bring more serious consequences for the developed and developing countries alike.

Peace and security are inseparable from development. Failure to solve the problems of debt, trade, capital and finance faced by the developing countries and to rid the Earth of poverty and backwardness will make it difficult completely to eliminate turbulence and instability in the world and will adversely affect international peace and security. We therefore advocate the promotion of the establishment of a new international economic order so as to facilitate the common development of all countries. It is now imperative to hold a new round of the substantive North-South dialogue. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly scheduled for next year will arrive at a new common understanding and formulate sound guiding principles on future international economic co-operation, especially on the promotion of economic development in the developing countries.

We maintain that in international economic relations the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence should also be observed, because a country's economic problems should be addressed only by its own Government and people, with appropriate policies adopted in the light of its own national conditions. Economic contacts between States should help promote their friendly co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, instead of being used as a means to exert pressure on or interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Any attempt to impose a specific economic system or a development model on others while interfering with the economic policies and development efforts of the developing countries runs counter to the norms of international relations and the tide of history. It will not work in practice in any way.

We are happy to note that in recent years the United Nations has played an increasingly important role in maintaining international peace and security. The

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international community expects that this role will be further strengthened. We are of the view that, while all countries should respect the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the permanent members of the Security Council should take the lead with concrete actions and do their utmost to fulfil their responsibilities for ensuring international peace and security. China is ready, together with other Member States, to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and endeavour to strengthen the United Nations role in safeguarding international peace and security.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): As a Mediterranean, non-aligned and European country, Yugoslavia has been following developments in the broader area of the Mediterranean with great attention and interest. The importance for international peace and security of this region, in which, as they are nowhere else in the world, various civilizations and different political interests, not only of littoral States, but also of outside Powers, are reflected, is very well known.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

In the past two years we have witnessed important positive changes in the development of international relations, characterized by the relaxation of tension in relations between the super-Powers, an orientation towards dialogue and negotiation, and the commencement of the process of solving a number of hotbeds of crisis that have burdened the world situation for decades. In that context, there are encouraging signs of movement in the direction of the political solution of some long-standing problems in the Mediterranean region as well. It is our deep conviction that only through dialogue and negotiation will it be possible to remove the sources of tension and instability in the region.

However, the general situation in the Mediterranean region continues to be burdened by contradictions, conflicts and mistrust as a result of the burdensome legacy of the past. In that regard, the general improvement in the state of affairs of international relations has not as yet been fully reflected in the overall situation in the Mediterranean region. We have in mind particularly the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the complex situation in Lebanon. The delicate situation in the region continues to be burdened by attempts to deny, from a position of force and through interference, the right of self-determination and independence of some peoples and countries in the region.

For its part, Yugoslavia has always pointed out the untenability of attempts to use existing hotbeds of crisis and the opposed interests of individual countries of the region as a pretext for interference by foreign factors.

The strengthening and promotion of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region naturally represents an integral part of Yugoslavia's policy in the region. Together with other non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean region, we have sought over a number of years to make a concerted constructive contribution to

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the alleviation and overcoming of potential sources of crisis and instability in the region and to the initiation of a peaceful process of co-operation. Those efforts are directed at reducing rivalries and at gradually opening prospects for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation.

At their recent Conference in Belgrade, Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries reiterated the position of non-aligned countries and the concrete actions initiated by them at their ministerial meetings held at Valletta, Malta, in 1984 and at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in 1988. There is no doubt that the next ministerial meeting of non-aligned countries of the region, due to take place in Algiers in 1990, will provide fresh impetus for the improvement of the general atmosphere, in the direction of a peaceful solution of conflicts that burden the situation in the region, as well as the development of equitable and substantial co-operation among the countries of the region as the basic precondition for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a region of peace and co-operation.

That certainly implies the need for co-operation among all Mediterranean countries. In that regard, Yugoslavia is in favour of establishing an ongoing dialogue between non-aligned and European countries of the Mediterranean, particularly in those fields in which common interests and real possibilities exist. Such co-operation would contribute to strengthening stability not only in the Mediterranean, but also in Europe, which in respect of its security, economy, ecology and so forth is closely linked to the Mediterranean region.

We hope the follow-up meeting on the Mediterranean in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Palma de Mallorca to consider ways and means of further enhancing various aspects of co-operation, will contribute to the strengthening of confidence and security in the region. We

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are convinced that a more active approach by all countries of the region, as well as by extraregional forces and factors, will open new prospects for gradually overcoming existing problems and spreading overall co-operation.

We also hope that the forthcoming summit between the United States and the USSR, to take place on the waters of the Mediterranean, will contribute to that course of events.

History has shown that existing problems and contradictions in the region cannot be solved from a position of partial one-sided interests - that is, from a position of force - with an ambition to influence the sensitive balance in the region. To gain lasting momentum, the process of the relaxation of tension must proceed on the basis of respect for the authentic interests of the peoples and countries of the region and their aspiration to decide on their destiny freely and independently. Here we have particularly in mind the situation in the occupied territories. The two-year-long uprising of the Palestinian people, the intifadah, was clearly demonstrated the untenability of the existing state of affairs and the urgent need to invest efforts in finding a lasting and just solution to the problem. The historic decision of the Palestine National Council, taken in Algiers, and the unanimous support at the forty-third session of the General Assembly for the early convening of an international conference have opened the way to substantive efforts in that direction.

Yugoslavia has been following with great attention the efforts to alleviate and overcome the years-long crisis in Lebanon, efforts which came to fruition in the Taef agreement reached as a result of tireless efforts by the tripartite committee of the Arab League. We sincerely hope that despite the brutal criminal assassination of the President, Mr. René Moawad, which was met with the broadest international condemnation, the process of implementing the Taef agreement will

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continue. In our opinion, that is the only way to achieve Lebanon's national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity after years of conflict and division.

We hope also that the interested parties will demonstrate the necessary political will to enable speedy overcoming of the impasse in the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities in the solution of the problem of Cyprus. In that connection we fully support the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Camillon, for a lasting solution of the question.

Yugoslavia welcomes the achievement of consensus at the current session of the General Assembly based on documents of the Belgrade summit in connection with the problem of Western Sahara. We sincerely believe this will contribute to the creation of conditions for holding a referendum among the people of Western Sahara and to the strengthening of the initial process of co-operation among Maghreb countries, which we see as an important factor in the consolidation of peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

I should like finally to stress our satisfaction at the positive reception accorded by the Mediterranean countries of Europe to individual initiatives by non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean. We believe it would be very useful if this were translated into concrete projects of interest to all the countries of the region. Here we have in mind the possibilities that exist for co-operation in the fields of protection of the environment, the economy, science and technology, tourism, culture, the arts and sports. The non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean have already achieved certain results in their mutual co-operation in those fields. Along those lines the Adriatic Initiative was launched by the Governments of Italy and Yugoslavia; we believe this will contribute to an

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improvement in the overall atmosphere in the region. Yugoslavia also expects a full contribution, support and further involvement by the United Nations in the field of the promotion of peace and security in the region.

In that connection, we continue to stand resolutely by our position that the countries of the region should be left to decide existing disputes and find new ways of co-operation on the basis of their authentic interests and the principles of the United Nations Charter, in order to enable the Mediterranean to be transformed into a region of peace and security.

Mr. MAKSIMOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation

from Russian): The United Nations is the mirror of a changing world, but it is a mirror that can also alter the appearance of the objects it reflects. The United Nations has felt the effects of favourable changes in the international climate, and it must now strengthen and develop those changes through interaction among its Member States which, together, create what is known as "United" Nations.

The General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was a landmark in the life of the international community. The humanistic principles for the development of international relations in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter that are contained in that Declaration retain their full force today. Indeed, they are taking on ever-greater resonance in the new circumstances in which international relations are being enhanced by positive changes in which mankind is moving away from the protected régime of the cold war, based on confrontation and military force, and towards a world based on agreement among States, on a balance of interests and on co-operation in solving bilateral and global problems.

A massive change has been effected - as we read in the Secretary-General's annual report - the roots of which are to be found in recognition of the fact that to guarantee long-term solutions to international problems it is essential that such solutions be based on the generally recognized principles of the Charter. Today there is a need for us to seek new ways in which mankind can proceed through co-operation and mutual understanding based on present-day realities. It is only through the collective decision and joint efforts of all the members of the international community that we can find answers to the questions how to eliminate the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war, how to put an end to the arms race, how to overcome economic backwardness, how to save the environment, how to provide

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mankind with reliable sources of energy and food, how to overcome deadly epidemics, terrorism and the spread of drugs.

In this connection the United Nations has a prime role to play, established as it was to guarantee equitable interaction among all States in conditions of peace and co-operation. Consideration of the item on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security affords us an opportunity not only to assess today's trends but also to determine methods for resolving the most important problems facing the international community. With the new political thinking, positive changes have been occurring on the international scene, and the United Nations can and must be a forum to which States can turn with their security problems, a forum where they can combine their efforts to seek optimal solutions to emerging problems, whether in the military and political sphere, in the economic, scientific and technological spheres, or in the ecological, humanitarian or any other spheres.

Thus, decisive emphasis must be placed on the full confirmation and intensification of the universal rule of law and on upholding the primacy of international law in the political world, accompanied by steadfast respect for the principle of the freedom of socio-political choice and the de-ideologization and humanization of inter-State relations.

There can be no doubt that the cardinal element in the strengthening of security resides in measures of real disarmament. In that connection we cannot overemphasize the significance of the first agreement in history on the actual elimination of a whole category of nuclear weapons, the Soviet and American intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, as well as the holding of substantive negotiations between those countries on a 50 per cent reduction in their strategic offensive weapons. Another landmark was the inauguration at Vienna

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of broad negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. Now it is important to ensure that those positive processes become irreversible and continue to move steadily towards the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of nuclear arsenals, on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. Generally speaking, we note that in the field of disarmament there is serious evidence of a positive response by various groups of States. In many ways that is directly connected to the emergence of the new political thinking.

It is important to ensure a real change to a truly defensive security concept and a concomitant restructuring of armed forces and to move away from confrontation between military and political alliances and towards mutual interaction to ensure global security. A concrete proposal in that connection was contained in the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Byelorussian SSR, Mr. Gurinovich, in the First Committee on 31 October of this year.

Great importance is attached to the Soviet-American dialogue in the solution of pressing international problems. That is why we agree with the view expressed here that the forthcoming meeting between the President of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, and President George Bush of the United States will prove to be a major political event as regards the further development and enhancement of the positive trends that have grown stronger in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in recent years, with such a favourable effect on the general warming of the political climate.

Recent years have seen a significant positive shift in the settlement of regional conflicts. In that connection the improvement in the international climate has played a major role. We have seen a movement away from old stereotypes and a tendency to downplay ideology in solving regional problems. The latest

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example of this, and of the growing role of the United Nations, is the process of implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) calling for the granting of independence to Namibia and the holding in Namibia, under United Nations auspices, of free and democratic elections.

It is essential that such efforts be further intensified and that the capabilities of the United Nations be used to the full. United Nations peace-keeping operations are an important component of such efforts. The conduct of such efforts in various parts of the world confirms their effectiveness and provides the United Nations with an opportunity to play the role of a true international centre in both the settlement and the prevention of armed conflicts. We advocate the development of such operations and the improvement of their actual practice. In our opinion, it would be a good idea to begin work on giving practical expression to certain proposals, particularly by the Secretary-General, calling for the establishment of a multilateral centre for the prevention of nuclear and military threats and, eventually, a system of centres, including regional centres. As a practical beginning in that direction, the establishment of such centres would be an important step away from crisis diplomacy and towards preventive diplomacy.

In that connection we view as important the provisions in the Soviet memorandum, "Strengthening of the preventive functions of the United Nations" (A/44/602). The strengthening and development of the role of the United Nations is directly linked with the need to enhance the effectiveness of its principal organs, particularly the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the office of the Secretary-General.

A fuller use of the capacities and potential of the General Assembly could be fostered by the renewal and upgrading of the methods and manner of its work and by

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strengthening the impact of its resolutions and decisions, particularly those adopted by consensus, as well as by improving the situation with regard to the implementation of General Assembly resolutions.

It is also important to strive for closer co-operation among the permanent members of the Security Council and to intensify the Council's mechanism for formal and informal consultations between it and the parties concerned, with the participation of the Secretary-General. A positive role can also be played by periodic meetings of the Council at the foreign-minister level during the work of the General Assembly or on the eve of its annual sessions. There is also a need to enhance the role of the Secretary-General in matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security.

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My delegation shares the view that in the settlement of international disputes broader use should be made of the capacities of the International Court of Justice. Confirmation of the importance the Byelorussian SSR attaches to the growing role being played by the International Court in upholding the primacy of law in politics is the fact that this year the Byelorussian SSR has recognized the mandatory jurisdiction of the International Court on six conventions in the sphere of human rights and ratified the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The problem of providing for reliable world security cannot, of course, be resolved at a single stroke. Protracted efforts are required to that end, making it possible for us to move ahead gradually but purposefully towards that goal. It is essential to make real progress in all spheres, however, without making any conditional links between them. Moving ahead in one sphere of course can have an objectively favourable impact on solutions in others.

An important phase in this process is the Soviet-American initiative on the strengthening of international peace and security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter. The unanimously adopted resolution on the question, of which the Byelorussian SSR was a sponsor, is evidence of the consolidation of the desire of the international community to strengthen the role of the United Nations in these questions and to set up a new world order based on co-operation between States in the solution of all matters pertaining to international peace and security.

The positive developments in Europe and in the world as a whole further emphasize the need to complete similar processes in the Mediterranean region. The position and proposal of the Byelorussian SSR on the question of security and co-operation in that region is set forth in our reply, document A/44/676. We

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believe that the initiatives of the Soviet Union, Malta, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, Spain and other countries should be given thorough and constructive consideration at a meeting of the representatives of Mediterranean and other interested countries.

Many delegations have already emphasized the progress achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. For the full implementation of its provisions and principles there is need for further efforts by the whole international community and the United Nations.

Mrs. TOURE (Mali) (interpretation from French): For some time now the international community has been witnessing positive changes in international relations. The cold war which has pervaded East-West relations has given way to fruitful dialogue and consultation. The Chairman of the Committee noted this during the closing of the debates on questions relating to disarmament.

Should we, then, conclude that the factors which prevailed almost 20 years ago, when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, have completely disappeared? Should we also say that the humanitarian principles set forth in the Declaration, which should serve as a code of conduct in the development of international relations with strict observance of the United Nations Charter, are accepted and being followed by all Member States? Should we also believe that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), on the prompt granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, is being implemented in all its provisions by all States?

Can we also say that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid have disappeared? Are the arms race and the danger of nuclear war but a sad memory? Are the new international economic order, the protection of the environment and guaranteed sufficient food for all mankind assured? Can we, finally, say that the spread of fatal endemic illnesses, the underlying causes of infant mortality and drug trafficking have been stopped?

(Mrs. Touré, Mali)

Unfortunately, these questions have not met with appropriate responses, and that explains the renewed interest of the General Assembly in questions relating to international peace and security. The delegation of Mali believes that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is an important instrument, implementation of which by all Member States would help the United Nations as it resolutely moves towards the realization of the most important objectives of the Charter - the establishment and maintenance of a climate of international peace and security.

Despite the détente which characterizes international political relations, the overall picture remains bleak in many parts of the world and thus there arise breaches of international peace and security. A year ago, during the general debate on this item, my delegation expressed its faith in the Organization. We repeat that faith here today, and forcefully, because only the strengthening of the role of the United Nations will enable it to ensure a climate which might lead to fulfilment of all human values and thus guarantee world security. The operation of the main organs of the United Nations, particularly the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, is important. They have not been sufficiently used. Their role can be, and should be, enhanced. It is also important for Member States fully to implement resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

Mali welcomes the developments in East-West relations after the Reykjavik meeting and those held in Washington, Geneva and Moscow, which have led to the achievement of positive results in Soviet-American nuclear disarmament. Mali is convinced that disarmament is the best way to strengthen international peace and security. We thus fully share in the steps taken by the Non-Aligned Movement towards general and complete disarmament, as also the obligation of all States to

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respect the various Declarations and Conventions adopted by the General Assembly or concluded under the auspices of the United Nations on the denuclearization of certain zones, notably in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security also entails respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and observance of international law. My delegation notes with regret that these rights are denied to the black majority of South Africa and to the peoples of Palestine, both victims of the pre-eminence of might over right. It is more important than ever that the United Nations use its full authority under the Charter to bring the destabilizing, racist minority régime of South Africa to heed the unanimous will of the international community and abolish the system of apartheid. The United Nations, the primary body accountable to history for the question of Palestine, should quickly find a just and lasting solution to the tragedy of the Palestinian people which, for more than 40 years, has been denied its most basic rights. My delegation believes that the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council should serve as the basis for a settlement of that question. In this connection Mali supports the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

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At this point I wish on behalf of my delegation to pay tribute to the efforts made by the United Nations, and particularly by the Secretary-General, to end the illegal occupation of Namibia. My delegation has no doubt that those efforts will soon be brought to a successful conclusion, permitting Namibia to take its place in our Organization. My delegation would also like to stress the importance of the peace-keeping operations, and commends the courageous and effective action of the peace-keeping forces in carrying out their mandate. To make the operations more effective, in terms both of time and of space, the logistics should be improved.

The inequity and injustice that typify international economic relations are a source of frustration and tension and constitute a threat to international peace and security. The mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 are an example as regards the African countries. Their crushing burden of foreign debt and the constraints of their structural adjustment programmes weigh heavily on their security. The Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies and all the other competent bodies of the United Nations system should consider the issue with a view to making concrete proposals in the context of effective assistance to those States.

Mali, a land-locked country, has always followed a foreign policy based on non-alignment, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, positive good neighbourliness and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. In that framework, my country follows a policy of mutually advantageous co-operation with all its neighbours and development partners. We are therefore members of several subregional groups -- the Economic Community of West African States, the West African Economic Community, the Senegal River Development Organization and the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the

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Sahel - and are parties to the West African agreement on non-aggression and defence assistance. Those groups and that agreement are intended to preserve and consolidate regional peace and security. My delegation believes that they should continue to benefit from the support and encouragement of the United Nations.

My delegation also believes that it is important to make maximum use of the Present structures of our Organization, not only to settle existing regional conflicts but also to prevent new sources of tension from arising. To that end, the role of the International Court of Justice should be strengthened. The General Assembly should be made more effective. Moreover, we support those delegations that advocate the establishment of a special early-warning system for crises or conflicts. To do that, we should improve the machinery for collecting information on disputes, in order to prevent their escalation into armed conflict. There are provisions in the Charter for all those matters, and it is only necessary to implement them.

Mali is firmly convinced that observing the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security would be an important step in the establishment of international peace and security. My delegation also believes that the best ways to achieve the goals of the Declaration are through political means and negotiation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law, on the basis of the principles of reciprocity and equal obligations.

Mr. CHACON (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): The world is today experiencing great paradoxes, and this gives grounds for both optimism and pessimism.

The signs of détente between the two super-Powers are clear, auguring well for the future - at least as regards the possibility of direct confrontation between

(Mr. Chacon, Costa Rica)

them. Both have begun to take steps to eliminate certain intermediate-range nuclear weapons, and there seem to be good prospects of their reaching important agreements on strategic weapons and conventional arms. Mutual distrust has receded to a certain extent, and it is possible that in the next few years a better understanding will develop between the United States and the Soviet Union. There is also every indication that in the very near future the blocs set up as a result of the Second World War will pass into history, at least in their present form. The call for freedom in all parts of the world is becoming so loud that the walls are already beginning to tumble down.

However, alongside that optimistic picture there continue to be discouraging factors. International security is threatened by the persistence of violence in certain parts of the world and by military factors. As was predicted some time ago in reports described as gloomy and pessimistic, the whole of mankind continues to confront the threat of self-annihilation, due not only to the massive build-up of the most destructive weapons ever devised, but also to the destruction of the environment and other limits on development - development in terms of economic growth. As we were driven to recognize that rather late, by the force of circumstances, we must improve our forecasting ability and, clearly, the power of our imagination.

The forecasts of the Club of Rome, the Brandt Foundation, the Group of Cocoyoc and other such groups of experts who met in the 1970s to analyse the problems faced by the world, and to find solutions, dealt with matters that had been appearing some years earlier, but the problems suddenly began to hit us hard at the end of that decade and the beginning of the current decade. The cornucopia of economic growth turned into a Pandora's box - to use the language of one of those reports.

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Two violent crises, apparently started by the sharp increase in the price of oil, gave clear evidence that something was going very wrong in the world. It was then that we saw one after another the phenomena of stagflation; dislocations of world trade; problems of external debt of the developing countries; the deterioration, already evident, of the environment, with resulting changes in the climate; an almost interminable succession of devastating wars in the third world; and the threat that the balance of terror, the basis of international security, would somehow be disrupted.

World public opinion began to be aware of those enormous difficulties at the end of the United Nations First Development Decade, which was also the First Disarmament Decade. In recent months it has become convinced of the existence of those and other problems.

Despite the resistance still being put up by some to understanding the situation, and despite the nostalgia of others for war, whether hot or cold, it seems that the peoples of the world are determined to change the course of their development and to pull down the barriers created by lack of understanding. However, we cannot yet claim that victory has been won. That is why this is a time for both thought and action, for reflection in order to prepare for the future, for a genuine growth of awareness.

It is clear that after all that has happened in Europe, at a speed that leaves us breathless, the world will no longer be the same. That fact, together with all the changes that have occurred in recent months and years, seems to make it impossible to cling to the traditional ideas of security based on the concepts of balance of forces, deterrence and other terms whose origin is basically military.

(Mr. Chacon, Costa Rica)

While it is true that all countries have the right to defend their security and take unilateral measures to reduce their national vulnerability by means of defence, it is equally true that all nations now bear a responsibility to ensure that their national policies do not endanger the security of all. That is all the more clear in the light of the increasing interdependence of today's world.

But we must go even further. Recent history has shown us that the idea of security based on strictly military concepts eventually turns into a factor for collective insecurity. We have seen this in the train of destruction left by the countless wars of this century. We see it clearly right now in the Middle East and Central America, two bitter exceptions that put a finger on the sore spot and give us food for thought.

Security must not be based on terror, threats and distrust. There is an urgent need to modify the terms of a dangerous equation and replace that equation by one that relates disarmament and development. We must move from the stage of "excluding awareness" to that of "participatory awareness", in line with the view stated by Alain Touraine in The Sociology of Action.

Without general and complete disarmament - including the disarmament of the mind - there can be no security for everyone on Earth. Unless development is seen as a process qualitatively different from economic growth, it will be impossible to achieve the goal of effective security. Disarmament and development must therefore become the pivots on which national and international security will revolve in coming years. Development must be different, however; it must be based on international co-operation, environmental protection, the improvement of the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the world, a quest for clean alternative sources of energy and the strengthening of democracy. Economic growth without

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freedom, without the rule of law, without equitable distribution of income, without respect for human rights and without the participation of all in making the decisions that should be made by all cannot qualify as development at all. Recent history has testified clearly to the truth of that point.

To secure the link between disarmament and development, Governments or States must take constructive, balanced action at the national and international levels. The link between disarmament and development is not a causal link: it must be sought deliberately by the political organization of society that we call a State or a Government. The apparently free action of market forces cannot by itself provide the conditions for disarmament to occur and for the resources released by disarmament to lead to development of the kind we have just described. Market forces lead only to greater militarism because they are based on the unquenchable appetite for profit of the merchants of death.

But the converse is true also. The activities of Governments or States, when left to the arbitrary will of those in power, can lead to dictatorship and tyranny. That is why we stress the need to motivate participation within the framework of law and freedom. For there to be true national and international security, there must be a true balance between regulation and freedom. They are complementary, and must complement each other in a creative way if we are to achieve the true objectives of collective security.

As an essentially political organization, the United Nations must play a central role in that context. Here the principles of multilateralism and democracy must prevail increasingly. The world body must be strengthened as a forum for dialogue and negotiation, with the participation of all nations on a footing of

(Mr. Chacon, Costa Rica)

true equality. We must give full effect to the principles of the Charter, and not undermine them through proposals for the setting up of parallel security systems or organs.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall call now on delegations wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply. I remind members that the Committee will follow the procedures outlined at previous meetings.

Mr. Ahmad KAMAL (Pakistan): This morning we heard a statement by the representative of the Kabul authorities, claiming to speak on behalf of Afghanistan, in which he made the usual allegations about external intervention in Afghanistan and about flagrant violations by Pakistan vis-à-vis the implementation of the Geneva accords.

My Government is totally and unwaveringly committed to the Geneva Agreements and continues to implement them fully and scrupulously. The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) has found no evidence whatsoever in support of those and other similar accusations. On the other hand, there have been numerous violations of Pakistani territory, incidents of ground violations, SCUD missile attacks and incidents of sabotage resulting in the killing of innocent civilians. Evidence of those attacks is available on Pakistan's soil in the debris of Afghan military aircraft and of the SCUD missiles.

I have no hesitation, therefore, in categorically rejecting the allegations made.

The Geneva Agreements, as we know, have so far addressed the external aspects of the situation in Afghanistan only. A comprehensive settlement has remained elusive so far, largely because of the inability of the Kabul régime to recognize the realities of the situation in that country. We had hoped that resolution 44/15 on the situation in Afghanistan, adopted by the General Assembly on

(Mr. Ahmad Kamal, Pakistan)

1 November 1989, happily by consensus, would open the door to the search for such a comprehensive solution and settlement. The statement we heard this morning belied that hope.

Here is the representative of a régime foisted on a peace-loving indigenous population by the force of foreign bayonets, whose claims to fame are based on one of the most tragic conflicts of our time, whose hands are tainted and tarnished by the blood of the 1.5 million Afghans who have died in this conflict and the millions of others who have been injured and tortured and maimed, a régime which has been responsible for the unprecedented destruction of the country's economic, social and cultural infrastructure, which has uprooted half its total population from their hearths and homes with a full one third of the population - more than 5 million to be exact - forced to take refuge in neighbouring countries, whose legitimacy is disavowed by all those poor unfortunate refugees, including close relatives of its own leadership; that régime now has the temerity to make wild allegations of flagrant violations by others.

As for the so-called peace proposals referred to by the Kabul representative this morning, these are self-serving inasmuch as their sole purpose is to prolong the life of the régime. Those proposals have been categorically rejected by the Afghan mujahiddin. International opinion cannot be manipulated through mere repetition of bankrupt and self-seeking proposals presented in the garb of reasonableness.

The judgement of the régime in Kabul will be delivered first and foremost by the 5 million Afghans who are still unwilling and unable to return to Afghanistan because of their opposition to that régime and by those who have suffered and continue to suffer physical and mental agony inside Afghanistan itself. This is their conflict and their crusade. We in the international community can only

(Mr. Ahmad Kamal, Pakistan)

admire their courage and fortitude and hope that the régime in Kabul will realize as early as possible the utter futility of its attempts to hold on tenuously to power, despite the enormous human suffering it continues to cause. No time can be too soon, no effort can be too great to reverse the consequences of this tragic conflict and its aftermath.

Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan): For my delegation at least, the reaction of the representative of Pakistan was not a surprise. How long has the Pakistani Government tried to hide the real evil intentions of the militarist circles of that country towards Afghanistan? The facts speak for themselves. In my statement this morning I referred to the security and stability of the region. In fact, the Pakistani delegation should applaud that statement because the Pakistani people and Pakistan belong to the region. I referred to the implementation of an international agreement to which the Pakistani Government is a signatory. We call for the full implementation of that agreement. Why is Pakistan so sensitive to such a issue?

I will not descend to the same level. Those who violate international agreements break the ethical standards established in the diplomatic community. I would not like to descend to that level. I leave it to the representatives to judge the representative of Pakistan.

The Pakistani delegation should be the last to speak on the Afghan problem. The delegation of Pakistan should remember the intentions of the military circles in the early 1970s. There was no revolution in 1978, and no so-called Soviet intervention when they prepared 5,000 Afghan extremists who now form the core of the Afghan opposition inside Pakistan and who were trained in the Pakistani army. In fact, the problem and main responsibility for it belong to the Pakistani military circles.

Recently, an American scholar, Mr. Sleig Harrison, in seminars organized by the Carnegie Peace International Academy here in New York, clearly declared that the core of the present problem in Afghanistan dates from the late 1940s. That is why my delegation does not wish to go into the history of the problem. We would simply like to ask the delegation of Pakistan if its country is not violating the Geneva agreements with the massive smuggling of arms and ammunition into the

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

territory of Afghanistan. How and from which territory are the weapons that are killing women and children inside Afghanistan being smuggled? We had thought the Pakistani diplomats would distinguish themselves from the military circles in Pakistan. But - I am sorry to say this - they are the mouthpieces of those circles, and they represent the evil intentions to make Afghanistan weak and to destroy my country.

I do not wish to say any more in that regard. I would remind the representative of Pakistan to look at the history of the problem and to read the articles recently published in the Western mass media, which continue to support Pakistani policy but cannot deny that Pakistan is still violating the Geneva agreements by permitting its territory to be used for the massive supply of arms and ammunition that cause the death and suffering for the Afghan people.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to speak a second time in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): I do not wish to prolong the agony of Afghanistan, which is likely to become the agony of the First Committee.

The representative of the Kabul régime speaking for Afghanistan has referred five or six times to "military circles" in Pakistan. All members of the General Assembly know that a democratically elected Government has been functioning in Pakistan since December 1988. As I stated in my first right of reply, the fresh allegations concerning intervention have not been verified by the United Nations good offices mission, and until they are so verified they remain wild allegations in the Committee.

The fundamental cause of the tragic conflict in Afghanistan remains the refusal of the régime in Kabul to accept the reality of the situation. That régime is not acceptable to any segment of the Afghan nation except a coterie of PDPA

(Mr. Kamal, Pakistan)

hardliners in Kabul. Peace and stability can therefore return to Afghanistan only if power is transferred from that régime to a broad-based Government acceptable to the Afghan people. General Assembly resolution 44/15, adopted by consensus this year, calls for the establishment of such a Government. That is the exclusive prerogative of the people of Afghanistan. Pakistan has consistently supported the right of the Afghan people to determine its own future, free from outside intervention, interference, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. Pakistan's commitment to that principle is unflinching and abiding.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Afghanistan, who wishes to speak a second time in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan): I wish to express my satisfaction with the second statement of Pakistan, if it was made with good intentions. My delegation would like to stress that the Afghan Government has made a number of proposals for political settlements beyond the Geneva agreements, and we are ready to find political solutions regarding the internal and external aspects of problems.

My delegation does not wish to prolong the work of the Committee. We merely stress the importance of the full implementation of the Geneva agreements by all parties and the sincere intention of all parties involved, including the Pakistani Government, to work on the basis of the Geneva agreements and a political solution.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to remind representatives that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under agenda items pertaining to international security is 6 p.m. this evening.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.