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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 51st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73 (continued)

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

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to say how pleased I am to be here again even though it is only for a very short time since I have to return to my capital tomorrow. It would be a source of great satisfaction to me if I could be in the Chair when we finish our work. If that is not possible, then Vice-Chairman Fahmy, who has very skilfully and effectively directed the work of the Committee in my absence, would preside over tomorrow's meeting, the final meeting of the First Committee for this session.

I have this morning received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Cameroon addressed to the Chairman of the First Committee. The letter, which bears the heading "International peace and security", reads as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Mr. Chairman, I have the honour to inform you that Cameroon does not wish to take part in the discussion of the above subject-matter, and accordingly requests the removal of our name from the list of speakers and the withdrawal of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/44/L.7/Rev.1. Thank you for your co-operation. Kind personal regards, Bamela Engo."

(continued in Spanish)

I also wish to inform the Committee that consultations are now under way for the preparation of a paper that would reflect the position of the Cameroon delegation. The purpose of that paper, which will not require any action by the Committee, will be to set forth the position of Cameroon so that it will be on record.

Mr. ANDRIANADY (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Madagascar would like to express its sincere condolences to the sister delegation of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros on the occasion of the death of its President, Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane.

We also wish to express to the delegation of the Philippines our sorrow on learning of the death of the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations, Claudio Techankee.

The realignment of the respective interests of the great Powers and the two main military blocs, and a degree of flexibility in putting forward positions, have made it possible to resume the dialogue on arms control.

The conclusion, later the implementation, of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles in the arsenals of the two super-Powers was a decisive starting-point. The international community unanimously welcomed it because, even though the agreement involved only 4 per cent of the world's stock of nuclear weapons, it was the first time in history that a whole category of weapons of mass destruction was going to be voluntarily destroyed.

The impetus thus given to effective disarmament measures makes it possible to hope for the conclusion, in the near future, of a more substantial bilateral agreement involving 50 per cent of the offensive strategic weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union. A few months before the Fourth Review Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, such a step should be supplemented by an undertaking on the part of the three depositary States parties to the Treaty to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. Only thus will it be possible to safeguard the credibility of the non-proliferation régime set forth in the non-proliferation Treaty.

The complete lack of progress in the negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear tests at the Conference on Disarmament led several dozen delegations, including Madagascar, to support the convening of a conference to study amendments that would transform the partial nuclear-test ban into a comprehensive ban.

Madagascar shares the conviction that the total prohibition of nuclear tests is a matter of top priority in the field of nuclear disarmament.

It goes without saying that the final objective is to have a totally denuclearized world. Is this an idealistic dream? The dreams of today may become the realities of tomorrow. This explains our wish to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. In our opinion, the best way to reach that objective would be through the speedy convening of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean. Within the framework of nuclear and conventional disarmament, that Conference would give concrete expression to the principles involved in the concept of a zone of peace, while contributing to the reduction and eventual elimination from the Indian Ocean of any foreign military or naval presence.

For the time being, non-nuclear-weapon States are insisting that nuclear-weapon States guarantee that there will be no recourse whatsoever to the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons. Such a measure of basic confidence must be enshrined in a binding international instrument.

The strengthening of international security through disarmament must be the main objective of the international community. Only tangible progress in achieving that objective would make it possible to ensure the reduction of international tension.

The general rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union is contributing to the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a

lasting peace, but the scope and complexity of disarmament problems, both nuclear and conventional, require the participation of all actors on the international scene.

As the international body best suited for the central role it plays in the maintenance of international peace and security and the settlement of international disputes, the United Nations needs the constant support of its Member States. We would be remiss if we did not mention in this connection the Soviet-American initiative which, on 15 November last, led to the General Assembly's adoption by consensus, of resolution 44/21, on enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

In this connection, we note and support the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his most recent report on the work of the Organization.

"... the Security Council could meet periodically to consider the state of international peace and security in different regions. For such meetings sufficiently to guide and influence the necessary supportive diplomacy, it might be helpful to hold them at the level of foreign ministers and, when appropriate, in closed session. That simple expedient could help ensure that the United Nations would not be caught unready by developments threatening the peace. Where international friction appears likely, the Security Council could act on its own or request the Secretary-General to exercise his good offices directly or through a special representative. When appropriate, the Council could also enlist the co-operation of the concerned regional organization in averting a crisis." (A/44/1, pp. 11-12)

We wish to stress particularly the fact that in some areas, such as Central America, Africa, and even South-East Asia, experience has shown that making the countries of a given area responsible for, and allowing them to contribute to the

settlement of conflicts affecting their geographical zone, has proved more positive and more effective than outside interference and intervention.

International peace and security are not based solely on the elimination of nuclear threats. International peace and security can also be endangered by non-military threats, such as flagrant economic inequality, both inside the different countries and among them, poverty, famine, deprivation, the debt burden, disease, drug abuse, all forms of terrorism, and the deterioration of the environment. None of these questions can be settled or studied thoroughly by Governments except at the multilateral level.

The prospect of a new turning-point in the history of international relations seems to have highlighted the existing potential for fruitful co-operation on the part of Governments, in the interest and to the advantage of all. This potential has begun to be felt, thanks to a more pragmatic attitude on the part of the leaders of various countries in the world alive to the true needs and aspirations of their peoples.

The process has been hastened under the influence of dramatic events, with the result that it has become impossible to ignore the imminent danger threatening the environment or the economic health of the world community. It has also been facilitated by a more widespread and stronger will to protect human rights.

In this context, it is no longer possible to push into the background multilateral questions which are challenging us more and more. Merely to cite as an example the worsening of the environment and the ecosystem as a whole, we can gauge the enormous dangers resulting from the wastage and using up of resources, industrial pollution, toxic wastes and the dumping of them, biospheric disturbances, desertification, deforestation, erosion and impoverishment of the soil and the threatened disappearance of certain vegetable and animal species. In this field, as in so many others, we must together work out permanent and institutionalized solutions.

To conclude, in our search for a world freed from every-day insecurity, a more democratic world, a world where national selfishness yields to the common interest, a world devoted without restriction to the goals and objectives of the Charter, the United Nations is our irreplaceable instrument.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset I wish to express my delegation's condolences to the sister republic of the Comoros on the death of the President of the Republic and to the Philippines on the death of our colleague the Ambassador.

As we consider the items relating to international security, we must first of all recognize that at the present time we are beginning to see new signs on the international scene which, if they remain and develop, will undoubtedly make an effective contribution to international security and its strengthening. Our peoples demand that détente and peace be equal for all.

First of all, we find that the climate of tension has been replaced by one of détente between the principal nuclear Powers, and at the same time advances are being made in the field of disarmament, while the process of negotiation with a view to further and more significant arms limitation measures is continuing.

Along with this, in different parts of the world, after years of confrontation, some negotiated political solutions are emerging, and the path towards the elimination of regional conflict is now becoming shorter. Many obstacles remain and others appear in this process, but it is undeniable that the peoples of many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America sooner or later will at last see the day when the shadow of devastating war is eliminated and when they will be able to devote themselves to the noble objective of national reconstruction and economic and social development. We have a clear example of this in Namibia, where the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has permitted the recent holding of free and fair elections in an atmosphere of peace, impossible a few years ago, and a constituent assembly is already meeting to decide the institutional future and government of that country.

While we may well believe that disarmament constitutes one of the most significant ways of strengthening international security, the dismantling of military bases and the return of the territories on which they stand to their legitimate owners is also necessary, and history also demands that regional hotbeds of conflict be eliminated. However, there are other factors of a non-military nature that cannot and must not be disregarded.

There exists a profound crisis of an economic nature that affects all countries and particularly those of the third world, as a result of archaic and unjust international economic relations based on unequal trade, protectionism, dumping and the existence of the unbearable burden of foreign debt. All this is

combined in such a way as to stifle weak economies and lead many societies to grave levels of poverty and misery, generating social upheaval which affects and will in the future even more strongly affect not only national stability and security but also international security. The Americas today are witnessing such a situation. In this part of the world our peoples are demanding that the weapons that attack us be laid down and that the resources so released be devoted entirely to development and to ensuring a suitable future for our children.

International security will certainly become strengthened when the heinous practice of apartheid, which at the end of the twentieth century is still causing suffering to millions of human beings, is definitively eliminated. Of equal importance in the efforts to make security and the climate of peace and tranquillity more effective is the need to meet the just claims of all those peoples that are still struggling for the legitimate right to self-determination and independence. Colonialist relations must be ended if we are to strengthen international security. Even today, when the independence of Namibia is on the horizon, our battle must be carried out energetically, as there are more than 20 territories in which millions of human beings are still calling for an end to the colonial yoke and for their accession to full independence.

Respect for the principles of international law embodied in the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter undoubtedly constitutes the basis for establishing a climate of peace and security. This means that strict compliance with the obligations of States concerning these principles is the best way of promoting and strengthening international security.

In our world of today, characterized by the search for solutions to the problems we are facing, we attach particular significance not only to the sovereign

equality of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes but also to the need for States to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations and to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States.

Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by a number of speakers and as was recognized by the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, at their last summit conference, held at Belgrade last September, acts of aggression and violations of sovereignty are still being committed. Interventions, economic blockades and interference in the internal affairs of States are still being engaged in. There are powerful States that followed the policy of trying to satisfy their greed by force, and this must come to an end for peace to be a reality for all. Examples of this exist in countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

My delegation wishes to affirm, as we address the item on the strengthening of international security, that another act of aggression against my country is being prepared by the United States, as final steps are taken for the establishment of a permanent television broadcasting station designed to transmit propaganda against Cuba. By this action, which constitutes a flagrant act of interference in the internal affairs of my country and a violation of international norms, the United States Government is sharpening its policy of aggression against Cuba at a time when there is talk of broadening international détente. This can only be interpreted as arrogant behaviour towards small countries and a demonstration of intent to provoke a crisis by fuelling regional conflicts. The Cuban Government will not accept any violations of its sovereignty, and it has warned of the additional tension that could result from this policy, which in addition violates fundamental international norms among States as well as commitments undertaken in international treaties in the case of telecommunications.

Cuba totally and firmly rejects the United States plan and stands against the establishment of that anti-Cuban television broadcasting station. We affirm our full right to take whatever measures we deem appropriate to attempt to impede and thwart this new manoeuvre by the United States.

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On the basis of a new agenda item, just a few days ago through adoption of the relevant resolution the General Assembly appealed for the strengthening of international peace, security and co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter - a concept that our delegation supported and hopes will be implemented effectively by all States. If the United States is true to its support for that adopted text it has a new opportunity to demonstrate its sincerity to the international community by taking measures to halt and impede this new act of aggression and interierence in the internal affairs of Cuba - this violation of its sovereignty, which the establishment of the anti-Cuban television station represents. Let us hope that the peace for which we yearn may truly become the fresh air we all breath, because all peoples, however small, have the right to live in peace.

Mr. REFAAT (Egypt): Forty-five years ago, when the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up, international peace and security meant peace and security among the nations of a world that had gone through two world wars. With the rapid developments in the field of technology, acclimatization of the concept of international peace and security was thought to meet prevailing situations and it has come to mean peace and security in space, on earth and under water. But do we find ourselves in a situation in which peace and security prevail? Are we going in the right direction, and could peace and security ultimately prevail in the midst of all of this? In addressing this, we should make an honest assessment of the past year to take account of positive developments and at the same time address those negative developments that have an impact on our interdependence and co-operation. The importance of being guided in our actions by the security provisions of the Charter should be borne in mind.

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

This year the world community has witnessed a number of positive developments reinforcing the existing prevailing positive climate. A conviction is growing marked by the willingness of all to live in a peaceful world - of the importance of moving away from the language of force to the rule of logic and negotiation. A drive exists to move ahead and the renascence of faith in the United Nations is beginning to mature, providing an increased impetus to further efforts and additional co-operation between its members. In this context, the following should be stressed: this renascence and drive should not be temporary; peace and security can be achieved only through the co-operation of all; respect for the United Nations and its Charter and a continued commitment to its collective security provisions are imperative; there should be respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, and in particular the right of self-determination should be granted to the Palestinian people. To this end, Egypt calls upon Israel to exercise the necessary flexibility and to demonstrate to the whole world its honest quest and desire for peace and security in the Middle East region.

A few days ago there was an important development, which Egypt would like to welcome and support: the successful elections in Namibia. As a member of the African continent, of which we are proud, Egypt is looking forward to the independence of the State of Namibia and its eventually becoming a member of our African family.

Nevertheless, Egypt would like to emphasize the importance of the successful efforts undertaken by the United Nations and its Secretary~General towards bringing about a successful conclusion to one of the longest examples of colonial domination. Moreover, Egypt would like to pay tribute and applaud the invaluable

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

contribution made by the United Nations peace-keeping group in Namibia for the difficult burden they have endured in maintaining order, thereby facilitating the electoral process.

High on our agenda is the question of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. For a number of years, Egypt has stressed the indivisibility of security. Security in the Mediterranean affects security in Europe and vice versa, and also has a direct impact on international peace and security. Egypt has always believed that such an important geostrategic region should not remain an area of tension. The continuation of such tension does more than threaten peace and security in the area. Perilous situations are sure to arise, exacerbating the danger and volatility. If no solution is found in the near future for such areas of tension, the main artery for the provision to many nations of the necessary means for their economic and cultural life will always remain threatened. For security and co-operation to be established in the Mediterranean region, the following should be achieved.

First, there must be a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem, in particular the Palestinian question, through the establishment of a Palestinian State, one in which the Palestinian people must have the right to self-determination, and Israel must withdraw from Arab territory occupied since 1967.

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

Secondly, urgent steps should be taken to halt co-operation of any kind between Israel and South Africa, as such co-operation threatens peace and security not only in the Mediterranean region but also on the African continent. Thirdly, a nuclear-weapon-free zone should be established in the region of the Middle East as a step towards the enhancement of international peace and security in general and the promotion of security and co-operation in the Maditerranean region in particular. Fourthly, there should be a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus. Fifthly, the international community should play a more positive role to ensure that peace is restored to Lebanon despite recent negative developments. In this context, Egypt cannot but deplore the assassination of Lebanon's President.

The Helsinki Document of 1975 and the Stockholm Conference stressed the close link between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean area, and emphasized that the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, in particular to the Mediterranean. Such a close link necessitates co-operation and commitment to work towards that end: security and co-operation in the Mediterranean area.

In conclusion, let me refer to my earlier question: Do peace and security prevail? Are we on the right track, and will they prevail in the end? Although we are moving at a slow pace, we are certainly moving in the right direction. However, in order for further progress to be made, political will is needed to support our endeavours. I should also emphasize that those endeavours will be crowned with success only if we all remain committed to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Mr. AWAD (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation considers the United Nations to be the most appropriate body to which the international community can appeal to find a real solution to problems of peace and security. We might say that the United Nations was set up for that very purpose. Article 1 of the Charter clearly states the purposes of the United Nations to be:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace ... and to bring about by peaceful means ... adjustment or settlement of international disputes" and "to develop friendly relations among nations ..."

Although the Charter was adopted over 40 years ago, it is still a solid basis for dealing with the problems and difficulties that confront us. We must therefore strengthen the role of the United Nations so that it may be able to take practical measures to ensure restact for the purposes and principles of the Charter: to safeguard the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the economic independence of countries, to refrain from the threat or use of force, to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of all peoples to self-determination, the liquidation of colonization and of racial discrimination, the cessation of foreign occupation and domination, and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons. The world has learned with dismay that certain racist régimes are in possession of such weapons and we see that they are co-operating with a view to developing such weapons, and organizing tests on their delivery systems.

The Syrian Arab Republic has always paid attention to the strengthening of international security. We have worked actively and effectively to consolidate principles of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region by contributing

(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

to the adoption of declarations and statements, for example the statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries in the Mediterranean area, the Valletta statement in 1984, and the Brioni statement in 1987.

The strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region requires the elimination of hotbeds of tension in that part of the world through the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in their internal affairs and non-resort to force or the threat of the use of force, in accordance with the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter.

My country would like to stress that the following elements are factors of destabilization in the Mediterranean region.

First, there are certain States which adhere to the concept of military superiority and domination, resort to expansion, and the presence of navies and of military bases, and which practise State terrorism against some countries of the region.

Secondly, there is the fact that Israel is obstructing the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. Israel is continuing to develop its nuclear and military potential, it has refused to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty and to submit its nuclear facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

Thirdly, Israel is continuing to occupy Arab territories, to establish settlements therein and to practise its racist and expansionist policy. It has refused to withdraw from the occupied territories or to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

Fourthly, the Israeli aggression against Lebanon continues. Israel has occupied part of the south of Lebanon and refuses to implement the resolutions of the Security Council calling upon it to withdraw unconditionally from those territories.

On the basis of those principles, my country is continuing to strive to eliminate one of the most serious hotbeds of tension in the world and to reach a just and equitable solution to the Middle East crisis through the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the Security Council, to ensure the total Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories; to guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, foremost of which are its right to return, and its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State on its national territory.

Finally, the Syrian Arab Republic would like to stress that the interdependence between the security of Europe and that of the Middle East requires that the non-aligned countries in the Mediterranean region of operate with European States, for in order to ensure security in one part, the same conditions of security must prevail in the other part.

Miss CAREY (Bahamas): My delegation extends its congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee, and to the other members of the Bureau.

More than 40 years ago, at the end of a disastrous world war, the strengthening of international peace and security was underscored as a critical issue for the community of nations. The priority the international community attached to the issue finds its clearest expression in Article 1 of the Charter, according to which the fundamental purpose of the Organization is to "maintain international peace and security". That Article is as pertinent today as it was 40 years ago, as evidenced by the fact that Member States are returning to the Charter in the search for viable solutions to global problems that threaten international peace and security.

All States have a legitimate right to security, and efforts to ensure security for some countries at the expense of others would be unrealistic and ultimately destabilizing. It is imperative, therefore, that Member States reaffirm their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations in order to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization in ensuring international peace and security. Maximum use must be made of the capacity of the United Nations if its Charter provisions are to be effectively implemented. In this connection the Bahamas supports all efforts aimed at making the Organization more viable. We note in particular the recent agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as indicated in their joint statement and related understanding of 3 November 1989, to recommit their resolve to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Member States seem, justifiably, to be placing greater confidence in the peace-making and peace-keeping capability of the United Nations. The contribution of the Organization to the maintenance of peace has been demonstrated most

(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

effectively in recent times in its activities in the field of peace-keeping. The broad recognition of the value of these operations was reflected in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the peace-keeping forces last year.

Peace-keeping is and always has been a dramatic way of representing the international will to peace in the conflict areas of the world. If backed by greater international effort, it can become an extremely important part of our broader effort to build a world at peace. The increased demand for peace-keeping operations is a direct result of an improvement in the international climate over the past three years.

But peace-keeping is only one of many elements in the complex issue of peace and security. The process of peace-making must necessarily precede peace-keeping. We therefore look forward to and will participate in enhancing the peace-making capability of the United Nations.

Just as peace-keeping and peace-making are directly related, so are peace and security. The existence of the one presupposes the other. A comprehensive look at this interrelated concept must allow for adequate consideration of the issue of security. The concept of security is an all-encompassing one that must be dealt with in the context of a better appreciation of the security problems and interests of other countries. What is required is an acceptance of the important notions that derive from the Charter of the United Nations, that all nations have an inalienable right to security, that military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving international disputes, that restraint is necessary in pursuing national policies in an interdependent world, and that neither military superiority nor military means offers an adequate answer to security issues in the present or the future world.

In this context, nations must engage in confidence-building measures in order to strengthen international peace and security. Such measures could eliminate the

(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

causes of tension, thereby consolidating peace and security. They also reinforce mutual confidence, promoting greater stability and thereby reducing the potential for armed conflict. In this regard we are pleased to note that draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.58 on the contribution of confidence- and security-building measures to international peace and security was, like its predecessors, adopted by consensus. We hope that the dialogues on confidence-building measures will continue and bring about even more substantive results.

The building of a peaceful world cannot be limited to the military and political spheres; attention must also be given to economic and environmental challenges confronting the international community because they too can threaten international peace and security. The attainment of peace and security will continue to elude us if the economic prospects of developing countries do not improve. The growing interdependence of countries and the nature of the world economic environment call urgently for a search for constructive dialogue and co-operation free from rustrictions and limitations. The debt problem which inhibits the economic growth of States in a developing world and destabilizes international trade and financial relations also requires the co-operation of developed and developing countries to ensure a stable economic environment.

Recent events clearly indicate that the world community is making concerted efforts to attain international peace and security. There has been a renewal of confidence that international peace and security are attainable, as there has been a trend towards strengthening international peace and security at the regional, multilateral and bilateral levels. There has also been increased willingness to co-operate, and dialogues continue to take place between the super-Powers.

Unprecedented prospects for peace and security are also evident in recent events in Eastern Europe, in Namibia and in the abatement of East-West tensions. The cessation of belligerency and the new-found hope for negotiated political

(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

settlements in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Cyprus and Western Sahara are also encouraging.

It is our hope that efforts to realize the purpose, enunciated in the Charter, of upholding international peace and security will be strengthened and enhanced. The Bahamas is confident that, with the support and co-operation of all Member States striving towards this goal, the prospect of attaining international peace and security will become more promising.

Mr. SUAREZ (Philippines): Walls are coming down all over the world.

Barely three weeks ago, in the middle of the proceedings in this Committee, we received the unbelievable news that one of the harshest monuments of the post-Second World War period had fallen. The Berlin Wall had been breached and the citizens of that long-divided city were free to come together. That stunning news caught all of us off guard. Overnight the policies and the mindset of the cold war suddenly seemed irrelevant. Indeed, the makers of policy and the shapers of opinion alike are still reaching out for answers to this and to many other world developments, not quite knowing how to respond to this swift unfolding of history.

As was put so eloquently by President Alan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, "There has never been a time like this."

More than the visible walls of concrete and barbed wire, the walls we have referred to are those that have enclosed our minds when it was facile to think in black-and-white terms, in categories of East and West.

As we take up again in this Committee the question of international security, we come face to face with the reality that the boundaries and buzz-words of our old thinking now seem to hold little meaning. Yet, at the same time, the question of security, which for a long time seemed stalled in a stalemate, has assumed new vigour and relevance.

What is interesting is that, all along, we have been preparing ourselves for this moment. In the meetings of this Committee, in the three special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and in the meetings of the non-aligned countries the ideas for a new and peaceful world in accordance with the United Nations Charter have been debated and explored.

It is useful to know that the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security

Issues - itself an offshoot of the optimistic times that gave rise to the first

special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament - began its work in

1980 and issued its first report in 1982. On 14 April 1989 this Commission issued

its Final Statement in Stockholm. That document is entitled "A World at Peace:

Common Security in the Twenty-first Century". The Palme Commission noted that, in

order for the international community to achieve the rule of law, three

developments were required: first, the habitual use of peaceful means to resolve

disputes; secondly, stronger international institutions, with greater resources and

improved procedures and patterns of national behaviour, that turn first to these

organizations for assistance; and thirdly, mobilization of public opinion through

private associations.

Lately we have seen a stronger international will to use the institutions of the United Nations for peace-keeping and peace-making. In his 1989 report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General noted a growing determination on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council to work together, and a heightened awareness of the problems common to all nations. Namibia, Iran-Iraq, Western Sahara and Cyprus attest to this.

The new trans-border problems, such as the degradation of the environment, drugs, and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), are seen as being susceptible to solution only through common international effort. For instance, we concluded

just last week our debate on Antarctica, which, together with outer space, the atmosphere and the oceans, was often referred to as part of our global commons.

Countries are now moving to put an end to the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, as well as to achieve, finally, a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. The use of "people power", of which the Philippines was a pioneer, is even now being applied in other jurisdictions - with positive results.

We should like to make some observations which, we hope, will contribute to the work of this Committee.

First, the détente between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has resulted in the concept of security being re-examined and threshed out anew. A New York Times editorial on 21 November 1989, for instance, proposed a move "From Mere Defense to True Security". Another article questions the relevance of the missiles and tanks of two supposedly opposed military alliances being ranged against each other while the citizens of those countries are now chatting amicably on the Kurfurstendam.

This weekend the President of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States will meet off the coast of Malta. Though they have announced no set agenda, the dramatic events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere will surely lead them to touch on problems of security. There have been similar summit encounters in the past "in Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow, and, very much earlier, in Yalta and San Francisco. Our present system of security arises from these important meetings.

We are still sailing through a Scylla and Charybdis as a result of decisions made at those meetings - a security imposed by parties who agreed between themselves, with hardly any consultation with other concerned parties, or a security fractured by regional aspirants or by individual contests. We know from

the past that neither solution is adequate and that we must search for something above and beyond these choices. We also state that all 159 countries represented here have a role to play in the evolution of a new approach to international peace and security.

The search for security will be a long quest, marked by many stops and hesitations. Even now, there are those who worry that bilateral rapprochement might work to the detriment of multilateral initiatives. We believe that there is room for multilateral, as well as bilateral, initiatives. We regret that earlier in the work of this Committee we failed to reach consensus on such a basic issue as our resolution on bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations - in fact, we had two resolutions on the issue. We should like to think that this lack of consensus is but a hiccup in the great creative effort still before all of us.

Secondly, the growing awareness of our global environment is making us broaden our idea of security. Indeed, man's encounters with the violent vagaries of nature point the way to the approach that we should adopt to problems with global dimensions. Of instances of natural disasters, we have had too plentiful an experience this year - in Soviet Armenia, in China, in the United States, in the Caribbean and in my own country, the Philippines. The response of societies in all these countries, as well as internationally, was co-operation and mutual assistance. Suddenly, in periods of tribulation, boundaries did not seem to matter. These events also served to remind us of the fragility of the ecological balance, evident in the debate on Antarctica and in such phenomena as the depletion of the ozone layer, global warming and the greenhouse effect. Thus, our debate on security has increasingly overlapped with the debate on ecological issues.

Thirdly, many of the ideas that were proposed in the Palme Commission have now taken root. If nurtured and allowed to bear fruit, the idea of common security -

crystallized in the 1980s - should bring us closer to the ideal of peace and security envisioned by the United Nations Charter.

Parallel to the work of the Palme Commission, the report of which - entitled "Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament" - was published in 1982, there were two other studies requested by the United Nations General Assembly. Issued, respectively, in 1981 and 1986 by the Secretary-General, these are relevant to the work of this Committee. They are Study Series 8, entitled "The Relationship between Disarmament and International Security", which was issued as United Nations document A/36/597, and Study Series 14, entitled "Concepts of Security", which was issued as an annex to United Nations document A/40/553. The Philippines is honoured to have participated in both these studies, having provided the Chairman for the first, and an expert for the second.

If we consider these studies together with the Palme Commission's Final Statement, which was issued as United Nations document A/44/293, we will find that our work in the past decade - and, of course, even before that - has not been for naught. They have provided some of the inspiration for action taken in the field of security and proposals on security forwarded by Governments, in this body as well as outside.

We have now come full circle - from the optimism of the late 1970s to the bleak first years of the 1980s, which saw the violent passing of such great leaders as Olof Palme and Indira Gandhi, to today's excitingly promising times.

Turning to the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, we note that, in the General Assembly, draft resolution A/44/L.38, under agenda item 158 and bearing the title "Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", was adopted by consensus. In the Special Political Committee, draft

resolution A/SPC/44/L.4, under agenda item 150 and entitled "Protection and security of small States", was also adopted by consensus. In the Sixth Committee, draft resolution A/C.6/44/L.44, under agenda item 141 and entitled "Peaceful settlement of disputes between States", was similarly adopted by consensus. All these resolutions spring from concepts that have been dealt with in this Committee, as well as having been examined in the studies to which we have referred.

We should bear in mind that the First Committee still leads, or should lead, on the question of security. We have already stated that our work has inspired projects within other Committees of the United Nations, as well as outside this body. The Brundlandt Commission, for instance, speaks of food security. It deals with the question of security from an environmental perspective, just as the earlier Brandt Commission dealt with it from the perspective of economics.

Our Committee must continue to provide the lead on those questions, not by cleaving to old formulas or approaches but rather by striking out on new initiatives in order to enable us to co-ordinate our work with that of other committees in such a way that overlapping items, such as the environment or economic security, may be handled jointly, not separately but viewed from different perspectives. Here, as in life, one cannot always place problems in pigeonholes. We need a more integrated approach to some questions, and that will demand even more imagination and creativity from all of us. We must strive to avoid a narrow-minded approach which makes some of us state categorically that items do not belong in our Committee simply because they have environmental, economic, social or other implications.

In many parts of the world today - in Europe, the Philippines, Japan, China and India - we still see magnificent reminders of feudal ages in the walls which surround their ancient cities and settlements. In due course those walls became irrelevant once gunpowder and cannons were able to breach them. In a similar sense we are now leaving behind us a feudal age, so to speak. Jet travel, space flight, television, computers, satellites, the spread of universal ideas - to mention just a few things - have made political boundaries and the walls in our thinking superfluous. It is time to see the world as one entity. From the moon, even the Great Wall of China is but a line on Earth's surface. All over the world the walls which once divided us are slowly coming down. We must leave mankind all the better for this.

Mr. BENDJAMA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Our Committee is this year considering items on international security in an atmosphere which has undoubtedly never been so favourable since the establishment of our Organization. In fact, the world is experiencing such complex and rapid changes in favour of an improvement in the international climate that sometimes we find it difficult to

gauge their scope and to define the basic situation. That situation, it has become clear today, means a new qualitative approach to international relations.

In its analysis of every stage of that evolution my delegation uses as a point of reference the three fundamental objectives for which the United Nations has been working since its establishment: the establishment of genuine and lasting international peace and security; the establishment of general and complete disarmament; and the promotion of universal economic and social development. Those three objectives, which are closely interrelated, benefit mutually from any favourable change, just as they are affected by any deterioration in international relations.

On the basis of those points of reference a calm observation of changes in our world today gives rise to measured optimism on the part of my delegation but above all also raises valid questions. We are optimistic, first of all, because international relations today are less based on the logic of power and ideological confrontation. The international community has suffered only too much from their concrete manifestations, such as the establishment of exclusive zones of influence and the preservation of selfish strategic interests, not to welcome and grasp this opportunity of the emergence of a new concept of world peace.

That is a peace which the Non-Aligned Movement has always called for as global peace, global in approach and universal in scope, which means a break with practice that has prevailed thus far, in order to establish a true policy of coexistence and co-operation based exclusively on compliance with the goals and principles of the Charter. The institutional framework for this quest on the part of the international community for lasting rules for common security can only be the United Nations. Is not its original mission the promotion of peace for all peoples

and the establishment and strengthening of international security for the benefit of all States? Multilateralism, which has already proved its fruitfulness as long as political will exists, must necessarily lead to dialogue and consultation and require the equal contribution of all States in this new era of international relations.

In this respect we may well be pleased at the renewed prestige of our Organization in world public opinion and within the community of States. Its restored authority today makes it possible for it to carry out the many missions entrusted to it with commendable effectiveness. By its direct involvement in the process of seeking solutions to many hotbads of tension the United Nations has confirmed its calling as an irreplaceable framework for endeavours for peace. There are many examples of this: Afghanistan, the Gulf, Cyprus and, most recently, Namibia, where, to the great satisfaction of the international community, our Organization has conducted a historic mission for the benefit of the Namibian people.

It is undeniable that at the basis of this climate of détente which is today prevailing in international relations the improvement in United States-Soviet relations has had considerable influence. We have seen the first dividends of renewed confidence in the lessening of distrust between the main military alliances of our world. The signing and implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Weapons has created favourable dynamics and we have seen limited but real progress in negotiations under way towards the reduction by half of strategic arsenals and negotiations on conventional and chemical disarmament. This evolution depends to a great extent on an awareness that a nuclear war could not be won by anyone and that therefore a nuclear war must not be waged, and that it is madness to seek strategic superiority for that reason.

We are fully aware that general and complete disarmament means that we have a long and difficult course ahead and that we must proceed gradually as we gain new confidence in different areas. In that spirit we cannot accept the development of ever more sophisticated and deadly weapons.

There is another undeniable fact and it is that the lessening of ideological rivalries has had a positive effect on the evolution of certain regional conflicts which are today in a state of relative appeasement or where a process of negotiated settlement is under way, with the participation of our Organization systematically requested. None the less it remains equally true that there are still other hotbeds of tension in the world, with their sequel of hatred, violence and injustice. In Africa and the Middle East peoples are still struggling for the recognition of their rights to dignity and freedom. It is important that their suffering and sacrifice be not in vain and that the principles that guide our international community be restored in those regions.

Since it is on the European continent more than anywhere else in the world that efforts to improve international relations have been concentrated, and it is Europe which is today reaping the first fruits of the East-West improvement, my delegation is of course pleased at the progress of détente on a continent to which we have always been bound by geographic proximity, economic and demographic exchanges and history; but at the same time we reaffirm our commitment to the indivisible and global nature of international security.

In this context, we cannot go along with a piecemeal approach. We cannot go along with restricting measures of détente and disarmament to the European continent at a time when it is unanimously recognized that there is a direct relationship between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean basin.

The Mediterranean non-aligned countries, quite rightly concerned at the constant tension in the region, have already expressed their resolve to spare no effort to fulfil the historic role of the Mediterranean Sea area for co-operation and trade in the framework of the status of a zone of peace and co-operation.

Thus, following Brioni in 1987, my own country's capital is preparing to welcome next year a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries. We will continue thinking about the promotion of co-operation among our countries in different sectors, but we will also be preparing dialogue and agreement with the member States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We expect of them the same open-mindedness, the same readiness to meet our legitimate concerns that existed at their meeting in Palma de Mallorca, which was devoted to the relationship between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean.

At the regional level, Algeria has worked and will continue to work together with its neighbours to build a union of the Arab Maghreb viewed as a grouping that reflects the historic aspirations of our peoples and that opens a broad horizon for co-operation and increased complementarity. My country has been involved in mutually advantageous co-operation in this grouping, which we are convinced is an appropriate response to the challenges of an international environment characterized today by the imperative need for the establishment and unity of large groups. Unfortunately these positive developments for security and co-operation in our region have met with real threats to international peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the Middle East, in fact, the tragedy of the Palestinian people has put to the test the credibility of our Organization. The wonderful children of the intifadah call upon our consciences every day. The Zionist régime, deaf to the condemnations and appeals of the international community, continues to bring about armed intervention throughout the Middle East and the threat of nuclear war. It constitutes in this respect the basic reason why the situation in the Middle East has constantly deteriorated and is the sole obstacle to the restoration of peace in that troubled region.

I do not wish to conclude without referring once again to the objectives that have underlain the activities of our Organization since its establishment. While today we see possibilities for dialogue and agreement on international security, and while the framework for negotiations on disarmament issues has been revitalized - this also applies to the process of <u>détente</u> - the same is not true of economic and social development at the global level. The global economic situation in fact continues to arouse the most serious concerns. It is characterized by an ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries, a gap illustrated by the continued economic growth of the countries of the North in sad contrast with the flagrant economic deterioration of the South. It is also characterized by a structural trade imbalance because of the constant deterioration of the terms of trade, the debt burden and the negative net transfer of capital. The international community must see in this dangerous situation the elements of a new crisis in international relations. It is our duty and our aspiration to reverse this dangerous trend and to use to the utmost the many possibilities of multilateralism.

Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): In assessing the current state of affairs in international relations and in considering the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, account should be taken of the fact that further major changes have occurred on the international

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scene since our last gathering. In the political sphere of international relations especially, these processes are gaining increasing significance.

Relations between the East and West are constantly being improved. The level and intensity of the dialogue, as well as the broadening spectrum of topics and areas of co-operation, are gaining in depth and diversity. This is particularly true of the relations between the super-Powers that are engaged in a wide-ranging dialogue designed to improve their mutual relations, which has a positive impact on international relations in general.

There is no doubt that the road embarked upon by the United States and the Soviet Union in their mutual relations is a necessary precondition of building genuine international security. The international community has welcomed the results achieved so far, but has also expressed its expectation that through new agreements and concrete measures they will render their full contribution to world stability in the period ahead.

Changes are also evident in relations between the two main military blocs, as well as within them. Political developments and <u>rapprochement</u> seem to question their very existence. Progress is evident in the beginning of the solution of a number of hotbeds of crisis that have for years threatened world peace and security. Let me mention only the process under way in Namibia to bring long-awaited independence to the Namibian people.

The current positive processes are not, nor can they be, the result of the improved relations between the big Powers only. We see in contemporary processes the most direct confirmation of the principles and goals of the policy of non-alignment and the many years of activities of the non-aligned countries that have resolutely advocated the overcoming of bloc divisions in the world and have called on the big Powers to replace confrontation with co-operation. This was reaffirmed at the summit conference of non-aligned countries held at Belgrade.

Negotiations and understanding are gradually superseding conflicts and misunderstandings. However, despite important positive movements, much remains to be done in various fields.

In order for détente to become universal, it must be comprehensive with respect to numerous and complex problems that call for a concerted and coherent approach in multilateral forums.

The danger inherent in the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, is far from being removed and calls for further decisive steps to be taken in the field of disarmament.

Similarly, continuing efforts should be made to find solutions to regional crises, particularly to those that are of long standing. More often than not they are deeply rooted in regional contradictions and are aggravated and assume new dimensions because of the interference and involvement of outside forces.

The crisis in the Middle East and the problem of Palestine continue to represent a serious threat to international peace. Similarly, despite some encouraging signs, the system of <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa, which is the root-cause of the long-lasting crisis in the region, continues to defy the attempts of the international community to ensure a just and lasting solution to the problem. It is constantly confirmed that the solution of these problems, as well as of the problems of Western Sahara, Central America, Cyprus and Kampuchea, among others, is possible only through political means based on the realization of the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence in a process that will include all interested parties and ensure respect for the legitimate interests of all.

Despite a favourable political climate, the interdependence of the contemporary world necessarily demands that greater attention be accorded international economic relations. The economic situation in the vast majority of

the developing countries has deteriorated dramatically, which is increasingly coming to the fore as a potential source of tension and new, even more difficult disruptions in international relations. Many developing countries can hardly visualize a better future in present conditions, which, for example, enable the net flow of capital from developing to developed countries, which is a unique paradox.

Particularly intolerable is the problem of the external debt. It has been shown that as yet there is not sufficient general readiness in developed countries to understand the problems of the developing world, which are global and in the long run may have global consequences. One day the world may be without a nuclear bomb, but the "economic and social bombs" may threaten all positive processes and world peace. There is no doubt that, short of substantial improvement in the economic position of developing countries, it is not possible to achieve lasting peace and security in the world.

The question of the environment is yet another global issue. The non-aligned countries devoted special attention to this question at their summit Conference in Belgrade, realizing the potential danger if the international community failed to react in good time and in unison.

As a European non-aligned country, Yugoslavia is very interested in ensuring security in Europe, bearing in mind that, historically, Europe has been the continent on which there have been numerous conflicts and that has seen the outbreak of two world wars. Today, however, we are witnessing important processes and efforts by European countries aimed at overcoming ideological, political and economic contradictions, and at having confrontations superseded by mutual confidence and co-operation. The recently concluded Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) at Vienna and the negotiations under its aegis are an important contribution towards this end.

Speaking about Europe, we cannot but point out the importance of the Mediterranean and the efforts made by the non-aligned countries of the region to transform it into a zone of peace and co-operation.

Lasting solutions to the existing problems of disarmament, development, peace and security, on which the future of the world depends, can be achieved only with the participation of all interested parties, that is, with the active participation of the international community and the United Nations, in particular. The world Organization has confirmed, especially in the last couple of years, its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. It is therefore absolutely necessary today to act jointly towards further strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations and, in particular, of the role entrusted by the United Nations Charter to the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

In conclusion, let me point out that recent events and developments hear out the essence of the non-aligned countries' perception and understanding of the relations in the world. There can be no genuine security without respect for independence, territorial integrity and the principle of non-interference and non-recourse to force. There can be no genuine security either, without the equitable co-operation and mutual interest. Nor will there be stability without the equitable economic development of all. "A détente devoid of its economic content is unlikely to endure", says the Belgrade Declaration. Only on this basis can the world take another step forward into the future and face the challenges before it.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): My assessment of the situation indicates that it will not be possible for us to complete the work of the First Committee today. Not a single one of the three draft resolutions still pending will be ready for action today. As far as 1 am concerned, I regret this very much, because as I said at the beginning of the meeting, I would very much have liked to be here when the First Committue completes its work this year, but we certainly cannot impose on delegations a pace of negotiations that is not

appropriate for the Chair or the members of the Committee. That means that there will be a meeting tomorrow to take action on outstanding draft resolutions, which will be presided over by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Nabil Fahmy.

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): With the consent of the Committee, I should like to read out the statement that it was my intention to make at the end of our work as an evaluation of our activities this year.

As the work of the First Committee draws to a close, I should like to express my appreciation to all of those who have contributed to the success of our endeavours. It was an honour and a pleasure for me to have served as Chairman of the Committee. It has been a very rich experience, which I shall always bear with me.

Members have made it possible for the work of the Committee to be productive, thanks to the spirit of co-operation and understanding that prevailed in our work. I extend my appreciation in particular to the officers of the Committee, without whose dedication, solidarity and support I would not have been able fully to discharge my responsibilities.

In connection with the first part of our agenda, the disarmament items, I should like to underscore that the effort at co-operation made it possible for the number of draft resolutions submitted to be reduced substantially. In spite of the increase in the number of agenda items, only 63 draft resolutions were submitted this year as compared with 74 draft resolutions last year. This year, out of 57 draft resolutions adopted by the Committee, 22 were adopted without a vote. This is due, to a large extent, to the climate of understanding, harmony and co-operation that now prevails in the world. But this would not have been possible

without the effort at rationalization made by all delegations, and in particular by those that are the traditional sponsors of draft resolutions.

In spite of the results achieved, we cannot feel completely satisfied. A great deal remains to be done. It is necessary, above all, to revitalize and strengthen the role of multilateral forums and render fully effective the interdependent relationship between them and more restricted negotiation mechanisms, whether bilateral or regional, that are used by the main military Powers. The need to confront globally the problems posed by military expenditures and the accumulation of weaponry requires the participation of the international community for the adoption of solutions consistent with security requirements. As was stated by the Secretary-General when he addressed the First Committee:

"While the role of bilateral and regional negotiations is self-evident, it is also no substitute for the pursuit of disarmament at the global level. The strengthening and reinvigoration of the multilateral disarmament process is vital, given the global nature of many of the issues involved and their implications for international peace and security." (A/C.1/44/PV.15, p. 13)

Furthermore, the growing need for financial resources in order to resolve economic problems has a decisive influence on the efforts of all countries to curb and reverse the arms race the world over. In the present circumstances, when the international economic system is faced with increasing difficulties in its attempt to provide sufficient resources for development, the only possible source of additional resources for development would seem to be disarmament. The reduction of military expenditures by releasing sizeable human and material resources should contribute to reactivating the economies of the large developed countries, and at the same time give new impetus to the process of development in general, and to renewed co-operation in the developing countries.

We have also adopted this year two draft resolutions on the question of Antarctica. Unfortunately, we have not yet reached a consensus on this question, in spite of the expressed will of many delegations to make efforts to achieve that objective. I am confident that efforts will be intensified, so that the international community may take a consensus position, in view of the challenges posed by that very special continent.

We are about to conclude our consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items. I believe that in this field also we have made progress, which has contributed to a better understanding of the prospects of different States as regards international peace and security. The new climate of positive change in international relations is prevailing over old disputes and hard and fast positions. The present time offers opportunities which we must grasp in order to resolve problems in the area of disarmament and international security.

The debates this year on international security have been conducted at a time of great expectations of change in respect of international security. The evolution of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, reflected in the role they have assumed at this session of the General Assembly as co-sponsors of the item on the strengthening of international peace, security and international co-operation, the changes in the security situation in Europe, and the success the United Nations has had in facilitating the negotiated settlement of a number of regional conflicts have all contributed to creating a widespread feeling of optimism about the present state of international security and the direction that has been taken. During this session the achievements in the long process of the independence of Namibia have also been a source of pride and satisfaction.

The First Committee has, I believe, been able to make a contribution to the new climate of co-operation and international agreement that has been established in the world. Today the political climate is becoming more sensitive to the peoples' aspirations for peace. We are seeing an increasingly strong conviction that an end must be put to old conflicts and that we must reduce the risk which the accumulation of arms represents to the strengthening of international peace and security.

I believe that the deliberations of the First Committee and the measures that have been adopted during this session have contributed significantly to the establishment of a balance sheet on the present state of international security and to the initiation of the consideration of certain proposals on effective new measures for the strengthening of international security. I regard as very valuable the positive attitude that has inspired our work during this session, and I am confident that the same spirit will continue to guide our thinking on these fundamental issues.

I believe that, without trying to impose discipline, the rationalization of the work of the Committee has to a great extent succeeded. I am referring to the efficiency and flexibility that have characterized our proceedings, thanks to the efforts made by all. This has made it possible for the Committee to complete, or almost complete, its lengthy agenda within the scheduled time.

I am grateful to all delegations for the co-operation they have given me and for their efforts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of our work and of our proceedings.

I should not like to conclude this statement without expressing my thanks to Mr. Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, and Mr. Safronchuk, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs. I wish also to say a few special words of thanks to Mr. Sohrah Kheradi, Secretary of the Committee, whose special qualifications have made ε fundamental contribution to the carrying out of our work.

I also want to thank our colleagues, Mr. Sattar and Mr. Gerardi Siebert, who have contributed considerably to the success of our work. Lastly, I want to extend my thanks to Ms. Perkins, Mr. Ishiguri, Ms. Marcaillou and Ms. Brosnakova and also,

of course, to the conference officers, interpreters and all the other United Nations staff members who have made it possible for this Committee to conduct its work effectively.

This brings me to the end of the statement I intended to make at the conclusion of our work. As I have already said, the Committee will be holding a meeting tomorrow, and it is hoped that it will then be able to take action on all the remaining draft resolutions.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.