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

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General debate and consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security items [71, 72 and 73] (continued)

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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 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 and 73 (continued)

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

Mr. MLLOJA (Albania): My statement today relates to agenda item 71, on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

The Albanian delegation takes this opportunity to state, as it has done in the past, that it considers this problem to be of vital importance to our region, with a direct bearing on peace and security and the peaceful co-operation of the Mediterranean countries.

As is well known, the Mediterranean occupies a specific position as regards its geographical location. It is placed at the crossroads of three continents - Europe, Africa and Asia; that is the reason for its major strategic and economic importance. Its coasts and the peoples that have lived and are still living along them were the cradle of distinguished ancient cultures and civilizations, which radiated into cultures that arose later and that led to the present European and world civilizations. The Mediterranean remains an immense basin, with a vast amount of peaceful trade, transportation and fishing traffic vital to the peoples of the region and beyond it.

On the political level, life has proved that every significant development or disturbance in the region has in one way or another had repercussions on the European continent as well, and even a large-scale effect on international relations. Hence, tense situations in the region cannot but arouse concern over potential threats to other regions.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

As a Mediterranean country the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is constantly concerned and preoccupied with security in the Mediterranean. In view of the atmosphere and current situation in the region, we are of the opinion that the situation in the Mediterranean is still far from reflecting the aspirations of its peoples, who want it to be a sea of peace and prosperity, a basin where useful communication among its peoples and countries as well as with other parts of the world serves co-operation, understanding and confidence.

A number of negative factors that persist in the Mediterranean generate a situation fraught with threats for the peoples and States bordering on it, and even beyond. In the first place the military presence of the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union and their navies, which engage in multiple, intensive military activities that not infrequently escalate into situations of tension and crisis, have transformed the Mediterranean into an ultra-militarized sea. To that should be added the fact that there are also foreign military bases in the region, which can only contribute to the further complication and aggravation of the situation. The military presence and activity of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers in the Mediterranean not only are a source of tension and danger to its peoples, but, on a real basis, directly and seriously hinder the normal and peaceful activities of the Mediterranean countries. The navies of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, which comprise warships, cruisers, aircraft carriers and even missile carriers, and which systematically engage in military exercises in the region, cannot fail to create an unhealthy and even threatening environment, absolutely unstable and tense, for the regional States and peoples and for their normal life and activity.

In light of that, we can only share the ever-growing concern of the peoples and countries of the region over the existing situation and point to the dangers

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

emanating from the military presence deployed in the Mediterranean. It is the aspiration of the Mediterranean peoples to have their basin free from stockpiles of military potential and from the foreign military bases that have long existed and operated in the region. Such concrete measures alone could bring about the realization of the sincere and legitimate aspirations of the Mediterranean peoples to transform it into a sea of tranquillity and fruitful co-operation, to make the Mediterranean belong to Mediterraneans. The peace, security and co-operation of the region's countries cannot be ensured unless an end is put to foreign interference - military, political or otherwise, which upsets the needed peaceful atmosphere by creating tensions instead of the peace, that is alleged to exist, replacing security with insecurity.

Of no less concern to the Mediterranean and the peoples and countries bordering upon its waters is the pollution of the environment and the poisoning of its underwater and coastal life. The preoccupation expressed internationally with environmental pollution at the current session of the General Assembly has already assumed alarming proportions with regard to the Mediterranean. Facts demonstrate that unless energetic and substantial bilateral and multilateral measures are adopted the Mediterranean risks becoming a nearly dead sea in the not-too-distant future. Prompted by that concern and, in general, by the sound desire to protect the Mediterranean from such a danger - which naturally affects all the countries of the basin - Albania has expressed its readiness to contribute, however modestly and insignificantly, to the sincere and constructive efforts to protect the Mediterranean from ecological damage. In that context we have participated in several activities undertaken for that purpose. Part of that concern and those efforts is reflected in Albania's engagement in the ecological protection of the Adriatic, as the Mediterranean's adjacent sea.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

Faithful to its peaceful and independent foreign policy the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always attempted to fulfil its obligations as a Mediterranean country with regard to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. Albania adheres to its stand, publicly proclaimed and sanctioned in its Constitution, which prohibits the deployment of foreign military troops and bases as well as the granting of harbour facilities to military warships in its ports and on its coastline. That is, in our opinion, a real contribution to peace and security in our basin.

With regard to co-operation in the region, we have endeavoured and we endeavour to expand it on a bilateral basis and favour Mediterranean co-operation in keeping with the sincere desire and common interests of all the region's countries. However, the two aspects - security and co-operation - are interrelated. Security is a prerequisite for genuine and fruitful co-operation, just as there can be no talk of security so long as foreign, military, political and other interference persists in the area. Every kind of co-operation within the Mediterranean, however modest and pioneering, must be put at the service of the common interests of the Mediterranean countries and peoples.

Mr. CHOUERI (Lebanon): Permit me, Sir, before beginning my statement, to convey through you to the Chairman of the Committee and to all delegations our gratitude for the sympathy expressed to the delegation of Lebanon last Wednesday on the death under very tragic circumstances of our President, Mr. René Moawad.

My statement today deals with the subject of strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. We feel that the atmosphere of tranquillity and progress that has prevailed in East-West relations for a number of years now has given the international community a unique opportunity to pursue security initiatives with confidence and hope.

(Mr. Choueri, Lebanon)

Our country, which has suffered for a long time from regional and internal conflict, welcomes the emergence of a new spirit in international behaviour based on dealing with world crises peacefully and on the basis of constructive and rational dialogue. The new spirit in the relations between the two super-Powers and the evolution of relationships not only will benefit their mutual interests but will also prove beneficial to the world community at large and will consequently have a positive impact on security in the Mediterranean region.

The Mediterranean region, by virtue of its historical dimension and of its geographical position at the junction of three continents, deserves our particular attention. Perhaps the meeting of the leaders of the two super-Powers in the Mediterranean next week puts a timely focus on the significance of the issue. Efforts by Mediterranean States to intensify and promote contacts in all fields where a common interest exists are only a logical step, in view of the geopolitical importance of the region, and they pave the way to strengthening its security.

(Mr. Choueri, Lebanon)

However, it is obvious that concerted efforts to promote peace, security and co-operation have to be based on some underlying principles governing international relations: such principles as national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-interference in other countries' affairs, non-violation of international borders, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

The United Nations can play a vital role in strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. In that context, the world community should expect due respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter and the implementation of the Security Council resolutions relevant to the issues in the region.

A primary element in creating an atmosphere of trust in our region would be the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Lebanon supports every effort in that direction, in accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions and the recommendations made in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament.

A decisive step towards the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East would be the adherence of all countries concerned to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and, pending the establishment of such a zone, the submission of all their nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. In that connection, we cannot but expect Israel, the only country in the region that is widely reported to possess nuclear weapons, to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981), which calls upon it to place its nuclear facilities under those safeguards.

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The Mediterranean region is blessed with natural beauty, a temperate climate, and a unique wealth of flora and fauna. Since ancient times, it has also been a cradle of civilization. Many of those aspects of its rich life are threatened by environmental factors. In addition to the pollution of the waters of the Mediterranean there are the ravages of rapid development. Co-operation among the countries of the region should involve rapid action to meet those concerns. These matters deserve our attention when we focus on the security of the region.

Lebanon, as a small country, has always played its constructive part in supporting efforts aimed at ushering in an era of peace and harmony among States. For a number of years now, unfortunately, our leading role on the regional and world scene has been handicapped by the protracted crisis in our country. Lebanon, a beleaguered country, hopes that progress in international relations will come to bear on its predicament. In that connection, we feel that world events are interconnected. Consequently, a positive trend in international relations will be of relevance to us all, regardless of the specificity of our respective crises.

As a small country, we wish to emphasize the right of all States to participate in international efforts leading to security, disarmament and peace. Although the primary responsibility for such international agreements as those governing nuclear weapons should fall on the major Powers, the smaller States are, as much as the major Powers, at the mercy of those destructive weapons and should participate in halting the arms race and in negotiating international as well as regional security arrangements.

Lebanon has been through many years of turmoil in an area that has known chronic regional conflict for a long time. We believe that security in the Mediterranean should be pursued through the peaceful settlement of conflict, the adherence of all States to the principles of the Charter, and the implementation of

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the resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations. Needless to say, our country and our region would have been spared many years of conflict if an end to occupation had been possible. Respect for the sovereignty of each country in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations is an important corollary of regional and international security and of lasting world peace.

Mr. LAWSON-BETUM (Togo) (interpretation from French): The painful memory of the horrors of two world wars and the valuable lessons learned from them, particularly through the establishment of the United Nations, certainly justify the interest aroused by issues of international security.

As a tangible illustration of that interest, the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was seen as a judicious decision serving as a reference point and a guide for action.

Through the prodigality and abundance of our professions of faith in support of peace every year, our collective thinking on the agenda items pertaining to international security seems to reflect the dedication of the Member States of the world Organization to scrupulous respect for the commitments undertaken in the Charter.

Those professions of faith, however, have sometimes been seen as a mere ritual, especially as soon as one enters the arena of international political realities and notices the increase, the persistence, even the exacerbation of, breaches of the peace essentially caused by violations of the noble principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter, the use of force, the pursuit of domination, military competition and the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination, independence and basic human rights.

My delegation is again taking part in the debate on the items on international security, bearing in mind the importance and complexity of the issue and the

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imperative need for the international community to redouble its efforts and to combine its initiatives to meet the challenges that remain and to rise to the demands of world equilibrium.

Recent developments in international political relations suggest that a long period of uncertainty, distrust and confrontation is gradually giving way to a new chapter in history, a chapter characterized by a better perception of the virtues of dialogue, broad-based agreement and co-operation, as well as the validity of the principles and purposes of the Charter and the vast resources for action available to our Organization.

The process of nuclear disarmament initiated by the two super-Powers, in keeping with their prime responsibility for disarmament - a remarkable reflection of United States-Soviet rapprochement - cannot fail to strengthen international peace and security.

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The process must be resolutely continued and must involve the other nuclear Powers, in order to guarantee the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

The speedy conclusion of an international convention banning chemical weapons would also be an important disarmament measure, covering an entire category of weapons of mass destruction and thus making a valuable contribution to international peace and security.

Among recent examples of improved East-West relations we should mention the inclusion on the agenda for the current session of the General Assembly - on the joint initiative of the United States and the Soviet Union - of an additional item entitled "Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". The timeliness and wisdom of that initiative were proved by the extensive sponsorship of the draft resolution on the matter and the unanimous support it received.

The adoption and implementation of measures to increase confidence between States are becoming essential factors in the promotion of disarmament and the reservation and consolidation of international peace and security. Translating that concept into concrete acts will create favourable conditions for honouring our commitment to devote only a minimum of the world's resources to armaments.

For the sake of stability in Europe and world stability, negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe should lead to practical and feasible conclusions. My delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate its firm support for those timely negotiations, which deserve the warm encouragement of all Members of the United Nations.

The importance of confidence-building measures is being realized more and more in other regions, and particularly in Africa, where the States of West and Central Africa have already taken a number of significant initiatives in this regard. Because of its unswerving dedication to the maintenance of international peace and

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security, Togo has spared no effort to develop good-neighbourly relations involving active economic co-operation with its West African neighbours; hence its ratification of the non-aggression and mutual defence assistance agreement concluded between the member States of the West African Economic Community, its initiative with regard to the conclusion of a non-aggression protocol in the framework of the Economic Community of West African States, and its tireless efforts to foster the economic integration of the subregion.

Since they can strengthen regional and international peace and security, the efforts made in Africa and other regions of the world to develop confidence-building measures adapted to the specific characteristics of those regions should enjoy the international community's constant support.

Because of the Mediterranean's strategic importance, concrete measures should be taken to strengthen security and co-operation in that region. The close relationship between security there, security in Europe and international peace and security makes it more important than ever before to diversify and enhance the dialogue and co-operation between the European countries and the Mediterranean countries, with no exceptions.

Apart from those considerations, transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation would in itself be an important contribution to international peace and security.

Implementation of the declaration of a Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic will also make a valuable contribution to world stability.

In addition, removing obstacles to the convening of the Colombo Conference is essential for the establishment of stability in that other strategic zone - the Indian Ocean. It would open the way to taking decisions on ways and means to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

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Recent successes in efforts and initiatives to achieve the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts clearly show that it is possible to ensure lasting progress in international peace and security by making the best use of the collective security machinery provided for by the Charter. It is undoubtedly thanks to the cohesion and active co-operation in the Security Council, as well as the far-sightedness and skill of the Secretary-General, that there has been movement with regard to so many regional conflicts. To improve the effectiveness of the collective security machinery the authority of those two essential organs for the maintenance of international peace and security should be strengthened. To that end, the Security Council could usefully consider taking diplomatic or other initiatives to eliminate sources of tension, in order to avoid an outbreak of hostilities or to prevent the escalation of existing hostilities.

It is also very desirable that the Secretary-General should be provided with the necessary human, financial and technical resources to be able to obtain and rapidly process information on conflict situations or tensions likely to escalate.

Peace-keeping operations have turned out to be a useful and effective means of establishing stability in many areas of conflict and to be one of the most tangible expressions of the United Nations commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security. The evolution of the functions assigned to those operations shows Member States' awareness of the need to adapt to the new demands of peace-keeping.

Significant in this regard are the recent operations, particularly the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group; the former has promoted the settlement of one of the longest and most deadly conflicts of our times and the latter has guaranteed the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence. Namibia's imminent accession to independence will certainly go down in history as one of the

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most important contributions by the United Nations in our day to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

Because of their value and proven effectiveness, the peace-keeping operations would certainly benefit if they were improved, particularly as regards political, material and financial support by Member States. However, from the point of view of its renewed prestige and credibility, and because of the heavy costs of those operations, our Organization should ensure that they gradually give way to the comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of conflicts and that preventive diplomacy predominates in its peace-keeping efforts.

The spectacular improvement in East-West relations certainly gives a historic chance, which must be taken, to rethink and reorient security policies. The efforts to relax tensions and the initiatives to limit armaments and bring about disarmament give weight to the idea that a State's security cannot be conceived in exclusively military terms, that it cannot be based on the accumulation of arms or be achieved at the cost of the security of other States.

Reorienting security policies implies in the first place the substitution of defensive thinking for offensive thinking. In this regard, we welcome the agreement in the negotiations at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on convening a seminar on military doctrines as they apply to current deployments of forces. The seminar should open the way to the reduction of forces to the lowest levels compatible with genuine self-defence needs.

Rethinking and reorienting security policies also involve effective integration of the economic, human and environmental aspects of security. As was rightly emphasized in the Final Statement of the Palme Commission, issued in Stockholm on 14 April this year:

"... far more people in the world today suffer from economic, than military, insecurity.

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"...

"Insecurity could originate too from environmental disturbances. ... Poverty and environmental destruction interact to create a downward spiral of activity that can result in migrations of environmental refugees, the spread of deserts and deforested zones, and conflicts over water and watershed use. ... The interaction of poverty, military conflict, and environmental destruction in parts of Africa illustrate in an extreme form the cumulative nature of the threats these problems could pose, if not addressed, and the multifaceted character of security." (A/44/293, annex, paras. 79 and 82)

We should also emphasize that certain ecological challenges, such as the depletion of the ozone layer and the danger of global warming, affect the whole world.

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The human dimension of security is of as much importance as its military, economic and ecological dimensions. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that the promotion and defence of, and respect for, fundamental human rights and individual freedoms will contribute to the elimination of sources of international conflict.

The reorientation of security policies also presupposes control of the military applications of scientific and technological advances and a more rational use of new developments to ensure the well-being of mankind and promote the conclusion of and respect for agreements on arms limitation and disarmament.

Since ancient times science, in its broadest sense, which includes new technologies, has been the faithful companion of war. Indeed, since the end of the Second World War new and much more sophisticated and destructive weapons systems have been developed, not in response to military or security needs but simply as an outgrowth of technological innovation - or, rather, technological competition.

Lord Solly Zuckerman, who was for many years scientific adviser to the British Government, wrote the following on the subject of the links between science, strategy and policy:

"The decisions we take today in the fields of science and technology determine the tactics, strategy and, finally, the policy of tomorrow."

It is also interesting to recall that as long ago as 1813, at a time when Europe had become an arena of particularly bloody battles, Count de Saint-Simon addressed these bitter words to a group of French mathematicians:

"All Europe is engaged in cutting its own throat. What are you doing to stop the killing? Nothing! And why am I telling you this? Because it is you who are inventing and manufacturing these means of destruction; it is you who are ensuring that every army has them."

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The circumstances that led to the manufacture of nuclear and chemical weapons confirm the Count de Saint-Simon's words. The German chemist Hans Haber and the fledgling chemical industry volunteered their services for the development of a better method of destruction in the war effort. By persuading Albert Einstein to write to President Roosevelt about developing the nuclear weapon the physicists Leo Szilard and Eugene Wigner presided at the birth of a formidable weapon for the destruction of mankind. In this connection it is worth recalling that, after those first steps had been taken, men of science were among the most vocal in waging campaigns to make public opinion aware of the threats posed to world peace by the emergence of those weapons of mass destruction.

No one can deny that the military applications of scientific and technological advances have reinforced efforts to achieve the limitation of armaments and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Such is the case with the reconnaissance satellites that have made possible new verification procedures by national means, as well as with the methods of controlling radioactive materials applied within the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Nevertheless, we are forced to recognize that so far the military applications of scientific and technological progress have been used principally for the purposes of war. This explains why new developments, particularly through the miniaturization of molecular engineering, computer science, the possibility of creating new materials, laser technology and so on, have given rise to a whole range of weapons with a high degree of sophistication as regards speed, precision, destructive capability and weight. To mention only one example, one of the newest missiles, launched by submarine and with a load-bearing capacity of 1 ton, can carry 10 nuclear warheads, each with three times the power of the Hiroshima bomb, which weighed 5 tons.

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This shows the significance of the adoption of resolution 43/77 A, in which the General Assembly, inter alia, requests the Secretary-General to follow future scientific and technological developments, especially those which have potential military applications, and to evaluate their impact on international security, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts, as appropriate, and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. That report will enable us to discuss in greater depth suitable ways and means of eliminating the motives for military competition and thereby preserving and strengthening international peace and security.

It is true to say that security, which is an essential element of peace, has always been one of mankind's deepest aspirations. The establishment of the United Nations is one of the most telling manifestations of that aspiration.

At a time when the demons of mistrust, hostility and war seriously seem to be steadily losing ground, it is essential that our search for security be based even more firmly on respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter, the full use of the potential of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, and the political will to combine national security interests with those of the international community.

In other words, we must make sure that the disturbing image of peace for the rich and powerful and war for the poor and weak disappears. We must do our utmost to make sure that security, with all that that implies is, with common sense, the best shared thing in the world.

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): The Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization, stated that we would shortly be entering a new decade and that

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"This, of course, means little by itself but not many decades can have opened at truly historic points. The present is such a point." (A/44/1, p. 28)

We share this assessment because it is justified in the light of the intensified political dialogue, the dynamic process of profound transformation now under way, the first disarmament agreements, progress in the settlement of conflicts, the progressive implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, and, not least, the growing commitment of States to multilateralism and the enhanced effectiveness of the United Nations.

At the same time, one should not fail to note that the arms race is continuing, the spirit of confrontation still lingers on and the goals of militarism have not been abandoned.

The latest documents adopted by the parties to the Warsaw Treaty and by the non-aligned States, and statements made by political leaders in the West corroborate the view shared world wide that a turning-point has been reached in international developments. This must find its reflection also in this debate and, particularly, in the results it is expected to produce. We are committed to a frank exchange of opinions and a fair accommodation of interests in the search for a consensus.

In the recent past a revolutionary development of truly historic dimensions has occurred in my country. Millions of citizens are imbued with a resolve to renew their socialist society and their socialist State, and have thus become a strong political force. We aspire to a better kind of socialism, which should be marked by profound reforms in the political, economic and other spheres of society; the development of democracy and the rule of law; political and ideological tolerance; the systematic enforcement of the principle of pay according to

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performance, while ensuring social security for everyone and a free unfolding of individuality that goes hand-in-hand with a team spirit.

The movement which has now been initiated is designed to strengthen the German Democratic Republic as a democratic socialist State committed to anti-Fascist traditions, a State which is open to the world and is a predictable partner of all.

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Democratic Republic)

With this goal in mind, a coalition Government with a completely new character was formed in my country and includes all political parties. This Government is fully aware of its responsibility as regards both national and international affairs. Its foreign policy in the service of socialist renewal will be geared towards peace, international understanding and security, thus being in full harmony with article 6 of the German Democratic Republic's Constitution and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. May I single out here some basic precepts as they were outlined in the Government's policy statement of 17 November last.

The German Democratic Republic will observe and fulfil its obligations assumed in international organizations, conventions and treaties.

My country is opening up to a world in which interdependence is becoming increasingly manifest, in which the need and capacity for co-operative conduct in relations among States have indeed become a matter of survival. The German Democratic Republic advocates realism, predictability and honesty in relations among States.

The German Democratic Republic will be working for a positive conclusion of the Vienna negotiations. Relying on its tradition of peace, the German Democratic Republic will be endeavouring in a new way to have the mutual capabilities of attack and destruction of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization reduced to such an extent that no threat endangering the existence of nations would persist.

The German Democratic Republic honours its obligations under the Warsaw Treaty. We will expand and intensify our manifold relations - in particular with the Soviet Union and our immediate neighbours, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Polish People's Republic.

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It will be the special concern of our foreign policy to enhance our country's own contribution to a European order of peace. The future European home must be a house of common security. The all-European process should be further advanced through the consistent implementation of all principles and recommendations set forth in the documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The German Democratic Republic is fully committed to the fulfilment of its obligations both within the country and in its relationship with other States.

The German Democratic Republic believes that the existence and constructive further development of stable and predictable relations between the two German States are among the fundamental conditions for stability and peace in Europe. If the two German States fully respect each other, they will be able to set a valuable example of co-operative existence.

As regards our relationship with the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the German Democratic Republic will remain linked with them in solidarity and will be their reliable partner. It will support the justified proposals of those States regarding the solution of their national and social problems with the same dedication as endeavours towards the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

The German Democratic Republic takes on the challenges in the world and will make its contribution to the solution of global problems. It will share in the democratization of international relations, as also in the strengthening of international security, taking equally into consideration political, military, economic, ecological and humanitarian aspects. My country will remain fully committed to constructive co-operation in the United Nations and its organizations.

No doubt, of particular importance for further progress in international affairs is a greater emphasis on, and gradual implementation of, a new approach to guaranteeing national, regional and global security, primarily through political,

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legal and confidence-building measures rather than reliance on military means. The Secretary-General's annual report contains numerous recommendations and proposals towards that end which should be discussed and, if there is consensus, reflected in a resolution on international security. We would also welcome it if the complex issue of political security guarantees or the question of drafting a code for co-operation in guaranteeing and strengthening security in all its aspects were addressed by groups of experts, the Secretariat or other appropriate United Nations bodies. What is needed is practical steps designed to strengthen the role of the United Nations and enhance the effectiveness of its main and subsidiary organs in the field of security policies. The German Democratic Republic fully shares the Secretary-General's view that

"The United Nations needs to demonstrate its capacity to function as guardian of the world's security". (A/44/1, p. 11)

Precisely in that spirit, my delegation has welcomed the joint Soviet-United States initiative recently submitted in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, and has joined in sponsoring A/C.1/44/L.26/Rev.2.

There are many good reasons for convening a special session of the General Assembly on the whole complex of security policies in the near future. It should provide a forum for consultations and common action with a view to bringing about agreement on approaches and practical steps towards the world-wide guaranteeing and strengthening of peace, security and co-operation. It is conceivable that a pertinent initiative could be launched in 1990, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of a Declaration on the strengthening of international security.

The German Democratic Republic abides strictly by the provisions of the Charter and is working single-mindedly towards the implementation of its purposes

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and principles. Honouring the Charter also means recognizing the competence of the Organization's main organs. We are in favour of efficient and result-oriented co-operation and co-ordination of work between all main organs. Such an approach would also help to reduce spending for United Nations operations or to reallocate funds for other useful purposes.

Proceeding from that, we would wish to see a new page turned in the dialogue between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Here my delegation would like to submit the following considerations.

First, the Security Council should study relevant proposals made by Member States and by the Secretary-General and in due course submit a pertinent report to the General Assembly, together with recommendations, if any.

Secondly, the Security Council should focus, with the means at its disposal, primarily on the step-by-step settlement of existing regional conflicts. Ten years ago a process was started with regard to Namibia's independence. It is now producing real results. The same objective should be pursued with regard to the Middle East conflict and the question of Palestine. But what is needed is the achievement of results in a much shorter period of time.

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Thirdly, it is necessary that the Security Council give due attention to the issue of conflict prevention. We reaffirm our call for periodic meetings at the foreign-minister level, of the Security Council, so that the Council, as suggested by the Secretary-General, might "consider the state of international peace and security in different regions".

Fourthly, we recommend that the Security Council consider ways and means of achieving closer co-operation with regional organizations and with the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Fifthly, we believe that it is a primordial, practical task of the Security Council to assess its own performance with regard to the fulfilment of its tasks as formulated, notably, in General Assembly documents adopted by consensus - for instance, the Declaration on the prevention of disputes, which was adopted last year.

In the framework of the debate on security policies, it is imperative that due attention be devoted to the multifariousness, the complexity and the interdependence of the factors and global problems that have a bearing on security issues - factors and problems such as the cessation of the arms race, disarmament, the solution of conflicts, problems relating to international economic relations, environmental protection, terrorism, hunger, poverty, human rights issues, social development, and other matters.

In the face of the existing problems, and also in the light of the obvious improvement in the world political climate, as well as of the growing potential of the United Nations, we would plead for the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of action to strengthen the role of the United Nations in all spheres of its activities. It should be possible to reach agreement on short-term, medium-term

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Democratic Republic)

and long-term tasks if all sides were committed to goal-oriented dialogue and substantive co-operation. A pertinent decision, if adopted by consensus at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly next year, could be the point of departure for a programme aiming in that direction.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): We are witnessing a new turn in the global situation - a turn that puts new challenges before the United Nations and provides new opportunities for the fulfilment of one of the Organization's basic tasks - that of maintaining international peace and security.

For historical reasons, "Collective security" - as eloquently described by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization - "became a hostage of the cold war". (A/44/1, p. 2) Now that the cold war is receding, giving way to co-operation, we are witnessing signs of "a return" - again in the words of the Secretary-General - "to the way of handling international affairs outlined in its Charter" - that is, the United Nations Charter.

An awareness of the need for a radical change in the traditional concepts and policies concerning national and international security has been growing steadily, as is evidenced by the discussions in recent years at the United Nations and at other forums. Of especial relevance were the discussions in the First Committee on a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Consonant with that approach were the conclusions of the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, as presented in the Final Statement - document A/44/293 - issued in Stockholm on 14 April 1989.

We are encouraged to note that, in the United Nations, consensus is now emerging on the need for all States to intensify their practical efforts towards

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ensuring international peace and security in all its aspects, by co-operative means, in accordance with the Charter.

In the view of my delegation, the essence of the concept of international security is an endeavour to put security on a non-military and co-operative basis. Security for a single State, at the expense of other States, is inconceivable and unacceptable. Common and equal security for all States must be based on mutual confidence, co-operation and interdependence. It presupposes strict observance of generally recognized principles and norms of international law and moral values. It should guarantee respect for people's freedom to choose their political system and their own ways of socio-economic and cultural development. In the light of present-day realities the human dimension of security also assumes ever-increasing importance. It is linked not only to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms but also to the creation of conditions conducive to economic, social and cultural development.

The success of this endeavour will depend largely on the effectiveness of efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of ongoing conflicts and of efforts aimed at preventing new conflicts from erupting and on the efficiency of the United Nations machinery to cope with those problems.

Poland welcomes the consolidation of recent positive trends, in international relations, towards relaxation of East-West tensions, towards greater co-operation between the permanent members of the Security Council in seeking solutions to the long-standing disputes, and towards the reconciliation of conflicting positions in the regional context. But progress achieved in the global political climate can prove unstable if it is not accompanied by steadfast measures to radically improve international economic co-operation and the environment and to meet new challenges that threaten international peace and security.

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Poland stands ready to continue its efforts to contribute further to the creation of conditions that will enhance international peace, security and co-operation, both at the global and at the regional level.

Poland focuses its foreign policy on the creation of conditions for lasting security and co-operation in Europe. This goal is being served by Poland's active participation in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and by its efforts to generate new impulses so that this process may enhance security and co-operation in Europe.

In that respect Poland acts in unison with other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. On 26 and 27 October 1989 an important meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty was held in Warsaw. The Ministers reviewed the conditions and trends in the development of international relations, with particular reference to the situation in Europe. They agreed, as their communiqué stressed, that

"conditions were ripening in Europe to achieve a radical breakthrough in the relations between the countries of the continent, to overcome gradually its divisions and to eliminate definitively the relics of the 'cold war'."

(A/C.1/44/7, p. 4)

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They also emphasized that

"One of the essential prerequisites for the building of a secure, peaceful and indivisible Europe was to respect the right of each nation to decide independently about its fate and choose freely the roads of its social, political and economic development, with no external interference." (ibid.)

The overcoming of divisions and the construction of one Europe require many efforts and bold actions on different planes, not the least of which is the reduction of armed forces and armaments, changes in military doctrines and the evolution of alliances from military-political into political-military ones with a view to their eventual simultaneous dissolution.

The establishment of wide-ranging economic co-operation between the countries of the continent on the basis of common interests would also foster achievement of the goal of bringing the two parts of Europe together. Similarly, co-operation and businesslike dialogue between States in the humanitarian sphere has become an important component of international security and co-operation. Having in mind all those considerations, the communiqué stressed

"the importance of the progress in the Helsinki process in all fields for the establishment of solid foundations of the security and closer co-operation between all States". (ibid.)

The profound changes that Poland is going through, leading to the full implementation of universal, democratic ideals, as well as the fundamental socio-economic reforms taking place in my country, could enhance stability and security of Europe. While Poland opens itself broadly to Europe and the outside world, it has the right to expect that the reverse trend will also be true.

Poland attaches the utmost importance to ensuring observance in inter-State relations of generally recognized principles and norms of international law and first of all respect for the inviolability of existing frontiers and the

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territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of States. We firmly hold the view that any attempts to destabilize the situation, to question the post-war borders and to resume debate of the issue harm not only the confidence-building process but also stability in Europe.

This basic position of ours was confirmed by the Polish Prime Minister, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, at a meeting with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Helmut Kohl, during the latter's recent visit to Poland when he said that

"the treaty signed by Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany on 7 December 1970, based on the recognition of Poland's western border on the Ódra and Nysa Luzycka rivers, created the necessary basis for developing relations between our two countries".

Similarly, at the meeting of Poland's President, Mr. Wojciech Jaruzelski, with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Helmut Kohl, it was stressed that

"the inviolability of the existing frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European States, ensuing from the letter and spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, constitute fundamental conditions for peace and the harmonious development of all-European co-operation".

We note with satisfaction that in their joint statement at the end of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland the Governments of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany confirmed those principles, expressing at the same time a conviction that

"the development of relations outlined in the joint statement has a fundamental significance for peace, security and stability in Europe and for a positive development of the entirety of East-West relations".

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Given the current balance of forces in the world arena, the development of military technologies and the growing interdependence of nations, military force and the accumulation of weapons are not reliable means of ensuring either the individual or the collective security of States. That calls for the renunciation of force as an instrument of State policy and concentration on active disarmament measures as important components of common security. The last few years have seen the activation of efforts aimed at the reduction and elimination of the most threatening weapons - nuclear and chemical weapons - and the beginning of talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments and on confidence-building measures in Europe. Those talks, proceeding from the need to ensure equal security for all participants, should bring about a radical reduction in, and the eventual elimination of, those weapons systems which are the most threatening, namely, weapons of mass destruction, and the prevention of further development of such weapons.

There are grounds for hoping that agreement on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments may be achieved in 1990 and that the European States may thus be assured greater security at a lower level of military force.

Poland stands for a reduction of troops and weapons in Europe to the level of sufficiency for defence, which would make it impossible for a surprise attack to be launched. Having this in mind, in 1987 the Polish Government presented a plan for decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe. The pertinent components of the plan are covered in the discussions now under way in Vienna on armed forces and conventional arms reductions in Europe and in talks on confidence-building measures. In our view, the next logical step should be to start separate negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons as soon as possible. The elimination of short-range nuclear weapons would constitute the best guarantee of the prevention of a surprise attack in Europe.

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The present changes in the political situation in Europe have made it possible for us to reconsider the premises of our national security. Poland has decided unilaterally to reduce its armed forces and to cut military expenditures. Those reductions are accompanied by the reorganization of our armed forces in keeping with the principles of non-provocative defence and reasonable sufficiency which reflect modification by the Warsaw Treaty Powers of the Treaty's defensive doctrine.

By pursuing the process of disarmament, confidence-building and co-operation in Europe we are not only strengthening peace and security in our region but also enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation the world over.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the 12 members of the European Community on agenda item 72, "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security". This agenda item derives directly from the implementation of the United Nations Charter, which the States Members of the Organization have pledged themselves strictly to respect.

The Twelve are pleased that, since its establishment, the system of collective security set forth in the United Nations Charter has on the whole functioned well, even though they are aware of the efforts that are still needed to ensure international peace and security.

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Having experienced two world wars in one generation, the authors of the United Nations Charter wanted, above all, to establish a realistic and effective system of collective security. They have not been disappointed in their hopes, and for 44 years now the world has not experienced any other conflagration of the magnitude of those of the first half of the century.

None the less, regional conflicts are far from over and many parts of the world are still prey to them. The Twelve expressed their views on these conflicts in detail in the statement made by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on their behalf in the General Assembly on 26 September. As they stressed, it is possible today to be more optimistic because a certain number of these regional crises are on the way to being resolved, thanks in part to the action of the United Nations. I have in mind, inter alia, the conflicts between Iran and Iraq and in Afghanistan. I have in mind also, in particular, the question of Namibia which, thanks in part to the action of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, should soon, at last, achieve independence. It is true that without an improvement in the climate of international relations, and without progress in the dialogue among States in different parts of the world, such results would not have been possible. But it is equally true that it is the organs of the United Nations that have been, are, or will be the instrument of this progress, the necessary channel for peace efforts, the focal point and the culmination of all initiatives. These efforts, however, must continue to be encouraged and these initiatives pursued.

In this respect, arms control and disarmament must play a central role in the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations Charter. The Twelve believe that military threats resulting from existing imbalances, which jeopardize security and stability, must be eliminated through balanced and verifiable agreements on

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arms limitation capable of ensuring stability and security at the lowest possible level of forces and arms. The Twelve fully support the multilateral and bilateral efforts being made in this direction. In the framework of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the initiation of two sets of negotiations - one on the development of new confidence- and security-building measures and the other on conventional armed forces in Europe - and the rapid progress made thus far are very promising and can only be welcomed.

Arms reduction and disarmament are not the only means of contributing to the strengthening of international security. Disarmament is not limited to its very familiar military dimension; it has also a political component. This means that international security depends on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in States. Peace can flourish only when the dignity of human beings and their right to freedom are respected in word and in deed. The very broad movement of reconciliation, transformation and democratization, which has been sweeping the world in general and Europe in particular for a few years now, and even more in the past few months, demonstrates the strength of the aspiration of peoples for freedom. It is up to Governments to guarantee their citizens full enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Only Governments can establish the framework of confidence, and thus of mutual security, that allows their people to live in peace.

In this respect, the United Nations has an essential role to play regarding the development of friendly relations among nations and the promotion of international co-operation with a view to resolving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is the objective of the Twelve to strengthen the United Nations, which is the framework for these activities.

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The Twelve recognize that the challenges of our day demand the strengthening of multilateral co-operation. As was stated by Mr. Roland Dumas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, speaking on behalf of the Twelve in the General Assembly on 26 September:

"The cause of peace is making progress ... as we can see, and our Assembly bears special witness to the fact. It is making progress through multilateral and bilateral dialogue, through the readiness of States to renounce war in settling their differences, and through the action of the United Nations in every instance where its mediation is imperative. The Twelve intend to associate themselves fully with this ever-renewed task and they will play a major role in quelling conflicts, by reason, I would say, of their very nature and calling, and through the example they are setting through the agreement among them and their prospective union."

(A/44/PV.6, pp. 63-64)

The recent, fruitful efforts of the United Nations to resolve international problems demonstrate the strength and effectiveness of the Charter and the system of security that it provides.

The United Nations is an indispensable forum in which countries, regardless of their size, can meet on an equal footing to exchange opinions, present their problems, and try to resolve their disputes peacefully. Moreover, technical and regional bodies and specialized agencies functioning under the auspices of the United Nations provide a network that makes possible greater respect for the goals and principles of the Charter.

The main organs of the United Nations must prove their effectiveness and, in fact, they have just achieved some highly encouraging results. As we see it, the

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road ahead is clear: we must have resort to the Charter, make more effective use of its resources, and mobilize the organs and individuals that work towards this end. In the first place, better co-operation among the members of the Security Council and active co-operation between them and the Secretary-General would contribute to the solution of crises.

Other recent demonstrations of the commitment of the United Nations in the field of international security also deserve to be commended. We have in mind, first, the peace-keeping operations. Clearly, we must be realistic regarding the powers of the peace-keeping forces. These forces are neither designed nor prepared to enforce the law on those who are fully determined to violate it. Their success depends essentially on the will of the parties to a conflict to use them and grasp the opportunity of their presence in the field to press forward with negotiations. The Twelve wish to express their gratitude and respect to all of those who have participated, sometimes at the risk of their lives, in the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

We have in mind also the discreet and effective diplomatic action of the Secretary-General. His patient endeavours are an important element in the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes and in the possible prevention of conflicts. This activity must necessarily remain confidential and rarely attracts the publicity that it deserves. None the less, the Twelve wish to pay a tribute here to the Secretary-General and his staff for their untiring, courageous, and often successful efforts.

The United Nations has demonstrated its vitality in the field of international security. Hence, the Twelve see no reason to amend, reformulate or redefine the Charter, either directly or indirectly.

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The Twelve associate themselves with the appeal made in the resolution adopted a few days ago by the General Assembly under the new agenda item, entitled "Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", which they co-sponsored.

In it the Assembly calls on all States to intensify their practical efforts towards ensuring international peace and security in all its aspects through co-operative means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It also urges all States to abide by the Charter and, in particular, to respect the principles of sovereign equality, political independence and territorial integrity of States and non-intervention in internal affairs; to refrain from the threat or use of force inconsistent with the Charter, settle disputes peacefully, adhere to the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, co-operation among States, and comply in good faith with the obligations assumed in accordance with the Charter.

Along the same lines, the Twelve wish to preserve the present organs of the Secretariat which would be changed drastically, for example, by the establishment of a post of Director-General for International Peace and Security.

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In operational terms, the establishment of such a post would lead to a weakening of the personal authority of the Secretary-General. It would lead to a duplication of resources, which would affect his role in peace-keeping operations. In institutional terms it could call into question the balance of the mechanisms provided for in the Charter and the balance of the responsibilities of the various organs in the maintenance of international peace and security, which are defined, inter alia, in Articles 10, 12 and 24 of the Charter.

In the field of international security nothing can really be achieved in the final analysis without the will of Member States. Courageous individuals and a diligent Secretary-General are not enough to ensure the effectiveness of the United Nations. No change in the Charter, no new text, no new structure will really change the situation if the Member States themselves are not prepared, as Members of this Organization, to practise what they profess publicly. The rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations thus go hand and hand with the obligation to ensure respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter. Those obligations are accepted freely and they must not be taken lightly. They apply in all circumstances.

Above all, the Twelve believe that we must fully apply the system of international security which we have today. It has proven effective. It is up to each State Member of the United Nations fully to respect its obligations under the Charter. For their part, the Twelve have always acted in compliance with it and they will always be open to a dialogue based on concrete proposals that are designed to strengthen international security.

Mr. SCHMIDT (Federal Republic of Germany): We have been witnessing significant developments in the field of international security over the past few years. I am not referring only to the recent events in Europe which have made the

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headlines of many newspapers. Important as those may be, this Committee has always focused its discussion on long-term developments of a general character in the field of international security.

In recent years, particularly in 1988, the United Nations again proved its ability to contribute effectively to the settlement of international disputes. Today, as the international community is still dealing with the consequences of those conflicts, one may wonder whether the parties that initiated a war or undertook a military invasion of a foreign country have achieved genuine gains by such actions. In some cases, this question has been raised in public and it has been answered in the negative. Certainly there are lessons to be learned from such experiences.

We have arrived at a point where we should contemplate anew the principles of international peace and security enshrined in the Charter and the conclusions to be drawn from them. Of course, my delegation fully subscribes to the statement by the Permanent Representative of France on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community. As he said, the system of collective security enshrined in the Charter has stood the test of time.

My delegation would like to enlarge upon the principle of individual and collective self-defence as practically the only legitimate reason for the use of military force by Member States. The authors of the Charter had their own ideas about the use of military force. According to Article 2, paragraph 4, all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. Rather they shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means. If peaceful settlement fails, the Security Council will take action, under Chapter VII, including operations by air, sea or land forces, pursuant to Article 42. As long as the Security Council has not taken adequate measures, Members may exercise their inherent right of individual or collective defence.

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of Germany)

In point of fact, developments have taken a different turn. Actions of the kind described in Article 42 have proved to be impractical. Consequently, individual and collective self-defence remain a crucial element of international security. Most nations - with the exception of a happy few that live in harmony with their neighbours and have decided not to establish military forces - rely on national defence or on a military alliance or both. However, defence remains an exception to the rule of the renunciation of force. There is no doubt that the Charter intended that it should be an exception. The main goal is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The vision of the Charter is a community of nations living together in peace, respecting international law, and promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The Charter does not envisage a system of heavily armed fortresses erected as a protection against acts of aggression and intimidation. In its Preamble the Charter calls for uniting our strength to maintain international peace and security. In short, the Charter anticipates and calls for what we now call co-operative security.

What does the notion of co-operative security imply? First of all, it reminds us of the obvious: no nation can achieve external security on its own. External security can be defined only in relation to other countries. It is international by definition. As a consequence, it is in any country's well understood best interest to take into account the security of its neighbours. Any move by which a neighbour might feel threatened might provoke a reaction, which might then lead to a counter-reaction and so on. Thus there might develop an escalation of armaments that would be not only dangerous but also extremely costly. This may explain why the expenditures for military purposes are still soaring, although in a number of countries, as a result of the changes in East-West relations, such expenditures are

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being markedly reduced. Threats may take many different forms: military exercises, the way in which military forces are deployed, an increase in the number of weapons or in the acquisition of new weapons, especially of the type needed for surprise attacks and offensive actions: tanks, artillery, surface-to-surface missiles and so forth. Several means have been developed within the framework of co-operative security to counter risks emanating from threatening actions. These include confidence- and security-building measures, constraints on military activities, limitations of troops and armaments, and a complete ban on certain weapons. All those means have proved their usefulness and we hope that they will be used more widely in the future. My delegation set forth the views of the Federal Republic of Germany on those measures of arms control and disarmament in detail in its statement before this Committee on 20 October 1989.

One specific element of co-operative security is the orientation of military forces towards defence. I have already pointed out that the Charter permits the use of military force by Member States only for the purpose of individual or collective self-defence. The General Assembly reaffirmed this principle by consensus in its resolution 43/75 F, as did the First Committee in the follow-up draft resolution contained in document A/C.44/L.13/Rev.1. In March 1988 the heads of State or Government of the North Atlantic Alliance formulated this principle in a clear and precise manner in their statement on conventional-arms control. They reiterated their conviction that military forces should exist only to prevent war and to ensure self-defence, not for the purpose of initiating acts of aggression and of political or military intimidation. By now, this principle seems to have been universally accepted.

At this point we should ask ourselves what conclusions should be drawn from it with regard to the size, the structure and the posture of military forces. It

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would seem that the logical consequences of the prohibition of force pursuant to Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, on the one hand, and the right of self-defence pursuant to Article 51 of the Charter, on the other hand, are the postulates of the defense orientation of armed forces. This orientation is manifested, inter alia, in the conceptual and material limitation of armed forces for the purposes of defence and of preventing war. This implies that countries and alliances must refrain from offensive military strategic concepts aimed at victory and territorial gains. It means the renunciation of the ability to invade, in particular the ability to launch surprise attacks and to initiate large-scale offensive measures. It also precludes pre-emptive or preventive warfare on enemy territory, subject however to the ability to ensure a coherent border defence and, if need be, re-establishment by arms of the conditions of the status quo ante.

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of Germany)

The appropriateness of armed forces for defence does not necessarily mean equality in types and numbers of armaments and personnel strengths with a possible adversary. Armed forces are appropriate for defence if they impart a high risk of military failure to an opponent's offensive military options. Of course, the specific political, military, economic and other conditions in various regions have to be taken into account.

The mandate, type, size and armaments of an armed force are determined by political intentions and military strategic objectives. Consequently, peaceful intentions must find their expression not only in pronouncements and declarations but also in the formulation of military strategies and in the limitation of military capabilities and options in accordance with the declared objectives and intentions. Political intentions can change rather quickly; actual capabilities can not.

Governments, in taking decisions on their military capabilities, should bear these considerations in mind. They should ask themselves if it is possible to reduce certain forces, to deploy them differently or to rely more on armament and equipment which is less susceptible to offensive use. This may lead to negotiations and to agreements about confidence-building and other measures, and ultimately about a regional balance of forces and a force structure oriented towards defence. It may also avoid a costly and fruitless arms race.

In Europe, this process is already under way. It is well known that the North Atlantic Alliance, to which my country belongs, has always had a purely defensive strategy. Its forces have been geared to that purpose: they have never been capable of surprise attack and large-scale offensive actions. But for a long time the Alliance was concerned about the strategy of the Warsaw Pact. In the event of a conflict, it was the declared strategy of that Alliance to fight any war outside

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its own territory, to push through Central and Western Europe and fight there until the enemy forces were destroyed and a decisive victory was achieved. With their substantial superiority in conventional forces, the Warsaw Pact countries would have been able to carry out this strategy. Whatever the political intentions were, the Warsaw Pact had the capability of launching an attack with its conventional forces. In the mean time, as we are pleased to note, the concerns of members of the Western Alliance are being better taken into account. On 7 December 1988, from the rostrum of the General Assembly, Secretary-General Gorbachev announced unilateral reductions in Soviet troops and armaments. He thereby acknowledged that they were not fully needed for defensive purposes.

This announcement also facilitated the ongoing negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. Prospects are good that these negotiations will lead to a first agreement in 1990. Together with our partners in these negotiations, we insist on equal and lower levels, especially of those weapons which are vital for offensive actions: tanks, artillery and armoured personnel carriers. On the initiative of President Bush, the Western countries also agreed to include aircraft.

We expect that the agreement we hope to reach next year will be just an initial step in an ongoing process. Our goal is a Europe where the capabilities for surprise attack and large-scale offensive action are eliminated, where countries are better protected against intimidation, intervention and aggression. The agreement on the total elimination of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, which has already led to the destruction of a substantial proportion of those dangerous weapons, is also part of this process. We are confident that the progress achieved in the conventional field will allow negotiations on short-range missiles to follow very soon.

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Of course, security is not just a matter of weapons, nor can it be guaranteed by reducing their number or eliminating some categories of weapons altogether. Security has to be seen in the context of conflicting interests or conflicting ideologies, although the latter factor seems to have lost much of its significance. In short, security will always remain a political concept because the causes of conflict are political in nature; yet, under this aspect too, we are witnessing developments in Europe that inspire our hopes. Our vision of a Europe which will overcome its division, of a Europe where peoples live together in peace, is not Utopian any more. We are confident that a peaceful order can be built in Europe in which all peoples can freely choose their political systems, fully enjoy their human rights and strengthen co-operation in order to assure the well-being of them all. To this end, the fullest use should be made of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process.

The European model cannot, of course, be transferred to other regions without thorough examination. Still, the lessons we peoples of Europe have learned might be of some general interest. Europe, after all, has in this century not only endured two terrible wars that in fact became world wars; in the period of the cold war, the enormous process of armament by the Soviet Union under its previous régime and the corresponding defence efforts by the Western countries made Europe the region with the highest concentration of armaments, including nuclear weapons, and troops. Given the nuclear military capabilities, it became evident that war was no longer a political option. At its end there would be no winners, only losers. Prevention of any war thus became the guiding principle. Any strategy to fight a war lost justification. The enormous conventional superiority of the Soviet Union and its allies ceased to be an asset and became a burden. Now the road towards a

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more stable security structure based on a balance of forces at a much lower level seems open.

As I pointed out at the onset, events over the past few years in several regions of the world have shown that aggression and invasion do not pay any more. Moreover, the burden of military expenditures continues to grow and may reach a point where it can no longer be carried. The chain reaction triggered by offensive capabilities, as I described it, may be a driving force behind the soaring military expenditures. Consequently, there is good reason to re-examine the principles of international security, with the Charter as a point of departure. Individual and collective defence, as the only justification for the use of military force by Member States, may now gain increased importance. In many places, not least in the Federal Republic of Germany, a lot of thinking is being done towards establishing the groundwork for a concept of a purely defensive orientation for armed forces. My delegation feels that it would also make an interesting subject for some exploratory discussion in this Committee.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.