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GENERAL ~~AND~~ COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE
QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS
IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS
ENHANCING **THE** EFFECTIVENESS OF THE
PRINCIPLE OF PERIODIC AND **GENUINE**
ELECTIONS
ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY
CO-ORDINATION OF **THE** UNITED
NATIONS WITH THE SPECIALIZED
AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL
ATOMIC ENERGY **AGENCY**
REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND ON **THE** STRENGTHENING OF THE
ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 10 October 1990 from the Head of the Delegation of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the forty-fifth session of
the General Assembly addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose the text of the Soviet Union's memorandum "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world".

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 56, 76, 110, 122 and 144, and of the Security Council.

E. SHEVARDNADZE

ANNEX

The United Nations in the post-confrontation world

(Memorandum by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

The uniqueness of the current juncture in world history presents opportunities to multilateral mechanisms **for** agreeing on the actions of States, and above all to the universal forum, the United Nations. The world's entry into the post-confrontation era, the advent of partnership in place of rivalry and the affirmation of the primacy of law open up unprecedented prospects for a comprehensive demonstration of the peace-making potential of the United Nations in line with the purposes embodied 45 years ago in its Charter.

The Soviet Union welcomes the increasingly vigorous renewal of the United Nations. Our conceptual approach to the strategic role of the Organization in the new structure of international relations is described in the article of 17 September 1987 by M. S. Gorbachev, "Reality and safeguards for a secure world", and in his statement at the United Nations on 7 December 1988.

Recent events confirm the ability of the Organization to act as a stabilizer and regulator of world politics during a period of far-reaching transformations. The further strengthening of multilateralism will serve as an extremely important guarantee of the irreversibility of positive changes, and will promote the emergence of the entire range of international relations into a phase of peaceful and secure development.

Today, we propose the formulation, with ~~the~~ United Nations playing a central role, of an integrated strategy for global partnership for the 1990s and the beginning of the next century. It should be based on the only criteria **for** planet-wide coexistence - balance of interests and freedom of choice, political realism and responsible behaviour on the part of States, safeguarding of democracy and human rights, mutually advantageous economic co-operation and adherence to openness and the rule of law in strict conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

In order to build a partnership of this kind, the activity of the Organization needs to be improved in all spheres - military and political, environmental, economic, scientific and technical and humanitarian - and collective answers need to be found to both the traditional and the new challenges of security.

We are convinced that the initial potential of the Organization is far from exhausted, and can be fully released through a post-confrontational reading of its Charter. There can be no disagreement with the Secretary-General's insight that the Charter "gains richer meaning as political evolution progressively enlarges and clarifies the scope of its principles".

What needs to be done is, on the basis of the experience gained in recent months, strengthened by the spirit of co-operation, to adapt the activity of the structures of multilateral diplomacy to the requirements of the emerging phase of world development, to **the new "agenda" of mankind**. Particular importance in this context attaches to a purposeful enhancement of the performance of the principal organs of the **United Nations** - the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, the Secretary-General and the Secretariat of which he is the head.

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the **views of the Soviet Union** on the functions of the United Nations in these new conditions and **on ways of increasing the effectiveness and renewing the activity of United Nations mechanisms** in the post-confrontational world,

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1. In recent **years, the world community has seen the Security Council** taking really **significant** action. Nevertheless, the task is not simply to build on what has been achieved, but also to **advance** the Council to a qualitatively different plane of world responsibility. While consolidating the undoubted successes the Council has achieved in resolving regional conflicts, it will be necessary in the future to place greater emphasis on the Council's **preventive** capabilities, transforming it into a centre for forestalling crises.

Thought **might** usefully be given to ways of organizing still closer and **more** regular interaction between the permanent and non-permanent members of the Council, and to establishing day-to-day links between the Council and the Secretary-General, while at the same time enhancing his role.

The recent experience in holding meetings with the participation of ministers for foreign affairs is promising, and needs to be further developed. The Secretary-General's proposal that periodic and possibly closed meetings of the Council should be held to survey the scene in conflict regions and identify new points of danger at which preventive diplomacy may be required is a well-timed initiative. Also timely - especially in the light of *recent* events - is the idea of holding meetings of the Council away from Headquarters.

It seems to us desirable that the question of the Council's new functions on the threshold of the twenty-first century should be comprehensively discussed at a high political level.

In order to be **effective** in keeping the peace, the United Nations should also **have at its disposal** means of neutralizing aggression. In the light of this requirement, the Military Staff Committee should be transformed into an effective organ of co-operation.

Substantive meetings of the Committee should become a regular practice, and a study should be made of the practical aspects of making national troop contingents available to the Security Council on the basis of agreements concluded between the

Council and **Members** of the United Nations. The Soviet Union is ready to conclude an agreement of this kind with the Security Council. The Military Staff Committee should also - **perhaps** with the participation **of** a broad range of States - discuss the entire range **of** organizational issues connected with counteracting acts **of** aggression. The timely drafting in the Committee **of** a model for joint air-sea **operations** would be particularly important.

These mechanisms could be supplemented by establishing under the Security Council a group of experts on emergency actions to deal with mass hostage-taking, terrorism and **cases** of blackmail involving the use of highly dangerous types **of** weapons, including nuclear weapons. The Council could study the question **of** forming "rapid response" units composed, on a contractual basis, of special contingents from **various** countries, including the permanent members **of** the Council.

It would be useful to establish, with the assistance of the Security Council, a multilateral centre for reducing the risk of war. This **centre** could, among other things, promote continuous exchange of information with the capitals **of** the States which are permanent members of the Council, and also with the Chairman **of** the Movement **of** Non-Aligned Countries, and could enhance the possibilities available to the United Nations Secretary-General for discharging his obligations. Such a centre, under the aegis **of** the United Nations, could in the longer term be functionally linked with similar **structures**, first **of** all in Europe and subsequently in the Middle East and other regions.

It would be in the common interest to expand further the scope **of** application and preventive capabilities **of** peace-keeping operations to strengthen their financial basis, and to secure the active involvement **of** the permanent members **of** the Security Council. It would be useful to establish a consolidated register **of** countries prepared to dispatch their own contingents for service *in* United Nations forces and to set up a reserve of United Nations armed forces and observers. The Soviet Union is prepared to consider detaching a military contingent and participating in logistical and technological support for United Nations peace-keeping operations,

One long-term course of action would be to organize all-round co-operation between the United Nations and regional organizations, which could provide effective **assistance** in the formulation **of** the criteria of sufficiency **for defence** purposes and in the achievement **of** a **balance of arsenals** at the lowest possible levels. It is important to have a deeper understanding of present and future parameters for such co-operation and to give full effect to Chapter VIII of the Charter, on regional arrangements. These purposes would be served by the preparation **of** a comprehensive study by the United Nations on ways of establishing a regional security structure with the United Nations performing the central role.

2. The United Nations Secretary-General is a major political figure of the present day, enjoying the **confidence** of the world community and the right to use broad initiative in promoting the maintenance of international peace and the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in all aspects of security.

The effectiveness of the United Nations as a world-wide guarantor of security is directly linked with the availability of up-to-date, **exhaustive** and objective information. It **is therefore** necessary to expand significantly the capabilities of the **Organization** and of the Secretary-General in the field of **fact-finding** - in the gathering and analysis of information on the actual situation in areas of existing and potential threats to global security, including fact-finding missions, missions of inquiry, and the use of the latest technology.

The practice of appointing special representatives of the Secretary-General to assist in solving critical issues of the present day has justified itself. Obviously the good offices of the Secretary-General would also be useful in the context of a Middle East settlement and the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

3. Openness must become a universal principle of international life. It would be useful to supplement the international register of conventional-arms transfers being prepared under United Nations auspices with the annual submission to the United Nations of data on the strength of States' armed forces, on the basic types of weapons they possess, and also on the numbers of their troops outside the national territory. In future, a consolidated international military register of this kind could become a subsidiary organ of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union favours a comprehensive approach to the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, of missiles and missile technology, and of conventional weapons of mass destruction. We propose the study in the United Nations of the possibility of establishing international machinery for preventing proliferation of the latest types of weapons and of the technology for their production.

4. It is important for the General Assembly to concentrate its efforts on making a radical transition to practical matters and enhancing its effectiveness in the fundamental restructuring of international relations. The Assembly should focus its attention on priority issues of major importance and practical significance. To that end, steps should be taken to reduce, by agreement, the overall number of resolutions it adopts.

General Assembly resolutions should be made effective, particularly by means of consensus. It would be possible to research the question of the significance and legal consequences of consensus in the adoption of General Assembly resolutions.

The standards of conduct being established by the United Nations should become the bench-mark policy for all. It is important that such standards, as embodied in General Assembly resolutions, should be duly considered in the formulation of national policy and domestic legislation.

The possibility should not be ruled out of establishing, where necessary and taking into account the Organization's state of finances, new subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly to tackle the growing transboundary problems of the present day, such as the **question** of the environment.

5. A universal partnership must become the central point of a global consensus in the economic sphere. A new line of confrontation must not be allowed to develop, this time between North and South.

It is especially necessary at this time to promote the emergence of multilateral economic interaction at a qualitatively new level. Periodic meetings of the Economic and Social Council at the ministerial level to consider major social and economic policy questions would contribute towards this end; eminent scholars, non-governmental organizations and business circles could be involved in the preparation of such meetings.

More effective utilization of the potential of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be achieved by giving a genuinely universal character to the economic activities of the United Nations, taking into account the realities of contemporary world economic relations and the major decisions adopted at the special session of the General Assembly on economic questions. It is essential, without delay, to intensify efforts to work out mutually acceptable agreements on a proper reform, under new conditions, of the structure of the over-v-the United Nations in the economic sphere and of the corresponding units of the Secretariat. Appropriate recommendations formulated by the Secretary-General, perhaps, jointly with other members of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, could provide the impetus for achieving this goal.

The exceptionally complex and global character of scientific and technological progress and its impact in all spheres of international security have once again raised the question of an agreed policy in that area. The United Nations and the organizations and agencies in its system should and must play a leading role in this regard. An urgent need has arisen for the convening, after suitable preparation, of a representative forum, under the auspices of the United Nations, on international aspects of scientific and technological progress.

6. In the environmental sphere, there is a need for tire establishment within the United Nations Secretariat of a Centre for Emergency Environmental Assistance, the gradual setting up of outer space observation and the monitoring of the state of the environment. Among other things, questions relating to the improvement of United Nations machinery for dealing with environmental protection problems must be given their proper place at the Conference on Environment and Development to be held in 1992.

7. The United Nations must relate the security of the individual directly to the goal of ensuring the national security of States and international security as a whole. It is important, with the help of the United Nations, to secure the consolidation of the universal concepts of human rights and the implementation in all areas of the whole complex of generally accepted and indissolubly linked standards in that field, and the constant improvement of the procedures and mechanisms of international monitoring in the humanitarian field under the auspices of the United Nations.

The importance from the standpoint of the maintenance of international security **of** the universal strengthening **of the** principle and practice of **free** elections **as a means of forming** national democratic structures is becoming increasingly evident. Efforts should be made to achieve broader United Nations involvement **in** the preparation and monitoring of free elections.

8. The strengthening of **international** co-operation with regard to problems of drug addiction and illicit trafficking in **drugs** is a topical issue. It is clear that the international community **should** establish integrated machinery in that area **and give** greater priority to the question **in** the work **cf** the United Nations.

9. The competence **of** the International Court of Justice should be studied in the light of the contemporary situation; the **effectiveness** of the Court should **be** enhanced and its significance as one of the key components in the **strategy** for the peaceful settlement of disputes should be sharply **increased**. **To this end**, the opinion **of** the Court should be requested more frequently on specific legal questions and recognition of its compulsory jurisdiction on mutually acceptable conditions should be accelerated,

The principle of non-aggression should be supplemented by the principle **of** individual responsibility, and the **draft** Code of **Offences against** the Peace and Security **of** Mankind should be completed as quickly as possible.

10. In the **long** term, efforts should be directed towards improving the **machinery** of co-ordination and eliminating duplication within the United Nations itself and its **specialized** agencies. To this end, the importance of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC), as the **principal** organ for inter-agency co-ordination in the United Nations system, **and** the role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as its Chairman, should be enhanced. The quality of the annual report of ACC on the work **of** the United Nations system which is currently submitted **to** the General Assembly should be improved.

Consideration might be given to the idea **of** involving eminent scholars **in** the work of the United Nations and **of forming** **a** kind of Council of wise men to advise the Secretary-General **and** to make recommendations regarding **the** development **of** international co-operation within the United Nations and **throughout** the system.

11. It is important to continue to enhance the efficiency of the United Nations Secretariat on the basis of the concept **of** an independent and highly professional international civil service, taking into **account** the principle **of** equitable geographical distribution and the continuing administrative and budgetary reform **of** **the** United Nations.

Strict fulfilment by all Members of the United Nations **of** their financial obligations under the Charter **is** essential. The Soviet Union **intends to practise** what it preaches in this regard. At the **same** time, with **a** view to establishing a sound basis for the expanding responsibilities of the **Organization**, consideration

might be given to the use of new non-traditional **sources** of financing to fund its activities.

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In submitting these proposals for the consideration of the world community, the **Soviet** Union is counting *on* a serious and practical exchange of views between all States. Such **an** exercise is essential, for the foundations **of** our common future are being laid today.

The strengthening of the multilateral **partnership and the** effective renewal of its machinery **have** already become matters of the highest priority on the threshold of the twenty-first century. To turn the United **Nations** *into* a kind of collective centre **for** the administration of international processes **in** an interdependent and **unitary** world in the interests **of** all is a difficult but realistic and noble goal.