



**General Assembly    Security Council**

**Distr.**  
GENERAL

**A/46/261**  
**S/22714**  
**-17 June 1991**

ORIGINAL:    ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Forty-sixth session  
Items 29, 55 and 60 (1) of the  
preliminary list\*

SECURITY COUNCIL  
**Forty-sixth** year

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

ESTABLISHMENT **OF** A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE IN  
SOUTH ASIA

GENERAL AND COMPLETE **DISARMAMENT**;    REGIONAL DISARMAMENT

**Letter dated 17 June 1991 from the Permanent**  
**Representative of Pakistan to the United**  
**Nations addressed to the Secretary-General**

I have the honour **to transmit herewith a major** policy statement made by  
His **Excellency** Mr. **Nawaz Sharif**, Prime **Minister** of **the Islamic Republic** of  
Pakistan, on 6 June 1991 at the National **Defence College**, Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

I should be grateful if the present **letter and its annex** could be  
circulated **as an official document of** the General Assembly, **under** agenda items  
29, 55 and 60 (1) of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

**(Signed)** Jamaheed **K. A. MARKER**  
Ambassador and  
Permanent Representative

\*    A/46/50.

ANNEX

Statement made on 6 June 1991 at the National Defence College,  
Rawalpindi, Pakistan, by the Prime Minister of Pakistan

In discussing national security, it is important to recognise that internal **strength** is **of** primary significance, My Government, **therefore**, attaches the highest priority to a strong defence in order to deter any threat to our national security. The strength **of our** own **armed** forces provides us the **strongest** guarantee **for** the maintenance of a peaceful environment for the country. My Government would, therefore, continue to do all that is possible to ensure that our armed **forces** are well equipped and prepared to safeguard Pakistan's security and territorial integrity,

History teaches us that the vital importance of the armed forces **notwithstanding**, successful defence **of** any country is dependent on the overall strength of that country. Factors such as the moral and spiritual foundations of the **society**, political stability, social cohesion and harmony, economic strength and technological advancement provide **the** underpinning and constitute the backbone **of** its defence capability. Our survival and progress as a nation will, therefore, depend, in **the** ultimate analysis, upon our success in acquiring internal strength. Only then would we be able to ward off external threats to **our** security.

Our foremost objective is to establish a progressive, dynamic and just socio-economic order in the country. Only by doing so would we be able to accelerate economic development, hasten the pace of technological advancement and raise the standard of living **of** the people. Only thus would **the** nation acquire strength and enter the twenty-first century with confidence and dignity.

This is not an easy task. We face numerous **problems** and difficulties, both **internally** and externally. But I am confident that by maintaining unity, faith and discipline in our ranks, and by fully harnessing **our resources**, we **can realize** our goals,

**We** have already taken a number **of** steps with this aim in view. We are encouraging the private sector to engage in productive activity. We have **liberalized** the **economy** and done away with rules and regulations, which had **stifled** private initiative in the past. **We** have introduced reforms for the elimination **of** foreign exchange restrictions and for creating a liberal environment **for** foreign private investment in the country. **We are** also **disinvesting** State corporations, which were a heavy burden ON the national exchequer.

We have resolved **the vexed issues of apportionment** of river waters and the distribution **of** financial resources between the federal and provincial governments. We have steered through the Parliament a progressive, democratic and welfare-oriented **Shariah** bill.

We are taking **strong measures to curb crime** and lawlessness, eradicate the Kalashnikov culture and put an **end** to drug trafficking, which are **eating** into the vitals of our society. These steps would strengthen social harmony and stability. They would also promote economic activity by encouraging domestic and foreign investment in the **country**.

These reforms **and** measures will impart vitality and dynamism to **the** economy and polity, enabling us to achieve **self-sustained** growth and self-reliance. Self-reliance certainly does not mean isolation. No nation can afford to isolate itself from the rest of the international community in the increasingly interdependent world of today. A policy of self-reliance means primarily to depend on our own resources for improving the lot of our people. But it does not exclude mutually beneficial economic **cooperation** with friendly countries without compromising our national sovereignty or self-respect.

The pursuit **of** rapid **economic** development and social progress presupposes an environment **of** peace and **security**. Thus, **my** Government is guided by the twin **objectives** of progress at home and peace abroad. Pakistan will, **therefore**, continue to follow the policy of developing friendly relations with all countries **on** the **basis of** the principles of sovereign equality, non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful settlement of disputes.

We are gratified to **note** that the United Nations has **assumed a more** effective role in the settlement of regional disputes and conflicts. It would be **our** endeavour to strengthen this **trend**, which, we believe, is in the best interest of international peace and progress. We also **hope** that the **five** permanent members of the Security Council would play **their** due role in ensuring respect for **the** purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

We have **taken an initiative for** expediting **the political settlement** Of the Afghanistan issue. We have entered **into** consultations with **the** Secretary-General **of** the United Nations and the countries **concerned**. We have **welcomed** the five-point initiative for the settlement **of** the Afghanistan issue announced by the Secretary-General last month. The key to such **a** settlement remains in the **transfer** of power from the **Najibullah regime** to a broad-based government in Kabul **established** in accordance with the wishes of **the** people of Afghanistan. Only **such** a broad-based **government** can restore peace in the country **and** enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homeland. The settlement of the Afghanistan issue would remove a major obstacle in **the** improvement of our relations with the Soviet Union, in which **we are deeply** interested.

The Islamic world, with which Pakistan has special links, has **suffered** grievously because of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, which led to the Gulf War. We took a principled position **on** the issue **in** accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We **were** gravely concerned because Iraq's **action** violated **recognized** norms of inter-State Conduct. It **also posed**

a serious threat to the security of Saudi Arabia, a fraternal country, which has always stood by Pakistan's **side**,

We made efforts to find a peaceful and honourable solution of the problem. **For** this purpose, **I** undertook visits to 12 **Islamic** countries and sent special envoys to 13 others. Unfortunately, my efforts and those of the international community did not succeed. The armed conflict has caused massive material destruction and heavy loss **of** human life, particularly in Kuwait and Iraq.

Following the liberation **of** Kuwait and restoration of peace in the area, I visited Kuwait and assured the **Amir** and his Government that Pakistan was ready to continue the **tradition** of cooperation with Kuwait and **other** regional States and would support their efforts to strengthen peace **and** stability in the region. It will be our endeavour to develop further bilateral ties with these countries in political, economic, technical and other fields. Pakistan stands for moderation, stability and cooperation **among** the Islamic countries of the Gulf region.

Pakistan will continue to **strengthen** its close and brotherly relations with the **Islamic** Republic of **Iran** and Turkey. We take deep satisfaction in the recent decisions of the three countries to revitalise the Economic Cooperation Organisation and to hold a summit conference **of** these three fraternal States before the end of 1991 to advance this cooperation.

Friendship with China has been a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy and a source of strength to regional **peace** and stability. We will continue our efforts to develop close and friendly relations and mutually beneficial **cooperation** with China.

Pakistan values its friendship with Japan, which has emerged as an economic super-Power. It is Pakistan's largest trading partner. The two countries also maintain **close** cooperation in **various** fields. My Government will pay special attention to the strengthening of friendly ties with Japan.

We are impressed by the fast **economic** growth achieved by several countries of the Asia-Pacific **region**. Their **experience offers** us important **lessons**. It would **be our** effort to promote friendly ties and mutually beneficial cooperation with these countries. We shall also intensify our efforts to promote **closer** cooperation with African nations in political, economic, commercial and technical fields.

Europe is undergoing a **process** of rapid transformation **and integration**. Pakistan attaches importance to its relations with the region and wishes to develop **them further**. It is our hope that the European single market, which will come into existence in 1992, will provide easier access to imports from the developing countries.

The developing countries currently face serious problems **of** low **level of** developmental assistance, the heavy burden of debt **servicing**, negative

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resource flows, an unfavourable international trade regime, adverse terms of trade and an unjust international financial and monetary system. We will continue our efforts to promote North-South dialogue with a view to overcoming these problems.

Pakistan, as a developing country, has close identity of views with other third world countries on important international political and economic issues. We wish to develop further third world solidarity through the promotion of South-South cooperation.

India's military build-up, development of medium-range missiles and the military potential of its unsafeguarded nuclear programme pose a serious threat to Pakistan's security. The threat is accentuated by India's refusal to resolve the Kashmir dispute peacefully and its attempt to suppress the indigenous uprising in occupied Kashmir through massive and brutal use of force. India has concentrated over 400,000 military and paramilitary forces in occupied Kashmir for this purpose. The heavy deployment of its forces **along** the Pakistan-India border also serves to heighten tension. This cannot, however, prevent us **from** offering moral and political support to the struggle of **the Kashmiri** people for the exercise of their right to self-determination, as **recognized** by the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions.

**In** the face of this serious situation, Pakistan cannot be oblivious to the requirements of its security. Nevertheless, we will continue our efforts **for** establishing good neighbourly relations with India. A beginning was made at Male during the summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation last November. **My** recent visit to New Delhi to attend the **funeral** of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi enabled me to establish personal contacts with leaders of India's main political parties. I was encouraged by the positive response to our desire to improve bilateral relations. We hope that once the new Government has assumed power in New Delhi after the elections, it will be possible for us to move forward towards the establishment of tension-free relations and the settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. This would be in the spirit of **Male** and that of the Simla Agreement, and would enable the two countries to devote their scarce resources to the improvement in the quality of life of their peoples.

The issue of nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia is another complicating factor in Pakistan-India relations. It is, therefore, **necessary** to place the issue in its proper perspective.

We suffer from a serious energy shortage, which not only hampers economic and **industrial** growth, but causes hardship to our people. In view of our ever-growing energy requirements, we have no option but to rely on the generation of nuclear power for meeting the needs of our expanding economy.

Unfortunately, our efforts to develop nuclear energy and technology for peaceful purposes have been subjected to unfair criticism and discriminatory pressures. We have repeatedly asserted that our nuclear programme is devoted

to peaceful purposes. In pursuance of our regional approach to nuclear non-proliferation, we have expressed our willingness to accept any equitable and non-discriminatory regime for keeping South **Asia free** of nuclear weapons.

We have made the following proposals to prevent nuclear proliferation in South **Asia**:

(a) Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free **zone** in South **Asia**, a proposal that has been endorsed repeatedly by the General Assembly **since 1974**;

(b) In view of India's opposition to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free **zone** in South **Asia**, we proposed in 1978 that, as a first **step**, Pakistan and India should issue a joint declaration renouncing the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear **weapons**;

(c) In 1979, Pakistan proposed an agreement with India on a system of bilateral inspection of all nuclear facilities on a reciprocal **basis**;

(d) We also proposed in 1979 simultaneous acceptance of the International Atomic **Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards** by Pakistan and India on all nuclear **facilities**;

(e) Pakistan expressed its readiness in 1979 to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons simultaneously with **India**;

(f) Later in 1987, Pakistan proposed the conclusion of a bilateral or regional nuclear-test-ban **treaty**;

(g) In **1987, Pakistan also proposed** the convening of a conference on nuclear non-proliferation in South **Asia**, under the **auspices** of the United Nations and with the participation of regional and other interested States.

The above proposals have been reiterated by **us** from time to time. Pakistan's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation, both at global and regional levels, is thus clear and unwavering. It is not fair, therefore, to cast doubts on Pakistan's intentions and to subject Pakistan to discriminatory treatment. No self-respecting nation can accept that.

We are gratified to note that the regional approach to disarmament is steadily gaining ground in international circles. Our resolution calling for initiatives for confidence-building measures, nuclear non-proliferation and conventional disarmament at regional and subregional levels was adopted by the General Assembly in 1990 by an overwhelming majority of 142 votes in favour, none against and 10 abstentions.

Nuclear-weapon-free zones have already been established in Latin America and the South **Pacific** region with the endorsement **of** the five nuclear-weapon States. Similar proposals have been advanced concerning other regions. Last year, Argentina and Brazil signed an agreement to use nuclear energy exclusively **for** peaceful purposes. They also agreed to submit their nuclear

programmes to bilateral inspection and, later, to IAEA safeguards to ensure the peaceful character of their nuclear programmes.

More recently, President Bush has announced a **major** initiative for arms control on **a** regional basis in the Middle East. Among other things, the initiative calls for steps by all the regional States to prevent nuclear proliferation in the Middle East. France has also in its recently announced disarmament proposal called for regional regimes for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

We firmly believe that nuclear non-proliferation in South **Asia** is a sine qua non for regional peace and progress. We are willing to enter into a bilateral arrangement with India or a regional regime for ensuring that South Asia remains free of all weapons of **mass** destruction. We are prepared to adopt **measures** aimed at a mutual and balanced reduction of forces consistent with **the** principle of equal and undiminished security at the lowest level of armaments. **However**, we cannot and will not take unilateral steps that endanger our national security.

Pakistan and the United States of America have a history of friendship **going** back to the **1950s**. This friendship is solidly based on our shared beliefs in principles and human values, our common commitment to democratic institutions, the respect we attach to individual liberty and sustained **cooperation** stretching over several decades. There is a close convergence of views on such issues as Afghanistan and regional peace and stability. Therefore, despite **the** occasional ups and downs, the friendship between Pakistan and the United States has continued with **the** passage of time and manifested itself in the expansion of mutual cooperation in diverse fields.

Against this background, the current difficulties in Pakistan-United States relations are particularly regrettable. This relationship, which has served the interests of the two countries so well in the past and **has** so much potential for the future, should not be allowed to be impaired.

It is an irony that the current difficulties in Pakistan-United States relations **stem** from differences of approach to the **objective** of nuclear non-proliferation, to which both are deeply committed. The United States has focused almost exclusively on Pakistan's nuclear programme. The fact is that India exploded a nuclear device in 1974. **It** has a number of nuclear enrichment and reprocessing facilities outside the framework of IAEA safeguards. It is also reported to have unsafeguarded plutonium sufficient for producing over **100** Hiroshima-size nuclear bombs. We cannot, therefore, ignore India's fast-growing nuclear programme and jeopardize our national security,

Pakistan is ready to enter into multilateral consultations for promoting the cause of nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. There are indications that the United States, the Soviet Union and China might be inclined to support a regional approach. I hope that they would be willing to move

together with **Pakistan** and **India** to achieve the objective of keeping our region free of **nuclear** weapons.

I would like to propose specifically that the United States, the Soviet Union and China consult and meet with India and Pakistan to discuss and resolve the **issue** of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. The aim of the meeting should be to arrive at an agreement for keeping this region free of **nuclear weapons** on the basis of proposals already made or new ideas that may emerge. The nuclear non-proliferation regime to be negotiated during the **proposed** multilateral consultations should be equitable and non-discriminatory.

We hope that the proposal would receive an early response from the countries **concerned** so that arrangements can be finalized and the conference held as **quickly** as possible.

A regional **non-proliferation** regime, containing guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States and agreed to by **all** the regional countries, is a **practical method** of resolving the problem in all its dimensions. Such a **regime** would help usher in a climate of mutual trust and strengthen peace and security in **South Asia**, enabling the States of the region to concentrate their **energies and efforts on** accelerating economic development and promoting the **well-being** of their **peoples**.

I have **decided** to send to the United States a high-level delegation led by Mr. Wasim Sajjad, Chairman of the Senate, and including Mr. Akram Zaki, Secretary-General, Foreign Affairs, and other senior officials to exchange **views on** the whole range of Pakistan-United States relations. We must acquire a **better understanding** of each other's point of view on various issues such as Afghanistan, regional peace and security, human rights, narcotics control, **disarmament**, nuclear non-proliferation and cooperation in various fields.

**Given** sincerity of purpose **and** mutual goodwill, I am confident that we will **ultimately** succeed in resolving our current difficulties on the basis of **mutual** understanding and accommodation. Our search for a way out of the current impasse will be facilitated if each side tries to understand the compulsions of **the** other and focuses on ultimate objectives rather than the means for achieving them.

Let me conclude by reiterating our desire to develop friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of equality with all **countries**, big and small, to serve the interest of international peace and development. We will strive in particular to create a **tension-free** and peaceful environment in South Asia to usher in an era of progress and prosperity in the region.

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