

Official Records

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 51st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela)

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General debate and consideration of and action on draft resolutiona on international security items (continued)

Statement by the Chairman

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

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73 (continued)

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

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

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

(<u>spoke i n Englis</u>h)

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

(continued in Spanish)

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

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

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

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

The conclusion, later the implementation, of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles in the arsenal8 of the two super-Powers was a decisive starting-point. The international community unanimously welcomed it because, even though the agreement involved only 4 per cent of the world's a tock of nuclear weapons, it was the first time in history that a whole category of weapons of mass destruction was going to he voluntarily destroyed.

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

(Mr. Andrianady, Madagascar)

The complete lack of progress in the negotiationa **cn** the **prohibition** of nuclear tests at the Conference on Diaarmament led several dozen delegations, including Madagascar, to support the aonvening **of a** conference to study amendments that would transform the **partial** nuclear-test ban into a **comprehensive** ban. Madagascar shares the **conviction** that the total prohibition **of** nuclear tests is a **matter of** tcp priority in the field ok nuclear disarmament.

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

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

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

The general <u>rapprochement</u> between the United States and the Soviet Union **is** contributing to **the** creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a

(Mr. Andr ianady, Madagascar)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Mr. Andr ianady, Madagascar)

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

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

To conclude, in our search for a world freed from everyday insecurity, a more democratic world, a world where national self ishness yields to the common interest, a world devoted without restriction to the goals and objectives of the Charter, the United Na tions is our irreplaceable instrument.

<u>Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA</u> (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish) I At the outset I wish to express my delegation's condolences to the sister republic of the Comoros on the death of the President of the Republic and to the Phil **ippines** on the death of **our** colleague the Ambassador.

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

(Mr. Oramas 01 iva, Cuba)

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

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

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

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

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

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

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

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

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

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

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

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

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

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

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

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

On the basis of a new agends item, just a few days ago through adoption of the relevant resolution the General Assembly appealed for the strengthening of internations1 peace, security and co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter - a concept that our delegation supported and hopes will be implemented effectively by all States. If the United States is true to its support for that adopted text it has a new opportunity to demonstrate its sincerity to the international community by taking measures to halt and impede this new act of aggression and interderence in the internal affairs of Cuba - this violation of its sovereignty, which the establishment of the anti-Cuban television station represents. Let us hope that the peace for which we yearn may truly become the fresh air we all breath, because all peoples, however small, have the right to live in peace.

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

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

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

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

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

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

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

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

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

(Mr. Refaat, Egypt)

Secondly, urgent steps ehould be taken to halt co-operation of any kind between Israel and South Africa, as such co-operation threaten8 peace and security not only in the Mediterranean region but also on the African continent. Thirdly, a nuclear-weapon-free zone should be established in the region of the Middle East as a step towards the enhancement of international peace and security in general and the promotion of aeaurity and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in particular. Fourthly, there should be a peacef ul settlement of the problem of Cyprus, Fifthly, the international community should play a more positive role to ensure that peace is restored to Lebanon despite recent negative developments. In this context, Egypt cannot but deplore the assassination of Lebanon's President,

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

In conclusion, let me refer to my earlier question, Do pence and security prevail?

are moving at a slow pace, we are certainly moving in the right direction. However, in order for further progress to be made, political will is needed to support our endeavours. I should also emphasize that those endeavours will be crowned with success only if we all remain committed to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

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

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

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

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

(<u>Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab</u> <u>Republic</u>)

to the adoption of declaration8 and statements, for example the statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries in the Mediterranean area, the Valletta statement in 1984, and the Brioni statement in 1987.

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

My country would like to stress that the following elements are factors of deetabilisa tion in the Mediterranean req ion.

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

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

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

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(<u>Mr. Awad</u>, Syrian Arab <u>Republic</u>)

Fourthly, the Israeli aggreaaion against Lebanon continues. lerael has occupied part of the south of Lebanon and refuses to implement the resolution8 of the Security Council calling upon it to withdraw unconditionally from those territories.

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

Finally, the Syrian Arab Republic would like to stress that the interdependence between the security of Europe and that of the Middle East requires that the non-aligned countries in the Mediterranean region cc -operate with European States, for in order to ensure security in one part, the same conditions cf security must prevail in the other part. <u>Miss CAREY</u> (Bahamas) : My delegation extends its congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee, and to the other members of the Bureau,

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

All States have a legitimate right to security, and efforts to ensure security for some countries at the expense of others would be unrealistic and ultimately destabilizing. It is imperative, therefore, that Member States reaffirm their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations in order to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization in ensur ing international peace and security. Maximum use must be made of the capacity of the United Natione if its Charter provisions are to be effectively implemented. In this connection the Bahamas supports all efforts aimed at making the Organization more viable. We note in particular the recent agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as indicated in their joint etntement and related understanding of 3 November 1989, to recommit their resolve to the purposes and principle8 of the Charter.

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

(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

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

Peace-keeping is and always has been a dramatic way of representing the international will to peace in the conflict areas of the world. If backed by greater international effort, it can become an extremely important part of our broader effort to build a world at peace. The increased demand for peace-keeping operation8 is a direct result of an improvement in the international climate over the past three years.

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

Just as peace-keeping and peacemaking are directly related, so are peace and security. The existence of the one presupposes the other. A comprehensive look at this interrelated concept must allow for adequate consideration of the issue of security. The concept of security is an all-encompassing one that must be dealt with in the context of a better appreciation of the security problem8 and interests of other countries, What is required is an acceptance of the important notion8 that derive from the Charter of the United Nations, that all nations have an inalienable right to eecuri ty, that military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving international disputes, that restraint is necessary in pursuing national policies in an interdependent world, and that neither military superiority nor military means offers an adequate answer to security issues in the present or the future world.

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

(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

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

The building of a peaceful. world cannot be limited to the military and political spheres; attention must also be given to economic and environmental challenges confronting the international community because they too can threaten international peace and security. The attainment of peace and security will continue to elude us if the economic prospect8 of developing countries do not improve. The growing interdependence of countries and the nature of the world economic environment call urgently for a search for constructive dialogue and co-operation free from rustrictions and limitations. The debt problem which inhibits the economic growth of States in a developing world and destabilises international trade and financial relations also requires the co-operation of developed and developing countries to ensure a stable economic environment.

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

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

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(Miss Carey, Bahamas)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Mr. Suarez, Philippines)

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

It is useful to know that the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues - itself an offshoot of the optimistic times that gave rise to the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament - began its work in 1980 and issued its first report in 1982. On 14 April 1989 this Commission issued its Final Statement in Stockholm. That document is entitled "A World at Peace: Common Security in the Twenty-first Century". The Palme Commission noted that, in order for the international community to achieve the rule of law, three developments were required: first, the habitual use of peaceful means to resolve disputes; secondly, stronger international institutions, with greater resources and improved procedures and pat terns of national behaviour, that turn first to these organizations for assistance; and thirdly, mobilization of public opinion through private associations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the basis of those points of reference a calm observation of changes in cur world today gives rise to measured optimism on the part of my delegation but above all also raises valid questions. We are optimistic, fi ret of all, because international relationa today are less baaed an the logic of power and ideological confrontation. The international community has suffered on ly too much f tom their concrete manifestations, such as the establishment of exclusive zone8 of influence and the preservation of selfish strategic interests, not to welcome and grasp this opportunity of the emergence of a new concept of world peace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Mediterranean non-aligned countries, quite rightly concerned at the constant tension in the region, have already expressed their resolve to spare no effort to fulfil the historic role of the Mediterranean Sea area for co-operation and trade in the framework of the status of a zone of peace and co-operation. Thus, following Brioni in 1987, my own country's capital is preparing to welcome next year a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries. We will continue thinking about the promotion Of co-operation among our countries in different sectors, but we will also be preparing dialogue and agreement with the member States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We expect of them the eame open-mindedness, the same readiness to meet our legitimate concerns that existed at their meeting in Palma de Mallorca, which was devoted to the relationship between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean.

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

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In the Middle East,

Palestin ian people has Put to The wonderful children of the

<u>intifadah</u> call upon **our** consciences every **day**. The Zionist **régime**, **deaf** to the **condemnations** and appeals of the international **community**, continues to bring about **armed** intervention throughout the Middle East and the threat of nuclear **war**. It constitutes in this respect the basic reason why the situation in **the** Middle East has constantly deter **iorated** and is the sole obstacle to the restoration of peace in that troubled region.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Lasting solutions to the existing problem8 of disarmament, development, peace and security, on which the future of the world depends, can be achieved only with the participation of all interested parties, that is, with the active participation of the international community and the United Nations, in particular. The world Org anization has confirmed, especially in the last couple of years, its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. It is therefore absolutely necessary today to act jointly towards further strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations and, in particular, of the role entrusted by tho United Nations Charter to the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General*

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

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

(The Chairman)

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

STATEMENT BY THE CHA IRMAN

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

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

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

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

(The Chairman)

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

In spite of the results achieved, we aannot feel completely satisfied. A great deal remains to be done. It is necessary, above all, to revitalise and strengthen the role of multilateral forums and render fully effective the interdependent relationship between them and *more* restricted negotiation mechanisms, whether bilateral or regional, that are used by the main military Powers. The need to confront globally the problems posed by military expenditures and the accumulation of weaponry requires the participation of the international community for the adoption of solutions consistent with security requirements. As war: stated by the Secretary-General when he addressed the First Committee:

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

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

(<u>The Chairman</u>)

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

(The Chairman)

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

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

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

(The Chairman)

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

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

I am gra tef ul to all delega tions for the co-opera tion they have q iven me and for their efforts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of cur work and of Our proceedings,

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

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

(The Cha irman)

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

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

The meeting- rose at 12. 35 p.m.