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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE

QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS

ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE

PRINCIPLE OF PERIODIC AND GENUINE

ELECTIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY

CO-ORDINATION OF THE UNITED

NATIONS WITH THE SPECIALIZED

AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL

ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

AND ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE

ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION

SECURITY COUNCIL

Forty-fifth year

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

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

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

E. SHEVARDNADZE

ANNEX

The United Nations in the post-confrontation world

(Memorandum by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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