



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 53rd MEETING

Chairman: **Mr. ZACHMANN** (German Democratic Republic)

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GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS (continued)

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67, 68, 69 AND 1.42 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

M. HUCKE, (German Democratic Republic) : The course and results of the forty-first session of the General Assembly, including the discussion in this Committee and the draft resolutions already adopted here, confirm that a new approach to security is emerging. There has been a growing awareness that durable security cannot be achieved without halting the arms race and proceeding to arms limitation and disarmament; that all States, irrespective of their political system, size, geographical location or level of development, have a right to security; that security cannot be achieved at the expense of others; that national security, regional security and global security are interrelated and interdependent; and that security is determined by an ever growing number of factors that are closely related.

All States should in their practical deeds at last be guided by those objective conditions, and jointly ensure for all peoples a life that meets the imperative of the end of the twentieth century. That is the thrust of the initiative of the socialist States to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Such a system can come about only through the joint efforts of all States and peoples, which have a mutual interest in preserving life on Earth. All States are called upon to make their own specific contribution to the realization of that global humanist endeavour. Today the German Democratic Republic would like to put forward some considerations regarding this question.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic
Republic)

Such a system must, we believe, have at its centre a complex and constructive approach to questions of international security in the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian fields, with a view to promoting a comprehensive solution to acute world problems and guaranteeing the security of all States large and small, aligned and non-aligned, regardless of their social system.

It should be added that the lessons of history speak for the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security. For who must not agree that peoples would have been spared untold suffering if, in the 1930s, proposals for the prevention of war and the establishment of a system of collective security had been implemented. The failure to act accordingly at that time should prompt us to make special efforts in the nuclear and space age in order to wunter the present threat of the self-annihilation of mankind.

As has been stressed at the third plenary meeting of the Central Committee Of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, now being held at Berlin, the nuclear space age requires that we get on well together. That makes it imperative to find new forms and modes of conduct in relations between systems, States and regions, for safeguarding peace and solving other global problems.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic
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Our concept of a comprehensive system of international security sets a broad framework for political dialogue and co-operation, the focus being, of course, on questions of arms limitation and disarmament and of preventing the militarization of outer space.

It must be possible to rid the world of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to ensure that outer space is used exclusively for peaceful purposes and to remove the material means of war. The Soviet Union and the other States members of the Warsaw Treaty have submitted far-reaching, concrete proposals to this end that take account of the security interests of all sides. Numerous initiatives of the Non-aligned Movement and proposals by the Group of Six also suggest ways and means to end the arms race. Let me assure you that the German Democratic Republic will support any constructive proposal aimed at reducing armaments and thus making peace more secure. That goal could be considerably advanced if the prospects opened up by the historic proposals of the Soviet Union in Reykjavik were translated into reality. That requires the requisite political will on the part of the other side as well.

As a European State situated at the dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions in the world, the German Democratic Republic has a particular interest in seeing that the weapons stockpiled on the continent be dismantled and that no new ones be added. With its proposals on the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone and a nuclear-weapon-free corridor, the German Democratic Republic has made specific contributions towards lessening confrontation in that sensitive zone and towards strengthening European security. Those proposals are also designed to pave the way to global agreements. The German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that zones of peace, security and co-operation, like regions freed of weapons of mass destruction, can be important elements in the proposed

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic Republic)

security system. The positive effects of such zones, which already exist in Latin America and in the South Pacific, cannot be overlooked. It is a hopeful sign that similar zones are also being sought in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the South Atlantic. We think it worthwhile to work together for the establishment of such zones and to look for ways of guaranteeing their status.

Comprehensive security implies as an imperative need the strict observance and strengthening of the principle prohibiting the threat or use of force in International relations, the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and the elimination of apartheid, colonialism and racism. The United Nations Security Council can and must discharge its respective duties more effectively. Every State should demonstrate by practical deeds that nothing but peace will emanate from its territory. The right of peoples to self-determination must not be infringed upon by interference in the internal affairs of other States. The States Members of the United Nations should join efforts and resolutely combat all manifestations of terrorism, in particular State terrorism.

The socialist States deem it important that the comprehensive system of international peace and security should include economic security for all States. In the light of the rapid advances in science and technology, international economic constraints and underdevelopment, the greatest importance attaches to the development of equal, non-discriminatory international economic relations. The debt problem, which is a result of neocolonialist exploitation and financial diktat, and which has extremely negative consequences for developing countries as well as for the entire fabric of international relations, must be resolved on a just basis. That aim would be served if all States were willing to adhere to the concept of disarmament and security for development.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democrat & Republic)

Comprehensive security is ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{is} inconceivable without respect for and implementation of all fundamental human rights. The global threat to mankind gives rise to a global claim for protection. That is why the right to peace is the supreme human right. After all, rights and freedoms can be enjoyed only by the living. We are in favour of seeing that economic, social and cultural rights, in their interdependence and indivisibility with civil and political rights, receive greater attention in the activities of the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic supports the Soviet proposal to convene a conference of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) on humanitarian questions, including human contacts, information, culture and education.

I should like to add a few remarks from the viewpoint of a State in the heart of Europe which has a special concern for peace and security owing to its own historical experience. The European States and peoples can and should make a significant contribution to the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. May I recall that the Final Act of Helsinki and the all-European process it initiated laid solid foundations for a European peace order. Respect for the political and territorial realities as they emerged from the Second World War and from post-war development remains indispensable to security in Europe. Those realities include, of course, the existence of two German States independent of each other. The Stockholm document has also furnished proof that solutions concerning the security of States and confidence-building measures are feasible. As my country's Foreign Minister stressed, the German Democratic Republic expects that the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting will result in Europe's being made the starting point for a new phase in the policy of détente and

(Mr. Rucke, German Democratic Republic)

that measures conducive to arms-limitation and disarmament agreements will be adopted world wide.

The positive examples and experience in Europe and in other regions should reinforce the conviction that, with the requisite political will, comprehensive solutions in regard to security are possible. We would welcome a constructive exchange of views on the question of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security in which all States would make their ideas known. In our opinion, such a system must rest on the United Nations Charter and envisage measures that meet the requirements of peace and security for all States in the conditions of the nuclear and space age.

(Mr. Huckle, German Democratic Republic)

Constructive proposals are contained in the documents issued by the summit conference in Harare and by the six Heads of State or Government in Mexico. The Palme report contains various suggestions on common security. Many similar or shared ideas on security are to be found in the statements or comments of Western States addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General about the report on security cooperation. In drafting the main elements of a comprehensive security system we can also rely on important documents adopted by the United Nations such as the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which remain of high topical relevance.

Our initiative is in line with the declared objective of the Charter to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures. The point is not to replace the Charter but rather to give full effect to its principles. That is a highly political task, and one that should not be called into question by legal reservations. We are convinced that the United Nations is the appropriate body not only for establishing a comprehensive security system but also for guaranteeing its operation.

Political dialogue is an important tool in promoting peace, international security and equal co-operation. If conducted in a responsible and constructive manner based on equal rights, it will have an especially positive impact on the present tense international situation.

The German Democratic Republic has always seen political dialogue, which is closely connected with the name of its State Council Chairman, Erich Honecker, as an integral part of its policy.

(Mr. Hucke, German Democratic Republic)

Its partners in the dialogue in the north and south, the east and west have again and again confirmed it in the conviction that pressing world problems can be settled only through dialogue and co-operation. Therefore we have most warmly welcomed the fact that the dialogue between the the Soviet Union and the United States has seen a distinct revival in the interest of peace and understanding. In order to make dialogue and negotiation indispensable instruments of responsible State policy and to use them for the solution of all outstanding problems, the German Democratic Republic will submit a draft resolution concerning the need for result-oriented political dialogue to improve the international situation.

We are thus in agreement with the position shared by almost all States and groups of States. The concept of dialogue was unanimously endorsed by the Warsaw Treaty States in their Budapest communiqué, by the representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare, by the participants in the Tokyo summit, and indeed by all the States Members of the United Nations when they commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the Organization's founding. Our initiative is inspired by the need Stressed by State Council Chairman Erich Honecker when he said that at this dangerous time it is more imperative than ever to work with all the forces of common sense and realism for a fundamental turn away from confrontation to détente and co-operation. That requires dialogue as an irreplaceable means now and in the future.

We are firmly convinced that a resolution of the forty-first session of the General Assembly unanimously calling for political dialogue and negotiations to be conducted with a sense of responsibility and for the United Nations to be strengthened as the forum of collective efforts to preserve peace, to promote arms limitation and disarmament and to solve other urgent world problems, and appealing to the Security Council to meet as soon as possible at a high level - or at the

(Mr. Rucke, German Democratic Republic)

highest level - to discuss measures to resolve basic problems of safeguarding peace would be of great political and moral value and would provide further impetus to the quest for greater security and confidence.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from

Runs .an) : Tensions and the dangerous situation in the world and the constantly growing threat that the history of our civilization will be terminated by a nuclear catastrophe are causes for universal concern. in order to ensure a turn towards a safer world a number of States Members of the United Nations, including the Ukrainian SSR, have proposed, and at its forty-first session the General Assembly has agreed, that consideration should be given to the question of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security in order to exclude the possibility of the use of war, force or threat of force to resolve international disputes.

The letter of the Foreign Ministers of ten countries stresses that:

"At present mankind is going through a new stage in its development that is characterized by extreme responsibility and complexity. It is facing a historic choice: either to allow the descent along the path of confrontation and the race towards the abyss of nuclear self-destruction to continue or to adjust its thinking and actions to the realities of the nuclear and space age and to restructure international relations on the basis of co-operation and joint action for the preservation of peace." (A/41/191, p. 1)

The United Nations is as old as the nuclear age. The need to undertake radical disarmament measures as a basis for solid international security is graphically manifested in its activities. Its Charter embodies the fundamental principles of the non-use or threat of force and the peaceful settlement of

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

disputes. The United Nations Charter views international peace and security as a common heritage, a universal value and the ultimate goal of the co-ordination of the political and practical activities of all Member States.

This approach is all the more justified in today's complex, controversial but ever more interdependent and in many respects integral world, in which the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and international security have become indivisible and equal for all.

Throughout the history of the United Nations the threat of nuclear annihilation has been constantly growing as a result of attempts to ensure the security of some States at the expense of the security of others, to solve security issues on a group or bloc basis rather than on a universal basis. A dangerous quest for illusory military superiority through the initiation of still new rounds of the arms race causes well-founded concern regarding the future of the peoples.

(Mr. Oukovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

No State alone can ensure peace for itself through purely military and technological means. The current potentially explosive international situation requires a qualitatively new approach. The survival of our human civilization depends upon the degree to which our behaviour in international relations is civilized. But the mere understanding of this fact is not enough today. Specific practical steps are required in the international arena. This is exactly the line of action taken by the Soviet Union, which put forward at the summit meeting in Reykjavik an integral package of far-reaching and interdependent proposals, based on the programme announced on 15 January, to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Old reliance on new "super-weapons" - at the present time on space weapons - and on the achievement of military superiority through the achievement of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI) made it impossible to conclude the Reykjavik summit meeting with a substantive agreement. The SDI has stalled progress towards the cessation of the arms race and the deliverance of mankind from nuclear weapons and it has become the main obstacle to a nuclear-free world. The continuation of the SDI programme inevitably draws the world into a new spiral of the arm race.

During the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly an overwhelming majority of delegations advocated the adoption of urgent and resolute measures aimed at bringing about a radical improvement of the international situation and the prevention of a nuclear disaster. The continuation of this insane race and, in particular, its spread into outer space will not only deepen and accelerate the pace of the stockpiling of nuclear weapons but will also take this process completely out of human control.

(Mr. Oudovanko, Ukrainian SSR)

As it has already been pointed out during this discussion, a situation may arise when peace and security will no longer depend upon the judgement and will of political leaders but will find itself the captive of computer[®] and machines.

A system of genuine security can be constructed only by joint efforts and on the basis of mutual restraint and responsibility. It is necessary to restructure international relations on the basis of genuine co-operation and interaction among all States, big and small, developed and developing.

As has already been emphasized in this discussion, to build a lasting and secure peace it is necessary to show political will, to overcome obsolete approaches, and to come to a fresh perception of the interrelationship and interdependence between international and national security. Therefore, we call upon all States and the entire United Nations to display such a will and to spare no effort so that the peoples might enter the third millennium as genuinely united nations.

In today's world the interdependence between general security and the security of individual States is so great that it can no longer be limited to the mere political and military spheres. Nowadays it depends upon the restructuring of co-operation between States in all fields - military, political, economic and humanitarian.

In the military field we consider it necessary to take urgent, determined and, most importantly, concrete measures to halt the arms race and to move towards genuine disarmament.

The developments in the world situation require that an urgent solution be found for the issues of the prevention of an arms race in outer Space, the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition and elimination of all chemical weapons and the renunciation of the development of other weapons of mass

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

domtruction. The overall security of mankind can no longer be based upon the
 • ximtoncm of oppoming military blocs and rmquirem their dimmoluton. As a first
 mtep in this direction, an agreement could bm reached not to expand such hloce or
 alliances and not to create new much groups and blocs.

The implementation of all theme measures would not only facilitate the removal
 Of the military throat, but would almo release enormous material and intellectual
 remourcem for creative purpomem and for molving the immense qlobal problems facing
 mankind, including the c of overcoming economic backwardness in many regions of the
 world.

In thm political field, general security is inconceivable without
 unconditional respect for the right of each people to make a sovereign choice of
 the ways and forms of its own devmlcpmmnt. In the nuclear and mpacm age,
 particularly gcmat dangers result from the attempts of some Statee to impose their
 will and their "models" of development upon others and to build relations among
 States on the basis of a policy of mtrmngth, diktat, threats and blackmail. In
 today'8 world, obstacles to a junt political • ettlommnt of international crises,
 regional conflicts or disputes can bm removed only by joint collective efforts. We
 must all work together in order to pemvmnt the emergence of new hotbeds of tension
 and war and to resolve those that already exist. It ham already been pointed out
 in thm debate, and we share this view, that thia will require the elaboration of a
 set of measures aimed at enhancing trust among States and creating effective
 assurances against an attack from outside and guarantees of thm inviolability of
 their borders.

The state of affairs in the world calls for a structure of international
 economic realtionm that would be commitment with the requirements of generu
 security. Thfm in turn call8 for the elimination of all forms of discrimination in

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

international practice and the renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions. There is a need to establish without delay a new economic order which would ensure equal economic security for all States, permit the overcoming of backwardness, provide for a global and just settlement of the problem of external indebtedness, and put an end to violence, threats, dictat or discrimination in international economic relations.

Principles could be worked out within this system such as would allow the use for the benefit of mankind, especially the developing countries, of a portion of the resources which would be released as a result of disarmament and the reduction of military budgets. There also exists a very good opportunity to join the efforts of all States in the exploration and peaceful use of outer space, as well as in the solution of other global problems on which the fate of our civilization, development and progress of mankind depends.

We believe that genuine security also requires joint steps in humanitarian matters in international law; there is a need to promote the spirit of peace, tolerance and mutual respect among the peoples, and to reject the cultivation of militarism, hatred, violence and racism. All of this would contribute to the elimination of many sources of mistrust, tensions and hostility and would help to create a better moral and psychological climate in the world. There is a need to turn away from confrontation to co-operation in the promotion of the ideas of peace and disarmament, to increase the level of exchanges of objective information among Peoples and their knowledge of the life of other peoples, to strengthen the spirit of mutual understanding, trust and co-operation in their relations.

And, of course, genuine security requires the elimination of genocide, any advocacy of fascism or any other form of racial or national exclusivity and any discrimination on that basis.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

One thing we find particularly inadmissible is the existence of the policy and Practice of apartheid, which is being used as a means of exerting pressure on independent Africa. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held this year in Paris, eloquently described the destructive role that apartheid is playing in our time. The Conference stressed:

"... that the racist régime of South Africa, the only régime that practises racism as its official policy and has enshrined it in its so-called 'constitution', has its roots in the same racist and bellicose ideology that provoked the Second World War and caused untold deaths and destruction. Appeasement of the racist régime therefore can only have the same disastrous consequences." (A/CONF.137/5, para. 95 (14))

Because of this, as the Ukrainian SSR believes, the mobilization of the world community's efforts to eliminate apartheid and the remnants of colonialism in all their forms would be a direct contribution to the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The **comprehensive system envisages** the **widening of** international co-operation, under **conditions of respect for the laws of** each country, to **ensure political, social and individual human rights, Including,** of course, the **right to life in freedom.** The goal of **strengthening security** would be served **also** by the **development of** co-operation in the **fields of culture, the arts, science, education, health care and sports, as well as** in other fields.

In the **light of** the fact that there **has** been a **considerable** growth of problems in the humanitarian field, the **Soviet** Union recently **proposed** the convening in **Moscow** of a **representative** conference of **States participant** in the all-European Conference, on the **entire** range of humanitarian **issues,** including contacts between people, information, **culture** and education.

A **real** contribution - **as** opposed to **mere lip-service** to a concern **for** man and his well-being - would be made if all States were to bring their **legislation** and practice into **line with** international treaties and **agreements,** such as, **first and foremost,** the **International Covenants on Human Rights** formulated in the **framework** of the **United Nations.**

Compliance with **and respect for** the **rights of peoples,** the **promotion and development of fundamental freedoms** and human rights, **and compliance** in good faith with commitments undertaken under the **relevant** treaties and agreements are **all** **integral elements of a stable system of international peace and security.** We reject the **hypocritical** position of **certain Governments** which are very fond of **holding** forth on the **sanctity** of the **rights of** each **individual, but** which at the **same time shamelessly trample** upon the rights of **entire people? and racial** groups in southern Africa, the **Middle East, Central America and Asia.** Undeclared war, **subversive** activities, **acts of terrorism, slanderous propaganda** campaigns, economic **pressure and blackmail** are used for those purposes.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In the international arena, the force of law must prevail once and for all over the imperialist resort to force. Among the individual elements that must be used to strengthen the edifice of stable peace and security are: the speedy conclusion of work on an international declaration on the non-use of force; the formulation of a code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind; universal adherence by all States to the Convention on the Law of the Sea; and universal international legal recognition of a new international economic order.

It is clear that the creation of a comprehensive system of international security is a comprehensive, complex and universal task encompassing all areas of relations among States - indeed the very essence of those relations. It calls for sincere efforts by all States, peoples and international forums - including, naturally, the United Nations, which has the necessary capabilities and which, by the terms of its Charter, is designed to be the focus of the concerted efforts of States to maintain peace and security. It is obvious that the proposal for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security is clearly and fully in keeping with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Moreover, it has the objective of strengthening the United Nations, increasing its role and authority and enhancing its contribution to the implementation in practice of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

We firmly believe that the fundamental principles of genuine security are consistent with the ideas contained in the decisions of the non-aligned summit Conference held at Harare. They are consonant with all proposals aimed at putting an end to confrontation, at developing dialogue, mutual understanding and co-operation, and at effecting a fundamental readjustment of the entire system of international relations.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The nations of the world have placed great hopes on the United Nations since its inception. Time, however, in running out for the realization of those hopes. If we do not join now in a collective effort to remove the threat of war, to take real disarmament measures and to create genuine security, those hopes may never be realized.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR urges all States Members of the United Nations to join in the task of ensuring a new and genuinely secure peace on our planet.

Of paramount importance is the political will to do all possible to prevent a disaster and save mankind. Political thinking and concrete action should come to be consonant with the realities of the day, when the time available for the search for political agreements has been sharply reduced. The creation of a safer world will be impossible without extensive constructive co-operation on the part of all States and without concerted, agreed action by them. Concern for the survival of humanity is incompatible with the ambition to dominate. That ambition can lead only to disaster. Nowadays, security can only be comprehensive and equal the same security for all. It can only be built by all of us together on the basis of collective wisdom and concerted efforts on the part of all States, by removing the barriers of hostility and disinformation, and through truly equitable international co-operation and peaceful coexistence, which was the dream of the founders of the United Nations, a dream whose legal basis they established in the Charter.

Lasting, safe and just peace will never triumph all by itself. It can become a reality only as a result of purposeful efforts by all States. Let 1986, proclaimed as the International Year of Peace, be a turning point in the process of developing and then implementing the basic elements of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR,

In presenting draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.89 for consideration at this session of the General Assembly, the sponsors are proposing the beginning of a process of establishing a system of international relations that would make it possible for us in our nuclear space age to solve together the most urgent of humanitarian problems: the problem of averting a global catastrophe and preserving and improving life on Earth.

Shedding the burden of distrust, suspicion and fatal confrontation; creating a humane-like international atmosphere; establishing a partnership of minds; putting the universal intellectual and industrial potential to work for the benefit of mankind: those ambitious tasks can be tackled by the United Nations of today. We call upon the representatives of all countries to dedicate themselves to the achievement of those aims, in conformity with the United Nations Charter and with the imperatives of our troubled times, which leave us no acceptable alternative.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish at this stage to remind members that the list of speakers on international security items will be closed today, 21 November 1986, at 12 noon.

Mr. BIRCH (United Kingdom): I have the honour to make a statement on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community. I shall speak on agenda items 67, 68, 69 and 141, concerning international security. Those items touch directly and intimately on the United Nations Charter, which all of us, as Member States of this Organization, are pledged strictly to observe.

In the space of less than two generations - a brief 31 years - those who drafted the United Nations Charter had lived through the two most destructive wars the world had ever seen. We are fortunate that today we are more than 40 years removed from their experience of total global warfare. But there is no room for complacency.

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

Many parts of the world have been and continue to be rent by regional conflicts that have inflicted untold death, destruction and suffering. Our joint aim, therefore, must surely be to preserve and promote a peace which at the same time assures the security of all concerned and maintains the inherent right of self-determination as provided in the Charter.

Arms control and disarmament have a central role in the achievement of the goals in the United Nations Charter. Substantial and balanced reductions in the world's nuclear and conventional arsenals to the lowest possible level are a vital part of this process, of course. Consequently, the Twelve fully support multilateral and bilateral endeavours to that end. The Twelve are making a direct contribution, notably through their constructive participation in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). It is with particular satisfaction that we welcome the recent successful adoption of the Stockholm document by the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. After lengthy and detailed negotiations in Stockholm, agreement was reached on practical measures designed to bring about a greater degree of openness and predictability about military activities in Europe, thus reducing tension and mistrust and the risk of military confrontation.

However, in addition to the enhancement of stability and predictability between States which limitations and reductions in armaments can help to bring about, consideration must also be given to other equally important aspects of security. For security is not limited to its well-known military dimension but encompasses non-military aspects as well. Ultimately, it is a political and diplomatic, as well as a military, problem, which requires dialogue and greater understanding. Indeed, it also involves States' behaviour across the board. Security is affected by the way they deal with many aspects of everyday

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

behaviour. Not least, **this includes** the respect they show **for** the human **rights and social and economic aspirations of their own people**. The horrifying phenomenon of **terrorism also** threatens the **fabric of international security** and must **be tackled collectively and implacably**.

Those who drew up the **United Nations Charter** recognised the interplay between a variety of factors which impinge on the **complex issue of international security**. They **were** men of vision who tempered the ideals of their aspirations with realism. They did not **attempt** to **prescribe** a cure for every ill, but they did, if I may continue the **analogy**, make **a bold attempt at preventive medicine** by **elaborating a document which contains the basic elements for a safe, secure and civilized world**.

One of the essential principles for such a world is full **respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms**. As I suggested just now, **international security is affected not only** by the **behaviour of Governments towards each other** but **also by the behaviour of Governments towards their own people**. **Governments alone can assure their citizens the unimpaired enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms**. **Governments alone can establish the framework for mutual confidence and, therefore, the mutual security which allows people to live their lives in peace and prosperity**. **Peace will only flourish where the dignity of human beings and their right to freedom is respected, both in words and in deeds**. As the Secretary-General said in his annual report, the **persistent infringement of human rights casts shame on our era**.

The CSCE process **as a whole** shows **that** in a region tragically divided for so long it is possible to establish a **framework for building trust and confidence**. It demonstrates what **is possible** at the regional level. The authors of the United Nations Charter placed **great emphasis** on the role that regional co-operation can play in enhancing international security, **but they deliberately did not** seek to

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

prescribe rigid formulas. Arrangements have to be adapted to the needs of the local situation. We recognize that measures appropriate for one region may not always be appropriate for another region, where the circumstances and problems are different.

As Sir Geoffrey Howe said on behalf of the Twelve in the General Assembly on 23 September,

"We are firm in our support for the Charter and for a strong and effective United Nations." (A/41/PV.6, p. 85)

The United Nations may not always have lived up to the hopes of its founders. None the less, the Charter sets the standards and goals after which we must all strive, and its provisions remain the basic bases for maintaining international peace and security - provided Member States live up to their obligations. We attach great importance to enhancing and strengthening the authority of the Security Council. This is essential for the effective operation of the security system created by the United Nations. The Organization itself is an indispensable forum in which countries, no matter how large or small, can come together on an equal footing to exchange views, bring their problems and seek to settle disputes peacefully. Moreover, the technical and regional bodies and specialized agencies established under United Nations auspices provide a network through which the purposes and principles of the Charter can be realised in the humanitarian, social, economic and developmental spheres, which, as I noted earlier, are intimately related to the question of security.

An important innovation, and arguably the most practical current manifestation of the United Nations commitment to preserving international peace and security, is the establishment of peace-keeping forces. We must, of course, be realistic about what United Nations peace-keeping operations can achieve. They are neither

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

designed nor equipped to enforce the law against determined transgressors. They are • n adjunct to diplomacy, a means of holding the r inq while the contestants find their way to the negotiating chamber. The machinery is there. Success depends primarily on the willingness of those involved to use it. The Twelve wish to express their gratitude and respect to all those who have taken pmrt • • nd, in some cases, given their lives • in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

We • hould not overlook either other less-visible ways in which the United Nations can be used effectively in promoting international security. Th • e im, for • xample, the Secretary-General's own brand of quiet diplomacy. Him pmtient • huttling behind the scenes in an important • lommnt in the process of trying to resolve disputes peacefully. Of necessity, this activity remains confidential and rarely • ttractm the publicity which is its due. But the Twelve would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to him • tmff for their efforts, which have oftmm borne fruit.

A truly effective United Nations requires, however, far more than brave men and a diligent mind mwcemmmful Secretary-General. No amount of tampering with the words of the Charter or drawing up new documents • nd declarations will make any difference if Member States themselves are not prepared to put into practice what they profess publicly to believe in through their membership of this Organization • nd their acceptance of its principles.

The rights • nd privileges of membership of the United Nations thum go hand in hand with obligations to uphold the purposes • nd principles of the Charter. Those obligations are freely entered into and should not be taken lightly.

(Mr. Birch, United Kingdom)

Foremost among them is the undertaking not to use or threaten to use force in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and to settle international disputes peacefully. Without a true commitment to the fundamental norms of behaviour enshrined in the Charter, security becomes meaningless. Instead of mutual recrimination and calls for establishing novel systems of international security, practical deeds which demonstrate such a commitment will do far more to strengthen international peace and security. This is the fundamental approach of the 12 member States of the European Community to the issues raised by the items we are currently considering.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland) : It is the considered view of my delegation that the proposal submitted by 10 socialist countries for consideration at the United Nations of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security contained in document A/41/191 of 14 August of this year is both timely and of paramount importance.

International relations are becoming ever more complex. The contradictions between the various vested interests of States in a number of areas of life persist. Nations and groups of States continue to rely for their security on military force. At the same time an increasing number of issues become global or at least affect large groups of States. The existing political, ideological and socio-economic contradictions, when set against the background of the awesome destructive power of today's nuclear arsenal, are not merely an expression of a variety of interests but are in fact potential causes of great danger.

In the nuclear age security has become a complex matter requiring statesmanship and extreme responsibility. The world community is confronted with a new situation unprecedented in history which demands qualitatively new solutions commensurate with the new threats.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

The contemporary paradox was adequately captured by Albert Einstein after the explosion of the first atomic bomb, when he observed that the bomb had changed everything but the way man thought. However, in the nuclear age security can be assured not simply by military or technological means but in the first instance by political measures.

As is indicated in document A/41/191,

"The maintenance of security becomes an increasingly political task, the accomplishment of which calls for the realization that reliable security for all countries and peoples and peaceful conditions for their development and progress can be achieved only by political means and through the joint efforts of all States, big and small, developed and developing, regardless of their political or social systems." (A/41/191, pp. 1 and 2)

The initiative presented by the socialist countries for consideration at the United Nations tends precisely to initiate the new thinking on the questions of international security that is necessary if mankind is to survive.

The concept of a balance of power founded on fear, distrust and mutual deterrence must give way to an equilibrium based on recognition of interdependence, co-operation and equal security for all.

It is high time to put all these issues into a common perspective, into a system in which all elements of international life, all interests - common and individual, convergent and divergent alike - will find expression of their interrelationship and be pursued under common general rules accepted by all.

The only venue in which such a demanding task can be undertaken is the United Nations. Only here can it be possible to undertake the consideration and eventual elaboration and implementation of an idea which could bring about a qualitative turn for the better in international behaviour.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

The comprehensive system of international security, as we see it, is to be based on the United Nations Charter as applied to the new conditions prevailing in the international situation and should embrace all positive experience accumulated by the international community in ensuring international security, including experience stemming from regional endeavours. The functioning of such a system would permit constant analysis of the existing situation and the enumeration of issues requiring common action by the international community and would similarly facilitate the elaboration of the best ways and means of solving those issues.

In the present-day world, which is divided into different social systems and abounds in various sharp contradictions, with deep mistrust built up over many years, there are some basic principles on which the proposed system of international security would have to be founded.

The first is the principle of peaceful coexistence. It evolved many years ago, with the birth of the first socialist State, and it has been growing in importance ever since. Now, in the era of nuclear weapons, it is a tenet that expresses the simple truth that we shall either survive together or perish together.

The second principle, which stems from the same premises, establishes the only realistic basis for the resolution of existing problems: equality and mutual security in all dealings between States. This presupposes above all the renunciation by all of efforts to secure superiority, military or otherwise. It also means refraining from developing one's own security at the expense of the security of others.

Of equal importance is the effective application of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs. This involves the renunciation of expansionism, hegemonism, discrimination, including discrimination

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

in economic relations, colonialism and neo-colonialism and demands full respect for the inviolability of borders and the territorial integrity of States.

The principle of non-use of force in international relations - a conditio sine qua non of any viable international order - pertains both to relations between States and relations between social and economic systems.

Last but not least, there is the joint action aimed at resolving global problems that condition the maintenance of world peace. In practical terms it means freeing the world from all nuclear weapons, the reduction of military arsenals to levels of reasonable sufficiency and, ultimately, general and complete disarmament. But it also means creating adequate conditions for the economic and social progress of all States, in particularly the developing ones, eradicating hunger and poverty as well as racial and religious intolerance and discrimination, protecting the natural environment, and so on. And that list is far from exhaustive.

Central to the question of international security, of course, is the problem of the arms race and, inherently linked thereto, of the prevention of war. Halting the arms race, and preferably achieving arms reductions, is possible. The compromise proposals submitted by the Soviet Union in Reykjavik offered a real possibility to reach agreements on the problems of destroying nuclear weapons, banning nuclear tests and keeping arms out of outer space.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

Several remedies have been proposed in the past to correct the present deficiencies in international relations and to improve international security. The request for the inclusion of item 141 in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly duly takes note of them. All of them merit great attention and full support. None of them was meant to be comprehensive, however, while the system of international peace and security the socialist countries are proposing is a comprehensive one and embraces both the military and political fields, as well as the areas of economic affairs and human rights.

We live in an interdependent world, in which all continents and regions would be doomed to the same fate in the case of a global nuclear disaster, and we are connected by a multitude of economic, political and cultural links. However, each and every one of the regions also has its own exclusive characteristics, influencing, in its own special way, overall global security. Global security is thus the total of all the regional and sub-regional security situations. This specificity demands that particular means be applied to solving existing regional problems.

Nowhere is the interrelationship between global and regional security so close, however, as in the case of Europe, a region of enormous economic, demographic and cultural potential and, most importantly, of an unparalleled concentration of military power by the two alliances. Any conflict in Europe, however small, in which members of these alliances were involved would threaten other regions.

In Poland's view, the present level of military forces in Europe is not justified by the security needs and interests of European States. It is our long-standing tradition to take an active part in all efforts to improve security relations on the continent and to expand co-operation across the dividing line.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

One of the earliest Polish initiatives in the domain of military security was the Rapacki Plan, which called for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe. Subsequent developments in Europe and elsewhere proved how far-sighted, well thought out and well balanced that Plan was.

The gradual improvement of European security was due mainly to the process initiated in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), signed at Helsinki in 1975. That Act had been preceded by the signature of the Treaty on the Basis of Normalization of Relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany of 7 December 1970. That Treaty, together with the agreements signed by the Federal Republic of Germany with other socialist countries, and the Quadripartite Agreement on [West] Berlin, paved the way to a search for Europe-wide settlements. The political and legal ground was thus prepared for the convocation and successful outcome of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The political philosophy of the Final Act of the Conference and of the whole process started at Helsinki is wedded to the principle of interdependence and the observance of the equal security interests of all States of Europe and North America, irrespective of their size or on their allegiance or non-allegiance to military alliances.

The development of inter-European relations is, in our opinion, going steadily forward in a positive direction, although not without some vacillations. We welcomed the result of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Poland considers the success of the Stockholm Conference to be a modest but concrete measure of what is possible in the realm of military security if only there is good will and political commitment. It is our sincere hope that the agreement reached in Stockholm will enable further progress

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

within the framework of the CSCE process toward8 more far-reaching arms reduction measures.

Together with other socialist States, Poland is ready to participate in such measures. That resolve is clearly stated in the Budapest Appeal of the socialist States to all participant8 in the process deriving from the Conference, issued on 12 June 1986, proposing several far-reaching measures, including substantial reductions of the armed forces of both military alliances.

May I recall, in this context, that in the Declaration on security and Co-operation in Europe, adopted at Warsaw on 3 July 1986 by the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, a proposal was made "for the establishment of a Europe-wide mechanism which would serve the purpose of reaching agreement on the means and methods of preventing and easing tension8 and crises on our continent" (A/41/467). The conviction was also expressed in the Declaration that this would help to reinforce the mutual confidence-building measures now being elaborated within the CSCE process.

On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Treaty on the Normalization of Relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, a document was prepared by a working group appointed by the leadership of the Sejm (Polish Parliament) Deputies Club of the Polish United Workers' Party and the West German Social Democrat faction in the Bundestag. The document, published on 26 November 1985, states inter alia that:

"In the era of weapons of mass destruction, security can be ensured not by acting separately against each other but by acting jointly through the policy of partnership in security. It should be based, without any exception, on the application of all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

"Mutual confidence can be attained only when each of the sides takes into consideration the legitimate interests of the security of the other side."

In our view, this is an example of constructive thinking about the future of Europe under conditions of peace and security.

Expressing Poland's concern over the future of Europe and of the world, the President of the Council Of State of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, proposed on 16 September 1986 to host a meeting in Warsaw in September 1989 - on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the second World War - of the representatives of the states signatories of the CSCE Final Act, devoted to the crucial problems of peace, security and co-operation in Europe. And, as he had subsequently stated in an interview granted on 9 October to the Finnish daily Helsingin Sanomat, "we do not wish to utilize such a meeting for chiefly dissecting the past. There are numerous future-oriented problems of co-operation in Europe".

We strongly believe that the proposed meeting would provide the proper framework for consultations and discussion on the current state of security and co-operation in Europe and of the CSCE process itself. It would also be an important step in building mutual confidence in Europe and in consolidating the feeling of its common destiny and European heritage.

(Mr. Nowryta, Poland)

For obvious reasons, we have presented our comments and opinions from a typically European perspective. This, however, does not mean that we overlook the existence of many other valuable regional, subregional or national experiences and achievements all over the world. We realize that ours is not the only valid approach. We do not claim to hold the exclusive right to truth and wisdom. We have simply shared our views with other members of this Committee with the aim of initiating and developing broad dialogue on a matter that is of the utmost importance to all of us. We would be extremely gratified to learn what others believe they could contribute from their own experiences and conclusions, in whatever they deem to be important to this dialogue on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Such contributions could, in our Opinion, relate both to principles and to specific concrete measures that could become elements of the system.

If I may use the words of the draft resolution before us, we are calling upon all States

"to make their contribution to working out the basic ideas for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security and provide guidance for the practical work to this end". (A/C.1/41/L.89, para. 1)

It is our deep conviction that the substance and structure of such a system will be determined by the common interest and the wisdom of humanity.

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Among the problems discussed during the sessions of the General Assembly, including this, the forty-first, session, issues relating to the strengthening of international security undoubtedly occupy a central place, because they pertain to the most important thing of all; ensuring peace on Earth.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

The United Nations has already done a significant amount of work in this area, by setting out in its declaration⁶ and resolutions programmes for concrete action by States to enhance the relaxation of international tension; to achieve positive results in disarmament; to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space; to prevent nuclear war; to keep the peace; and to eliminate from international practice the policies of diktat, blackmail, colonialism, racism, apartheid, exploitation, and crude power pressure in international trade and economic relations.

Now the development of mankind has reached a stage that demands that we synthesize and sum up old and new ideas and measures with a view to creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security that functions effectively.

As noted in the letter from the Foreign Ministers of 10 socialist States (A/41/191), the proposal to establish such a system was motivated by their grave concern for the fate of the world and the future of its peoples. That letter drew attention to the complexity of the current stage in the development of mankind, which now faces a historic choice: either to allow the world to slide down the road of confrontation and the arms race towards the abyss of nuclear self-annihilation, or to make its way of thinking and acting conform with the realities of the nuclear space age and restructure international relations on the basis of co-operation and concerted efforts to maintain peace.

The fundamental reality of our time is that, owing to the development of enormous means of destruction, our planet has become too small and fragile for war and power politics. Nowadays, the security of each State is directly dependent on the security of all others. Therefore, what is needed is global security - equal security for each and every people. As for our country, it was stated in a most

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

responsible member at the ~~twenty-seventh~~ Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that

"security, speaking in terms of the relationship between the USSR and the United States, can only be mutual; in terms of international relations as a whole, it can only be comprehensive*.

Now, and even more in the future, national security is likely to be less reliable if it is not in conformity with global security and if all peoples do not feel equally secure. No State can afford to indulge in the illusion that it can protect itself through military technical means alone, even with the creation of a most powerful defence, whether in space or on Earth. Building up military muscle and attempting to gain military supremacy does not strengthen stability, but rather places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people and impairs social and economic progress and the process of overcoming the backwardness of developing countries.

Ensuring security in the nuclear age emerges more and more as a political task. To carry it out we should realize that reliable security for all countries and peoples and peaceful conditions for their development and progress can be achieved only through political means and the joint efforts of all States. The security of States and peoples cannot be built, indefinitely on the fear of retaliation.

To reverse the trend of an increasing military danger and a drift towards the fatal brink, it is necessary to renounce, unconditionally and for all time, war and the threat or use of force as a means of settling political, economic and other disputes between States. What is thus required is strict compliance with and universal adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among

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States. Today there is no alternative to the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with differing social systems.

The proposed system of international peace and security should be comprehensive not only in the sense of encompassing all States and peoples. For security to be truly reliable it should embrace all major areas of international relations; for without security in the economic and humanitarian spheres there can be no stable security in the military and political sense. On that basis, we are convinced that it is in the vital interest of all States and peoples to establish a system of international security that would encompass military and political as well as economic and humanitarian areas, all of which are like the individual floors of the building that in international relations today.

As we see it, a reliable and effective system of international security implies not only the absence of war and armed conflict, but also the renunciation in principle on the part of all nuclear Powers of nuclear and conventional war against one another or against third countries. The system should include disarmament, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, and the renunciation of the development of new weapons of mass destruction. It should include the building of confidence, guarantees of the inviolability of frontiers, and the disbanding of military groupings.

(Mr. Gur inovich, Byelorussian SSR)

It should include the unconditional right of every people to choose ways and forms of its own development in a sovereign manner, free from outside interference and military threat, the just settlement of conflict situations and disputes between States and the prevention of international terrorism.

It should include renunciation of the use or threat of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

It should include the extensive development of co-operation in the economic field, the restructuring of the entire system of international economic relations on the basis of the principles of equality, justice and mutual benefit, so as to guarantee equal economic security for all States.

It should include the renunciation of all forms of discrimination and pressure, the elimination of backwardness, famine and disease and the just settlement of the external-debt problem.

It should include the promotion of ideas of peace and co-operation and an enhanced access to objective information.

It should include the eradication of genocide, apartheid and racism and of the advocacy of fascism.

It should include the expansion of international co-operation with due respect for the sovereignty of States and with a view to realizing the political, civil, economic, social, cultural and individual human rights, in particular the right to live under conditions of peace and freedom.

It should include co-operation in all spheres of positive human endeavour, and no on.

The Soviet Union is proved not in words, but in practice - its willingness to act precisely in that spirit. The Soviet Union has committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Having introduced a unilateral moratorium on

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nuclear testing in August of 1985, the Soviet Union will observe the International Year of Peace without any nuclear explosions.

On 15 January 1986 the Soviet Union put forward a concrete programme for global security through disarmament. Its centre-piece is the phasing out of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 everywhere and for all time, while effectively banning space-strike weapons. It is proposed at the same time to eliminate chemical weapons completely and not to develop any new weapons of mass destruction. The socialist countries' proposals for radical reductions in conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals are well known.

At the forty-first session of the General Assembly the Soviet Union added new proposals, suggesting, inter alia, the immediate signature here at the United Nations of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests under the strictest verification, including international and supranational verification; the holding, without delay, of an exchange of views on nuclear-disarmament matters between all the nuclear Powers; the drafting of multilateral agreements to reduce the risk of nuclear war, the setting up of a multilateral nuclear risk-reduction centre, in accordance with the proposal of the United Nations Secretary-General; agreement on a mutual pullback of troops to within national borders; the establishment of an international fund to provide aid to developing nations by using resources to be released from real disarmament and the reduction of military spending; embarking on the drafting of a multilateral agreement on the prevention of incidents on the high seas and in the airspace therefore; initiation of negotiations on curbing naval activities in the Pacific Ocean; the consideration of a voluntary waiver by States of their right to withdraw from arms-limitation agreements; the introduction of a mutual Soviet-United States moratorium on the production and deployment of the chemical warfare potential,

(Mr. Gurnovich, Byelorussian SSR)

including binary chemical weapons and, lastly, the holding of a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider questions pertaining to the prevention of nuclear war, disarmament, and so on.

Everyone can see the enduring importance of the Soviet-United States summit meeting held in Iceland at the suggestion of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev. That meeting offered the possibility for eliminating during the next 10 years all nuclear explosive devices, including bombs, battlefield weapons, cruise missiles, submarine-launched weapons and intermediate-range nuclear forces. A nuclear-free world could become the biggest and most reliable element in the edifice of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. This, in turn, would considerably facilitate the creation and further improvement of other elements of such a system. All of this is still within reach if the United States abandons its attempts to gain military superiority, if it stops sidestepping practical nuclear disarmament and seeking the militarization of outer space and to deploy strike weapons there.

Unfortunately, some Western countries have not been displaying a readiness for constructive co-operation. In fact, we are witnessing their refusal to negotiate on a number of issues and a return to old, obsolete positions, the renunciation of previously reached agreements and a manifestation of ostensible intractability. In other words, we are observing a demonstration of the bankrupt policy of strength instead of the strength of a peace-loving policy. We hope that this is a temporary phenomenon and that reason will prevail over hatred and suspicion.

The implementation of the programme of equal and comprehensive security, which is truly historic in scope and importance, would usher in a fundamentally different

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

period of development for mankind, that is, the possibility of concentrating on exclusively peaceful construction.

The States of the socialist community express their readiness for the broadest possible co-operation with other countries in the key areas of building a safe world for all. The establishment of a comprehensive system of international security, as has been rightly noted here, is a task that is not only multifaceted but also global, one that requires unilateral, bilateral and multilateral efforts on the part of States and peoples. It requires a greater dynamism and bold approaches to dealing with problems both old and new relating to the struggle to dispel the threat of war and for the maintenance of peaceful coexistence.

We believe that the position of those who are keeping silent and showing skepticism or, worse still, looking for pretexts to shun our common work, and who are berating the idea of establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security, needs to be seriously corrected, to put it mildly. What is required in order to achieve that end is practical efforts by each and every one of us. Experience has shown that arms parity cannot bring security to the world. It must give way to parity of responsibility.

The thrust of the general debate at the forty-first session of the General Assembly and of the debate on many specific agenda items, particularly those related to disarmament, and the documents adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement and by other intergovernmental and public forums, including the one in Stockholm, demonstrate that new political thinking in this nuclear age is crystallizing in the public consciousness of the human family. The United Nations is in duty bound to accept the challenge of the age and to rise to it by elaborating and approving basic principles involved in establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security which would serve as a guideline for practical action by all States.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

Such a step in the future would surely be consonant with the task Of strengthening the role of the United Nations and enhancing its effectiveness in the maintenance of peace and security, and it would make a concrete contribution to the implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Proclamation of the International Year of Peace.

The elaboration of a comprehensive system of international peace and security meets the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. It would strengthen it in line with the new challenges of our age. The assertion that a comprehensive system of international peace and security is unnecessary because of the existence of the Charter is wrong. It is now time to understand that it is impermissible to justify inactivity by invoking the fact that we have the Charter and other instruments. To carry further the logic of the negative references to the United Nations Charter in this particular context, we would have to say, "All right. Let us all fold our arms and stop doing anything at all because the Charter has it all. Meanwhile, let the world wheel on downhill toward a disaster: It is clear that the logic of those who invoke such references cannot be regarded as acceptable.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that the draft resolution on the question before us, which has been submitted by the States of the socialist community, including the Byelorussian SSR, will meet with the support of delegations. Its adoption by the General Assembly will become an initial contribution to the elaboration of basic ideas for a comprehensive system Of international peace and security - one of the central tasks in contemporary international relations.

(Mr. Gurinov ich, Byelorussian SSR)

At its November 1986 session, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR called on "all parliaments and peoples to come out strongly in favour of a practical start on the establishment of a nuclear-free world and the building of reliable security to be shared by all countries on an equal basis. This task must take priority over any State-to-State disputes and ideological disagreements."

We address this appeal to all States Members of the United Nations.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to remind members that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under international security agenda items 67, 68, 69 and 141 is 6 p.m. today. Since the First Committee will not hold a meeting this afternoon, delegations wishing to submit draft resolutions under those agenda items are requested to kindly hand over their texts to the Secretariat in Room 3170, on the thirty-first floor of the Secretariat building.

On another point, I would like to inform members of the Committee that, due to an extensive list of speakers during the coming week, the remaining meetings of the Committee during the remaining days available to us will begin promptly at 10 a.m. Also, as far as the precise programme of work for Monday is concerned, there will be an announcement to that effect in Monday's Journal of the United Nations.

Before adjourning the meeting I would like to inform members that the following delegations are included in the list of speakers for Monday morning's meeting: Pakistan, Egypt, China, Guyana, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Sri Lanka and Mexico.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.