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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 46th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. **RANA**

(Nepal)

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General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items **[68, 69, 70 and 12]** (continued)

Report of the Economic and Social Council

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

AGENDA ITEMS 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

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

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, oration D)

Mr. VASILYEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your introductory comments describing the present situation in the world, which entails a new approach to ensuring international security and emphasizes the need for the participation of all States in creating a new concept of security. We would also like to express our gratitude to Under-Secretary-General Vasily S. Safronchuk for his constructive contribution to the work of the First Committee,

Twenty years ago the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which proved to be an outstanding event in the life of the international community. Time has demonstrated that the principles of the development of international relations laid down in that Declaration in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter are not theoretical and isolated from reality but have great practical potential. That potential is beginning to make itself fully felt now that the world is acquiring new characteristics and the cold war is being replaced by a new era in international relations. Europe has finally dealt with and finished the Second World War, The elimination of an entire category of nuclear weapons has become a fact. Very soon there will be an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. We are seeing ever more realistic manifestations of the desire of the international community for the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. Over the past year real progress has been made in resolving regional conflicts by political means.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

An event of crucial historical importance was the summit meeting in Paris last week of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). The results of that meeting and the documents signed at it bear witness to the fact that the foundations were laid in Paris of a new European edifice. In the Paris Charter for a New Europe the Heads of State and Government of the countries participating in the CSCE declare:

'With the ending of the division in Europe we shall strive to give a new quality to our relations in the sphere of security, with full respect for the freedom of choice retained by each in this area. Security is indivisible, and the security of each State party is indissolubly linked with the security of all individual States parties. Therefore we are committed to co-operating to strengthen mutual trust and security and promote control over arms and disarmament.'

It is hard to overestimate the contribution of the Paris meeting to the establishment of universal security or the significance of the agreements signed by 22 European States concerning the unprecedented reduction of conventional armaments on the continent and non-aggression. In the Paris Charter, the European States undertook a number of important political commitments, including commitments to the United Nations, which open up new horizons of co-operation.

The Byelorussian SSR is paying close attention to the development of the processes on the European continent, since it sees in the idea of a common European home a guarantee of the security of its own future. The attainment of the objective of a non-nuclear, neutral and peaceful Byelorussia, as proclaimed by the republic, is possible only within the framework of the construction of that home. That is why Byelorussia intends to participate actively in building that home and making the area a hub of political, cultural, legal and information area. For this reason, the results of the summit meeting in Paris were welcomed

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with particular satisfaction in our republic. We believe that the common European process will take into account in its further development the now European political realities being formed on the basis of the free choice of the peoples. The significance of this permeates the Paris Charter, including the **□□□□** that we have just road out.

We agree with the Secretary-General that

"the larger - and saner - concept of security, **□□□□□□□□** all its dimensions, which has begun to emerge is precisely the one the United Nations have been expounding all through the years." (A/45/1, p. 2)

There can be no doubt that a positive role in the development of this process was played by the well-known initiative of the East European countries concerning a comprehensive approach to international security. One of the fundamental objectives of that initiative was to promote in the United Nations a broad international dialogue concerning ways and means of ensuring security, which would allow us to **□□□□□□** upon practical action and plan substantive measures to achieve that goal.

The submission to the last session of the General Assembly of the joint Soviet-American initiative on enhancing international peace, security and co-operation, and the consequent adoption by consensus of the corresponding resolution, constituted an **□□□□□□□□** important event. And although many serious obstacles remain to be overcome, there is an effort to establish a new standard of international dialogue in the United Nations characterized by the businesslike discussion of long-standing problems.

Important evidence of the **□□□□□□** in the United Nations of a general consensus on this issue was provided by the fact that more than 40 States broadly representative of the major political forces in the world today became sponsors of the Soviet-American resolution.

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

The Soviet-American joint statement of 3 October 1990, entitled "Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World" (A/45/598, annex) is of substantive significance for the carrying out of the practical role of the United Nations in this new world. Among other things this document expresses the aspiration of the USSR and the United States of America to co-operation with all Members of the United Nations in increasing the efforts of the United Nations to strengthen international peace and security in all its aspects through improving the way the United Nations functions in establishing and maintaining peace.

A significant number of ideas aimed at comprehensive development of the peace-making potential of the United Nations is contained in the memorandum by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 10 October 1990, entitled "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world" (A/45/626), which proposes the formation, with a central role for the United Nations, of an integral strategy of global partnership for the 1990s and the beginning of the next century.

At the same time, the establishment of a new process on a global scale is not easy. In this connection, Byelorussia shares the great concern aroused throughout the world by the events in the Persian Gulf where Iraq has committed unprovoked aggression and annexed a neighbouring sovereign State. The Charter of the United Nations and universally recognized norms of international law have thus been trampled under foot. The most dangerous possibility is that these events, even if they do not destroy the embryonic new system of world relations, could condemn it to a long-standing freeze, with incalculable consequences. This danger is certainly recognized, and gives an additional impetus to the efforts to counteract the actions of the aggressor. The quick and effective reaction of the international community and the unprecedented solidarity of the members of the Security Council demonstrated during the crisis are in our view promising signs for

(Mr. Vasilyev, Byelorussian SSR)

the establishment of a secure future both in that region and throughout the world. We hope that at tomorrow's meeting, in which Foreign Ministers will participate, the Security Council will determine the correct way to resolve the crisis and take advantage of the full potential of the measures provided for in the Charter before military action becomes inevitable.

As representatives of various countries have already emphasised in their statements, universal security is not a matter of military and political aspects alone. The establishment of a safe world requires a shift to a new structure of international economic relations based on principles of justice and equality, the resolution of the problems of the environment and other global problems, and a further development of businesslike, substantive dialogue on social and humanitarian issues.

The positive development of peace in Europe and the world as a whole makes the need to establish similar processes in the Mediterranean area even more urgent. We are in favour of careful consideration being given to the well-known initiatives aimed at lessening military confrontation, strengthening trust and developing comprehensive co-operation, with the aim of achieving concrete results.

The changing international situation and the beginning of new international relations in a period of peace require appropriate developments in the United Nations: the development and strengthening of its peace-making role and its transformation into an effective mechanism and a centre for agreement by States on action to resolve important international problems.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is ready to support solutions in this direction designed to promote the building of a peaceful, non-violent and, in the long run, non-nuclear world.

Mr. PANLAK (Poland) 12 years ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted, on Poland's initiative, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. Without unduly overrating the significance of the Polish initiative and the role played by the Declaration itself, **it** seems legitimate to say that the Declaration has given **rise** to a new current of thought and action whereby the undisturbed and harmonious development of **the** individual is combined with the promotion of a secure international environment and the peaceful **transformation** of reality, and is associated with a vision of **the future**.

The motto of the **preparation** for life in peace carried a deeper underlying message: to build a **peaceful**, positive vision of the world and generate the widest possible **commitment** of societies, particularly the young generation, to making that vision a reality. Many Governments, in their replies **submitted** to the Secretary-General, described a variety of **governmental** as well as public efforts **which** contributed to the idea of the preparation for life in peace and **demonstrated** the possibility of turning it into reality in a specific external and internal **environment**.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

The profound changes which have taken place in Poland and in the rest of Europe in the course of the past two years have demonstrated, in new circumstances, the validity of the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. The changes in Poland have not threatened the security of other countries; nor have they disturbed peace in the region. Peace has remained the superior asset, allowing the Polish people to exercise their right to full sovereignty and independence along with the inviolability of other fundamental human rights.

Poland desires to strengthen its ties with Europe as a whole and with its well-established  of values, its love of freedom and respect for human rights, with a Europe which is free from conflicts of bygone days, and which is overcoming its division into poor and rich parts. Poland wishes to become a part of the European and universal system for the protection of human rights and to cherish the common values shared by democratic nations. As the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, told the general Assembly last year, "Morality and respect for the human person remain our highest values".

(A/44/PV.4, p. 78)

The changes of 1989-1990 have prompted a historic redefinition of Poland's relations with its neighbours both to the West and to the East. Supportive of the right of nations to self-determination, Poland has recognised the right of the German nation to unification. At the same time, guided by the supreme interest of assuring the security of the State and the people, and conscious of the importance of the partnerlike Polish-German relations for maintaining peace in Europe, Poland has called for the process of reconciliation and the building of a community of interest between Germany and Poland. Such changes in Polish-German relations will require a profound transformation in the consciousness of the Polish people, who

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still have vivid **memories** of the Waai **atrocities**. That **memory notwithstanding**, Poland will seek to promote good-neighbourly relations with **Germany**, to replace the image of a perennial enemy by that **of a confidence-inspiring** neighbour, and to perceive **that country** as a partner in the construction of a new system of security in Europe.

Transformations of **equal** importance have taken place and are still under way in **Polish-Soviet relations**, which have been **subordinated** to the universal principles of international law and which bind both sides **to** respect each other's national interests **and** constitutional differences and we are seeking to achieve mutual understanding **and** reconciliation despite the painful burden of **Stalinist crimes** that cast **their** shadow on the latest history of those relations. A major role **in** reshaping Polish-Soviet relations is played by direct contacts between the people of the two countries, contacts between representatives of various **organizations** and social **movements**, and presentations of the most valuable cultural **accomplishments** of Soviet nationalities. The **most** important role is played by **direct** political contacts between Poland and the neighbouring Soviet republics, **namely** the **Ukrainian** Soviet Socialist Republic, the **Byelorussian** Soviet Socialist **Republic** and **Lithuania**, as well as the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

It is **extremely** important, in forging a new relationship with a country's neighbours, for their respective societies to **become** more familiar with one **another**, to understand the differences in their historical development and to **understand** the **essence** and **causes** of those differences **in** order to abandon established **stereotypes** and deeply rooted myths. This necessitates a number of **tasks** concerning the **whole** process of **preparation** for life in peace for **intellectuals**, artists **organizations** and social movements, all of which have a **strong impact** on the consciousness of society.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Many of the social movements and political parties now being formed in Poland desire to promote fundamental human values, to strengthen ties with other nations, to foster positive social attitudes and promote tolerance. While at the same time working to eliminate the upsurge of nationalist sentiments, chauvinism and xenophobia. Indeed, it is understood that the profound changes in Poland and neighbouring countries may also spark some negative emotions the neutralization and elimination of which would confirm a society's culture, its ability to counter adverse phenomena and its respect for fundamental human rights.

Respect for human rights is currently becoming one of the foremost components of the preparation for life in peace, since - as Pope John Paul II put it - peace, in the final analysis, boils down to respect for the inalienable rights of the human being. The question of human rights is a theme running through Poland's public life, in scholarly publication and in the press. Wider public knowledge of human rights makes it possible to exercise those rights more fully. For this reason a publication has been issued containing a collection of Poland's international commitments in the field of human rights. Organisations and social movements have emerged and are active, among other matters, in the pursuit of the verification of compliance with human rights obligations and countering violations of the latter, as well as in strengthening the guarantees of respect for human rights. A prime champion of this objective has been the Voluntary Committee on Human Rights, established in 1988,

The profound transformations in Poland's social, economic and political life and in its foreign relations were bound to bring about far-reaching changes in the Polish system of social education, which is gradually divesting itself of the rigid corset of the totalitarian burden. The system now emerging is permeated with the spirit of tolerance and respect for different attitudes, views and value systems;

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

it is open to the achievements **of** other cultures and to universal values, **offering** better conditions for **man's** self-realisation. Such **a system** is better suited to preparing the younger generation **for** life in today's unpredictable conditions, in a world of numerous interdependencies, **of** still **unknown** challenges and threats to **civilisation**, a world sensitive to other people's needs.

The maintenance and strengthening **of** international peace and respect for the right to live **in** peace and for other human rights have been and remain the **leitmotiv** of actions **taken** by the Government of the Republic of Poland. **This** will continue to be a high priority in the future.

The changes that have taken place **in** international relations since the adoption of the Declaration Of the Preparation Of Societies **for** Life in Peace. particularly the growing interdependence between **countries** and the **rise** of new threats to **civilization**, have confirmed that implementation of the right to life in peace calls for individuals and nations to foster the spirit of joint responsibility for the Peaceful development of the world **and** the future of **civilization, as well as** the propagation **in** society of active and **committed** attitudes.

(Mr. Puzlak, Poland)

This task cannot be the responsibility of the system of social • buation alone. It should be pursued by • ❖□□□□■□ involved in • ocial, political or • duotional • otivitier, The • xohango of ideas and experience between different communities is particularly desirable and should be continued in the future.

The objective of the Decade of International Law proclaimed by the United Nations is to promote international law and • rtablirh it more firmly as a factor in international relations. This objective is in full conoord with the task my country has rot for itself: to strengthen the role of law in Poland's internal and • xtoraal relations, with the help of appropriate mechanisms, making it possible to tranrlatr international law into Polish domestic law.

One of the results of the Doolaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace has boon the increasing significance of one of the fundamental and moot inalienable rights of man and of human communities: the right to life in peace. This particular right ought to be further developed and rot in ever more concrete terms.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Poland, I wish to thank all those who have contributed to fostering the ideals of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace and to the implementation of its provisions. We believe that the Deolaratioa adopted 12 years ago has fulfilled its mission. Consequently, Poland rubmittred yesterday a draft resolution that sums up very briefly the implementation of the Declaration and if adopted would in fact conclude the consideration of this item by the General Assembly. We hope the proposed draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt): Since 1955, in Bandung, the States of the Non-Aligned Movement have constantly called for adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and a guarantee of the fundamental rights of all peoples as the basis

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

for international relations. They have maintained that upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and strictly abiding by them is the only effective measure needed to maintain international peace and security. They have continuously called for an end to be put to the cold war, for the elimination of the confrontation between the two super-Powers and the bipolar system it has created.

Recently, the world took an important step in this direction. Less than a week ago the States members of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (**CSCE**) took the historic step of laying the foundations of a security system that replaces obsolete militarist concepts by a system based on the faithful application of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations as the safeguards for their regional peace and security.

By signing the largest ever disarmament agreement and by laying the foundations for new security structures based on multilateral co-operation rather than bipolar military confrontation and deterrence, and by setting in motion a process of confidence-maintaining consultations and peaceful conflict containment **and** resolution mechanisms, Europe has **thus** taken great strides towards the elimination of the means and the reasons for tension and the waging of war in a region that **for** 45 years has been the primary potential battleground of the two **most** heavily armed nations ever to exist.

The Paris Conference **not** only rectifies and readjusts the previous order in Europa but also, and more significantly, paves the way for guaranteeing the protection of its future generations against repeating its tumultuous past.

This European project is a concrete translation of what could be achieved **in** terms of security **and** stability as **an** outcome of the historic transformation in the nature of **the** relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. It **sets** **an** example of what **can** be **achieved** when States faithfully apply the principles **that**

(Mr. Mousaa, Egypt)

should shape the concept of collective security as envisaged in the Charter, thus laying the foundation for the world of tomorrow. It also proves that upholding the commitments undertaken by all States under the Charter of the United Nations and adherence by the principles of non-intervention, the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, the peaceful and just resolution of conflicts, the alleviation of injustices and the supremacy of law and fundamental human rights - in particular the right of all people to self-determination - are the only effective measures that guarantee the maintenance of international peace and security. It proves, further, the ineffectiveness of aggressive concepts, of armaments and endless stockpiling of weapons and arms, and it confirms that they are not only unnecessary but are in fact sources of mistrust and tension.

Saving fully acknowledge the immense importance of Europe's recent achievements, I must, however, strongly urge that the euphoria and exultation about what has been achieved in Europe should not overshadow the fact that this achievement is after all a regional one, and that this new order is not yet a world order.

This, I believe, is the task that lies ahead for the international community, and such is the challenge that we face today; to grasp this opportunity and to invest in this historic climate of co-operation in order to extend the realm of mutual confidence and assurance to all other regions in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and to find modalities for applying them in a manner compatible with the characteristics of each region in order to build a truly global order among all nations.

For while we celebrate the historic accomplishments in Europe, we are reminded daily that other regions remain far from that peace and security. The Middle East is still engulfed in its own intricate web of tensions and conflicts. The Iraqi

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

invasion **of** Kuwait is a sombre reminder not only of the extreme volatility of the region but also of how susceptible and fragile international security is, **given** the tremors of the events that take place in it.

I **cannot** over-emphasise that the region has reached dangerous levels of over-armament and that this must be addressed seriously - quantitatively and qualitatively. The volatility and chronic tension of the region cannot sustain **the** existence or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They should all be addressed **with** a view to eliminating **them** totally **and for ever from** the Middle **East**. In this **regard** President **Mubarak** proposed the establishment of a **zone free** of weapons of **mass destruction** in the Middle East.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

We have stressed on several occasions the vitality of the adherence of all the States of the region to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the safeguarding of their facilities - steps which have already been taken by all the Arab States with significant nuclear programmes.

However, in the effort to achieve and maintain peace and security, such measures - albeit of great importance - address only part of the problem. What remains imperative in helping to create an atmosphere conducive to truly effective security arrangements in the region is not simply to make the region weapon-free, but to make it conflict-free by comprehensive and just resolution of the core problem of the region - the Palestinian question and the continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories - including, of course, Jerusalem - since 5 June 1967.

Israel must realize, as the Europeans have, that safety lies not in military might but rather in reaching a historic reconciliation with its neighbours - with the Palestinians - in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Israel must realize now, more than ever, that violence, aggression and maintaining the status quo in the occupied territories will neither safeguard nor enhance its security. Rather, what is needed is for Israel to honour the principles of the supremacy of law, the inviolability of the sovereignty of all States, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and, most of all, for it to allow the Palestinian people to exercise the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination. On the other hand, now that the region is no longer a field of rivalry over influence between the two super-Powers, the international community is duty-bound to seize the opportunity to reach a peaceful and just solution of this core conflict. Only then can there be any hope of peace, security and stability in the Middle East.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The **security** of the Middle East is one of the lynchpins of international peace and security. It has a major role to play in its maintenance not only negatively by resolving its own **crises** and simmering down its tensions, but also positively by actively contributing to the containment and resolution **of** conflict in bordering regions. **Given** the region's centrality, it can be **expected** to have a role of paramount importance in interregional security arrangements and activities - a **requirement** for tomorrow's new world. An **important** step in this direction lies in the Mediterranean Sea basin.

The area of **the** Mediterranean Sea is **unique** in that it is a natural demarcation line between one of the most volatile regions and one that is emerging as one of the most stable and secure. The interplay of cultures and **civilizations and the linkage of the** security of those two regions is an age-old phenomenon that has in **many** ways shaped the destiny of their peoples as **well** as that of the entire world.

The initiative launched by Italy **and** Spain to hold a conference **on** security and co-operation in the Mediterranean that would encompass the States of both regions overlooking the Mediterranean - along lines similar to those of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (**CSCE**) process - has therefore been welcomed by **Egypt** and **the** other members of **the** troika of the Mediterranean non-aligned States. **In** fact, at this very moment, preparations are under way to hold a high-level meeting of **the** troika of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries - Algeria, Yugoslavia and **Egypt** - and **the** troika of the European Community in **Cairo** on **2 and 3 December** to further promote and pursue this dialogue. We expect to investigate fully with our Mediterranean partners measures that might **enhance** security and co-operation. We shall work **assiduously** with the other States concerned toward attainment **of** this goal.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Of particular interest and importance in this initiative by Italy and Spain is the recognition of the economic and social inequalities among States as principal reasons for structural instability and sources of tension. This recognition touches on the increasing vital importance of this consideration in addressing security and stability issues between North and South.

The continuing dissolution of the politico-military dimension as our major security concern and the end of politico-ideological bipolarity as the pulling force between East and West, the socio-economic bipolarity between rich and poor, have and have-nots, must inevitably begin to surface as the primary source of concern and instability. It should be addressed seriously and effectively, not only by the developed countries, but also by the developing countries themselves.

As I stated earlier, much of what has been achieved during the past two years - namely, the end of the cold war and the prevalence of a spirit of co-operation between the two super-Powers toward the realization of the purposes of the Charter as the basis for peace and security - much of that has borne the message and purpose of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries since its inception in 1955. Now that this has been achieved, it is imperative for us, its member States, to re-examine the outlook, direction and content of our collective policies in the light of recent developments. Our success in this endeavour is crucial if we are to take an active and effective part in laying down the pillars of the new world and the new order, and its security arrangements.

In conclusion, I come to the role of the United Nations in this unfolding order. During the past few months, the Organisation has managed to function and act in a manner consistent with the role envisaged for it by its founders as the mobilizing consensus builder of the international community against aggression and the violation of international law and civilized norms. The successful continuation of this role and the strengthening of the function of the Organisation

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

as a **mechanism for** containing conflict and making peace will depend, almost **wholly**, on how **well** integrated **and** involved all Member States - regardless of size, wealth or **degree** of development - are in the **process**.

If equality and regional **consensus** among **the** peoples of Europe were the corner-stone of its peace and security, then equality and international consensus **among** all States **and** peoples are the basis **of international** peace **and** security and the United Nations must remain and flourish as **the** centre-piece of **this** global consensus.

In **this** connection the **First Committee is also expected to re-examine and** reassess its role. **Unquestionably**, more dialogue is needed. **The** method by which we **examine** international security must be looked at again in the light of recent developments. Much has been said **about** the need to **rationalize** our work. We have **always** maintained, and we reiterate, that **the key word here is "rationale"** - to follow a "rationale" - **a** rational approach. The **re-examination** should be of a qualitative, **and** not of a **quantitative**, nature. **The discussion within the Committee** needs to be of a different nature, **dealing in depth with** the challenges **facing** us and the ideas **submitted here**. It should be reinvigorated by allowing for dialogue and for a continuous **examination** of the basic concepts of **security** and their merits **and** the ways and **means of enhancing** regional and international security in a new world.

We are presented with **an** historic opportunity to fulfil the dreams and **promises** of saving future generations from the **scourge** of war. Let us not lose this opportunity to work together to build a new home, **a** place of security based on **tolerance and** peaceful **coexistence**.

Mr. NAIMI-ARFA (Islamic Republic of Iran): The **concept** of international security encompasses various major elements, which are mainly • nmhrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The realization of mankind's ideals in the context of disarmament, development and justice, together with the achievement of genuine headway in its sustained campaign for the elimination of racism, Zionism, poverty, aggression and expansionism, will contribute enormously to strengthening international peace and security.

It is needless to emphasize that the profound developments in East-West relations have indeed provided a unique opportunity for the international community to build on previous achievements and to develop new approaches and measures to guarantee and promote global peace and security in all its aspects. In this connection, the Islamic Republic Of Iran believes that implementation of the provision 8 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted on 16 December 1970, and the forging of new security structures on the basis of current realities, among other things, are essential measures and instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In spite of partial progress in the field of arms control and disarmament between the two super-Powers and the settlement of some regional conflicts, the situation in the Middle East remains dangerously volatile. Aggression and disrespect for the fundamental principles of international law, which characterise the principal sources of conflict in this region, pose a serious threat to global security. The blows to the security of the Middle East, the Mediterranean region and the world as a whole by the Zionist régime's persistence in the occupation of Palestine and the massacre of Muslim peoples are particularly striking. In the Persian Gulf region, the recurrence of widespread aggression has engulfed the region in a new crisis. The occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, leading to the massive presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf, underscores the

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

interrelationship between the eruption of regional conflicts and their adverse impact on international security, on the one hand, and the grave consequences of total disregard for internationally accepted rules and principles, including respect for the internationally recognised boundaries and non-use of force for the settlement of disputes, on the other,

One specific and effective instrument, which has long been recognised for securing global peace, is the forging of regional security arrangements. In fact, as the world moves into the new era, the preservation of regional security and the bolstering of confidence-building measures at the regional level continue to assume increasing significance.

My country's longstanding support for the establishment of a regional security system in the Persian Gulf region is quite well known. Our initiatives in this regard clearly demonstrate our commitments and endeavours to this end. On the basis of its firm conviction that the inherent weakness of security doctrines prescribed by foreign Powers resulted in a failure to realize durable peace and security in the Persian Gulf, in the early 1990s the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite being involved in an unwanted war, tried earnestly to persuade countries in the Persian Gulf to establish a collective security arrangement in order to secure peace and tranquillity in that strategic area. It was in this context that, in May 1986, the Islamic Republic of Iran presented to the Secretary-General the Regional Security Plan for the Persian Gulf, which was further elaborated in a letter in October 1986 by the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The essence of that plan, which is contained in document S/18381, dated 6 October 1986, was to guarantee, through a regional arrangement, the security of the important and strategic region of the Persian Gulf, which is vital to the world economy and which, for the same reason, has been the target of foreign intrusions.

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

The necessity for countries of the region to adopt measures for enhancing the security and stability of the region was formally underlined by the United Nations when the Security Council adopted resolution 598 (1987), in which an explicit reference was made to this issue in its paragraph 8. In my delegation's opinion, given the bitter events which countries in the region have witnessed in the past ten years, including the ongoing Iran-Iraq conflict and in view of the fact that the Persian Gulf crisis has reached a critical stage, it is high time that the Persian Gulf States move towards the institutionalisation of peace and security, as well as towards the force of law, rather than the law of force, in that region. This endeavour must be guided by a careful and balanced approach. We believe that a combined approach is required with regard to the realization of this worthwhile goal. First and foremost, the occupation of Kuwait must be terminated on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions, the sovereignty of Kuwait must be restored and, at the same time, foreign forces must be withdrawn from that region. In addition, efforts on the part of the countries in the region should be directed towards the establishment of a regional security arrangement free of reliance on foreign Powers.

As the major country in the region, the Islamic Republic of Iran remains determined to pursue the idea of establishing a regional security arrangement by the States in the Persian Gulf region which, we believe, would serve the long-term interests of those States. Speaking before the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphasized in this regard:

"The religious, cultural and economic bonds between the countries in the Persian Gulf provide the fundamental incentives for their solidarity, and give

(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

them the necessary capability to preserve regional security, free from the presence and intervention of foreign forces." (A/45/PV.5, p. 46)

Now I would like to highlight the views of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning some of the essential elements and necessary measures which should be taken into account in this context.

First, there should be full respect for the principles of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In any regional arrangement, one of whose objectives is to guarantee the security of the member States, the commitments of those States to fundamental principles governing relations among States, including the sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes, refraining from the use or threat of use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States, inviolability of internationally recognized boundaries, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, must be integral parts of the said arrangement.

Secondly, a collective security arrangement should be established. It is our firm conviction that the touchstone for a regional security concept is the establishment of such an arrangement. While guaranteeing the observance of the above-mentioned rules and principles, this system would reverse the trend of the arms race in the region and pave the way for collective action vis-à-vis external threats. Consequently, this arrangement will enable the member States to allocate an enormous part of their economic capabilities, which are now being utilized for military purposes, to actions aimed at expanding the economic, scientific and technical capabilities of the region. To strengthen this collective security system, we are of the view that such other confidence-building measures as the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, as well as the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, must be implemented.

**(Mr. Naimi-Arfa, Islamic
Republic of Iran)**

Thirdly, there is the expansion of economic relations between countries in the Persian Gulf region. Obviously the lack of broad economic relations between countries located in the same region can undermine their endeavour to ensure the setting up of collective security arrangements. Thus the countries in the Persian Gulf region, by taking advantage of their existing and potential economic and trade capabilities, should extend their relations in these areas in order to increase and diversify the economic capabilities of the region. Naturally, this process could help to strengthen the pillar of co-operation in other fields, particularly political.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that the maintenance of durable peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region is among the foremost desires of my country. In our opinion, it is the responsibility of the members of the international community, including the countries in the region, to promote genuine efforts to that end.

Mr. REYES (Philippines): One of the ideas to spring from the tumult and euphoria of 1989 was "the end of history", an idea resurrected by one Francis Fukuyama from Hegel and Marx. In the early years in Eastern Europe, as well as in Asia before that, he saw the emergence of the national State as an archetypal model for all nations and as the triumph of ideals that Hegel had proclaimed as early as 1806. Now, in the midst of the Gulf crisis, we know how premature this proclamation of the end of history was and how much effort we still have to expend in order to achieve those ideals at a world level. Still, Fukuyama's germinal thesis illustrates for us the desire of nations and individuals for a new world view and a method by which we could interpret today's events in a rapidly changing world.

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

That desire has been anticipated in the First **Committee**. In previous debates **we** spoke of security as being broader than simply its military component **and** of the need for consideration of such factors as economic, **political, social, humanitarian** and environmental security.

Of late we **have** spoken increasingly of the need for collective security. **The** joint United States-Soviet statement issued on 3 October 1990 **says:**

"The United Nations is fast becoming a real centre for **agreed common** actions **and** the Security Council is re-establishing its crucial role in the maintenance of international security, **peaceful** settlement of disputes and prevention of conflicts.*' (A/45/598, annex, p. 3)

An accord such as **that** reflected in this statement bodes well for issues of peace **and** security. The absence of this basic agreement during the years of the cold war may **well have** led to what the **same** document refers to as "rhetorical excess" **and** "duplicative programmes and activities*" (ibid.). Indeed, in our proceedings on **disarmament**, which **have** just been concluded, we noted **an** even greater sense of consensus and pragmatism.

Nevertheless, many issues of disarmament remain unsettled, and vigilance **will** still **have** to be exercised in respect of them, even while we are redefining our **approach** to **and** our concepts of security. Among **these** issues are **the need for** **comprehensive** test-ban treaty - a matter that **was** also addressed at the Non-Proliferation Treaty Fourth Review Conference **and** will be the **subject** of our attention at the 1991 partial **test-ban** Treaty Amendment Conference.

It **is** a matter of regret to us that, according to documentation submitted by the **Soviet Union**, a **nuclear test** was conducted in **that country** on **24 October 1990** **"for** the purpose of increasing the **reliability** and safety of nuclear **weapons."** (A/45/129/Add.2)

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

We might recall that on the same date last year a nuclear weapon was tested in the South Pacific by France. Indeed, it was on United Nations Day that both of these tests were carried out - a juxtaposition that makes them all the more regrettable. In our context, if there is any day that should be kept sacrosanct it is 24 October - just as we reserve 6 August ● ralurivoly for recollection of Hiroshima.

So far this year all the nuclear Powers together have carried out 17 nuclear tests, including eight conducted by the United States. That is 17 too many. The continued development and testing of nuclear weapons is hardly ● good ● xample to countries that would like to develop their own nuclear weapons, as is alleged of those involved in the present Middle East crisis.

Here we may take a cue from Secretary-General Javier Peres de Cuellar, who, speaking during Disarmament Week on the topic of non-proliferation, said:

"It is my hope that the widespread community of views ● irting on this issue will be ● xtended to the thorny question of the cessation of nuclear testing. I have repeatedly underlined the desirability of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and I urge that all riders seek to make progress on this sensitive and heretofore intractable question." (A/C.1/45/PV.17, p. 13)

It would be a major confidence-building measure on the part of the nuclear Powers if they were to ● tOp testing, ● 8p00ially at this point. It would certainly bolster our sense of security and confirm the stability of progress achieved in recent times.

We welcome the signing, in Paris last week, of the first Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The institutionalisation of security arrangements in Europe through the Paris Summit of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) confirms a new security order in this region. In agenda item 68 - "Strengthening

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

of security and co-operation in **the Mediterranean region**" - we touch on one **important** part of that region.

The Philippines has had vital historical and cultural links with countries of the Mediterranean and considers the security of that area a key to achieving global security. It therefore supports the efforts of the countries **in the region** to strengthen security and co-operation - a goal expressed through the third ministerial meeting, in Algiers, of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries; the meeting on the Mediterranean, **at Palma**, Majorca, of the CSCE participating countries; and the meeting, in Rome, of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 10 countries of the Western Mediterranean. All of these meetings were held this year.

The Mediterranean - the "**sea** in the middle" that has played such an important role in man's history and has nurtured so many civilisations - **promises** to play yet another part. this time in our present renewed quest for a **pax humana**.

From the vantage point of the Pacific Ocean - another lake that has witnessed history and civilisation - the Philippines views the issues of regional and global security as **being** inextricably related. The road to global security **passes through** regions, and we cannot abdicate our own responsibilities, whether in the , **Mediterranean**, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, East Asia or South-East Asia. Proliferatioa, for instance, is an issue that concerns **all**; it **is** not limited to any class **or** category of weapon. Power, on the other hand, is relative, and one State may be a super-Power in a region in the context of the **size** or strength of its neighbours.

This lends even more relevance to agenda item 69 - "**Review** of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International **Security**". **After** 21 years of consideration, **this** agenda item is seen in a new light in what has **been** termed **the** post-confrontation era.

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

The Asia-Pacific region is also in search of its own security arrangements for the 1990s and beyond. The Philippines made a regional meeting on confidence- and security-building measures in Asia, under the auspices of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, at Kathmandu, Nepal, from 29 to 31 January this year. It also looks forward to a United Nations regional seminar on security and disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region, to be held in Bandung, Indonesia, in January 1991.

This answers in part a proposal, made by the Philippines in our disarmament debate this year, on the need for continued dialogue on the issue of new regional arrangements for peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

In the same statement we presented our stand on the closing down and conversion of military bases in the country, bearing in mind two important clauses in our Constitution. The first of these clauses provides that

"The Philippines, consistent with the national interest, adopts and pursues a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons in its territory."

The second clause says:

"After the expiration in 1991 of the Agreement between the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military bases, foreign military bases, troops or facilities shall not be allowed in the Philippines except under a treaty concurred in by the Senate and, when the Congress so requires, ratified by a majority of the votes cast by the people in a national referendum held for that purpose, and recognized as a treaty by the other contracting State."

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

That provision merely underscores the **sovereign** character of the Philippines as a **contracting** party in future negotiations, thus making up for the unequal economic **and** political situations of the Philippines and the United States when the bases Treaty was **signed** in 1946 as the Philippines **was** just emerging from the chaos of the Second World War.

While **seeking** to pursue the national interest on issues of peace and security, **the Philippines** also works actively with its neighbours on **security** issues of vital **interest** to the region. Within the Association of South-East Asian **Nations (ASEAN)** it has sought to intensify efforts to achieve a zone of peace, freedom and **neutrality**. It has also **co-operated** with its partners and other interested parties **in** attempting to achieve a just and lasting peace on the Indochinese **peninsula**, in the absence of which such a **zone** of peace, freedom **and neutrality** would be **difficult** to achieve.

The Philippines thus regards with interest the proposal made in the Soviet **Union's memorandum** entitled "**The United Nations in the** post-confrontation world" (**A/45/626**) on the preparation of a comprehensive United **Nations** study on ways of **establishing** a *regional security* structure with the **United Nations performing the** central role. **The Philippines** would be ready to participate **in** such a study **when circumstances make** it possible.

Our third **agenda** item, item **70**, entitled "**Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace**", finds **an appropriate denouement** this year. We **are** grateful to the sponsors of **the** relevant draft resolution for their **skilful and fitting handling** of this issue. For **years**, people have **pondered the conundrum** of life in peace and what the **preparation of societies for such a life would consist** of. As we view the colourful evolution of society in **Eastern Europe we now realise that**, just **as** there can be no **end** to history. **a life in**

(Mr. Reyes, Philippines)

permanent peace is not something one can really prepare for, while delightful, life is turbulent, unpredictable and varied. Peace is always something we are striving to bring forth, something that is achieved with great effort.

Surely we are not witnessing the end of history, but its beginning.

Mr. BENDJAMA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): As it debates international security items this year, the First Committee is taking stock of the dizzying speed of the political changes that have wrought such a radical change in the world, as well as of the persistence of major challenges that must be met for the good of mankind.

In this forum we have voiced our ardent hope for those changes by constantly calling on the super-Powers to drop their futile ideological antagonism and to cease their frenzied and useless race to gain military superiority.

We have voiced our ardent hope for those changes by calling on the super-Powers to develop a tradition of dialogue and to commit themselves jointly to form a true front for world peace.

We have called for those changes also for the sake of battered peoples whose freedom to choose their own social model had been confiscated by régimes born of ideological and strategic competition, so those peoples could at last regain their freedom and build their future in the framework of a democratic national process free from any foreign interference.

Finally, we have demanded thorough changes to promote the negotiated settlement of what are still coyly referred to as "local or peripheral conflicts". While "local or peripheral", these conflicts are none the less charged with suffering, anger and injustice.

How far we have come in one year: As mutual confidence gained ground, the two major Powers committed themselves to a significant effort to reduce their offensive military capabilities and radically redefine their geostrategic concepts.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

The military alliance born of the cold war have begun a **process** aimed at the outright disintegration of one **end** at the conversion **of** the other into a political structure. And **Europe**, the **scene** of the two bloodiest wars in **human history**, has begun to lay the foundations of the **common** European home that will transcend borders and national **antagonisms**.

It is clear that **this** new international political climate **has** also led to real progress **towards** the settlement of conflicts remaining from **the** cold war **period** and **towards** the **establishment** of dialogue where attempts at a military solution have for **so** long **demonstrated** their **foolishness**. In **Cambodia**, **Afghanistan**, **Central America** and **southern Africa**, peoples battered by long years of imposed war are **hoping** to be able **soon** to devote themselves fully to economic and social development.

How far we have come in one **year** - yet **how many challenges** old and new remain for the **international community** to face. **First and foremost** among them is **that** of participation **by all** States in this new concept of the world order, an order that must be universal in its **actions** and global in its approach. **No State** or group of States, **regardless of power**, will ever be so **strong** or **so infallible** that **it** can do without the active contribution of the **rest** of the international **community** to **efforts** to achieve world peace. If that peace is to be **shared**, **it** must involve a **common effort**.

Which framework could be better than the United Nations **for that** joint effort? **My country** firmly believes in the virtues of **multilateralism**, to which it **has been** committed **since its accession** to independence. We **remain** convinced that **in** the current process of redefining the international landscape we cannot **permit** a few to claim the leading roles while the vast majority of mankind is relegated to **the passive role** of **spectator**, or even to the role of **designated** victim of a world **undertaking reform** without **it**.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

My country therefore shares the Secretary-General's view about the need for the international community to support the decisions of the Security Council. The great majority of us have welcomed with satisfaction the new effectiveness with which that important United Nations organ has dealt with the Gulf crisis, and its determination to ensure the primacy of international law and the principles of the Charter. We hope the Security Council will show the same determination in implementing its decisions on all questions of international peace and security, some of which go back several decades.

In that connection, I wish again to voice the intense feelings of injustice and frustration of Arab public opinion at the inability of the Council to take any concrete action on the situation in the occupied Arab territories or on the settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self-determination. The intifadah, soon to enter its fourth year, has already provided a perfect illustration of the determination of the Palestinian people to free itself from the yoke of occupation and to establish a State of its own on its lands, which have been usurped.

(Mr. Bandjama, Algeria)

There is another challenge, another **danger**, in the deepening of the **North-South** split, a split **which** has become **increasingly** evident since *the* end of the **East-West confrontation**. If we are **not** on our guard, **mankind** will find the **world** irremediably divided into a northern sphere of peace **jealously** guarding its political stability **and** economic prosperity, and a crushing majority of countries confronting **chronic political instability**, insupportable foreign debts **and** shrinking commercial outlets - factors which, as everyone admits, make all efforts to achieve economic or social development completely futile.

This situation also presents a **danger** for **international** peace and security in the broadest sense, **and** our Assembly has already been urged by the **Movement Of Non-Aligned Countries** to give thought to drawing up **and** implementing suitable policies, at both **the international** and the regional level, to resolve the differences in **economic** and social development **between** the various regions of the **world**.

My country, by an accident of geography, **is** on the **boundary** of this **North-South** split. **Having** become aware **very** early of the potential **dangers** that split, my **country**, together with the other Mediterranean non-aligned countries, embarked **on** an intensive process of examining and **making** proposals on the **substance** of a political dialogue on transforming the Mediterranean into a **zone** of peace and co-operation.

Last June my country acted as **host** to the third conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of **the Mediterranean** non-aligned countries, at which an important declaration **on** the prospects for a global dialogue on **security** and co-operation in **the Mediterranean** was adopted. **The** declaration stresses that **the** considerable progress **made in Europe within the framework of** the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (**CSCE**) **has** substantially improved opportunities far **more**

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

intensive and wide-ranging co-operation between the Mediterranean countries with a view to strengthening security, lessening tensions and resolving crises and conflicts.

In this context, the Ministers expressed their support for the proposal, put forward by Italy and Spain, to establish a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, on the model of the CSCE. That conference will certainly provide a valuable forum for dialogue through which to draw up a new model for relations in the Mediterranean region as a whole aimed at stability, prosperity and support for democratic processes, economic reforms and development for the countries in the region.

The Ministers also welcomed the declared objectives of the revitalized Mediterranean policy of the European Community, and requested its rapid implementation, together with the economic assistance available, in line with the real potential of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the development needs of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries.

Since the declaration was adopted, the troika of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries and the representatives of the EEC have maintained constant contact. A meeting at the ministerial level is already planned for the beginning of next month for thorough consideration of the various aspects of co-operation aimed at promoting stability, security and peace in the region.

As regards the Maghreb, my country is firmly committed, together with its neighbours, to the fulfilment of the most profound aspiration of our peoples to a common future. The objectives are being spelled out and the means prepared for welcoming the inevitable advent of a union which has always been inherent in a single cultural heritage, but which is to be found today to an even greater extent because of the demands of a major economic challenge, which make the formation and integration of large-scale groupings indispensable.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Together with the rapid **establishment of sectoral frameworks** for co-operation and harmonisation, the **Maghreb** countries have **embarked** on a **new** approach to their relations with Europe, in particular the countries on the **northern** coast of the western Mediterranean. A sustained process of harmonisation in the subregion resulted last **week** in the Rome meeting of the **Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the** 10 countries involved.

Recalling their countries' dedication to **the** principles of the **universality** and **indivisibility** of security in the Mediterranean area, the Ministers agreed to **draw** on the particular **characteristics** of the western **Mediterranean** in order to make the region an area of peace, stability **and** co-operation. They recognised that the existing large gaps between **development** levels north and south of the **Mediterranean** cause **imbalances** that create **serious** dangers for the stability and **well-being** of the whole region. The Ministers showed great determination *in* demonstrating regional solidarity in **order** to avoid **marginalizing** the countries of the south and gradually to redress the **imbalance** in development levels. A suitable **framework** is **now in** place for the strengthening of the political dialogue and *through which* to channel **collective** efforts to promote economic, cultural **and** social development in the western *Mediterranean*,

There are plans for the Ministers to meet again next year in Algiers to **maintain** the **dynamism** of dialogue, harmonisation and co-operation, **which we** believe **should** be global in nature, covering political, security, economic, cultural, demographic and ecological **parameters**.

If I have **dwelt** at such **length** on the **process** of multifaceted co-operation that **is now coming** into **being** between the **northern** and **southern** shores of the Mediterranean, it is in order to illustrate clearly the **immense** possibilities of regional co-operation in matters of security **and** development. The ending of

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

ideological antagonisms has opened up unexplored areas in which we can promote, from a common centre outwards, the ideals common to all the peoples of the region.

If we are to transcend national egoism and learn to work together, the political will is necessary at every stage. Today, that political will undeniably exists on both sides of the Mediterranean, and we welcome this. We hope that this pooling of our energies will enable us to bring about rapprochement once and for all between those on the two sides of the Mediterranean, thus enabling our peoples to embark, with no turning back, on an era of peace, stability and social progress.

Mrs. RAZAFITRIMO (Madagascar) (interpretation **from** French): All the preceding speakers have stressed the profound changes that have taken place in various regions of the world especially in Europe, as well as on the international scene in general during this year, 1990 - a year that has been marked by significant events in this major, long-term undertaking: the maintenance of international peace and security - to which the United Nations has been devoting itself since its inception.

Thus, what was unthinkable only yesterday is a fact today: last March the international community welcomed Namibia's independence, achieved after a bitter national liberation struggle; this year **we** all welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela after **27** years of imprisonment; and almost two months ago Germany was reunited.

A new era of dialogue and international understanding is emerging, on the one hand because of the growing improvement in the climate of relations between the Super-Powers, and on the other because of the continuous, tireless efforts by our Organisation. Considerable progress has *been* made towards the settlement of regional conflicts that have endangered and undermined international stability because of the threat of general conflagration they have posed for the world. In this context I wish to mention the Taif Agreements and the continuing work done by the Arab Tripartite **Commission**. Those are victories *on* the path to the restoration of **Lebanon's** integrity and stability. I wish to *refer* also to developments with regard to the question of Cambodia embodied in the basic agreement which was reached last **August** *between* the five permanent *members* of the Security Council and should provide the framework for a comprehensive political settlement **in** South-East Asia.

(Mrs. Rasafitrimo, Madagascar)

In the area of disarmament, a whole series of treaties, agreements and conventions has been achieved before our very eyes over the past two years. The most recent is the Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe, signed on 19 November this year in Paris, which has been added to those that have for some time now been emerging from bilateral Soviet-United States negotiations. We have also noted the increasing number of international meetings and consultations on matters relating to disarmament and international security. That is the result of a much wider awareness of the need to base our security system not on military deterrence but on disarmament and mutual trust, with an increasing focus on the problem of international weapons transfers and, consequently, a slowing down of the arms race. The next gathering in this connection - announced last Monday by the Ambassador of Malta - is the meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the peaceful settlement of disputes, to be held in Malta in January 1991.

But, simultaneously, the escalation of the Gulf crisis following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq has brutally reminded us that there still exist in the world areas in which the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter are being trampled underfoot, often giving rise to conflicts of interest that are not always justified, since national convenience or political or strategic, or even ethnic, rivalries continue to prevail over the most basic rights. The fraternal people of Palestine continue to suffer the consequences of this, and there are other regrettable examples - on the African continent and elsewhere. The present Gulf crisis is all the more disquieting because it has caused latent animosities to surface and is stirring up various hotbeds of tension.

Furthermore, we must recognize that the spectre of nuclear weapons continues to haunt us, despite repeated efforts and appeals by countries in regions or zones

(Mrs. Razafitrimo, Madagascar)

that have **been declared** nuclear-free, such as Madagascar. Furthermore, we deplore the fact that the Conference **on Disarmament** has **not** yet achieved results on the subject of **chemical** weapons.

Finally, there **is** no **need** to point out that there **are** still many violations of human rights **in** the world.

The world economic **situation** remains of concern in various respects **and** could become a factor of political **destabilization** at both the national and the international **levels**. The **very viability** of the era of peace we have entered could be **compromised** by the chronic and **constantly** widening **gap** between the developed and the developing **economies**, whereas, **paradoxically**, statistics **last** year indicated an increase of 4.3 per cent in the production rate **of the world** economy and an **increase** of 8.3 per cent **in** world trade.

To **this disastrous** picture we must add **poverty, injustice, malnutrition, illiteracy, underdevelopment, inequality** of resources and racial **and** religious discrimination, as well as the **new** challenges **posed** by the degradation of the **environment, drugs** and modern **diseases**.

This **means that there** are many factors **destabilizing** world peace and that the **results attained** have not **always** been commensurate with the hopes aroused by the **relaxation** of tension **between the two super-Powers** and by the changes that **have** taken place, the **most spectacular** of which has no doubt been the **demise** of **bipolarity** and the attendant general **consensus** on the need to think and act jointly with **regard** to the **future**, on an equal footing and the prevalence of relationships of **force** over **State sovereignty**.

Indeed, with the dawning of our **post-confrontation era**, a new global and **multidimensional approach** is needed if world peace **and** lasting **stability** are to be **established in a new climate** of **co-operation and concerted action**. **Interdependence** means that the **building and management** of the world will **no** longer be the **exclusive**

(Mrs. Rasafitrimo, Madagascar)

preserve of a few privileged States but will require a just and equitable political and economic system. Let us not be mistaken: this certainly confers rights, but it also and above all entails logical and simple obligations: listening to others, shouldering one's respective responsibilities. The latter obligation tacitly implies a change in a mentality bounded by this part that never leaves us and this tutelary shadow that hangs over us. With regard to Africa, we are pleased to note that efforts to that end continue. Faced with the plight of the Liberian people, for example the countries of the Economic Community of West African States, not willing to be bypassed by events, took it upon themselves to dispatch a mediating force designed to end the massacres of innocent civilians.

In joining the United Nations, Member States took on a collective responsibility embodied in the provisions of Article 1 of the Charter. For its part, Madagascar will respect its commitment to help to

"maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the settlement or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

We shall do all that through the United Nations, which, for us, continues to be the appropriate, universal forum, entrusted with preventing and eliminating threats to international peace and security.

We view this commitment in terms of strengthening the role of the Organisation and its main organs as well as the role of the Secretary-General, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United

(Mrs. Razafitrino, Madagascar)

Nations Charter, in order to ensure that the Organisation will make rational and productive use of its potential to meet the profound and radical changes that are under way and that will inevitably affect our future prospects and the role we are all called upon to play together.

With regard to the Security Council, together **with** consolidating the Council's **successes** in the settlement of certain regional conflicts, we could place more emphasis on the opportunities it offers in the **area** of prevention and could envisage **making** it a crisis-prevention centre.

Indeed, we remain convinced that the United **Nations** is the best *framework* for constructive dialogue with a view to maintaining international peace and security. The **course** of **history** has shown that the United Nations can make an effective contribution in this **respect** and that, if the will to do so exists, selfish interests can give way to the interests of the **community**.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.