



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/41/124  
S/17777  
31 January 1986

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Forty-first session  
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON  
THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION  
CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR-TEST  
EXPLOSIONS  
URGENT NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE  
NUCLEAR-TEST-BAN TREATY  
PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN  
OUTER SPACE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTION 40/88 ON THE IMMEDIATE  
CESSATION AND PROHIBITION OF  
NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS  
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS  
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION  
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT  
AND DEVELOPMENT  
COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE  
QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING  
OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-first year

Letter dated 30 January 1986 from the representatives of  
Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania to the United  
Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

We have the honour to transmit to you the text of the Delhi Statement, which was adopted on 19 January 1986 by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme.

We should be grateful if you would have this text circulated among Member States as a document of the General Assembly, under the items entitled "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization", "Cessation of all

A/41/124

S/17777

English

Page 2

nuclear-test explosions", "Urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty", "Prevention of an arms race in outer space", "Implementation of General Assembly resolution 40/88 on the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests", "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session", "General and complete disarmament", "Relationship between disarmament and development", and "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mr. Sten STRÖMHOLM  
Ambassador  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Sweden

(Signed) Mr. Mohammad Ali FOUM  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of  
the United Republic of Tanzania

ANNEX

Delhi Statement adopted on 19 January 1986 by the Independent  
Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues

1. The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues today concluded a three-day meeting in Delhi. The meeting was held following a generous invitation by the Government of India. Members of the Commission met with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

The Commission's discussions focused on the nuclear-arms race, the United Nations and its role in international peace-keeping, as well as regional security issues in the third world.

The imperative of common security

2. The Commission welcomes the resumption of the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union and the recent commitments of the leaders of both Powers to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war and to intensify negotiations towards this objective. President Ronald Reagan, on the eve of the new round of talks, appealed for progress in the nuclear-arms negotiations. The Commission welcomes the important statement made by General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev on 15 January 1986 outlining a three-stage programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. This far-reaching and constructive statement, in its view, should receive the most serious attention. The Commission urges the two sides to come to an early agreement on concrete measures to halt the nuclear-arms race.

3. In the nuclear age there can be no alternative to negotiation and co-operation among nations. The major nuclear-weapon States share a special responsibility for preventing nuclear war with a full understanding that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The Commission welcomes the explicit recognition of this basic point of departure by the Soviet and American leaders at their meeting in Geneva in November of last year.

4. The Commission reiterates the basic message contained in its 1982 report on common security that the advent of nuclear weapons has made it impossible for nations to seek security at the expense of each other. They must seek security together as they confront the common danger of nuclear war. They must refrain from seeking to achieve military superiority.

Coping with the nuclear challenge

5. The Commission stressed the overriding importance of an early agreement about a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. No technical obstacles now stand in the way of verifying such an agreement. It would contribute to the efforts to stem nuclear proliferation and put an end to the nuclear-arms race.

In order to facilitate negotiations the nuclear-weapon States should observe a mutual and verifiable moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests.

6. The Commission welcomes the commitment of the United States and the Soviet Union "to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability". The United States and the Soviet Union share responsibility to prevent an arms race in space. They must conclude an early agreement prohibiting the development, testing and deployment of weapons in space or weapons which threaten objects in space. They must strictly observe, and refrain from any activity which violates or undermines, the ABM Treaty of 1972.

7. Substantial reductions in the nuclear arms of the United States and the Soviet Union are necessary if the world is to turn away from the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The Commission welcomes the agreement which has been reached on the principle of 50 per cent reductions and urges the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate the negotiating effort to turn the principle into an actual agreement. The Commission notes with satisfaction that the recent Soviet proposal to withdraw and dismantle the intermediate-range missiles capable of reaching targets in Europe comes close to the previous American so-called "zero option" proposal. This makes possible an early agreement eliminating these weapons and the Commission urges the parties not to miss this unique opportunity.

8. The spectre of nuclear proliferation is a constant threat to regional and global security. In order to preserve and strengthen the non-proliferation régime which was initiated with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the nuclear-weapon States must reach agreement on limiting and reducing nuclear arms in accordance with their obligations contained in article VI of the Treaty.

9. The Commission considered its proposal for the creation of a nuclear battlefield-weapon-free corridor in Europe and reconfirmed its conviction that such an arrangement would constitute an important confidence-building measure which would reduce the danger of inadvertent nuclear war.

#### Other arms control issues

10. The Commission took note of the progress which has been achieved in the Vienna talks on mutual force reductions in Central Europe, concluded that no substantial obstacles stand in the way of a first-phase agreement, and urged the parties to reach an early accord.

11. The Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe has made significant and welcome progress and the Commission expressed the hope that the Conference will conclude an agreement on a strengthened régime of confidence- and security-building measures.

12. The Commission was informed about current efforts to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe. Such an arrangement is in consonance with the recommendations contained in the Commission's report and would contribute significantly to peace and security in Europe. The Commission reiterates its conviction that the negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to prohibit the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and to achieve the destruction of all those in existence, must be pursued as a matter of utmost urgency.

### A stronger United Nations

13. The great challenges facing humanity, such as the nuclear threat, development issues, environment and resource problems, transcend national boundaries and ethnic and ideological barriers. They must be solved through co-operation among nations. Therefore, the spirit and practice of international co-operation needs to be strengthened. The United Nations provides the best instrument for international co-operation.

14. During 40 years of existence the United Nations has experienced both successes and set-backs. More significant than anything else is the fact that the United Nations has evolved into a truly global organization. It is not the disappointments of the past but the potential of the United Nations for the future that is important. If this potential is to be more fully realized it is essential to improve the conditions in which the United Nations operates. This is the responsibility of all member nations, especially of the permanent members of the Security Council in response to the vast changes which have taken place in world conditions as well as in the membership of the Organization.

15. Under the Charter of the United Nations the Security Council has the primary responsibility for dealing with questions of international peace and security. Political realities, first of all the lack of co-operation among the permanent members of the Security Council, have often turned it into a passive by-stander. It is necessary to reverse this trend. Any improvement in the present relationship of the permanent members of the Security Council would have an important effect on the effectiveness of the United Nations.

### The need for leadership

16. Although the primary responsibility for the effectiveness of the Security Council lies with the permanent members, other nations can make an important contribution to strengthening the United Nations and, indeed, have the responsibility to do so. It has been suggested that a greater unity of purpose among other member States might help to overcome the difficulties often created by the antagonisms of the permanent members. There is a need to bring co-operative, world-wide leadership to bear on the constructive resolution of international problems which otherwise could give rise to increasingly extremist reactions. In the opinion of some commissioners one way might be for member governments from different regions to co-ordinate their effort on specific questions and to establish an informal "United Nations constituency" that could rally support for action, within the Charter, of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General.

### Enhancing the United Nations role in peace-keeping

17. Events have shown that when the international community rallies behind the United Nations the Organization can play an effective role. The experience of international peace-keeping and peace-making is an example. In many cases, the United Nations presence has played an important stabilizing role in areas of tension and unrest. Building on that experience, the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping could be enhanced and, in the context of strengthened international leadership, certain specific measures should be considered:

- (a) A more comprehensive and regular procedure in the Security Council for monitoring the international security situation;
- (b) Earlier treatment of disputes and potential conflicts;
- (c) Better integration of regional organizations in the overall international peace and security system;
- (d) Consistent and continuous political support of United Nations peace-keeping operations by the Security Council;
- (e) Stronger and more durable practical support, including financing, for peace-keeping and stabilizing arrangements;
- (f) The mutual and complementary strengthening of conflict control (peace-keeping) and the negotiation and settlement of disputes (peace-making);
- (g) The progressive development of peace-keeping techniques as regards their potential in other fields - for example, emergency action in disaster situations, or in future international arrangements to deal with terrorism following up the recent decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly on that problem.

#### Regional security in the third world

3. The Commission emphasized the importance of regional security arrangements in all regions. Those initiated and freely entered into by developing countries have a special role in contributing to the peace, security and autonomy of the third world. The effectiveness and staying power of regional security arrangements, whether based on regional organizations or ad hoc processes, should be greatly enhanced if they were to be linked to and supported by the international framework and the collective security arrangements laid out in the United Nations Charter. The Commission felt that the countries that enter into regional security arrangements might make greater use of United Nations peace-keeping mechanisms to stabilize volatile situations which threaten to deteriorate into armed conflict.

19. Problems of security and development in the third world are inextricably interlinked. Regional co-operation on social, economic and political matters is thus an important element of regional security. The existence of extreme poverty and inequity is a major source of conflict, both internal and external, in the developing world. Common security would be served by external Powers refraining from exploiting or fuelling the disruptive potential of deprivation and disparity, as well as by positive measures in disarmament and development to assist the developing countries in overcoming these problems. Restraint in the transfer of conventional arms within a regionally agreed framework is one concrete measure that may contribute to reducing tensions and should be pursued by multilateral and bilateral negotiations

20. Instability in the third world is a threat to common security at the global level. Regional conflicts have provided platforms for broader confrontations involving the major Powers, even to the brink of nuclear confrontation. The global community has a stake in the viability of regional arrangements.

21. The Commission was encouraged by the early proposals within the context of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation to reduce potential conflict within the region over nuclear facilities and common natural resources. The expression of support from Central and other Latin American countries for the Contadora process was also welcomed. The continuing efforts within the Association of South-East Asian Nations to declare South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality was seen as a positive factor in that region. Other efforts in regional co-operation may similarly enhance the prospects for common security.

22. In reviewing the African scene, the Commission was very concerned by the deteriorating situation in southern Africa. The escalation of violence there is a direct result of South Africa's policies of apartheid and aggression. The Commission called for the intensification of international efforts against the apartheid régime and, in particular, underscored the pressing need to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa in order to augment the internal and international efforts geared towards the elimination of apartheid. The Commission welcomed regional co-operation among the countries of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) as constituting an important factor in promoting the development and stability of these countries, some of which are seriously undermined by economic dependence on and military aggression by South Africa. SADCC efforts at economic independence and against South African aggression deserve the support of the entire international community.

23. Each region has different needs and different prospects for achieving security and should be allowed fully to explore the potential of consensual solutions for regional problems. This should not, however, be seen as a justification for domination of a region by a single regional power or coalition of powers. The interdependence of the world economy (manifested in the debt crisis, the global recession and the crisis in trade and finance), the global reach of technology and the universal threat of environmental deterioration all underscore the need for regional solutions to be mutually consistent. The most important pre-condition for common security in all its dimensions is a commitment to international co-operation, for which the universal instrument is the United Nations system.

#### PARTICIPANTS IN THE DELHI MEETING

##### Commission members

Olof Palme, Sweden (Chairman)  
Giorgi Arbatov, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
Egon Bahr, Federal Republic of Germany  
Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway  
Alfonso Garcia-Robles, Mexico  
Haruki Mori, Japan  
C. B. Muthamma, India  
Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria  
David Owen, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
Shridath Ramphal, Guyana  
Salim Salim, United Republic of Tanzania  
Soedjatmoko, Indonesia  
Joop den Uyl, Netherlands

A/41/124

S/17777

English

Page 8

Scientific advisers

James Leonard, United States of America

Mikhail Milstein, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Scientific consultant

Johan Jorgen Holst, Norway

Commission experts

Barry Blechman, United States of America

Raimo Vayrynen, Finland

Executive secretary

Anders Ferm, Sweden

Invited experts and guests

Brian Urquhart, United Nations

Marianne Heiberg, Norway

K. Subrahmanyam, India

Sergio Gonzalez-Galvez, Mexico

Augustine Mahiga, United Republic of Tanzania

Kusuma Snitwongse, Thailand

-----