



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/C.1/42/8
23 November 1987

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Forty-second session
FIRST COMMITTEE
Agenda item 73

COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Letter dated 23 November 1987 from the Permanent Representative of
Poland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Poland, I have the honour to submit herewith the text of the Memorandum on the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security with the kind request for its being distributed as a document of the General Assembly under Item 73 of the agenda of the forty-second session.

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AnnexMEMORANDUM OF BULGARIA, THE BYELOHUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, HUNGARY, MONGOLIA, POLAND, ROMANIA, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ON THE QUESTION OF A COMPREHENSIVE **SYSTEM** OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The **idea** of a comprehensive system of international peace and security arises from the Charter of the United Nations and today's international practices. **The** world has reached a stage in its history which **calls** for a new approach and joint action **of** the entire international community. Technology and resources now enable mankind to cope with numerous problems which have hindered its progress for centuries. At the same time, some dangers have emerged, and primarily the nuclear threat, that challenge the survival of the human race. The pressing **global** problems have given rise to the interdependence of nations.

In these circumstances, what is needed is an approach to ensuring security **of** each and every State that would not entail the threat of a world disaster, an approach of a truly multilateral character in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The **initiative** for a dialogue on the concept **of** comprehensive international security has been prompted by the awareness of that reality, **It** is based on the principles and purposes of the Charter **and** is aimed at its full implementation in the conditions of the nuclear and space age. Such a system will **offer** reliable guarantees of mankind's survival and make it possible to build a world free of nuclear weapons, violence, hatred, fear and suspicion.

It is imperative to embrace new political thinking **which means** a realistic **view of** world developments, an unbiased attitude towards others as well **as** an awareness of one's own responsibility. The new thinking also means eliminating the gap between words and deeds,

The cardinal issue **of** our times is the survival of mankind, **above** all in the face of nuclear threat, and **the** exercise of the right of every nation and every person to life, freedom, peace, well-being and pursuit of happiness.

In today's complex and diverse world, ever more interrelated and interdependent, what is needed is a machinery to **discuss** common issues and to search **for** a **balance** of various contradictory but **real** interests of the present-day community, States and nations, And the United Nations is called upon to be **such** a machinery.

The concept of comprehensive security calls for manifold concerted efforts in the military, political, economic, environmental, social, humanitarian and human **rights** areas. The task is to secure progress in all these areas, bearing in mind that headway made in one area will facilitate finding solutions to problems in other areas as well.

Comprehensive security can be achieved only through collective **efforts** of the entire world community - provided there is equality of **rights** among all its members, regardless of whether they are large, medium or **small** States - and **relying on the world public**.

The socialist countries believe in the boundless potential of the United Nations collective wisdom and will. They are certain that a transition to a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent and, eventually, **demilitarized** world is a historic **necessity** which holds out a possibility of **being** translated into reality.

That is **y** priority should be given to the universal values of all **mankind**. In **terms** of these values, what is required is to renounce the use or threat of force. Peaceful coexistence among sovereign and independent **States with** different social and political systems, of different sizes and different **levels of** development, **is what, in the view of the co-sponsors, constitutes** a universal foundation of international **relations**. The pre-eminence of international law-binding for all is a norm and a principle of the existence of a safe world. **The** progressive development of international law and its codification **should** be encouraged.

It is necessary that all States strictly respect the principles of national independence and **sovereignty, non-use** of force and threat of **force**, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, **peaceful settlement** of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other **countries**, equality of rights, and **other** principles and purposes of **the Charter** of the United Nations, as well as **other generally recognized norms** of international relations.

The co-sponsors reiterate the importance of **strict adherence** to all **principles of the Helsinki Final Act**.

To avoid **military** and political confrontations and **to establish international** co-operation in addressing global problems, it is important to ensure that relations **between** States **are not impaired by ideological differences** and that good-neighbourliness and co-operation should prevail.

Following are some of the ideas **which we propose** as an invitation to a broad **international dialogue**.

Specific ways and practical means of shaping a comprehensive system of international peace and security

In the **military** and disarmament area

The co-sponsors are convinced that present-day realities **make it imperative** that all international problems should **be solved through negotiations, by political means**. Consequently **they** deem it necessary **to have generally reaffirmed the requirement that military factors be excluded from the solution of international disputes**.

Creating a **safe** world requires, **above** all, **destroying** nuclear, chemical and other kinds of **weapons of mass destruction**, drastically reducing armed forces and conventional **weapons** and **making** corresponding reductions in military spending, dismantling military blocs and eliminating foreign **bases**, withdrawing **all** troops from foreign territories and establishing **effective** mechanisms for averting all kinds of **aggression** and **for** strengthening **peace** on the **basis** of the lowest possible level of armed forces and **armaments**.

The **co-sponsors** consider the creation of a world free from **nuclear** and **other weapons of mass destruction** to be a **fundamental** condition **for** the **survival** of mankind. All efforts should be made to **attain** this goal **by the turn** of the **century**. There is an **urgent need** to **take concrete steps** to halt the **current** or projected arm⁸ programmes. Accordingly, **it is necessary** to establish new international conditions **to guarantee the security** of all countries on an equal **basis**.

The military dimensions **of** comprehensive **security** should **be** approached in a comprehensive **manner**, with equal consideration given to **both** quantitative and qualitative levels, having in mind **both** global and regional and all **other** aspects **of the matter**. **Another basic** requirement is to keep in mind that the arms **build-up** can be stopped and disarmament achieved only through negotiations.

The **Soviet Union-United States agreement** to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles **shows that the arms race can** be halted **as** a result of **successive** measures. The conclusion **of** an agreement on radical reductions in strategic offensive **arms**, while concurrently preserving the **ABM Treaty**, would be **of** decisive importance **for** the further **expansion** and significant consolidation of this **process**. Furthermore, of crucial importance in stopping the **arms escalation is** also the **prevention of its extension to outer space**.

Gradual reductions, **the** cessation and comprehensive ban on all nuclear-weapon-tests as well as the prevention of a further proliferation of these weapons would **be** of paramount importance **for** reducing the nuclear threat. In the **view** of the co-sponsors, an early signing **of** an impending agreement on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons would have a beneficial effect **on the world's security**.

Progress towards a world free **from** nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction can **be** achieved **stage by stage**, involving different participants and armaments. **At every stage** and throughout the entire **process there** should be a steady strengthening **of security** at the **lowest** possible level of armed forces and armaments.

Significant **cuts** in military programmes, budgets and activities as well as a gradual conversion **of** military production to **peaceful** purposes would serve to **free** mankind **from the** burdens caused by **the** arms build-up.

Mutual confidence should **be** created and placed on a solid foundation. **As** part of **such** effort, **the** current military doctrines should proceed from **the** recognition that no **country's** security can **be guaranteed** to the detriment of other **countries**. Military concepts and doctrines should **be based** on defensive principles.

Specific measures are urgently needed **to prevent** war in general, both nuclear and conventional. Of major significance would be the renunciation by the nuclear Powers **and other States**, members of the military and **political** alliances to which **these** nuclear powers are parties, **of the first** use of both nuclear and conventional weapons and of the threat **or** use of **force** in inter-State relations in any conditions and under **any circumstances**.

It should also be guaranteed that no **State** have to build up **armaments** and **armed** forces to **ensure its own security**. In **carrying out** radical reductions of armed forces and conventional **armaments** it is essential to redress the existing imbalances and **asymmetries in the structure** and location of the armed forces and armaments of States and alliances and **to bring them** in line with the principle of non-offensive defence.

Radical **cuts** in military forces and conventional **armaments** with a corresponding reduction of military expenditures are **similarly necessary** for giving a **strong momentum to the process of disarmament**.

A considerable reduction of military confrontation in Europe **may exert a favourable** effect **on** efforts to lessen tension in other regions **of** the world too.

The co-sponsors **advocate** openness with **regard** to military activities and budgets and accordingly favour the dissemination **of objective** information in **this respect**.

An indispensable **condition for substantive** progress in arms limitation and disarmament as well **as** for the strengthening **of** confidence lies in the reliable and effective verification of compliance with specific agreements.

The co-sponsors **consider a** simultaneous dismantlement of military-political alliances, primarily **the Warsaw Treaty and NATO**, **to be an important** goal of a comprehensive **system** of international **peace** and **security**. They believe that dismantling the rivaling and opposing alliances is bound to have a beneficial effect **in terms** of reducing the military and political confrontation in general. **Important steps** to reduce the military confrontation and mistrust would be **the establishment** of nuclear-weapon-free and chemical-weapon-free zones as well as zones of thinned-out **arms concentration**. The mutual withdrawal of **the** most dangerous categories of offensive weapons from the zone **of** direct contact **between** military alliances, and measures to lower the **concentration of** armed forces and armaments in these zones to an agreed minimum **level would lead also** to that **end**.

Taking urgent military and political steps towards arms limitation is **indispensable** if mankind is to embark on the road to general and complete disarmament to **a world of** lasting peace and security.

In the political area

A **sine qua non** condition of **universal** security is the **respect** for the Charter of the **United Nations** and the right **of** peoples to exercise in a sovereign manner a choice **of the ways and forms of their development** - revolutionary or evolutionary.

The speedy peaceful settlement of **existing regional conflicts** and the averting of new ones **are** an important condition for ensuring the security of **nations**. It is necessary to enhance **the** role of the **United Nations in this respect**,

The interests of the stable and comprehensive **security** of mankind require evolving of all political means and rules of conduct, **based on the Charter** of the United Nations, with regard to local **and regional** armed conflicts. The **countries which** are not parties to an armed **conflict should articulate** their attitude **towards such a conflict by taking into account the fundamental interests** of other countries, **as well as** the **effect** which a **local armed conflict** is likely to have on a particular **region** and **on** the overall international situation. **Consequently**, such **conflicts can be settled** through joint efforts **and** within **international** framework.

It is essential at all **stages of a conflict** to **make** broad use of **all means of peaceful settlement** of disputes and differences between States and to **come forward with offers of good offices**, mediation or conciliation **in** achieving armistice **and** eventual solution.

For the purposes of disengaging **the** forces of parties in conflict and monitoring cease-fires and **truce agreements**, **wider use should be made** of the institution of United **Nations** military **observers** and United Nations peace-keeping forces while strictly complying with **the Charter**.

Taking into **account** the **serious** dangers for international security resulting *from* the intensification of existing **conflicts**, the United Nations **should address a general** appeal to all States parties to such conflicts to **cease** all military operations and to call all **States of the world** to proceed **to a peaceful** solution of their conflicts and disputes through negotiations. It should **be also requested** that during negotiations, starting from their very commencement, **the military** operations of **any** kind should be **ceased**. The Security Council or a special organ of the United Nations **should** ensure the fulfilment of the obligation **undertaken** concerning **the cessation** of military operations during the negotiations, **as well as** the peaceful resolution of disputes **through** negotiations.

It is necessary to make strong efforts to **secure a** greater consolidation of **forces** and **take a more concerted action** to combat apartheid **as one** of the destabilizing **factors** of international significance, **which** adversely affect regional and international security.

In addition to intensifying the work of the **existing** bodies, it is advisable to consider further arrangements for strengthening regional security **as** future components of a comprehensive **system**, which would take into **account a** complex set of historical, geographical and geopolitical **factor3** and the security interests of large and small States in various regions of **the world**.

The establishment of zones of peace and co-operation in **various parts** of the world could be an important area of strengthening **global security**.

Among the global problems **of** mankind, the co-sponsors **deem** it particularly important to devise means **and** to **create effective** institutional forms of jointly

Combating terrorism, which has acquired an international dimension and thus poses a threat to all countries.

The unprecedented degree of internationalization of world political processes and the fact that global problems can only be solved with the broadest participation of countries call for openness in foreign policy and require that full effect be given to the principles and practices of **democratism in the decision-making process** and in the implementation of decisions.

The initiative of the socialist countries is designed to overcome any confrontational approach and to assert civilized standards and an atmosphere of openness, transparency and trust in international relations.

This purpose is being also served by the efforts to ensure that the United Nations and other international organizations and forums play a more active role in normalizing political relations among States and regions, solving local armed conflicts, developing the practice of dialogue and consultations between States, and strengthening political co-operation.

In the economic sphere

The growing interrelationship and interdependence of all countries of the world call for more effective joint efforts on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations for the solution of world economic problems.

The concept of international economic security, which embraces the areas of international economic, trade, financial, scientific, technological and environmental co-operation, proceeds from the premise that the world economy is universal in its character and that, given the interdependence of nations, its state affects all participants in the international division of labour.

Therefore, the solution of problems in the world economy demands joint action, including the creation of conditions for the economic security of all States, with fundamental importance being attached to the predictability of world economic processes and to the necessity of broad economic international co-operation.

Another important requirement is to build meaningful contacts among regional economic organizations, while taking into account the fundamental interests of all other countries as well. In this context all forms of economic discrimination, including protectionist barriers, should be gradually eliminated.

The security of the world is threatened by the growing trend of unequal development that widens the economic and technological gap between the developed and developing, rich and poor countries. It is essential to adopt comprehensive and effective measures to accelerate the development of economically underdeveloped countries and to create necessary international economic, trade and financial conditions. In this pursuit, the national efforts of developing countries should be supplemented by increased international assistance and an economic co-operation capable of providing effective support to overcoming underdevelopment.

Neither economic and political stability nor **peace** in the world **can be** safeguarded without **resolute measures** to prevent **any further** deterioration of the situation **of** developing countries **and to eliminate underdevelopment.**

An indispensable part of the **creation of** international **economic** security is to find solution to **the burden of the external debt crisis.** This process calls for the efforts **of debtors and creditors alike to ensure the economic** growth and development of indebted **countries and** the interests **of** harmonious development of **the world** economy.

The international financial institutions bear **a** specific responsibility for contributing to **a more secure operation of the world economy** in the context of universal co-operation on International **monetary and financial** issues.

Considering that the **accelerated scientific and technological** advancement constitutes **a basic source** of **general** economic growth, its achievements should be **made** accessible for **all** nations.

In the view **of the co-sponsors,** there is **a** close relationship between disarmament and development. The possibilities of economic development **could** be enhanced through the **utilization of resources to be released as a result of the** disarmament process. **International resolve** is necessary to turn those possibilities into **reality.**

Mutual confidence, which is indispensable in **all** aspects of **economic security,** and development efforts **and efforts** of promoting co-operation call for an effective exchange of information **among States.**

It would be appropriate to **hold broad** consultations, through the United Nations structures, to **assess the state of** and prospects for the development of the world **economy and** to find generally acceptable **methods** of ensuring **the economic** security of States.

In the ecological area

The protection of **environment, both on the** national and international scale, is a **necessary** prerequisite of the security and development of **civilization.**

The **growing** danger of the rapid degradation of **the** natural environment requires **that** efforts of the entire international **community be** united and focused on ensuring the ecological security of nations.

The rational use of natural **resources** and **the** guaranteeing of the environmental interests of States constitute a basis of international ecological **security.** It presupposes the elaboration **of a** global strategy covering **the** entire range of existing and foreseeable environmental problems and mapping **out concrete** plans of action to solve **them,** and principles **for: international** co-operation aimed at **the** full implementation thereof. The development of **and access** to ecologically clean technologies would pave the way to the practical implementation of this **strategy.** It would be advisable to establish **early warning** systems predicting natural **disasters** and adverse global effects of **technological** development.

In the social, humanitarian and human rights area

Respect **for general human values**, for **all human rights** and fundamental **freedoms**, in their indivisibility and interdependence, **promotion of their exercise, and development of international co-operation in this field will contribute to the** strengthening of mutual **confidence and understanding** between States in the interest of international peace and security. In this spirit, human life should be **recognized as the supreme value.**

The creation of **a system** of universal security would be facilitated by broad and genuinely equitable **co-operation among countries** in the humanitarian sphere.

The co-sponsors view as essential the full **realization of man's basic rights to life and work, and of his political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights** in their totality **and mutual dependence**, while respecting the sovereignty of States and eliminating **all forms of discrimination, apartheid, racism, nationalism and chauvinism and war propaganda.**

Flagrant and massive violation of human rights have harmful effects on relations among States **and** the international political atmosphere, may threaten international **security and** should be a matter of general concern for all the international community.

Civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights should be respected everywhere. **Therefore, it is necessary for all States to accede to the international instrument; on human rights, to give effect to their letter and spirit.** The solution of all problems relating to human rights **and fundamental freedoms** should be secured by each State and represents an important element of its sovereignty in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Democracy and its further **development**, with respect for national specifics and historical traditions, remain important prerequisites for economic and social development **and the exercise of human rights in their entirety.**

It is necessary to act for the elimination of all **forms** of discrimination, all **manifestations of racism, fascism, nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and other practices and ideas which humiliate human dignity.** Education for life in peace **could play an important role in achieving those objectives.**

Serious attention should be given to finding a solution to such unresolved humanitarian problems as unemployment, famine, illiteracy and homelessness.

The idea of promoting medical co-operation in combatting the most dangerous diseases, such as cancer, AIDS, **as well as other diseases** resulting from misery, malnutrition, drug abuse and alcoholism, deserves attention.

The co-sponsors support the idea of a broad dialogue on humanitarian issues, inter alia within an all-European conference in Moscow.

The **comprehensive system** of international peace and security **should be achieved** through collective **efforts** of all the **United Nations Member States** and the entire world community and **is not directed against** the interests of any country or of any group of **countries**. Being of the opinion that **such a system should function** on the **basis** and within the framework of the **Charter** of the United Nations, the **co-sponsors advocate** the enhancement of the role of the **General Assembly** and the **Secretary-General** of the United Nations, and **express** the view that all States **should support them to the fullest possible extent**, work **for greater effectiveness** of the **activities** of the United Nations and its **institutions** and **strive** to enable them to contribute more **fully** to the **solution** of international **issues**.

The **co-sponsors**, bearing in **mind the purposes and principles** of the Charter of the **United Nations** and other **relevant** documents of the United Nations, as well as the **wealth of experience accumulated** so far in the **process** of their implementation, **deem it necessary** for the **world Organization** to concentrate its efforts on enhancing its role as a **forum** for political dialogue and multilateral **co-operation** in **order to ensure** compliance with and implementation of the **Charter**, with **particular regard** for the crucial and interrelated **areas** of international **security, disarmament, crisis and conflict settlement, economic** development and **co-operation**, the promotion and protection of **human rights** and fundamental freedoms.

The **strengthening** of the United Nations' **role** depends on the wisdom, goodwill and **efforts** of all Member States and, in particular, of **course, the permanent members** of the Security Council. The **socialist countries** are convinced that the **political line of all member States of the world community** in the United Nations **should be oriented toward** a search for **realistic** and generally acceptable **solutions to international problems and a full utilization** of the co-operation potential contained in the Charter **of the United Nations**.

This initiative is an invitation to the United Nations **Member States** and to the **world public to hold** a wide and **thorough exchange** of views on ways and means of **practically ensuring** comprehensive international security. **It is necessary** to institutionalize the continuing **all-embracing international dialogue on various aspects** of **this** problem.

The **countries** launching **this** initiative call upon all **States Members** of the United Nations and the world public to continue the exchange of **views** and to elaborate **constructive proposals** with a view to **enhancing the process of bringing about a comprehensive system** of international **peace and security**.
