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Agenda item 73

COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Kazimierz TOMASZEWSKI (Poland)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The item entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security" was included in the provisional agenda of the forty-second session of the General Assembly in accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/92 of 4 December 1986.
2. At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 18 September 1987, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee, decided to include the item in its agenda and to allocate it to the First Committee.
3. The First Committee considered item 73 jointly with items 71 and 72 at its 49th to 57th meetings, on 19, 20 and 23 to 25 November 1987 (see A/C.1/42/PV.49-57).
4. In connection with item 73, the First Committee had before it the following documents:

(a) Letters dated 19 December 1986, 9 and 19 January, 17 February, 2 and 30 March, 14 and 15 April, 12 June, 23 July and 5 November 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/59-5/18534, A/42/80-S/18571, A/42/93-9/18620, A/42/132-S/18701, A/42/160-S/18733, A/42/189-8/18768, A/42/228-S/18811, A/42/231-S/18816, A/42/346-S/18922, A/42/418-S/J8994 and A/42/715-5/19242) ;

(b) Letters dated 5 March, 29 May and 12 June 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/167-S/18741, A/42/313-9/18888 and A/42/354-E/1987/110) ;

(a) Letters dated 10 June and 2 November 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/333 and A/42/708 and Corr.1);

(d) Letter dated 23 July 1987 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Poland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/413);

(e) Note verbale dated 14 August 1987 from the Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/509);

(f) Letter dated 18 September 1987 from the Deputy Head of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the forty-second session addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/574-S/19143);

(g) Letter dated 5 October 1987 from the Head of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the forty-second session of the General Assembly addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/621-S/19180);

(h) Letter dated 23 October 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/681);

(i) Letter dated 24 October 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Mongolia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/42/684);

(j) Note verbale dated 18 September 1987 from the Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/C.1/42/2).

II. CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS A/C.1/42/L.89 AND Rev.1

5. On 20 November, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security" (A/C.1/42/L.89), which was later also sponsored by Ethiopia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Madagascar. The draft resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 41/92 of 4 December 1986, entitled 'Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security',

"Emphasizing that 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 the pursuit of happiness,

"Convinced that in the nuclear and space age, in condition of growing interdependence, States need a new mode of political thinking and action in order to implement fully the purposes and principles of the United Nations and to ensure the survival and progress of civilization and the building of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world,

"Emphasizing that the world is one and its security is indivisible and that in their approach to the problems of security States should give priority to universally accepted human values, with the unconditional primacy of international law over the political aspirations of States,

"Declaring that today States have no reasonable alternative to the renunciation in practical terms of the use or threat of force in all spheres of their relations,

"Convinced that the international community should resolutely proceed to practical steps aimed at asserting the principles of non-violence, tolerance and respect for the right of every people to make their own social, political or ideological choice,

"Expressing its firm conviction that ensuring reliable security for every State and for all States together is possible only through political means, by strengthening international mechanisms, and above all the United Nations,

"Emphasizing that universal and comprehensive security requires joint efforts of all the participants in international relations without exception in the crucial and interrelated areas of disarmament, peaceful settlement of crises and conflicts, economic development and co-operation, preservation of the environment, promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

"Solemnly reaffirming that the collective security mechanism embodied in the Charter of the United Nations constitutes a fundamental and irreplaceable instrument for the preservation of international peace and security,

"1. Urges all States to focus their efforts on ensuring universal security through political means on an equal basis and in all spheres of international relations;

"2. Expresses its conviction that there should be continuation and development of an effective dialogue in the United Nations and at other forums in all directions and at all levels, so as to proceed to practical measures related to the shaping of material, politico-legal and moral-psychological guarantees for peace to the practical building of security for all;

"3. Declares that the road to security lies through practical steps to strengthen trust among States on the basis of democratization, through impressing on the minds of people the ideas of life in the conditions of peace, the inadmissibility of war and violence, abandonment of the stereotypes of thinking in terms of enemy, overcoming the confrontational approach,

consolidating the norms of civilized conduct and the atmosphere of information of the public and openness in international relations;

"4. Reaffirms that all States should adhere **strictly** to the fundamental principles of international law, **especially** respect for the sovereignty, **political independence** and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs, refraining from the threat or use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, equality and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, **co-operation** among States, **compliance in good faith** with their obligations **assumed in accordance** with the Charter of the United Nations)

"5. Calls upon all States, including at bilateral and multilateral forums dealing with disarmament issues, to multiply their efforts in order to curb the arms race, adopt and implement a set of **specific** measures, in accordance with the agreed priorities, with a view to reducing and eliminating nuclear arms and other types of weapons of mass destruction, preventing an arms race in space and substantially reducing the armed forces, conventional weapons and military expenditures, which would constitute an important element of a **comprehensive system** of international peace and security)

"6. Calls upon States and United Nations organs, within their mandate and in **accordance** with the relevant provisions of the Charter, to **utilize** fully the existing means of **peaceful** settlement of disputes and conflicts between States through negotiation, inquiry, mediation, **conciliation**, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, the use of good offices, including those of the Secretary-General, or other means of their own free choice;

"7. Calls upon all States and the appropriate **economic** forums to use to the maximum extent all opportunities for elaborating the necessary and mutually acceptable measures ensuring economic development and equitable **co-operation**;

"8. Calls upon all States, in the interests of comprehensive security, to co-operate broadly with each other in the humanitarian field and to ensure fundamental human rights and freedoms;

"9. Considers that interaction in the ecological sphere should become an integral part of comprehensive international security;

"10. Calls upon Member States to strengthen and enhance the role and efficiency of the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security with a view to solving international issues for the benefit of all States and elaborating guarantees of comprehensive security for all on an equal basis;

"11. Calls upon United Nations organs and specialized agencies, international intergovernmental organizations, international forums, participants in negotiations, regional organizations, both within and outside

the United Nations system, to examine the relevant issues under their consideration in terms of creating conditions of security for all)

"12. Calls upon international and national non-governmental organizations, political and public figures in all countries to make their positive contribution to the development of a productive and meaningful international dialogue on the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security;

"13. Calls upon the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of a group of experts, a study on comprehensive international security and submit a report to the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session;

"14. Decides to include in the agenda of its forty-third session the item entitled 'Comprehensive system of international peace and security'."

6. On 23 November, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/42/L.89/Rev. 1), which was later also sponsored by the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar and Viet Nam. The revised draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Poland at the 54th meeting, on 24 November.

7. At the 57th meeting, on 25 November, the representative of Poland orally revised the draft resolution as follows:

(a) The tenth preambular paragraph, which had read:

"Solemnly reaffirming that the collective security mechanism embodied in the Charter of the United Nations constitutes the fundamental and irreplaceable instrument for the preservation of international peace and security",

was deleted ;

(b) After operative paragraph 1, a new operative paragraph, reading:

"2. Solemnly reaffirms that the collective security mechanism embodied in the Charter of the United Nations constitutes the fundamental and irreplaceable instrument for the preservation of international peace and security",

was inserted and the subsequent operative paragraphs were renumbered accordingly;

(c) In original operative paragraph 12, now operative paragraph 13, the word "ensuring" was replaced by the word "promoting";

(d) In original operative paragraph 13, now operative paragraph 14, the words "look into" were replaced by the word "explore", and the words "with the

participation of outstanding personalities" were replaced by the words "among the Member States".

8. At the same meeting, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.1/42/L.09/Rev.1, as orally revised, by a recorded vote of 70 to 12, with 49 abstentions (see para. 9). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against : Belgium, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Egypt, Fiji, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Malta, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Zaire.

III. RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

9. The First Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution;

Comprehensive system of international peace and security

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 41/92 of 4 December 1986, entitled "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security",

Emphasizing that the great political, economic and social changes and scientific progress that have taken place in the world since the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations and the most acute and urgent task of the present day - to remove the threat of a world war, a nuclear war - give increased importance to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the need for their more effective application in the conduct of States, wherever carried on,

Convinced that in the nuclear and space age, in conditions of the indivisibility of peace and security in all parts of the world and the increasing interdependence among nations, the challenges of our times make a strengthening of multilateral co-operation in all fields and collaboration on ways and means to implement the security system provided for in the Charter indispensable,

Convinced of the need for the effective universal application of the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations and of the importance of the role of the United Nations in this regard,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of every State to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems without interference in any form by another State,

Recognizing the common interest of all nations in promoting an effective and comprehensive approach to security, which will seek the common security of all nations, by their joint actions and in all fields,

Convinced that new thinking that stems from the knowledge that States can only survive with one another, not against one another, should govern their actions,

Emphasizing that in their approach to the problems of security, States should give priority to universally accepted human values and the promotion of the rule of law among nations in accordance with the Charter,

Reaffirming its firm conviction that ensuring reliable security for every State and for all States together is possible only through peaceful political means, by strengthening international mechanisms, above all the United Nations,

Emphasizing that, in accordance with the Charter, universal and comprehensive security requires joint efforts of all the participants in international relations, without exception, in the crucial, essential for international security and interrelated areas of disarmament, peaceful settlement of crises and conflicts, economic development and co-operation, preservation of the environment, and promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

1. **Urges** all States to **focus** their efforts on ensuring integral universal security through peaceful political means on an equal basis and in all spheres of international relations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and within the United Nations framework)
2. **Solemnly reaffirms** that the **collective** security mechanism embodied in the Charter of the United Nations constitutes the fundamental and irreplaceable instrument for the **preservation** of international peace and **security**;
3. **Expresses its conviction** that there should be **continuation** and development of an effective dialogue in the United Nations and other forums in all directions and at all levels, in order to bridge different concepts and examine generally acceptable ways and means of ensuring comprehensive security in accordance with the Charter, bearing in mind the realities of the nuclear and space age;
4. **Declares** that the road to security lies through **practical** steps to strengthen trust among States on the basis of overcoming confrontations, approaches and consolidating the norms of **civilized** conduct and the atmosphere of information of the public and openness in international relations;
5. **Reaffirms** that all States should adhere strictly to the fundamental principles of international law, especially respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention and non-interference in their internal **affairs**, refraining from the threat or use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, equality and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, co-operation among States and compliance in good faith with their obligations assumed in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations)
6. **Calls upon** all States, including in bilateral and multilateral forums dealing with disarmament issues, to multiply their efforts in order to prevent an arms race in outer space and to halt and reverse it on Earth, to lower the level of military confrontation and to enhance global stability;
7. **Calls upon** States and United Nations organs, within their mandate and in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, to utilize fully the existing means of peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts through negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, the use of good offices, including those of the Secretary-General, or other means of their own free choice)
8. **Calls upon** all States and the appropriate economic forums to use to the **maximum extent** all opportunities for promoting a stable and equitable world economic environment and, to that end, to strengthen international co-operation for development and to work towards a new international economic order, elaborating the necessary and mutually acceptable measures ensuring economic development and equitable co-operation;

9. Calls upon all States to co-operate broadly with each other in the humanitarian field and to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
10. Considers that interaction in the ecological sphere should become an integral part of comprehensive international security;
11. Calls upon Member States to strengthen and enhance the role and efficiency of the United Nations system as an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security with a view to solving international issues for the benefit of all States and elaborating guarantees of comprehensive security for all on an equal basis;
12. Further calls for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations;
13. Calls upon international and national non-governmental organizations and political and public figures in all countries to make their positive contribution to the development of a productive and meaningful international dialogue on the ways and means of promoting comprehensive security based on the Charter and within the United Nations framework;
14. Requests the Secretary-General to explore the ways and means of organizing an exchange of views on the subject among the Member States and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-third session;
15. Decides to include in the agenda of its forty-third session the item entitled "Comprehensive system of international peace and security".
