



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 54TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

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The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 58, 59 and 137 (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will continue its general debate on items relating to international security.

Sir Everton RICHARDSON (Jamaica): I wish to address my few remarks to draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.73/Rev.1, and in doing so I extend my Government's sincere congratulations to the delegation of Sierra Leone for its initiative in encouraging its colleagues to submit that draft resolution.

I am aware of the fact that a draft resolution has just been approved by consensus in the plenary meeting on item 10 of the agenda, "The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization". It may be assumed therefore that there is no necessity for the consideration of an additional draft resolution. I wish however, to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fact that the resolution recently approved on the Secretary-General's report is still somewhat equivocal and unspecific in its challenge to the ordinary Members of the United Nations. It is therefore to this collective security challenge that I wish to draw attention in speaking in support of draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.73/Rev.1.

Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations deals with action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. Article 39 of the Charter places unequivocally upon the Security Council responsibility for determining when such threats or such acts of aggression exist, and Article 40 of the Charter authorizes the Security Council to call upon the parties to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary. The article also requires the Council to take account of any failure to comply with these measures. Article 41 authorizes the Security Council to decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decision. I emphasize the words to give effect to its decision.

We have been over recent years repeated instances of decisions of the Security Council being taken and not implemented, and nothing further taking place.

If the measures provided in Article 41 should be inadequate, the Security Council is authorized to take action by air sea, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace and security.

(Mr. Dexter Richardson, Jamaica)

I wish to draw attention to Article 43 of the Charter which is the first of the collective security articles, by which Members of the United Nations are required to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, either armed forces or assistance or facilities, or all three which may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

As a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/31/L.73/Rev.1 I wish to encourage the Security Council to enter into agreements with individual Member States to provide either armed forces or assistance or facilities. The majority of the Member States of the United Nations possess armed forces. Those who cannot provide armed forces can provide assistance in a variety of forms, by means of police forces, communications facilities, transport and so on and for other Member States, all that may be required of them is such facilities as they do possess which may be required for the collective effort. It should be noted that these arrangements must be made beforehand.

I wish to suggest, therefore, that the Security Council has an obligation to ensure that its decisions are carried out and when they are not the Council should be prepared to call for such services as it needs from the other members of the Council and from individual Members or groups of Members of the United Nations. We emphasize the fact that the Charter of the United Nations contemplated the establishment and ratification of these agreements as soon as possible.

(Sir Barton Richardson, Jamaica)

My delegation is unable to say what agreements have been proposed. We certainly do not know what agreements have been entered into. We suspect that not many have been concluded between the Security Council and the Member States.

I know that conventional wisdom has grown up in the United Nations to the effect that only peace-keeping operations as they have developed over the years are possible; that because of the polarisation of international opinion it is impossible to mount an enforcement exercise in the United Nations; but I wish to suggest to the members of the Security Council that they should recognize the sorry pass to which the maintenance of international peace and security has been brought by the conventional wisdom of the last 10 years. I would like them to consider whether this development is due to the practice of using the United Nations to serve national interests, as though therein lay the highest good, rather than to serve the needs of international peace and security. I wish to encourage them to make one further effort to see whether the provisions of the Charter relating to threats to the peace and to acts of aggression cannot be implemented.

I consider that a resounding approval of this draft resolution by the ordinary Members of the United Nations, the small, the defenceless Members of this body, may be taken as an expression of their willingness to comply with and implement the collective security provisions of the Charter.

I do not know whether it is in order to request the Security Council to submit a report to the General Assembly at any future session. What is important is that the appropriate language should be used in that operative paragraph of the draft resolution. Our desire is simple: that the Security Council, with the advice of its Military Staff Committee, should call for and conclude agreements with individual Members and groups of Members. It is also our desire that the results of the exercise on the part of the Security Council should be made known to the general membership of the General Assembly in due course.

Mr. RAKO^o PY (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): My delegation wholly shares the concerns expressed by many previous speakers about the deterioration of the international situation as a whole. At present no region of the world is safe from the destabilizing upheavals which are capable of degenerating into situations of conflict of even greater complexity. In the first place the East-West confrontation has never reached such a dangerous and critical threshold as it has now. In the second place the gulf between the industrialized North and the developing South continues to widen, despite an increasing number of meetings and consultations. Lastly, the countries of the South bear the scars of fratricidal wars and conflicts of interest. All this has led to a growing sense of insecurity among the peoples of the world.

A number of adverse factors are having a dangerous effect on international security, denying States, particularly the medium and small countries, the enjoyment of their natural and legitimate right to live in peace without fearing foreign interference in their internal affairs or threats to their national sovereignty. These factors include the failure to arrive at genuine disarmament, persistent violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the widespread chaos in the international economic system.

As far as disarmament is concerned, we shall not repeat the arguments we have already adduced in the general debate. However, we wish to reiterate our commitment to the historic consensus contained in the Final Document of the tenth special session, particularly with regard to the comprehensive programme of disarmament. For the frantic nuclear and conventional arms race is not a safeguard for the future of mankind but a threat to it. The accumulation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction far exceeds the strict needs of national defence and does nothing but increase the risk of a nuclear conflagration from which nobody will emerge the victor.

It has been frequently emphasized that disarmament is a complex and protracted task and that the great Powers bear a special responsibility in this matter. However, we are still convinced that in order to bring a speedy end to the arms race in all its aspects, a new impetus must be given to the multilateral approach to disarmament, despite the regrettable failure of the twelfth special session.

(Mr. Rabotozafy, Madagascar)

This is all the more necessary to offset the scant results achieved in the bilateral negotiations on arms limitations, and to accelerate the process of genuine disarmament on a basis agreed upon at the international level.

No State can feel secure in the present international situation, which is dominated by mutual distrust and marked by the existence of many centres of tension. We are now far removed from the firm resolution of this Organization, restated in the first preambular paragraph of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which reads:

"...to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to this end to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security."

(General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV))

In other words, real and lasting peace can be established only through the effective application of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

However, most States have recourse to the provisions of the Charter and of other relevant instruments of international law only when those provisions suit their own interests. This voluntary nature of the international legal system tends to consolidate the law of might is right, since the States with great economic and military strength enjoy the freedom to act as they please with impunity. The flagrant and persistent violations of the Charter in Africa, particularly southern Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, are a clear illustration of this state of affairs. Tensions and conflicts are daily sustained in those regions not only to perpetuate a state of domination, but above all to divert the attention of world public opinion from the main problem, which is the establishment of a new international order. It is not surprising in the circumstances that divergences of interests have an adverse effect on the credibility of the United Nations in terms of its ability to resolve the various individual crises, which are steadily becoming more numerous and more serious, and its ability to defend the integrity of the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Rakotosafy, Madagascar)

In the circumstances, then, should one take the view that the collective security system envisaged in the Charter is simply not operational? We reject that view. All Member States of the United Nations, particularly those which bear special responsibilities because of their economic and military power, should do their utmost to eliminate the factors of division and distrust. They should strictly observe the principles of the Charter as well as the other relevant and generally recognized principles of international law relating to the maintenance of peace and international security, particularly non-recourse to the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of a State, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes, with due regard for the natural right of self-defence as recognized by Article 51 of the Charter.

In any case, my delegation remains firmly convinced that the application of the collective security system of the Charter is the only way to safeguard the rights of the medium and small Powers and thereby to guarantee international peace and security, provided that the Security Council fully discharges its functions and is not paralysed by the abuse of the right of veto.

The steady worsening of the international economic system poses a grave threat to the security of States and international economic stability. Its consequences have been felt by the international community as a whole, but the developing countries have been hardest hit.

(Mr. Rakotosafi, Madagascar)

However, the real danger of this crisis is that despite the growing interdependence of nations, certain economic Powers fail to recognize that nations have common interests. This denial of international economic solidarity is illustrated both by the selfish policies of the developed countries, focused solely on the solution of their own domestic problems, and by increasing acts of economic aggression against the developing countries. The effect of these negative factors on the international economic situation is catastrophic, particularly for the developing countries.

For example, the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development remain stalled as a result of the persistent refusal of the developed countries to enter into a dialogue on the basic economic issues; at the same time it is becoming common practice to use economic blockades and sanctions against developing countries to bring them into line.

In the quest for solutions to these problems, I should like to reaffirm the proposals made by the leader of my delegation during the general debate, as follows:

"First, interdependent economic relations as they are in the present day world are still unbalanced and reflect inequalities of development. The aim can no longer be the recovery of the world economy on the basis of an undifferentiated process of growth; there must be development of the countries of the third world fully in keeping with their options.

"Secondly, the problems posed by world trade, the financing of development and the international monetary system require concerted action and cannot be dealt with without a recognition of the harmful effects of certain national policies on the world economy, and particularly the economy of the developing countries. We have not perhaps adequately grasped these effects because of the distance between the decision-making centres; that is why we consider it essential that the sixth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should provide Member States with an opportunity to deal in an integrated manner with development issues.

(Mr. Rabotozafi, Madagascar)

"Finally, the third aspect of joint endeavour is required to restore an economic environment favourable to development and the recovery of the world economy, with due regard for the objectives of the New International Economic Order.

"These few considerations confirm the value of global negotiations and we look forward to seeing these negotiations open as soon as possible. Desirous of being considered as equal partners in the reform of international economic relations, the third-world countries have proposed an agenda and a procedure for these negotiations which reflect their belief that equity and justice alone can assure a reorganization of relations governing countries which have long been categorized on the basis of an incorrect understanding of the international division of labour." (A/37/PV.24, p. 64-65)

Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (interpretation from French): Once again our Committee has the duty of taking up the question of the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States and the question of the strengthening of international security. A critical stocktaking by each delegation is one of the tasks that is incumbent upon us under the United Nations Charter on behalf of peoples of the world which we represent. In doing so, the Congolese delegation has the modest desire of undertaking a mission similar to the one that Frantz Fanon had in mind when he said that each generation bore a responsibility which it must either fulfil or betray.

The interdependence of our world is seen not only in economic and cultural affairs, even though much could be said about the direct and indirect consequences of economic development on security. Our support for the various international legal instruments which give practical effect to the provisions of the Charter is further evidence of our common destiny. For that reason, the People's Republic of the Congo is deeply concerned over anything that hinders the full and effective realization of the precious ideals of peace, freedom and security for one and all. The search for a situation of freedom from tension and aggression is a constant imperative at the international and regional levels, and action at the regional level can help to stabilize or improve the international situation.

(Mr. Gayama, Cont'd)

The general picture of the world situation is hardly encouraging. The year that is coming to an end has been fraught with conflicts and disputes, some of which have further complicated existing problems. There is no doubt that the problem of the Middle East, for example, is a kind of gangrene in the bilateral or multilateral relations of many great and medium-sized Powers which are directly or indirectly interested in any deterioration or improvement in the situation in that region.

Once again the most just and lasting solution, which would be to take into account all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, has been avoided in favour of a solution based on force, relentlessly pursued by one State, with powerful support, although it is clear that throughout the history of relations among nations the use of force has served only to create enduring hatreds. The continuing occupation of territory by force, repeated aggression against sovereign States, or the perpetration of such acts of horror as the massacre of civilians, can create the right conditions for settling a problem whose basis remains the recognition of the legitimacy and the rights of all.

If certain fundamental principles, such as those set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, had been supported by certain Powers, the situation in the south Atlantic would certainly not have degenerated into a war last spring. The problem of the Malvinas Islands remains with us, and this once again demonstrates how precarious solutions based on force are. In addition, the south Atlantic for us is also southern Africa.

The apartheid régime has in fact gained a certain respectability in the eyes of some Powers that are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and that explains how that régime has managed to endure - it poses as the champion of the political, economic, strategic and even moral interests of the Western world, although the West hardly needs to go so far in its dubious crusade in favour of human rights.

To justify this unholy collaboration with the apartheid régime, theories have even been heard to the effect that fascism could be tolerated and perhaps supported provided it is given the euphemistic label of an authoritarian

(Mr. Cayama, Congo)

régime, whereas régimes regarded as enemies are lumped together under the blanket label of totalitarianism. It is not surprising that today certain policies deliberately aimed at confrontation are being frankly pursued, even if the whole world, divided up into spheres of interest for this purpose, has to suffer.

Those who are not with us are against us. That is the cynical slogan of imperialism and domination. It is particularly obvious in the case of Namibia, where today negotiations on the procedure for the attainment of independence by that Territory have been stalled because of a question that has nothing to do with the obligations undertaken by the international community with regard to the Namibian people at the time when our Organization was founded. Would it be surprising if the Namibian people later completely turned their backs on those who so flagrantly show scorn for them?

(Mr. Gyama, Congo)

Several delegations have expressed their concern over a number of other points of interest having to do with problems of good neighbourliness and international security in terms that have captured the attention of the Congolese delegation.

This is true of the questions of Korea and Kampuchea, as well as those related to the situations in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean and the question of peace and security in Europe.

On the subject of Korea, the People's Republic of the Congo has always maintained a constant position based once again on the principle of non-interference and the settlement through negotiations of the problem of the division of that country. The constructive attitude taken in this connection by the Pyongyang authorities should in our opinion have given rise to a more positive reaction than that generally adopted by South Korea, which seems to us to be too inclined to consider the current unstable status quo as a guarantee for the future.

As to the problem of Kampuchea, my delegation believes that this problem has been artificially maintained in a state of agitation, as is also undoubtedly the case with the unnatural alliance between Sihanouk and Pol Pot, between the victim and his tormenter. It was when Pol Pot had undertaken the organized genocide of his people that the question should have been brought before international bodies. Paradoxically, it was not until the Kampuchean people had been liberated from the concentration camp world of Pol Pot and had begun to bind their wounds with Viet Nam, the only real ally that had saved them from extermination, that some souls, decidedly selective in expressing their kindness, set about pitying these people and bringing back, on the coat-tails of a Prince Sihanouk who had been re-enthroned for this purpose, the sinister Pol Pot, a tyrant whose equal is unknown in the annals of modern history.

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

This is one of the ways in which certain Powers go about wreaking vengeance on an adversary not to their liking, or simply advancing their pawns in dishonest moves in a dupe's game, in which the real losers are the peoples concerned.

The demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean is one of the most legitimate concerns of those peoples who depend directly on the waters of those seas for their survival. Those two seas, pre-eminent zones of convergence, have in a relatively short time been transformed into zones of rivalry; efforts to bring about peace there have depended primarily on irrational considerations which are no longer based on the common welfare of mankind.

Under the pretext of freedom of navigation, certain Powers fiercely oppose some discussions, such as those envisaged for the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which is constantly postponed precisely because of its relevance, in order to avoid any threat to the continuance of sinister prowling by their nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers.

My country, the Congo, wants peace and security for all people and supports with conviction all sincere approaches based on the desire to restore to life, that precious gift of nature, its charm and its optimism.

It is unfortunately necessary to agree that the outlook is not terribly bright in certain parts of the world, such as Europe, for example, where the accumulation of military arsenals is such that every day brings the prospect of a confrontation which would not spare anything, including even the most firmly established philosophies and structures.

The provisions of the Helsinki Final Act seem to us to constitute a basis for agreement which should be a constant inspiration to the Conference on Peace and Security in Europe, as well as to all negotiations on disarmament.

Fear and mistrust are not realistic sources of inspiration for a policy of peace, security and good neighbourliness. It is they that caused the super-Powers to engage in an arms race which has even reached outer space. Fear and mistrust also induce some into seeing vital interests everywhere and into seeking to defend those vital interests for no apparent reason.

(Mr. GAYAMA, Congo)

It is in this context that the African continent often appears as a prize particularly coveted by those who seek to sow the seeds of discord everywhere.

The Congolese Government is particularly concerned over the tragedy of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which, to a great degree, is being staged on the basis of scripts devised outside the area. Thus, the problems of the Sahara and of Chad, which could have been resolved on the basis of recommendations made by Heads of State, have been the subject of interference which has primarily tended to keep them from the objectives provided for by decisions taken earlier in the most democratic manner possible in conformity with the interests and aspirations of the peoples concerned and in accord with the norms of international law.

The Congo, a determined supporter of peace, understanding and the policy of good neighbourliness, has never spared any efforts of which it is capable to promote and maintain among all African countries, regardless of their political choices, a climate based above all on the common destiny of our States and of our peoples in general.

From this point of view, any suspicion in regard to our policy would be groundless; it is one that is above all conceived and practised according to the only options open to the Congolese people - options decidedly in favour of mutually advantageous regional and international co-operation on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country.

The Congolese delegation has frequently stated here that it considers as fundamentally dangerous any policy blaming others for one's own misfortunes and that our country has also always been indignant at the ideas of those who think that any specific political experience can be exported.

(Mr. Gayama, Congo)

If it is true that two or more countries may follow the same political, economic or social policy, this does not mean that there must therefore be absolute respect of the process by which the experience of each country develops, this being a function of various factors, including geography as well as history or culture.

Finally. I should like to mention one further aspect of the question under discussion, relating to the international system of collective security.

In taking positions on questions, the Congolese delegation always attributes primary importance to the framework of the United Nations, which, by its universal nature, is the only appropriate organization to deal with matters having to do with the peace and security of peoples in order to guarantee these objectives.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, devoted a considerable part of his report this year, moreover, to this question, which was greatly appreciated by my delegation.

Indeed, given the increased insecurity in the world, nothing is more regrettable than the spectacle of a Security Council which is more concerned for the easily offended feelings of its permanent members than it is committed to taking the general interest firmly into account.

(Mr. Gyama, Congo)

This explains our support for the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General and for draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.73/Rev.1 on collective security under the Charter.

This is an idea which is very dear to the Non-Aligned Movement which has frequently advocated improvements in the procedures of the Security Council and, if necessary, a recentering of the powers of the various main bodies of our Organization.

All these questions deserve most careful consideration by the entire United Nations membership; for our system of preventing crises and settling disputes peacefully is at stake.

Mr. DIACONU (Romania) (interpretation from French): We have noted with great satisfaction the interest which many Member countries take in the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness and the importance they attach to it. The debate which has taken place this year, like the one last year, has brought new points of emphasis and highlighted new aspects of good-neighbourliness to which we should give our attention. It has strengthened our belief that this is a field which must receive more sustained attention from the United Nations.

I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.77 concerning the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness. Now that we refer to the text, I wish to draw the Committee's attention to an omission in operative paragraph 4, which could be taken into account when the Committee's report is drafted. It seems to me that we ought to put a footnote reference after the words "the report of the Secretary-General concerning good-neighbourliness", and then a footnote at the bottom of the page giving the document reference for that report.

This draft resolution, which was prepared on the basis of consultations with a large number of delegations, has been sponsored by the following countries: Bangladesh, Burundi, Colombia, Congo, Spain, France, Guinea, Indonesia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, United Republic of Cameroon, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, and also Romania.

(Mr. Diaconu, Romania)

The purpose of this draft resolution, which draws upon many of the provisions of resolution 36/101, adopted by consensus on the same problem in 1981, is to initiate a process of clarification of the elements of good-neighbourliness, and the elaboration, in due course, of an appropriate international instrument on the matter. Obviously the preparation of such a document presupposes an effort to clarify the components of good-neighbourliness and the general practice of States in this area. In other words, this is a difficult task which could take several years and requires the active co-operation of all delegations.

The Romanian delegation is convinced of the importance and necessity of such a process, the results of which would be a significant contribution to the development of more harmonious relations in the world, and consequently to the strengthening of peace and security.

In this respect, a certain number of delegations, during consultations on the draft, expressed the opinion that the Committee best qualified to start and complete the process was the Sixth Committee, and that consequently this agenda item should be considered from the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly onwards by the Sixth Committee. My delegation shares this view and feels that this problem will be solved easily at the beginning of the next session of the General Assembly when the General Committee allocates the agenda items to the various Committees.

My delegation would like to thank all delegations which have co-operated with us in preparation of this draft resolution, and particularly those delegations which have yet again this year joined with us in sponsoring it. I should also like to thank most cordially those delegations which, when making statements on the question of good-neighbourliness, kindly mentioned Romania as being a country which took the initiative in bringing the matter before the General Assembly.

We are convinced that this draft resolution will be adopted by consensus, and it is our hope that the debate which is taking place this year on the basis of the Secretary-General's report will have made a useful contribution to the clarification of the content of good-neighbourliness which will be most useful for the process we would like to see initiated.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.