

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
40th meeting
held on
Thursday, 21 November 1991
at 10 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 40th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. MROZIEWICZ

(Poland)

CONTENTS

General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on
international security agenda items

This record is subject to correction.

Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned
within one week of the date of publication to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2 7501
2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/46/PV.40
27 November 1991

ENGLISH

91-61817 7491V (E)

Best copy Available

20e

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 67 AND 68

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

The CHAIRMAN: Today, we begin the next phase of our work, devoted to consideration of questions concerning international security. This year there are two agenda items related to that subject, the first entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region" (agenda item 67) and the second entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" (agenda item 68).

Although it addresses specific questions, the second agenda item is broad enough in its scope to allow consideration of a wide range of various security issues facing the international community, and, in fact, that opportunity has been used for many years to voice particular security concerns or to share ideas on numerous aspects of global, as well as regional, security.

(T h e)

Needless to say, this particular item has almost always had the longest list of documents. Without exaggeration, almost every important event in international relations has been recorded in a document issued under this item, bearing also, in many cases, a symbol of documentation of the Security Council.

None the less, the results of the Committee's deliberations have been, for many reasons, rather modest and usually of a general nature. The time was not ripe for applying a businesslike approach to the questions of international security.

The political atmosphere, however, has changed radically since then, following the democratic transformations in Eastern and Central Europe. The cold war has ended and the division of the world into military blocs has disappeared. The Gulf conflict has consolidated the United Nations and enhanced the Organization's effectiveness with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. This window of opportunity should not be closed.

The proceedings of the present session of the General Assembly prove that the international community has already taken a more imaginative and realistic approach in this regard. The scope of international security has been extended well beyond the traditional military dimension. Such other interrelated dimensions as the political, economic and environmental, as well as the social and humanitarian, have also been given due priority. A growing interest in introducing appropriate confidence- and security-building measures in various regions is moving the world gradually towards greater openness and transparency, thus making for less mutual suspicion among countries and a more accurate perception of each other.

(The Chairman)

It has been generally **recognised** that the United Nations **should** enhance its **effectiveness** in fulfilling its main **responsibility** for maintaining international **peace and security**. There is **also** a prevailing conviction that **mechanisms** should be developed to allow the United **Nations** and its Security Council to prevent and discourage **aggression**, effectively control the build-up of arms, and deal with humanitarian and ecological problems **spawned** by armed **conflicts**.

During the debate in the **General** Assembly, a good **number** of proposals have been put **forward** concerning a new concept of international security and the way **and means** of making the **United Nations stronger**, more effective and more relevant to challenges that arise. I believe this Committee has the **necessary** potential to consider all the proposals in a spirit of cooperation and with a willingness to make the best use of them for the **benefit** of the international community and of our Organisation.

~~Mr. A. SARDENBERG~~ (Brazil) **re** d t o y o u r c o m m e n t s ,
Mr. Chairman, I **should** like to preface my statement by saying that my delegation shares the **concerns** you mentioned and your **views** about the need for imaginative and realistic approaches to the issue of strengthening international security and enhancing the **Organisation's** capacity in that field. We also share your opinion regarding the First Committee's potential in dealing with this matter. We think that potential should be given practical effect with the support and participation of all delegations in the **discussions** on this item.

In an earlier statement before the Committee, I underscored the basic interrelationship between **democracy**, development and disarmament in **sustaining**

(M r ,)

the new **structure** of peace that is to emerge in the aftermath of the cold war. Today I wish to extend my reflection8 a step further, and dwell on the **fundamental** correlation between peace and security.

As is widely recognised nowadays, peace is **not** merely a state characterised by the absence of war. St is a broad and **dynamic** process of fostering harmony **among** nations by strengthening mutual confidence, understanding and a **shared** perception of fairness in international relations. Likewise, security **should** not merely be the attainment of stability by military means, but also the consolidation of the relaxation of tensions by a **common** stake in the preservation of a just world order. A8 we are searching for **relevant** parameters to guide us in a **new phase** in **history**, we should turn to a renewed understanding of collective security, anchored not on the individual might of States, but rather on the **collective right** of the international community.

When we hail, nowadays, the revitalisation of **multilateralism** and the return to the **pristine purity** of the Charter, we should have first and foremost in **our** minds the purposes and principles of the United Nations, inscribed in Article8 1 and 2. The maintenance of **international** peace and security through collective **endeavours**, the development of **friendly relations smong nation8** baaed on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, international cooperation in economic, **social**, cultural and humanitarian fields, as **well a8** the promotion of human rights - these constitute the very essence of our **Organization's** mandate.

Sovereign equality of Member States, fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed under the Charter, peaceful settlement of disputes, refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

or political independence of any State and **non-intervention** by the Organisation in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States - **these** are the cardinal principles to be universally observed under the Charter.

The strengthening of international peace and security calls **for** the strengthening of **the** United Nations **as** a whole and the strengthening of the observance of the Charter. In recognising the need **for** collective endeavours for the maintenance of international **peace** and security, the authors of the **Charter** sought to enhance a relationship of interdependence among Member States, **based** on the coordination of **equals** rather **than** subordination of the many to a few.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Likewise, although the principal organs Of the United Nations were given specific responsibilities, there was no intention of establishing a hierarchical differentiation among them, but rather a system Of mutual complementarity. Their proper functioning an a coordinated and harmonious way would be the best guarantee of efficiency in the maintenance of international peace and security.

In that regard there is an urgent need to enhance appropriate parameters to guide their proper functioning so that the perception Of their legitimacy can be widely shared by the membership at large. Such parameter8 could include the following: clear accountability before the whole membership of the United Nations; democratic, transparent procedures; non-selectivity in the observance and enforcement Of resolutions; predictability in working methods; and fairness and even-handedness in the Organization's positions on all issues.

It is undeniable that there are new and urgent items on the agenda of the Organisation concerning international peace and security. But I should caution member8 that not all new items are urgent and that not all urgent i tems are new. The strategic confrontation among the super-Powers has subsided, and a welcome reversal of the nuclear-arm8 race is beginning. But new concerns regarding the proliferation of nuclear and other weapon8 Of mass destruction have emerged. Many regional centres of tension persist, especially in the Middle East, and old and renewed antagonisms with historical and ethnic roots seem to be rekindling in other areas.

Concern8 have been expressed that the military expenditures of the world should be curtailed, especially by Calling on developing countries to reduce their arm8 acquisition8 in order to allocate better the flow Of economic aid.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

But some of the measures suggested address only the symptoms, not the causes. In order to put the question of military expenditure in proper perspective, we should remember that overall world military expenditures have reached \$1 trillion a year, of which the industrialized countries account for 80 per cent and the developing countries for the remaining 20 per cent.

In absolute and even more in per capita terms, the disparities are obvious. If the industrialized countries would reduce their military expenditures by a mere 10 per cent, there would be an extra \$80 billion which could be channelled to the economic development of less favoured countries and regions. The United Nations could examine a creative and constructive way of spurring a disarmament race among countries which have the highest military expenditures in order to reallocate much-needed extra funds to the revitalization of international cooperation for development.

There are also interesting and stimulating suggestions concerning the role of preventive diplomacy by the United Nations. Take, for instance, the definition of peace-making contained in a draft resolution on peace-keeping operations on which the Special Political Committee is to take action today:

"... peace-making activities of the Secretary-General, which are his good offices, mediation, conciliation and other diplomatic efforts, conducted with due respect for the sovereignty of Member States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, constitute an essential function of the United Nations, and are among the important means for the prevention, containment and resolution of disputes and for maintaining international peace and security." (A/SPC/46/L.9, fifth paragraph of the preamble)

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

That is an apt **description** of the effective role of the **Secretary-General** in his multifaceted mandates fulfilled with the full **backing** of the membership of the United Nations.

As to the performance of peace-making and preventive diplomacy activities by other bodies, such as the Security Council or the general Assembly, the matter should be subject to ample and thorough discussion by the membership of the United Nations with a view to examining their parameters, effectiveness and cost.

In fact, preventive diplomacy is exactly what the purposes and principles of the United Nations as contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter are all about. In order to address the multifaceted aspects of international peace and security, the strengthening of international economic cooperation is a relevant modality of preventive diplomacy. Agile channelling of resources needed by developing countries to address their urgent developmental necessities would be one important way of preventing crises and conflicts from erupting. This would also amount to a much more economical and efficient option than large-scale, expensive and politically sensitive peace-keeping operations,

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has retained its validity and timeliness 21 years after its adoption. That reflects, on the one hand, the foresight of those who drafted it, but also, on the other hand, what laggards we have been in implementing its recommendations.

For one thing, the economic gap between developed and developing countries - which is closely and essentially correlated with the strengthening of the security of all nations and the establishment of lasting international

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

peace, **as** emphatically reiterated in the Declaration - has been neither eliminated *nor* reduced, but has rather increased in **most cases**.

Universal respect for and full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the elimination of the violations **of** those rights - which are also urgent and essential to the strengthening of international **security**, as, again, solemnly reaffirmed in the Declaration - have been achieved only selectively. While **welcoming**, the encouraging progress achieved in recent times in many regions **of** the globe, we must still strive to achieve this **in** its entirety, in the political, economic and social spheres and at the individual and collective levels. In that regard, it is fundamental that *democracy and the rule of law* be firmly upheld and respected by all countries.

In sum, **there** being a close relationship among the strengthening of international security, disarmament **and** development, **as** affirmed in the Declaration, progress **towards** any one *of those* objectives must be translated into concurrent progress towards the others. **As** we can see, continuous efforts are still needed **for** the realisation of the noble and urgent priorities set **forth** more than two decades ago.

In his address **at** the opening of the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the President of **Brazil**, Fernando Collor, stressed that we face the challenge **of** reshaping the world and of building a peace that will not be the offspring **of** the constant threat **of** war. **He** further pointed out that the political task **of** peace-building does not take place in a **vacuum**, as it should take into **account** multifarious dimensions.

Brazil firmly believes that democracy, development and disarmament should constitute the foundation **a** sustaining the **new** structure of peace, Promoting

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

them should be considered, not as a matter of selective preferences for a country or group of countries, but rather as a political, economic and ethical imperative for the international community as a whole.

As ideological and strategic confrontation recedes and as democratic values gain the upper hand internationally, it should now be possible to strengthen international peace and security through cooperative action and shared values.

The United Nations and this Committee now have a unique opportunity to lead the world into a new phase of international relations, and we must not miss that opportunity, for the sake of succeeding generations.

Mr. HIENSCH (Netherlands) : I have the honour to make a **statement** on behalf **of** the European Community and its 12 member States concerning international security - agenda items 67 and 66.

The subject of our deliberations today concerns the very heart and the main purpose of the United Nations: the maintenance **of** international peace and security.

The European Community and its member States believe that peace and security can be achieved only through full observance of the principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in other relevant international obligations under international law. They wish to recall the primary responsibility **of** the Security Council **for** the maintenance **of** peace and security as well as the obligation of all Member States of the United Nations to implement its resolutions.

The European Community and its member States are convinced that ultimately there can be no alternative to **dialogue**, negotiations and peaceful solutions when dealing with international problems and conflicts. This does not imply, however, that when international law has been transgressed, and the transgressor fails to respect the norms of international law, other options cannot be considered or applied. The resolute approach of the Security Council during the Gulf crisis has shown that the Council constitutes an essential instrument to assert and restore international peace and security once it has been violated. The moral and political authority the Organisation has gained should be built upon in order further to enhance the Council's effectiveness.

The improved **international** climate enables the Security Council to exercise its full responsibilities under the Charter. This has been

(Mr. Hienach, Netherlands)

demonstrated not only by the Council's response during the gulf crisis, but also by its role in the solution of other regional conflicts, through, inter alia, the increasing deployment of peace-keeping operations. The European Community and its member States welcome this development and call upon all Member States of the United Nations to combine their efforts to reinforce the positive development we have witnessed over the last year.

One of the main opportunities provided by the increased political efficacy of the Security Council and its ability to act in concert lies in the area of the peaceful settlement of disputes. The options the Council has at its disposal - for instance, the dispatch of fact-finding missions - are differentiated enough to respond to the different threats to international peace and security.

The increasingly important role of the Security Council also provides new opportunities for the Secretary-General in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The European Community and its member States take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the patient and persistent ways in which the Secretary-general, with the untiring support of his staff, has successfully taken initiatives to find peaceful solutions in the past, and the ways in which he continues to promote peaceful solutions to existing international problems as well as to prevent the emergence of new conflicts.

The maintenance and enhancement of international security depends on responsible behaviour in relations between States. Such behaviour should take account of the provisions contained in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, prohibiting the threat or the use of force, as well as other, wider considerations. However, the responsible conduct of international affairs by

(Mr. Hiensch, Netherlands)

States aimed at the maintenance of international and national security requires more than just refraining from aggression.

The European Community and its member States are therefore pleased to note that in the wake of events in recent years international relations can increasingly be characterized by a sense of common values and shared responsibilities. This development is to be welcomed, as the world is becoming more and more interdependent, not least when it comes to security. New prospects for international cooperation should therefore be realized for the benefit of all.

Although many regional conflicts have been resolved during the last year, some remaining conflicts and other, newly emerging conflicts pose a threat to international peace and security. In this world, in which the community of nations is interdependent, these problems place a heavy burden on all. Dialogue and cooperation are the best answers to security problems at both the global and regional levels. The European Community and its member States trust that serious efforts to that end will be made at every regional level, making use of the experience of others in this regard, for the Twelve consider security also to be a matter of regional concern, as recognized by Chapter VIII of the Charter.

In the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe the 38 European and North American member States have developed norms of behaviour which, while based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, clearly go beyond them in scope and commitment. The Charter of Paris, concluded by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) summit of November 1990, spells out the new democratic consensus in Europe, declaring,

(Mr. Hiensch, Netherlands)


inter alia, the observance and full exercise of human rights and the foundation of freedom, justice and peace, as well as economic liberty, social justice and environmental responsibility, to be indispensable for prosperity.

Strengthening not only the **norms** but also the mechanism for crisis management of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a priority of the European Community and **its** member States. The use that has been made of the emergency mechanism of CSCE in Europe since the start of the crisis in Yugoslavia further highlights the importance of regional arrangements dealing with, inter alia, security issues.

The assertion of national interests should not detract from the concept of security based on cooperation and shared values. The CSCE approach to security indicates that security in itself is a concept that has various dimensions, not limited to its military aspects. Respect for human rights and the need for economic and social development are also important dimensions if security is to last and have true meaning. The advance of human rights and fundamental freedoms we have witnessed over the last few years cannot but serve to enhance international security. The effective exercise of the protection and promotion of human rights is, in the view of the European Community and its member States, inseparable from the pursuit of international peace and security.

The Twelve welcome in this light the proposals made by the Mediterranean nations to increase cooperation in the region. The European Community and its member States note in this context the proposal for the convening of a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. The Twelve consider it worth while that the countries of the Mediterranean cooperate more

(Mr. Hensch, Netherlands)

closely, on the basis of principles and measures capable of enhancing stability and security,  nsouraging economic and social progress,

States should demonstrate respect for international peace and security by refraining from the threat or the use of force, They should also do this by engaging in measures of arms control, arms reduction and confidence-building.

The European Community and its member States are convinced that the experience of the intensive arms-control negotiations has highlighted the relevance of a regional dimension to security, based on a process of dialogue and negotiations. Although some countries in their respective regions may still find themselves at the beginning of such a process, it is clear that a regional approach to arms control remains as important as ever to achieving regional and even international peace and security.

(Mr. Hiensch, Netherlands)

I would like to conclude by stating that_ it remains essential for the international community to stimulate and deepen current awareness of the common interest in strengthening international peace and security. The member States of the European Communities reaffirm their commitment to this end as well as their **willingness** to cooperate with others in order to explore further ways to strengthen international peace and security.

Mr. ABDUL GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic) :

International security is a question of vital importance for all the States of the world. We must therefore ponder the **new** questions being asked by the international community concerning the future of and developments pertaining to the issue of international security. The importance of such questions stems from the fact that international politics have developed a new pattern of relations between countries following the end of the **cold war** with all its tensions, **contradictions and feverish rivalries between East and West.**

When speaking of international security, one fundamental question must be asked: **what is** the ultimate objective of international security in the new world order that is slowly emerging from the debris of the *cold war*? Does this security aim at achieving permanent stability *and more progress* in improving the quality of life for all the peoples of the world, **or** does it aim merely at dealing *on a* temporary basis **with questions** of world security, and by so doing *makes* it possible for new political **and social explosions to take** place and undermine international security all over again.

Posing the question in such a manner requires **us to think hard** of how we can establish a global security **system** that would avoid idealistic thinking, keep **in** sight the objective realities of international **politics and take into** account **changes** and developments in our contemporary world. We believe that

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrai

the first step in that direction should focus on the search for common denominators capable of producing patterns of cooperation and harmony among States, in the context of a new vision free from the ideological and strategic tunnel-vision of the cold war. The significance of such a step lies in the fact that the end of the cold war does not signal the end of regional crises and threats. As a matter of fact, there are those who believe that the end of the cold war could lead to wide-spread disputes in the absence of the system of crisis management that existed between the United States and the USSR throughout the cold war years.

This is where the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security within the framework of the new world order comes into play, as provided for by Article 1 of the Charter, which states that the purposes of the United Nations are:

"to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

The experiences of the present century have shown that no real international security can be established if it is not maintained on a global scale. The United Nations can play an important role in devising measures that would lead to the establishment of such a system by using its potential in defining and implementing confidence-building measures and agreements relating thereto, by encouraging Member States to engage in negotiations on the foundations of the new international security system, and by creating the appropriate political climate in which the aforementioned agreements and international commitments can be concluded and reaffirmed.

(Mr. Abdul Chaffar, Bahrain)

Social, economic and political **factors** have **become** an integral part of the new concept of international **security**. Therefore, there is great need for constructive dialogue and positive cooperation **between** the States **of** the world in order to establish new security systems to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. There is no doubt that, as a result **of** the positive political developments in international relations and the current state of detente, this decade is the right time to carry out **a serious review of the entire** situation relating to international peace and security.

There is evidence of a **growing** awareness within the United Nations of **the** need to rethink the questions of security in the light of collective human interests and values that call for a cooperative approach to the solution of the international, regional, social, economic and political problems, as provided for in the **Charter**. **A** collective effort is therefore needed to establish a **new** international security system that would enable peoples **and** nations to ensure their rights, protect their interests and **reaffirm** their identities through cooperation rather than conflict, **rivalry** or an **arms** race with others.

The future of this planet depends on the **establishment** of a global, non-discriminatory and effective international security **system** that **would** encompass all States on the basis **of** cooperation and dialogue. In this regard, the international community is called upon now more than ever before to contribute to the establishment **of** this **system** through the adoption of effective collective measures against any breach of peace and security, the resolution **of** crises and conflicts, the halting **of** the **arms** race, and the encouragement of international dialogue and concerted efforts in this respect.

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

We hope that cooperation and dialogue between States will enhance the new international security system. We also hope that the United Nations will play a positive and constructive role in the establishment of that system, drawing upon its rich experience in that field.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to remind members that the list of speakers for general debate on international security agenda items will be closed today at 6 p.m. Furthermore, I would like to remind representatives that the deadline for submitting any draft resolutions concerning items 67 and 68 is Monday, 25 November, at 6 p.m.

I therefore kindly ask those delegations wishing to address this Committee to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.