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**Wednesday, 17 October 1984**  
**at 3 p.m.**  
**New York**

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**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. GOERNER (German Democratic Republic)**

**later: Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)**

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**AGENDA ITEM 123: DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES (continued)**

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 123: DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES (continued)

(A/38/440; A/39/56-S/16231, A/39/59-S/16241, A/39/60-S/16242, A/39/71-S/16262, A/39/95-S/16304, A/39/110, A/39/122, A/39/126-S/16394, A/39/134-S/16418, A/39/153, A/39/158-S/16445, A/39/159-S/16451, A/39/163-S/16460, A/39/169-S/16466, A/39/176, A/39/179-S/16477, A/39/187-S/16489, A/39/190, A/39/203-S/16496, A/39/205, A/39/213-S/16506, A/39/220, A/39/226-S/16522, A/39/258-S/16563, A/39/268-S/16577, A/39/274-S/16581, A/39/288-S/16603, A/39/306, A/39/309, A/39/313, A/39/317, A/39/318-S/16637, A/39/320-S/16641, A/39/334-S/16653, A/39/337-S/16655, A/39/367-S/16684, A/39/396-S/16697, A/39/413-S/16707, A/39/426-S/16712, A/39/431-S/16719, A/39/448-S/16723, A/39/451-S/16727, A/39/469-S/16733, A/39/473-S/16734, A/39/475-S/16736, A/39/495-S/16742, A/39/502-S/16747, A/39/524-S/16757, A/39/540-S/16761, A/39/552-S/16769, A/39/561-S/16774)

1. Mr. BOUNCHHAT (Democratic Kampuchea) said that the question of good-neighbourliness was of decisive importance for international peace and security. It was essential to define the exact content of that concept in order to determine the conduct that it imposed upon States. There were still many States which ignored the principle. His country, like Afghanistan, was unfortunately the victim of an extreme lack of good-neighbourliness. There were useful lessons to be drawn from the Kampuchean experience.

2. Viet Nam had gradually whittled away portions of the territory of his country and continued to covet the remainder. In late 1978 and early 1979, it had invaded his country and had installed a puppet régime. Currently, there were 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers in his country, despite the repeated appeals of the international community for their total withdrawal. Viet Nam justified its use of force by invoking an alleged Chinese threat to its security. That argument was untenable since, first, there was no principle of international law that authorized a State to invade its neighbour because of an alleged dispute with a third State, and, secondly, Democratic Kampuchea had repeatedly affirmed its neutrality and non-alignment.

3. In fact, the Vietnamese armed forces were in his country simply to annex it. The statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam that most Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Democratic Kampuchea within 5 to 10 years was pure propaganda. There were 700,000 Vietnamese settlers in Kampuchea to complete the Vietnamization of the country. The occupying authorities had taken direct control of the administration of the country at all levels. Children were being forced to learn Vietnamese, history books were being rewritten to glorify Viet Nam, and mixed marriages were being fostered on a massive scale so that, for future generations, the Kampuchean race would be cast totally in the Vietnamese mould. The Vietnamese settlers were exploiting the wealth of the country and dividing up its best land. Imprisonment, torture and ill-treatment were employed on a wide scale to drive out the people of Kampuchea and to make room for the intruders.

(Mr. Bounchhat, Democratic  
Kampuchea)

4. The people of Kampuchea, however, wished to live in peace and harmony with all its neighbours. His Government had appealed to Viet Nam to forsake its expansionist and hegemonist ambitions and implement a policy of friendship, harmony and co-operation between the two countries. Indeed, in January 1984, his Government had expressed its readiness to sign a treaty of peace and non-aggression with Viet Nam as soon as Viet Nam had withdrawn all its troops from Kampuchea. Good-neighbourliness required good will on all sides. His country had shown that good will, and it was for Viet Nam to do likewise.

5. For Kampuchea, the question of good-neighbourliness was, above all, a matter of survival. A future instrument aimed at clarifying the notion of good-neighbourliness must condemn unambiguously armed intervention in, and the military occupation of, a neighbouring State, whatever the pretext.

6. The Romanian working paper (A/38/440) was a useful basis for future work on the subject. He particularly welcomed the provisions of section II on the general legal content of good-neighbourliness. However, no instrument on the subject should overlook the need to protect weak States against strong States or the question of arrangements to guarantee that protection. Nor should it fail to affirm clearly that the international community would not recognize a fait accompli resulting from aggression against a neighbouring State. In particular, it should stipulate that no agreement with a Government that was not representative of a State could govern the future of neighbourly relations between States. The instrument should place the presumption of guilt on the State that was militarily more powerful, in the event of armed conflict with a far weaker neighbour. Finally, it should include a provision on ways in which all States Members of the United Nations could exert pressure at all levels on a State guilty of prolonged military occupation of the territory of a neighbouring State.

7. Mr. CASSIE CHETTY (Sri Lanka) said that, with the growing interdependence of States, there was widespread recognition of the urgent need to promote good-neighbourly relations, which were generally accepted as a prerequisite for safeguarding world peace. Since 1945, the Charter principles relating to the promotion of friendly relations based on respect for equal rights and self-determination, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, had been further developed in a number of international instruments. The Romanian working paper (A/38/440) was a valuable contribution in that area.

8. The principles underlying the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries were of fundamental importance for the conduct of international relations, as could be seen from the speed with which the ranks of the Movement had been swollen by States seeking to follow their own path to development, free from outside interference.

9. Good-neighbourly relations were particularly relevant at the regional and subregional levels. Such factors as geographical proximity and the existence of traditional historical and cultural ties represented sound bases for developing the spirit of good-neighbourliness. The strengthening of such ties depended, of course, on the necessary political will. States could help promote relations with

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(Mr. Cassie Chetty, Sri Lanka)

their neighbours in accordance with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. Exchanges of information on problems of mutual concern among neighbours would also be useful.

10. One of his country's particular contributions towards the development of friendly relations, the reduction of international tension and the enhancement of the climate of security was its efforts to bring about the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Currently, the States of the region, the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Ocean were engaged in a co-operative endeavour with a view to convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo in 1985. That Conference would devise the structure to enable States to co-operate in making the zone of peace a reality.

11. Seven South Asian States were engaged in an exercise designed to promote regional co-operation by exchanging information, expertise and assistance in specific fields. Such co-operation had arisen out of the unanimous conviction that it was both desirable and feasible and would benefit all the participating States, despite the differences in human and physical resources and technological capabilities within the region. It was in line with the spirit of the Charter and neither threatened nor was aimed against any State or group of States.

12. Sri Lanka was doing its utmost to help develop and strengthen good-neighbourly relations and was ready to join with other States in promoting that objective.

13. Mr. CICANOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that his country was convinced that neighbouring countries should maintain relations of peace and co-operation based on respect for the Charter. Good relations between neighbours also offered an opportunity to achieve better understanding among States in general, which could help improve the overall international situation. Therefore, Yugoslavia had, from the outset, supported the Romanian initiative on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness.

14. He regretted that friendly and good-neighbourly relations between States were threatened in many regions of the world, there being numerous examples of armed intervention, wars, interference in internal affairs, the threat or use of force and other acts against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. All such acts violated the basic principles of the Charter, particularly that of inter-State co-operation, on which the entire system of international relations was based. Such co-operation necessarily implied respect for the sovereign equality and independence of States and a commitment to international peace and security. It was only on the basis of co-operation that stable relations could be developed between neighbouring States and international relations made more democratic.

15. Good-neighbourliness was the basis of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. His country supported initiatives aimed at strengthening co-operation in the Balkans. It also espoused a policy of non-alignment, through which good-neighbourly relations had acquired a new dimension. Its policy of non-alignment was reflected in efforts to transform existing relations in the world and to create conditions in which all countries would have peace, security and development.

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(Mr. Cicanovic, Yugoslavia)

16. In the elaboration of the legal principles of good-neighbourly relations, it was necessary to consider both relations between States where there already existed a high degree of regional institutionalization and developing relations between newly created States. It was only such an analytical study that would permit general conclusions as to the direction of future work on the subject. Such a study would be of great importance in rectifying situations in which good-neighbourly relations had been disturbed.

17. National minorities were of particular significance in the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness. Minorities should be given full equality within a State, and their national identity, cultural traditions, language and customs should be preserved and developed.

18. His delegation was ready to co-operate with all others in finding an acceptable approach to future work on the complex question of good-neighbourliness.

19. Mr. ZHULATI (Albania) said that there was a legitimate concern that the principle of good-neighbourliness was not being properly observed. Lip-service to the principle was not enough; States had to make it a reality of their foreign policy. Good-neighbourliness had a direct bearing on international peace and security, for local and regional conflicts could easily assume global proportions.

20. The main reason for the deterioration of the present international situation was the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of, and the rivalry between, American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. Both super-Powers, by fomenting strife, posed obstacles to good-neighbourliness. Therefore, it was important for neighbouring countries to develop constructive relations so as to counteract the ambitions of the super-Powers and other imperialist countries.

21. Good-neighbourliness was incompatible with the policy of interference and intervention, the use of force and diktat. Neighbouring States, like other States, should respect the principles and norms governing relations among sovereign States. They should not interfere in the internal affairs of other States, should respect their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and should co-operate on the basis of mutual interest and benefit.

22. As a Balkan country, Albania attached priority to the development and strengthening of neighbourly relations with the countries of the region. It resolutely opposed the hostile policy and intrigues of the super-Powers, aimed at reviving old feuds and creating fresh differences, thus undermining good-neighbourly relations and friendship among the Balkan peoples. Albania had proved that it was a factor of peace and stability in the area.

23. Albania did not belong to any bloc or political-military grouping. Its Constitution prohibited the maintenance of foreign military bases or the stationing of foreign troops in its territory. It had declared solemnly that no harm would be caused to neighbouring countries from its territory. Thus, it made a concrete contribution to the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness, as could

(Mr. Zhulati, Albania)

also be seen from the positive trend in its relations with Turkey, Italy and Greece. It would continue to spare no effort to live in friendship and harmony with its neighbours in order to help its own people work peacefully for the building of socialism and to promote peace and security in the Balkans and the world at large.

24. Mrs. PINTO DE CASAP (Bolivia) said that consideration of the concept of good-neighbourliness was particularly important in the current state of world tension and conflict. The concept should apply to all States, not merely to geographical neighbours, since in a world of highly-developed communications and long-range nuclear weapons, no country could be considered remote.

25. Good-neighbourliness was incompatible with the exertion of political or economic pressure or the maintenance of historical injustices. The principle of good-neighbourliness, which was closely linked to the implementation of the Charter and to procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, should encourage States to overcome their differences and develop relations based on justice.

26. The Sixth Committee should take the necessary steps to incorporate the legal concept of good-neighbourliness within the principles and norms of international law. The Romanian working paper (A/38/440) afforded a sound basis for clarifying the concept and formulating the outline of an international declaration on good-neighbourliness.

27. Bolivia maintained good relations with its five immediate neighbours and with other countries of the region. It strongly supported regional integration initiatives and participated actively in efforts to give effect to the concept of good-neighbourliness in Latin America. It remained convinced that the promotion of peace was the main objective of the United Nations and that there could be no peace unless States developed policies of good-neighbourliness.

28. Mr. OKELLO (Uganda) said that States had an obligation under the Charter to respect the sovereignty of other States and to live together as good neighbours. Good-neighbourliness was a prerequisite for peace and was a corner-stone of his country's foreign policy. Uganda's cordial relations with all its neighbours were characterized by the political will to take positive action.

29. There could be no good-neighbourliness with the perpetrators of apartheid, which the international community had declared to be a crime against humanity. South Africa was now involved in an exercise of fraudulent diplomacy whose aim was to disarm the front-line States as they struggled to free the people of southern Africa from the yoke of racism. Those States were now powerful symbols of human dignity and freedom, instead of the buffer-zone South Africa had believed them to be. Uganda reaffirmed its solidarity with them and totally rejected South Africa's so-called constitutional reforms as mere cosmetic propaganda.

30. His delegation was in favour of further action to conclude a normative document on the subject of good-neighbourliness.

31. Mr. KABAYABAYA (Burundi) said Burundi attached great importance to its relations with its neighbours and based its foreign policy on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness. It believed that the definition of the content of the concept of good-neighbourliness and its practical implementation were of crucial importance and that genuine mechanisms for the maintenance of peace were essential in a world of conflicting interests.

32. The consideration of the question of good-neighbourliness was highly appropriate at a time when the international situation was particularly troubled. Disputes between neighbouring States were on the increase, often resulting in armed confrontation. The implementation in good faith of the principles and norms of international law should serve to prevent such disputes. Good-neighbourliness implied the development of political, economic and cultural relations and co-operation, and a genuine effort towards mutual understanding. It should not be restricted to contiguous States and should involve active co-operation rather than a mere absence of hostilities. Burundi, for its part, maintained excellent relations with all its neighbours and with other African countries, both on an individual basis and in the context of regional and subregional organizations.

33. The development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness were essential to the maintenance of international peace and security, and required the co-operation of the entire international community.

34. Mr. MATHANJUKI (Kenya) said that his country was fully committed to the United Nations principles relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations between States. In 1965, it had hosted a conference to promote friendly relations among the newly independent States of Africa, and it adhered to the policy of maintaining and strengthening good-neighbourliness, on the basis of fruitful co-operation, friendly relations and respect for the principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

35. Mutually beneficial co-operation at the local and regional levels could be translated into international principles governing good-neighbourly relations. The experience of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries might be useful with regard to the elaboration of a document on good-neighbourliness. The Movement was based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in internal affairs, and had consistently condemned foreign intervention.

36. In order to provide a concrete framework for the concept of good-neighbourliness, the Committee should re-emphasize some cardinal principles, including the right of all peoples to self-determination and to sovereignty over their natural resources. It should emphasize the right and duty of all States to participate in efforts to prevent conflicts and to eliminate foreign domination, and it should reaffirm the need to establish a new international economic order. Kenya would support the elaboration of a document on good-neighbourliness by a working group of the Committee.

37. Mr. ALHAJ (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that good-neighbourliness was closely linked to a number of concepts relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, the supreme purpose for which the United Nations had been established. There was still a need to define the elements of good-neighbourliness, its general legal content, the areas to which the concept should apply, the ways and means of strengthening it, and the results desired from consideration of the subject. That was necessary in order to make it possible to conclude an appropriate legal instrument which would be binding in nature and which the international community would respect.

38. Good-neighbourliness constituted one aspect of good relations and effective co-operation among members of the international community. The concept was international in scope, and all States should undertake to enhance it by strengthening international peace and security, settling their conflicts by peaceful means and refraining from the use of force in international relations. The basic principles of international law obliged all States to live in peace with their neighbours, and no State was permitted to commit aggression against, or cause harm to, a neighbouring State. The concept of good-neighbourliness was conducive to respect for human dignity and fundamental freedoms, which, in turn reduced tension and conflict by leaving no room for foreign intervention on the pretext of protecting a particular State or safeguarding the human rights of its citizens.

39. The legal content of the concept of good-neighbourliness was derived from the respect shown by the international community for the principles of international law, including the sovereign rights of States, the principle of territorial integrity, the prohibition of the use or threat of force, and the right of peoples to self-determination.

40. Good-neighbourliness obliged contiguous States to solve their problems by peaceful means. In the event of a dispute, it obliged States not to have recourse to countermeasures which would aggravate the dispute, but to strive by all possible means to limit the dispute, expose its causes and eliminate them. His country did not agree with certain States' policy of immediately breaking off diplomatic relations when trivial differences arose in their relations with other States, since such a course could have military consequences which would further aggravate the dispute.

41. In the view of his delegation, the principle of good-neighbourliness extended to all aspects of life, including political, economic and cultural co-operation and co-operation in the field of information. Such co-operation should not be restricted to contiguous States, but should extend to all human society because it transcended narrow geographical concepts.

42. In that connection, developments in one area could have effects in distant areas; the concept of good-neighbourliness should be extended to include not only States with common borders but the entire globe.

43. It was necessary to conclude bilateral and regional agreements to strengthen good-neighbourliness and co-operation in economic matters relating to frontier

(Mr. Alhaj, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

areas. As a prerequisite, there must be a readiness to act, good will and a constructive dialogue, in order to eliminate all problems between neighbours or to settle them by peaceful means. Crises must be controlled, particularly by use of the customary diplomatic means.

44. His delegation hoped that the international community would reach agreement on an appropriate legal instrument, whether a convention, a declaration or a treaty, which would be binding on all States. Since the form of such an instrument had not yet been decided, the Committee should endeavour to elaborate a legal text which would meet with consensus, so that its provisions would be recognized as internationally binding.

45. In that connection, his country was striving assiduously to bring about complete Arab unity, which would in turn lead to the strengthening of the principle of good-neighbourliness. It had never ceased to call for such unity and had entered into a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements with a view to bringing it about. Those attempts clearly indicated that his country not only strove to achieve the goals of good-neighbourliness, but went even further. Arab unity was necessary in order to enable the Arabs to progress in all areas of life and to overcome their enemies, namely colonialism, imperialism, zionism and all other forms of fascism.

46. His country was doing its utmost to strengthen its relations with its Arab and African brothers as reflected in its recent Treaty with Morocco (A/C.6/39/4, annex). That Treaty was designed to promote the political, economic, social and cultural integration of the two countries and those which they hoped would become parties to it.

47. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya called upon all Arab and African States, to join the Arab-African Union established under the Treaty. The Union was not a political axis directed against certain parties, but a practical step towards the development of good-neighbourliness between States.

48. His delegation welcomed the agreement concluded between Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania, and considered it a step towards the unity of the Maghreb, which would in turn lead to overall Arab unity.

49. Mr. KONTOU (Chad) said that the introduction by Romania of the item on good-neighbourliness was an encouragement for a country like Chad which had a history of difficult relations with one of its neighbours. The Romanian working paper (A/38/440) and the documents containing the views of other Governments were a useful basis for the Committee's work.

50. Good-neighbourliness was an essential element in relations between States, and codification in that area would fill a legal gap. Good-neighbourliness should be based on strict respect for the principles of international law, including the principle of territorial integrity. Good-neighbourliness was closely linked to the question of frontiers. All States must respect the principle of the inviolability of existing frontiers.



(Mr. Kontou, Chad)

51. Chad had always sought peace in its relations with its neighbours. It had always tried to solve problems through negotiation. In that spirit, a territorial dispute with a western neighbour had been settled in 1983 by direct negotiation.

52. With regard to the conflict with its northern neighbour, Chad hoped for a peaceful solution based on respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Chad wished to live in peace and on good terms with all its neighbours, in order to be able to devote all its energies to reconstruction and development after being devastated by two decades of war.

53. Mr. SAMORY (Congo) said that his country's foreign policy, as defined in article 37 of its Constitution, was based on the principles of national independence, peace, non-alignment, solidarity, friendship and co-operation with all peoples committed to peace and justice, principles which were consistent with those embodied in the Charter and which had been reiterated by the Congolese Minister for Foreign Affairs during the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly.

54. Good-neighbourliness was the local expression of peaceful coexistence, which guided his Government in its relations with neighbouring countries. Accordingly, his Government refrained from joining any military alliance and refused to allow any foreign country to establish military bases or to station military personnel in its territory for the purpose of carrying out acts of aggression against other countries. However, his country supported the just struggle of national liberation movements against racism, colonialism and apartheid and for independence.

55. In central Africa, the Congo was seeking to establish a climate of peace and mutual understanding. In recent years, the long-standing ties which united its people with kindred neighbouring peoples had been strengthened, in particular, through bilateral economic, scientific and technical co-operation.

56. At the regional level, his country hosted a number of economic and technical institutions and was a co-founder of the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa, which was celebrating its twentieth anniversary in 1984 at Brazzaville. In that connection, he welcomed Equatorial Guinea's entry into the Union and would likewise welcome that of any other State which desired to become a member.

57. In accordance with its policy of peace and good-neighbourliness, his Government was seeking to restore peace in Chad, as was reflected in the convening at Brazzaville of a conference bringing together all the parties to the conflict in the hope of reaching a peaceful settlement.

58. In conclusion, his delegation supported the elaboration of an international legal instrument to clarify the principle of good-neighbourliness, particularly in view of the current world situation.

59. Mr. EL ARABY (Egypt) said that good-neighbourliness should be strengthened on a daily basis in view of the current world conflicts. Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter defined the general framework for good-neighbourliness and included the obligation to develop friendly relations. In that context, the United Nations had developed several important principles governing international relations which were contained, inter alia, in declarations adopted by the General Assembly.

60. Egypt believed in the importance of coexistence at all levels, irrespective of political systems or of the level of economic and social development. Accordingly, Egypt had participated in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was compatible with the spirit of good-neighbourliness, and in the founding of the League of Arab States, whose objectives included the development of good-neighbourliness among States.

61. The strengthening of good-neighbourliness must take into account the important legal principles embodied in the Charter, particularly those concerning respect for sovereignty, non-interference and the right to self-determination, and special attention must be devoted to the common interests of neighbours.

62. Egypt also supported the development of political relations between neighbours, as a complement to economic and scientific relations, with full respect for the rights and duties of States. In that connection, he drew attention to the integration agreement which Egypt and the Sudan had concluded with a view to strengthening their relations in all fields and expressed the hope that that example would be followed by other countries of the continent.

63. Lastly, his delegation supported the continuation of objective discussion on the item under consideration and suggested that the views of Governments should be sought in order to find specific formulas for the content of good-neighbourliness, which in turn would enhance international co-operation.

64. Mr. ANDRIAMISEZA (Madagascar) observed that although at first sight the concept of good-neighbourliness seemed simple, it was in fact complex. The basic principle was difficult to define precisely, because it was closely interrelated with other principles; furthermore, it was applied in a wide variety of fields. The discussion of good-neighbourliness should focus on identifying its parameters and its essence so as to avoid a general formulation which might be ambiguous and might already exist elsewhere. Despite the complexity of the principle, his delegation was aware of its importance both for world peace and for harmonious national development. Accordingly, Madagascar had become a sponsor of the Romanian proposal contained in document A/38/440.

65. As an island, Madagascar interpreted the word "neighbours" as meaning those countries which bordered on a common sea. Indeed, his country's goal in seeking to create a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean incorporated the idea of strengthening good-neighbourliness among States in general. In particular, Madagascar had concluded a co-operation agreement with other members of the Indian Ocean Commission with a view to developing good-neighbourly relations.

66. Both the will to succeed and joint efforts were needed in the search for an appropriate formulation of good-neighbourliness, which might eventually help to eliminate conflict and to create a favourable climate for development.

67. Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) observed that good-neighbourliness was one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations as well as a basic concept of current international relations. In view of the persistent threats to world peace and security, the United Nations should urgently seek ways of helping to restore détente and peace. The Committee's consideration of the current item with a view to specifying the content, defining the elements and identifying ways of strengthening good-neighbourliness constituted a step in the right direction.

68. The difficult task of elaborating the corresponding norms should be based largely on existing documents, for example on the Charter and on the relevant declarations adopted by the General Assembly. In addition, any instrument designed to develop and strengthen good neighbourliness must take into account the special features of every region and must give careful consideration to circumstances in which the establishment of good-neighbourly relations would be meaningless.

69. For example, the conduct of certain Powers was incompatible with both the spirit and the essence of good-neighbourliness. Good-neighbourly relations could not be envisaged with countries which denied the Palestinian and Namibian peoples their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty or with racist and expansionist countries which violated the elementary rules of international law and totally disregarded the decisions of the United Nations. Indeed, the universality of the Organization should not preclude the possibility of suspending any Member which flouted its principles.

70. He reiterated Tunisia's commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, which it had put into practice at the international, regional and subregional levels. Guided by those principles and by the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, Tunisia enjoyed exemplary relations with all countries committed to peace and justice.

71. In addition to maintaining genuine co-operation and carrying out joint economic, technical and cultural projects with neighbouring States, Tunisia also engaged in multi-faceted co-operation with Mauritania, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Morocco.

72. In the long and difficult task of building the Greater Arab Maghreb, existing conflicts could be overcome and the common objective attained only through dynamic, irreversible co-operation between all the countries of the region.

73. As a Mediterranean country, Tunisia endeavoured consistently, in co-operation with the other Mediterranean countries, to make the region a zone of peace. At the subregional level, the Maghreb countries had interdependent interests and a common future. The building of the Greater Arab Maghreb was a profound aspiration of their peoples and would continue to guide Tunisia's activities at that level. Accordingly, his country had undertaken economic, cultural and technical projects with kindred countries of the region and was engaging in dynamic co-operation with all the countries of the region based on the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference. Only that type of co-operation could constitute a solid foundation for the solidarity of the

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Maghreb. In that context, his country had signed the Treaty of Fraternity and Concord with Algeria and Mauritania with a view to strengthening stability, peace and security in the region and promoting justice and peaceful coexistence throughout the world. The States parties assumed the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force, to settle disputes by peaceful means and not to accede to any military or political agreement directed against another party or to authorize the use of its territory for activities involving the security or territorial integrity of another party. The positive results produced thus far generated optimism with regard to the future.

74. He therefore welcomed the positive trend that was emerging in other parts of the world, as illustrated by the efforts made by the Contadora Group, together with the countries of the region, in connection with the situation in Central America. His delegation was certain that the results of the Committee's work would help all States to recognize the crucial importance of the concept of good-neighbourliness in international relations.

75. Mr. LACLETA (Spain) said that his Government was among those which had transmitted written views and suggestions (A/36/376) in response to the Secretary-General's request. The principle of good-neighbourliness was somewhat vague from a juridical point of view since it applied to a wide variety of situations and relations. It was therefore necessary to define it precisely. As the Spanish Government had said in its written comment, some of the many situations and relations connected with the principle extended beyond mere co-operation in frontier matters, however important those might be. His Government, which endeavoured to strengthen its good-neighbourly relations with neighbouring countries in all fields, wished to emphasize the importance of co-operation in the fight against international terrorism and welcomed the substantial progress recently achieved in that respect. Good-neighbourliness in co-operation to preserve the environment was equally important, as well as in international public works such as land and air communications, joint police and customs points and bridges. That obligation to co-operate in good faith was one of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

76. His delegation was in principle opposed to the establishment of an ad hoc committee or working group, since the Sixth Committee had established so many that it was difficult for many delegations to participate in them all. The idea of entrusting the study and identification of the legal elements to be considered with respect to the good-neighbourliness principle to one of the existing Special Committees, specifically amending its terms of reference, should not be discarded. Once the preliminary work had been done, the establishment of a working group could be reconsidered.

77. Mr. ALMEIDA LIMA (Portugal) said that his Government had supported the Romanian delegation's proposal to include the question of good-neighbourliness in the agenda in 1979 and considered that it should be one of the major concerns of States, since it was the most effective guarantee against threats to international

(Mr. Almeida Lima, Portugal)

peace and security. Neighbourly relations could, however, also lead to conflicts of interest which might become sources of armed confrontation if they were not settled speedily on the basis of justice, equity and respect for the sovereignty of States. His country's long experience in all continents enabled it to make a valid contribution to the consideration and definition of good-neighbourliness. Attempts to define the content of good-neighbourliness should cover all aspects of the life of societies. Good-neighbourly relations should be based on respect for the fundamental principles of international law, particularly respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-recourse to the threat or use of force. It was also necessary for States to respect and render more effective the collective security machinery provided for in the Charter.

78. Good relations between States excluded forms of pressure or discriminatory procedures contrary to the legitimate interests of other States and could be based on co-operation and frank, constructive dialogue. Political will was also indispensable and could be shown in the peaceful settlement of conflicts of interest, co-operation in the exploitation or use of common economic resources, abstention from any unilateral action likely to prejudice the interest of a neighbouring State, environmental protection and complete frankness about military activities, especially those which might be considered a threat to the legitimate interests of another State. The establishment of effective consultation machinery, the negotiation of agreements and the establishment of joint study commissions could also promote good-neighbourliness.

79. The working paper (A/38/440) submitted by the Romanian delegation at the preceding session was an excellent basis for discussion. Discussions in other special committees of the Sixth Committee could also make a valuable contribution to the discussion of the question, especially since it was at a preliminary stage of normative definition. His delegation was in favour of a study leading to codification of the principle, but considered it necessary first of all to assemble the greatest possible number of suggestions and proposals while avoiding premature action which might make it difficult to reach a consensus. It would support any suggestions based on a consensus.

80. Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the Chair.

81. Mr. PAN Weihuang (People's Republic of China) said that it was most timely for the Committee to be discussing good-neighbourliness between States, a factor closely linked to the two vital problems of the contemporary world, namely peace and development. His delegation appreciated and supported the bold initiative of the Romanian delegation in submitting its working paper on the item (A/38/440), which provided a sound basis for drawing up an international convention.

82. The United Nations Charter not only expressed the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, but also laid down principles for achieving those aims. However, the two super-Powers were currently intensifying the arms race, seriously threatening world peace and security, and also - by constantly violating



(Mr. Pan Weihuang, People's  
Republic of China)

the sovereignty of other States, invading their territory and interfering with their internal affairs - violating the purposes and principles of the Charter, thus seriously harming normal friendly inter-State relations. Facts proved that firm opposition to all types of hegemonism was a prerequisite for the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States and the preservation of peace.

83. China had always maintained an independent peaceful foreign policy; 30 years previously, it had worked out with India and Burma the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. China had always acted in accordance with those principles and been willing to develop and strengthen friendly relations with all countries, particularly neighbouring States. It had always been on the side of small countries which had been the victims of aggression, and had supported their just struggle. History had proved that the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence were fundamental to international relations and international law, as well as to the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States. If all States abided by those principles, they could enjoy good-neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation, but if they abandoned them, conflicts would arise even between countries with similar social systems. China attached great importance to good-neighbourly relations, and would exert every effort to promote friendship and good neighbourliness between States in accordance with the Five Principles.

84. China was a developing socialist country, which in the past had suffered bitterly from imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression, and so had a deep appreciation of the value of preserving sovereignty, independence, world peace and friendly relations among nations. The Chinese people were currently engaged in the arduous task of socialist modernization, for which a prolonged period of peaceful international relations, especially between neighbouring States, was essential. China had already established diplomatic relations with 129 States on the basis of the Five Principles, and enjoyed economic and trade relations with over 170 States and regions.

85. Peace and development were the common aspirations of the people of the world, as well as of the Chinese people. Everyone was aware of the importance of strengthening and developing good-neighbourly relations between States at the present time. China was willing to join all peace-loving States in seeking to preserve the purposes and principles of the Charter, to strengthen and develop good-neighbourly relations between States, and to promote world peace and development.

86. Mrs. DIAGO ULACIA (Cuba) said that her Government's views on good-neighbourliness had been sent to the Secretariat on 31 May 1983. The principle of good-neighbourliness was obviously closely connected with those of non-recourse to force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Therefore, the imperialist Powers could not seriously proclaim their agreement with the principle

(Mrs. Diago Ulacia, Cuba)

of good-neighbourliness in theory while in practice brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of other States, exercising destabilizing pressures against independent Governments, establishing military bases in neighbouring and other territories and carrying out armed attacks on certain States.

87. Her delegation did not want to be pessimistic, but considered that while such problems, which were practical violations of the principles of the Charter and of international law persisted, it would be increasingly difficult to establish a climate of good-neighbourliness among States. The role which the United Nations could play in demanding that such aggressive and irresponsible activities should cease and condemning their perpetrators was therefore especially significant. Many delegations fully understood the true magnitude of the danger of war confronting the international community. The Sixth Committee could therefore do useful work in analysing the concept and development of the principle of good-neighbourliness, with particular reference to the questions she had mentioned, as well as respect for the sovereignty and independence of States and the guaranteeing of a climate of security, stability, respect and co-operation towards neighbouring States.

88. Mr. HOQUOQ (Afghanistan) said that the guiding principles of Afghanistan's foreign policy were peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of international peace and security. It had taken practical steps to establish and expand relations of friendship and co-operation with other States on the basis of equality, mutual respect and benefit, regardless of their political, economic and social systems, and attached great importance to developing and strengthening good-neighbourliness with neighbouring countries. Its fraternal relations with the Soviet Union had withstood the test of time and had acquired new impetus after the victory of the April revolution and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation between the two countries in December 1978. The friendship and co-operation between Afghanistan and India were also deeply rooted in their history and were currently being developed.

89. His country had repeatedly proclaimed its desire for friendly relations with its three other neighbours. That policy was reflected in its Government's efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation in South-West Asia resulting from the undeclared war of imperialism against it. The Government's flexible proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981 for establishing peace in the region had regrettably not met with a positive response. However, as the President of the Revolutionary Council had told the representative of the Secretary-General in April 1982, his Government would continue its efforts to reach a comprehensive and lasting solution.

90. In the current international situation, where imperialist forces were pursuing the old colonial policies of divide and rule, the establishment of military bases, using the territories of other countries as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring countries and expanding their so-called zones of vital interest, the simultaneous struggle of all peace-loving peoples of the world for the strengthening of good-neighbourliness was an urgent need. Respect for the principles of the Charter and of international law were important elements in the development of good-neighbourliness between States.

(Mr. Hoquq, Afghanistan)

91. While his country welcomed the timely inclusion of the item in the agenda, it believed that international documents such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the Bandung Conference of Asian and African Nations in 1955 set forth common elements which could serve as guidelines for future efforts to develop and strengthen good neighbourliness.

92. Mr. MAUNA (Indonesia) said that the principle of good-neighbourliness between States had formed the basis of his country's foreign policy as set forth in the 1945 Constitution. It was an essential element in promoting world peace and co-operation between States and was itself based on the principle of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Conscious efforts to promote and strengthen it would help to create a climate of trust, understanding and co-operation within the same geographical region. The principle must, however, be viewed objectively in the historical perspectives of each geographical area. For instance, it would be impossible to consider good-neighbourliness with colonialist and racist countries.

93. In 1955, the Bandung Conference had adopted that principle in its Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation. His delegation considered it appropriate to classify the various elements of the principle, as part of a process of elaboration of a suitable international document.

94. The concept was not simplistic and had a broad link with other aspects of international relations. The political will to promote its realization was especially important at the regional and subregional levels, where the need to implement that policy was keenly felt.

95. Good-neighbourliness was one of the core elements of the policy of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which was imbued with the desire to preserve the way of life and national identity of each of its members on the basis of interlocking interests. The use of the Indonesian communication satellite Palapa by ASEAN members for their domestic communication showed that good-neighbourliness was essential for promoting broad co-operation within the region, maintaining stability and achieving peace, freedom and neutrality for the region.

96. His delegation believed that such an important agenda item should be examined thoroughly, on the basis of views and suggestions submitted by members, including the Indonesian views contained in document A/38/336 and Add.1. It was open-minded with respect to the further elaboration of the principle.

97. Mr. Goerner (German Democratic Republic) resumed the Chair.

98. Mr. OLUKOLU (Nigeria) said that his delegation supported the views expressed by the delegation of Romania. The principle of friendly relations among nations was embodied in Article 1, paragraph 2, and Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter, and to further strengthen those basic provisions, the General Assembly had adopted other resolutions, particularly resolution 2625 (XXV) embodying the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Despite the obligations imposed by those texts, there were still conflict situations, such as those in southern Africa, the Middle East, Central America and South-East Asia, which could have been avoided if all States had adhered to the principle. The unnecessary rivalry between the super-Powers in promoting the superiority of a particular political or ideological myth blurred their vision and prevented them from respecting the principle of good-neighbourliness as embodied in the Charter.

99. Nigeria had supported the principle of good-neighbourliness through bilateral and multilateral treaties with its neighbours. All the economic, social and political agreements which Nigeria had entered into with its neighbours contained a built-in mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes through good-neighbourliness. Nigeria also strove to put the principle of good-neighbourliness into practice as a member of OAU.

100. Member States should comply strictly with the Charter provisions and General Assembly resolutions on good-neighbourliness by not interfering in the internal affairs of other Member States, seeking to settle disputes by peaceful means, avoiding the use or threat of force, renouncing the myth of ideological superiority, recognizing national liberation movements, controlling excessive passion for economic gains and refraining from installing military bases in territories other than their own.

101. His delegation fully supported the working paper on the subject submitted by the delegation of Romania (A/38/440) and hoped that, with additional inputs, it would be universally acceptable.

102. Mr. BAKER (Israel) said that good-neighbourliness, as a general concept, was enshrined in the Preamble to the Charter and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The principle was also mentioned in article I, paragraph 1, of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes. He wished to stress the words "general concept" because as yet, no legal or practical content had emerged by which Member States could conduct their day-to-day activities in the sphere covered by the concept of good-neighbourliness.

103. The Secretary-General's report on the subject (A/37/476) and the working paper submitted by Romania (A/38/440) provided detailed groundwork and ideas from which the Sixth Committee might proceed to a consideration of the subject. However, his delegation wished to sound a note of caution. In the debates in the Committee reference had yet again been made to the wide and general principles of international law guiding peaceful coexistence between States. Those principles

(Mr. Baker, Israel)

were relevant and applicable to every agenda item which sought to elaborate on and interpret provisions of the Charter, and, they also applied in referring to good-neighbourliness as a general concept. The Committee's task was not to repeat those principles once again in another form, the nature of which was as yet unclear. The principles existed and, inasmuch as they were part of international treaties, were governed by such maxims as pacta sunt servanda. Their continued repetition in additional documents would serve to weaken their effect. His delegation therefore considered the principle of good-neighbourliness as an application of those wider principles requiring consideration in a more practical, functional and pragmatic manner, by extracting from the material already before the Committee, and identifying, the practical components of good-neighbourliness stricto sensu.

104. When two States were geographically contiguous, specific factual requirements arose, irrespective of differences in political ideology between them. That was true regardless of different regional affiliations and political allegiances and even in situations of outright conflict. They might share a water course; they shared the air, the climate and atmospheric conditions around them, and the ground and the hidden resources below them. All those factors dictated an overriding necessity to deal functionally with specific situations - economic, agricultural, hydrological, medical, ecological and scientific. They also provided a unique opportunity for the mutual solution of problems and, thence, the avoidance or reduction of political tensions and conflicts of a wider nature.

105. The basic elements of good-neighbourliness were lifted in paragraphs 36 to 45 of document A/37/46 and sections III, IV and V of the Romanian working paper (A/38/440). To this criteria his delegation would add provisions, directed to neighbouring States as well as to contracting authorities of third countries, for dealing with sewage facilities in order to ensure adequate methods of planning, operation and supervision so as to prevent air and water pollution with their effects on public health, tourism and other economic and social interests. Procedures for equitable utilization of water resources in border areas were also essential components of any set of criteria governing good-neighbourliness.

106. His delegation shared the view expressed by several delegations concerning the need to avoid duplication of work currently being carried under other agenda items, in other Main Committees and in other bodies. Accordingly, on the question of methodology, it joined the call for a careful examination of the subject in order to clarify those elements which were appropriate and sufficiently mature to be handled by the Committee.

107. His delegation supported the view of the French Government that an inventory of specific legal and practical problems posed by geographical proximity, of the solutions devised for such problems and of the specific opportunities for co-operation between States and peoples created by geographical proximity should be made and should be supplemented (or preceded) by an exhaustive study of the treaties and agreements which owed their very existence to good-neighbourly relations. The experience gained by Italy and Yugoslavia under the agreements governing the neighbourly relations between those countries, would also prove useful to the Committee.



(Mr. Baker, Israel)

108. His delegation had not decided whether the principles of good-neighbourliness should be embodied in a global convention, a General Assembly declaration or a third party mechanism whereby neighbouring States might implement practical guidelines for good-neighbourliness without prejudice to any political posture or potential problem of opposability. His delegation hoped that discussion of the item would serve to promote the harmony and good-neighbourly relations between States advocated by the Charter.

109. Mr. ALI (Democratic Yemen) said that the principle of good-neighbourliness was mentioned in the Preamble to the Charter. Unfortunately, however, some countries resorted to violence in trying to solve disputes with their neighbours, even though such disputes were the result of colonialism and foreign intervention. Since attaining independence his country had reaffirmed the importance of the principle of good-neighbourliness. In accordance with its Constitution, Democratic Yemen pursued its relations with other countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect and the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen had made that clear in his statement to the General Assembly at its current session.

110. In the opinion of his delegation, the working paper submitted by the Romanian delegation provided a sound basis for the formulation of criteria to govern inter-State relations. In those relations States should be guided by the principles of mutual respect, non-intervention in the affairs of another State, the right of peoples to self-determination and the right of peoples to struggle to retain their land and freedom.

111. Mr. NOMAN (Yemen) said that there was a close connection between the practice of good-neighbourliness and the maintenance of world peace. There was no doubt that many of the problems afflicting the world were attributable to lack of good-neighbourliness. His delegation was convinced that world peace was possible only if all countries respected the rights of their neighbours. The working paper submitted by the Romanian delegation could provide the basis on which the Sixth Committee could draft a document at the appropriate time. It appeared from the statements of other delegations that there was growing feeling that a document should be prepared.

112. His delegation wished to renew its country's commitment to the Charter and to the principles underlying the Non-Aligned Movement. His country, which was part of the Arab world, based its conduct on good-neighbourliness. The practice of good-neighbourliness could not, however, deprive his country of its sovereign right of self-defence against the use or threat of force against its independence and territorial integrity and against interference in its domestic affairs. Good-neighbourliness pre-supposed that coercive measures should not be used against a State and that a State would not be prevented from exercising its sovereign rights in its own territory. It also pre-supposed that disputes would be resolved by means of just and balanced dialogue. Currently the language of force prevailed in relations between States, particularly in relations between the major Powers and the small Powers. His delegation urged all countries to use the language of reason and logic in their attempts to solve problems. It also hoped that the major Powers would assume their responsibilities under the Charter and thus preserve the world from war.

113. Mr. ABDEL-RAHMAN (Sudan) said the fact that the principles of good-neighbourliness were not expressly codified in the Charter in no way diminished their importance. Given the necessary political will, it should be possible for States to practise tolerance and live together in peace as good neighbours. Unfortunately, the failure of States to give effect to the principle of good-neighbourliness had resulted in many conflicts.

114. His country had always attached great importance to fostering good relations with its neighbours. Its practice of the principles of good-neighbourliness had not been confined to the avoidance of possible conflict but had extended to the solution of various other problems. Aware of its commitments under the Charter of the United Nations and as a member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement, the Sudan had endeavoured to foster political and economic co-operation with its Arab and African neighbours. The integration charter governing relations between the Sudan and Egypt represented a step towards wider co-operation between the Arab and African countries. The Sudan also co-operated in common development efforts with the Central African Republic, Egypt, Uganda and Zaire.

115. Africa was not only afflicted by drought and desertification. Parts of the continent were ravaged by military hostilities and foreign intervention, with the result that many men, women and children had sought refuge in the Sudan. Despite the tremendous pressures exerted on its economy, food supply and security by the influx of over 1 million refugees, his country had never closed its door to them. It had granted them refuge in accordance with international law and was doing its best to alleviate their plight in the spirit of the brotherhood of man and in keeping with its support of the principle of good-neighbourliness.

116. His delegation fully supported the Romanian working paper (A/38/440). With the advent to statehood of many countries after the Second World War, the pattern of international politics had changed and the importance of interdependence had become clear. The idea of good-neighbourliness must therefore be dealt with in all its aspects. The views of all Governments and international organizations which had not yet commented on the question should be sought. The Secretariat should be entrusted with the task of compiling a list of all multilateral and bilateral agreements dealing with the question. In that way, there would be sufficient material for any body established by the General Assembly to examine all the elements of the principle of good-neighbourliness, with a view to embodying them in a binding international instrument.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.