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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

## AGENDA ITEMS 67, 68, 69 AND 143

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

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the first speaker for this morning, I should like to remind the Committee that, in accordance with the decision taken at a previous meeting, after we have heard the speakers on this item we shall proceed to take action on draft resolutions A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 and A/C.1/39/L.45. The only speaker inscribed on my list is the Ambassador of Cyprus.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I understand there is no one else inscribed to speak on international security so there seems to be no interest at all in the subject in the United Nations. This is a subject that must be inquired into, particularly since we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Is the United Nations not interested in international security? The Charter, from its preamble and throughout, is nothing else but the maintenance of international peace and security. There is hardly any mention of disarmament other than as part and parcel of international security. Yet, international security is the only subject in which there is little interest. We see there has been little concern, if any, on international security, whereas there has been so much effort devoted to disarmament. What is the reason? I shall state the reason in simple terms.

The reason is that international security is a positive concept. Disarmament is a negative concept; it means throwing away arms. Therefore, one can pretend to have conferences on disarmament; it does not show that nothing in effect is being done, because nothing positive is expected from it. But if one proceeds on international security and one is in earnest to have international security, it will clearly appear that there is no international security in the world.

On the eve of the fortieth anniversary we must enter into this matter of international security. The opportunity given by the avoidance by other members to speak on this subject, is a capital one for entering into this subject.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

The Charter provides for a system of international security as appears beginning in the Preamble, which does not refer at all to disarmament; it says:

"to save succeeding generations from the source of war ...

"and for these ends ...

"to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security ..."

That is not disarmament; that is international security through military means. Therefore, Article 43 of the Charter must be applied, as well as Articles 41 and 42. None of those has been set into motion, because Article 43, from the very start of the United Nations, has been ignored and bypassed.

We now have the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in resolution 2734 (XXV), adopted in 1970, which is part of the discussion under this item today. What does that Declaration say? It:

"Urges Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the exclusive peaceful settlement of any dispute ...";

and to that end:

"Recognizes the need for effective, dynamic and flexible measures, in accordance with the Charter, to prevent and remove threats to the peace, suppress acts of aggression ...";

and then, in paragraph 9:

"Recommends that the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter."

Therefore we already have the said Declaration, which was adopted by near unanimity: practically everyone voted for it, no one abstained in the vote and only one against. I am not sure, but I believe it was South Africa. However, it was not one of the major Powers which did so. The five major Powers and the totality of the membership voted for that resolution. Now in 1984, that is to say almost 15 years later, nothing is being done for its implementation.

Whereas there has been so much effort for disarmament in various forums - again, not real effort but a pretense, because there has been no disarmament at all - disarmament, as I said before, being a negative concept, can cover its negativeness. On the other hand, international security cannot cover the absence of its positiveness. That is why perhaps everyone seems to run away from international security.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

We are now approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Are all the members here satisfied with the progress of the United Nations as it goes along? Are we not in a period of insecurity, anarchy and growing terrorism? Or am I deluded into thinking and saying these things? We see in newspapers that various Governments are thinking of drastic steps to stop terrorism.

(Mr. Rossides, Cyprus)

There are all kinds of terrorism. Terrorism is a result of the absence of order and security in the world, and the United Nations was established in order to bring about order and security. If we bypass the United Nations, and if we deprive the Security Council of the means of giving effect to its resolutions - because it has no possibility at present of giving effect to its decisions - then the United Nations will become a lame duck, to apply the usual denomination, because it cannot give effect to its resolutions.

Therefore what are we doing here, if we ignore the needs of international security? Since we are here, then we must comply with the provisions of the Charter, we must repeat the contents of the resolution of 1970 and say that Article 43 of the Charter must be applied in order to develop the capacity for enforcement action, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Declaration speaks also of the need to have a definition of "aggression". Since then the United Nations has achieved a complete definition of "aggression" in 1974, and I was Chairman of the Committee at that time. We have had that definition, we proceeded towards a code of offences against the peace and security of mankind, all this is there. Why do we not apply Article 43 of the Charter? It is for the Security Council to proceed in accordance with the Charter for the application of Article 43.

I shall not go any further today. I will just say that we must comply with the contents of that Declaration. We must reinforce the strengthening of international security by the very fact that in approaching the fortieth anniversary, we must become more effective.

The CHAIRMAN: I heard the representative of Cyprus saying at the beginning of his intervention that he was the only speaker for this morning's meeting and that this might indicate a certain lack of interest of the First Committee in the problem of security. May I reassure the representative of Cyprus: I interpret that in a different way. I have a long list of speakers on the item for the meetings still to come. I am very happy that this debate has been started by the representative of Cyprus, who is a staunch supporter of this item and of the debate in the First Committee.

AGENDA ITEMS 53 and 59 (continued)GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT  
AGENDA ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: As I said and as decided previously, we shall now take up the two draft resolutions which were not acted upon during the phase of our consideration of agenda items referring to disarmament. The first is draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1. That draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Nigeria at the 44th meeting, on 20 November, and has the following sponsors: Algeria, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Cameroon, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, India, Liberia, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Togo, Tunisia, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

With respect to the programme budget implications of this draft resolution, representatives are referred to document A/C.1/39/L.82.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on the draft resolution.

Mr. LIEBOWITZ (United States of America): My delegation intends to vote against draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 on the draft statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, because of the procedures established for funding the Institute. I would like to clarify our position by a brief review of this issue.

In 1982, the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/99 K on the institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament. In section IV, operative paragraph 3 (d) of that resolution, the Assembly decided that:

"Activities of the Institute shall be funded by voluntary contributions from States and public and private organizations".

In 1983, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) reviewed the draft statute of the Institute and found it vague as to the precise nature of the arrangements for providing financial and other support of the Institute. ACABQ suggested that the problems caused by this vagueness could be resolved by assuming that it was the intention of the General Assembly to fund the Institute solely by voluntary contributions and not from the regular United Nations budget. ACABQ provided suggested revisions to the draft statute to reflect such voluntary funding. The United States supported ACABQ.

(Mr. Liebowitz, United States)

Draft decision 38/447 referred the statute back to the Board of Trustees of the Institute with the request that the Board more clearly define the meaning of the draft statute and submit a report to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Document A/39/549 contains the clarifications requested.

Unfortunately, in making those clarifications, the Board chose to ignore resolution 37/99 K and calls instead for a regular budgetary appropriation of \$146,500 for 1985 and voluntary contributions of \$293,000 for a total cash income of \$439,500 for 1985. We understand that the Institute will also request relief from its \$175,000 deficit, either through a one-time grant from the United Nations regular budget or through an advance from the regular budget to be repaid at a later date.

Article VII has since been revised for further clarity and is now annexed to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1. Article VII, paragraph 1, states that:

"Voluntary contributions ... shall form the principal source of financing of the Institute."

In paragraph 2 of article VII it is now also provided that:

"A subvention towards meeting the costs of the Director and the staff ... may be provided from the regular budget of the United Nations"

and that:

"... it may be less than, but shall not exceed, an amount equivalent to one half of the assured income of the Institute from voluntary sources".

Under these circumstances, the United States must vote against draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 because we cannot agree to the mixed funding of the Institute, which contradicts the intent of the General Assembly as expressed in resolution 37/99 K. If the statute were revised to reflect the intent of resolution 37/99 K, my Government would be able to join a consensus on this draft resolution.

Mr. BATSANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The draft statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), with which draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 deals, contains provisions covering the Institute's financing from the regular budget of the United Nations. I refer in particular to articles III, VII and VIII of the draft statute. The Soviet delegation cannot agree with these provisions.

In the past UNIDIR and other United Nations institutes - the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), the University and others - have always been funded exclusively by voluntary contributions, which we believe is as it should be. This practice has made it possible for all those institutes to function properly.

The introduction of a dual system of financing for UNIDIR might create a very dangerous precedent, which might lead to considerable inflation in the United Nations regular budget. It is no accident that the General Assembly in resolution 37/99 K, adopted by consensus at the thirty-seventh session, clearly indicated that UNIDIR's activities would be financed exclusively by voluntary contributions from States and public and private organizations. We believe that attempts to revise that clear mandate given by the General Assembly may have only negative consequences.

The adoption of a system of partial financing of UNIDIR from the United Nations regular budget might have further undesirable results, in that certain of the main contributors to the United Nations budget might, for reasons of principle related to their own financial policies, refuse to include in their contributions to the budget any portion that would normally be to cover the expenses of that Institute. That in turn would undoubtedly lead to the Institute's authority being undermined and would make its work difficult. Consequently, we cannot support the draft statute in its present form.

In this connection, the Soviet delegation would like a separate vote on operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, on which we shall abstain.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now vote on operative paragraph 2, on which a separate, recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark,



Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Japan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam

Operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 was adopted by 88 votes to 3, with 18 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic,

\* Subsequently, the delegation of Togo advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Malawi had intended to abstain.

Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Israel, Japan

Draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 was adopted by 108 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

Mr. GODSON (United Kingdom): The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) carries out, on an objective basis, a great deal of valuable work. This is of benefit to all nations in the search for balanced and verifiable measures of arms limitation and disarmament. My delegation supported the draft resolution because we believe that it is important for the Institute to have a statute which clearly defines its responsibilities and mode of operation.

There is, however, one very important element of the draft statute annexed to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 to which my delegation is opposed - the proposal in article VII which allows for funding part of UNIDIR's activities from the regular budget of the United Nations. When UNIDIR was created it was clearly understood that it was to be financed through voluntary contributions. It is estimated that the Institute will receive \$293,000 next year in voluntary contributions from Member States. This is a substantial sum and, in our view, should be adequate to finance all the activities of the Institute. Ambitious plans and programmes are all very well, but they must be tempered by economic realities. My Government believes that UNIDIR's programmes should be drafted with a view to their being kept within the financial limits imposed by the projected level of voluntary contributions.

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\* Subsequently the delegations of Haiti, Malawi and Togo advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

(Mr. Godson, United Kingdom)

The concept of mixed funding for a United Nations agency which was established on the basis of voluntary contributions is unacceptable to my delegation. That is why we voted against operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. The adoption of the UNIDIR statute does not, in our view, establish a precedent for other United Nations agencies, and we shall continue to oppose the principle of mixed funding.

The United Kingdom will also attempt to ensure that any funds disbursed to UNIDIR from the regular budget of the United Nations are met from within existing resources and are used solely to support the minimum of core staff, which should be limited to the Director and two administrative support staff. All of the research programme of UNIDIR should be funded from voluntary contributions. It was on this basis that my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 as a whole.

Miss SAIGA (Japan): My delegation voted against operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1, "Draft statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research," and abstained in the voting on the draft resolution as a whole. This, of course, should not be construed as indicating lack of enthusiasm on our part for the promotion of United Nations activities in the field of disarmament.

Our abstention in the voting on the draft resolution as a whole derives from our doubts as to the propriety of the proposed statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). Our position on this matter was fully explained in the Fifth Committee when that statute was discussed there, and it is thus not necessary to reiterate it here. However, I should like to register our reservation about the statute at this juncture, thereby expressing our concern at the possible unchecked increase in the financial burdens of the United Nations.

Mr. WEGENER (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1 as a whole in order to express our positive view of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and its activities. We are also gratified that the draft resolution now puts the work of UNIDIR on a legally sound footing by approving the draft statutes of the Institute. Since its foundation UNIDIR has made a valuable contribution to the broadening of knowledge on disarmament affairs. We would like to commend the Institute for its excellent work.

(Mr. Wegener, Federal Republic  
of Germany)

We had to abstain, however, in the voting on operative paragraph 2 because of the financial ambiguities contained in some articles of the draft statute, financial ambiguities that have been referred to by other delegations. Our voting behaviour is thus in line with the position we have taken in the Fifth Committee.

In this context I should like to mention that my delegation would like the same budgetary principles we uphold to apply to the financing of the UNIDIR study requested in operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.45.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no other speakers wishing to explain their votes. The Committee has thus concluded its consideration of and action upon draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.30/Rev.1.

We shall now take up draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.45. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Iraq at the Committee's 30th meeting, on 14 November, and is sponsored by the following countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. The programme budget implications of this draft resolution are contained in document A/C.1/39/L.84.

Mr. MAHBOUB (Iraq): As a result of consultations among the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.45, it has been decided that operative paragraph 3 shall be deleted completely. Operative paragraph 4 is to be replaced by the following:

"Requests the Security Council to investigate Israel's nuclear activities and the collaboration of other States, parties and institutions in these activities".

The wording of this operative paragraph has been taken from paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 37/82.

Operative paragraph 5 should be changed as follows: the words "until it complies with Security Council resolution 487 (1981)" should be deleted and replaced by the following:

"which could contribute to Israel's nuclear capabilities".

The Secretariat is initiating the necessary measures to have this draft resolution amended and reissued as document A/C.1/39/L.45/Rev.1.

The CHAIRMAN: I wonder whether delegations are prepared to take action on the draft resolution as amended orally by the delegation of Iraq? If so, the Committee could proceed to a vote. Otherwise, if delegations are not prepared to take action now we shall defer the voting.

Mr. de la BAUME (France) (interpretation from French): We have listened to the oral amendments to the draft resolution just made by the representative of Iraq. As I understand it, they will shortly be distributed by the Secretariat but we would like to study them carefully and I think it would be difficult for us to take a decision on the draft resolution immediately. I think it might be advisable and appropriate to defer the voting on this draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I propose that the draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.45/Rev.1, as amended by the representative of Iraq, should be taken up tomorrow at the end of the afternoon's meeting.

It was so decided.

#### PROGRAMME OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has concluded its business for today and before adjourning the meeting I would inform the Committee of the programme of work for this week.

As representatives are aware, the First Committee will not meet this afternoon but there is a meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

On Tuesday the First Committee will meet in the morning and in the afternoon.

On Wednesday morning there are meetings of regional groups and as the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions is tomorrow, Tuesday, at 6 p.m., I shall reserve Wednesday morning to give time to the regional groups and for consultations, so there will not be a meeting on Wednesday morning.

We shall meet again on Wednesday afternoon and on Thursday morning and afternoon and I hope we shall take action on draft resolutions on security items on Friday morning.

The First Committee will meet tomorrow at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.