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**REPORT OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF RESOLUTION AG/RES.1237 (XXIII-O/93)
"MEETING OF EXPERTS ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING
MEASURES IN THE REGION"**

(Item 10(d) of the agenda)

This document will be presented to the General Assembly
at its Twenty-fourth Regular Session

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The Permanent Council at its meeting on May 27, 1994, considered the report of the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security on Fulfillment of Resolution AG/RES.1237 (XXIII-O/93) "Meeting of Experts on Confidence and Security-building Measures in the Region" (CP/doc.2492/94 rev.1) (ATTACHED), and decided to endorse it for submittal to the General Assembly at its Twenty-fourth Regular Session, as background for consideration of the corresponding agenda item, together with a draft resolution prepared by the Committee and reviewed by the Council (page 28).

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**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON HEMISPHERIC SECURITY
ON FULFILLMENT OF RESOLUTION AG/RES. 1237 (XXIII-O/93)
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. At its twenty-third regular session the OAS General Assembly adopted resolution AG/RES.1237 (XXIII-O/93), titled "Meeting of Experts on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the Region." It provided for the meeting to be held before the Assembly's Twenty-fourth Regular Session.

2. To carry out the General Assembly's mandate, the Permanent Council, through the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security, was entrusted with preparing the agenda and drawing up the working guidelines for the meeting.

3. The purpose of this report is to apprise the General Assembly at its Twenty-fourth Regular Session of the results achieved in fulfillment of AG/RES. 1237 (XXIII-O/93).

4. Chapter II of the report covers preparatory work for the Meeting of Experts carried out by the Special Committee, particularly the work at the preparatory meeting held in Washington, D.C. from November 17 to 19, 1993.

5. Chapter III covers the Meeting of Experts itself, which was held in Buenos Aires from March 15 to 18, 1994. Chapter III also deals separately with the various topics discussed at the Meeting of Experts.

6. Chapter IV presents, by way of illustration, a list of measures that could be taken to enhance confidence and security in the region.

7. Chapter V covers recommendations emanating from the Meeting of Experts, and includes a draft resolution on the matter to be presented to the General Assembly at its Twenty-fourth Regular Session.

CHAPTER II

**PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES FOR THE MEETING OF EXPERTS ON
CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE REGION**

8. At its meeting on July 14, 1993 the Permanent Council entrusted the mandate contained in Resolution AG/RES. 1237 (XXIII-O/93) to the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security.

9. The Committee agreed that it was necessary to give priority treatment to the subject, and to hold a preparatory meeting for the meeting of experts in order to decide on its scope and methodology, and facilitate its development.

As a result, the Committee presented a report to the Permanent Council on November 3, 1993, concerning the work procedures, the agenda items and the schedule of the preparatory meeting.

10. The preparatory meeting for the Meeting of Experts on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the Region was held at the OAS headquarters from November 17 to 19, 1993. The meeting was chaired by the Chairman of the Special Committee on Hemisphere Security, Ambassador Hernán Patiño Mayer.

11. The agenda of the preparatory meeting included the following topics:

- a. Establishment of the terms of reference for the meeting.
- b. Confidence-building measures; different experiences.
- c. Purposes and objectives of the Meeting of Experts (preparation of an annotated agenda).
- d. Determination of the working methodology for the Meeting of Experts.
- e. Elaboration of the draft agenda for the Meeting of Experts.
- f. Agreement on terminology for the Meeting of Experts.

12. The preparatory session began with remarks by the OAS Secretary General, who emphasized that "...security has aspects that go beyond military security alone. At this time when the Organization has given priority to strengthening democracy in the Hemisphere, the concept of security is closely linked with strengthening the bases for democracy in the Hemisphere..."

13. In one of its two working groups, the preparatory meeting dealt with item 1 of the agenda, the establishment of terms of reference for the Meeting of Experts.

The working group was coordinated by the head of the Canadian delegation, Mark Moher, who said in his statement on the subject:

"...Canada's approach to building security is rooted in the concept of collective security, a definition of security which recognizes that the surest way of building peace and stability on our Hemisphere is through the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law, respect for human rights--social and political--and sustainable economic development....Building cooperative security means moving ahead at the same time in all these areas. It also means putting in place frameworks, mechanisms, and instruments for guiding and managing relations between states and for preventing and resolving the tense situation. The best time to put such mechanisms in place is when relations

are stable and there is trust, or at least a certain degree of predictability in relations between states...."

14. The head of the U.S. delegation expressed these views:

"...Confidence-building encompasses a broad gamut of relations between states....It involves concrete, well-defined measures aimed at reducing and eliminating causes of mistrust, fear, and hostilities....The objective of confidence-building measures is to strengthen international peace and security and to help promote trust, better understanding and more stable relations among the nations...."

15. The second working group dealt with different experiences with regard to confidence-building measures. It was chaired by the Vice Chairman of the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security, Ambassador Patrick Lewis of Antigua and Barbuda. The group heard several presentations by the participating delegations.

16. Here are extracts of the main points of the statements received during the preparatory meeting on the range of experiences in this area. The full texts of the statements are appended to this report.

Argentina:

In its presentation titled "Argentina-Brazil: Bilateral Confidence-Building Measures" the Argentine delegation described the nuclear accords between the two nations as an example of rapprochement in this field for the clear purpose of eliminating any mistrust and precluding any possibility of a nuclear arms race in Latin America.

This rapprochement culminated in November 1990 when the Presidents of the two countries signed the "Declaration on Argentine-Brazilian Joint Nuclear Policy," in which they opened their nuclear installations for inspection by each other and agreed on the following bilateral measures:

- a. a joint system of reciprocal control over all their nuclear installations;
- b. joint negotiations with the International Atomic Energy Agency for a comprehensive safeguards agreement for both countries;
- c. subsequent entry into full force of the Tlatelolco Treaty for both countries, after its text has been updated and improved.

These accords were fulfilled in short order by the establishment of the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accountability and Control of Nuclear Materials, which has been operational since July 1992.

Concurrent with the verification work of this agency, the Permanent Committee on Nuclear Policy meets periodically to consider all aspects of the countries' nuclear policies.

- In its presentation on "Confidence- and Security-Building Measures Between Argentina and Great Britain" the Argentine delegation summarized the development of bilateral relations since the full resumption of those relations between the two countries in 1990.

Establishment of the Argentine-British Group on South Atlantic Affairs provided a mechanism for periodic meetings to evaluate and adjust the measures agreed upon. This group was replaced in May 1993 by the Temporary System for Information Sharing, in order to move toward a more normal situation in the South-west Atlantic. This is an integrated system comprising:

- a. a system for direct communication;
- b. confidence-building measures;
- c. verification;
- d. reciprocal visits.

At the same time, the first round of Argentine-British military contacts took place in May 1993 on the following topics:

- a. organization and structure of the Defense Ministries and Armed Forces,
- b. peacekeeping experiences under United Nations mandates,
- c. future contacts between the Defense Ministries and Armed Forces.

Finally, the delegation mentioned the operation of communication links between the continent and the [Falkland/Malvinas] islands, and the command structure and work procedures for the system.

Brazil:

In its presentation titled "Brazil-Argentina: Bilateral Confidence-Building Measures in the Area of Arms Control" the Brazilian delegation underscored measures taken by Brazil and Argentina in the last eight years on arms control as a unique process of confidence-building in a subregional context.

Critical factors permitting the process were identified as the re-establishment of internal peace in both countries and the return of civilian democratic governments after long periods of military regimes, in Argentina in 1983 and in Brazil in 1985.

Complementing the presentation by the Argentine delegation on the nuclear accords, the Brazilian delegation noted the following confidence-building measures worth emphasizing which the two countries adopted:

- a. the Mendoza Commitment, a tripartite declaration by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile for a total ban on chemical and biological weapons;
- b. a joint presentation to the Disarmament Commission on guidelines for international transfer of sensitive technology;
- c. participation by both countries in a data base of information on military expenditures and conventional arms (both of which are United Nations initiatives).

The presentation also emphasized that these measures are merely one part of a process in which the fundamental aspect is initiatives for economic integration and cooperation.

In its final observations it notes that confidence-building measures in the nuclear field and related areas help overcome mistrust and create opportunities for mutually beneficial and effective cooperation. In so doing, they play an undoubtedly important role in the process of integration under way between the two countries.

Central America:

In its joint presentation to the preparatory session, the Guatemalan delegation, speaking for the region, said that "...for Central America the problem of regional security does not arise in the context of an intellectual political exercise that seeks to define new regional standards in the light of transformations in the world context; it is rather an inescapable necessity in the light of a severe regional political crisis...".

Commitments for national reconciliation, cease-fires, democratization, and free elections stem from the need to eliminate the source of tensions within each country. Agreements to stop aiding irregular forces or rebel movements, and for negotiations on security, verification, control, and arms limits address the sources of tension among the countries.

In terms of eliminating military tension among the countries, Central America has created significant confidence-building measures, direct first at defusing the current crisis and subsequently at creating mechanisms that will prevent future crises.

The Tegucigalpa Protocol that established the Central American Integration System, signed by the six presidents in December 1991, states as one of its purposes: "...to create a new regional security model based on a reasonable balance of forces, strengthening of civilian authority, eradication of extreme poverty, promotion of sustained development, and elimination of violence, corruption, terrorism, drug trafficking, and arms trafficking."

Once the critical moment in the Central American crisis was passed, questions concerning confidence-building in the region were entrusted to the Security Commission, which set the following objectives:

- a. to ensure that the armed forces of the countries of the region are of a type to defend the sovereignty, territory, and internal order, and not of an offensive type.
- b. to ensure that the armed forces of the countries of the region are in reasonable or proportional balance in terms of weapons, equipment, and troops, so that they do not represent a threat to neighboring countries;
- c. to define a new model of security relations among the Central American countries, based on cooperation, coordination, communication, and prevention.
- d. to seek commitments concerning foreign military presence in the region.

Throughout its meetings, the Commission dealt with questions such as the guidelines for a reasonable balance of forces, the completion of inventories of weapons and troops, and establishment of procedures for control and verification of the accords reached.

Finally, the document points out that the agreements reached by the Security Commission reflect a broader process of regional political agreement, and can be explained by the success the countries of the region have achieved in agreements on trade, political, cultural, and other matters.

Chile:

In its presentation the delegation of Chile noted the following general points to be taken into account when analyzing confidence-building in the subregional area:

- a. consolidation of democracy, which is an indispensable factor for dialogue, rapprochement, and effective integration among the American nations;
- b. expansion and liberalization of trade, through the signing and entry into force of agreements for economic integration or cooperation, or free trade;
- c. increased cultural exchange and participation of nongovernmental actors, without limiting the efforts in the military and governmental spheres.

Among concrete bilateral measures it has taken, Chile noted:

- a. with Argentina, through the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1984, the armed forces have established high-level horizontal contacts, such as the annual meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Chilean and Argentine navies.

Other confidence measures with Argentina are the installation of a direct telephone line between the Defense Ministries, professional exchanges between the armed forces of the two countries, an increase in the number of students in courses of both armed forces, cadet exchanges, and the study of procedures for bilateral military cooperation to respond to natural disasters in the border region of both countries.

- b. with Peru, the relationship has developed mainly at the institutional level. The most important element has been the meetings between the senior officers of the Chilean and Peruvian armed forces.

Confidence-building measures agreed upon include:

- joint naval maneuvers;
 - exchange of military personnel for courses, training cruises, historical celebrations, and other professional activities;
 - protocolary and professional meetings of commandants of border bases and naval zones;
 - reciprocal invitations to take part in cultural, artistic, professional, and sports events;
 - exchange of magazines and publications of interest to the armed forces;
 - facilities for promotion of tourism by military personnel of both countries;
 - technical and logistic cooperation.
- c. with the United States, Chile mentions in closing the meetings on matters of common interest held by the defense authorities of Chile and the United States. These consultation meetings dealt with topics such as cooperation for planning and execution of relief operations after natural disasters, planning for peacekeeping operations and cooperation for planning, configuration, and operation of crisis action teams.

Venezuela-Colombia:

The presentation entitled "Experience of Venezuela and Colombia with Confidence-building Measures" points to the various measures taken by Venezuela and Colombia in the past five years to establish a system of gradual approaches toward promoting integration and devising suitable mechanisms for the gradual and practical resolution of the problems existing between the two countries.

This began with the formation in February 1989 by the Presidents of Venezuela and Colombia of "specialized committees" to draft conventions and treaties on political, legal, economic, and security matters.

It was also decided that the two countries' presidents would hold periodic meetings, and that their foreign ministers would trade visits.

In terms of military cooperation, the following measures for building confidence between the two countries should be mentioned:

- a. Meetings between the ministers of defense and internal security, as well as coordination throughout the chain of command.
- b. Shared communications codes along the entire border and exchange of military plans.
- c. Bimonthly meetings and exchange of information between border-area military commands at every level.
- d. Joint military and naval maneuvers outside the border areas.

The presentation underscored the various coordination mechanisms devised to foster integration, prominent among which are the presidential specialized committees. One of these is engaged in the demarcation of marine and submarine areas. The other Committee deals with Colombian-Venezuelan border affairs aimed at strengthening and energizing cooperation mechanisms in the areas of economic and trade integration, customs, transportation, border integration, tourism, natural resources, energy and mines, education, culture and social welfare, environmental protection, and protection and aid for indigenous groups.

In conclusion, the document points out that not only are the governments and defense and security institutions strengthened, but civilian participation is also enhanced, thus ensuring the success of the programs.

17. As regards point 3 of the agenda for the preparatory session, "Purposes and objectives of the Meeting of Experts," after extensive debate the delegations agreed that the agenda should clearly reflect the priorities assigned to the various aspects. To this end they approved the following draft agenda to be submitted to the Meeting of Experts.

1. Measures for building and strengthening confidence: significance and objectives.
2. Catalogue and analysis of measures that can contribute to building and strengthening mutual confidence in the region:
 - military measures;
 - other measures;
 - measures for prevention, management, and peaceful settlement of disputes.
3. Appropriate political context for application of measures to build and strengthen confidence in the region.
4. The OAS and Hemisphere security
 - analysis and outlook;
 - mutual confidence measures;
 - cooperation with the United Nations on the matter.
5. Latest developments on the subject in the United Nations.

18. To conclude its work, the preparatory session scheduled the meeting for March 15 through 18, 1994, accepting the offer of Argentina to host it in Buenos Aires.

The Special Committee on Hemispheric Security was entrusted with following up on the work of the preparatory session, organizing the Meeting of Experts, and extending invitations to various experts to present papers for the information of the meeting.

19. In sessions held after the preparatory session, the Special Committee received the following presentations from experts of nongovernmental organizations with an interest in the subject:

- a. Presentation by Dr. James Schear, principal associate of the Henry Stimson Center, on confidence-building in the Hemisphere: alternatives and options for the Organization of American States.
- b. Presentation by Professor Jack Child, professor of Latin American Studies at American University, on confidence-building measures in the Hemisphere with particular reference to Central America.
- c. Presentation by Dr. Paul Stares, member of the Brookings Institution, on Hemisphere security, cooperative security, and confidence-building measures.

20. The Special Committee also agreed on the work plan for the Meeting of Experts. It decided there would be five working groups, one for each topic of the agenda, and following the statements of the various delegations views would be exchanged in working groups formed for that purpose.

CHAPTER III

MEETING OF EXPERTS ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE REGION

21. In compliance with the mandate of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, the meeting took place in Buenos Aires from March 15 through 18, 1994, under the sponsorship of the government of Argentina and the Organization of American States.

22. The meeting was inaugurated by Argentina's Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade, and Worship, Guido di Tella. In his opening address, he said:

"...By holding this meeting we are demonstrating our conviction that the regional organization must give serious and effective consideration to matters of hemispheric security....Our region is clearly a zone of peace, and in the last decade there have been important advances in the consolidation of democracy, respect for human rights, and cultural, political, and economic integration. Today the Hemisphere is prepared to move toward a new security system, based on prevention and cooperation, undergirded by confidence-building....Cooperation for peace and

development of actions in the security field are indispensable to maintain the pace of progress in the social, economic, and political integration of the Americas...".

23. The meeting then held a closed preliminary session chaired by Ambassador **Hernán Patiño Mayer**, Chairman of the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security, to agree on the officers of the meeting, the draft agenda, and the work schedule.

24. At the plenary session following the preliminary meeting, Argentina's Deputy Secretary for Foreign Policy, Ambassador Rogelio Pfirter, was elected chairman of the meeting.

The following persons were elected as vice-presidents:

First Committee: Ambassador David Peel, Canada.

Second Committee: Ambassador Patrick Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda.

Third Committee: Mr. Jorge Burgos, Chile.

Fourth Committee: Mr. Norman Wulf, United States.

Fifth Committee: Ambassador Hugo Palma, Peru.

Brazilian delegate Paulo Cordeiro de Andrade Pinto was elected rapporteur of the meeting.

25. The work of the First Committee, chaired by the head of the Canadian delegation, Ambassador David Peel, dealt with measures for building and strengthening confidence: their significance and objectives.

26. In its presentation, the U.S. delegation stated:

"...Confidence-building measures are concrete, well-defined steps that contribute to reducing, or in some cases even to eliminating, causes of mistrust, fear, tension, and hostility through greater openness and clarity in the military area....The scope of the measures must respond to the specific needs and conditions of the region in question.... The seriousness, sincerity, and security of a state's commitment to confidence-building can be demonstrated only through the constant, regular, and total application of measures and policies that encourage confidence...".

27. The delegation of Canada said in its presentation:

"...Our ability to create and consolidate mutual trust will depend not only on the mechanisms that may be developed to verify or register weapons or troops. It will depend fundamentally on the definitive consolidation of democratic institutions in the Hemisphere....This is the common starting point for the task before us: our commitment to strengthen democracy in the Hemisphere....As we take up questions concerning security we must be aware of the complexity of the concept and the diversity of the OAS member states....whose asymmetry in area, population, military and economic capacity may lead to confusion and erroneous interpretations....For this reason perception that the message transmitted is the same as the one received is a key element in confidence-building...".

28. In the document prepared by Ambassador Patiño Mayer, the Argentine delegation said:

"...Prevailing conditions in our Hemisphere make it possible to have confidence-building measures that go beyond prevention of armed conflicts to encompass cultural, social, political, or economic decisions that contribute to strengthening of cooperation among the states....We could say that confidence-building measures in the Americas are of an integral nature; the individual components do not engender credibility by themselves, but their interaction produces the desired effects....Confidence-building measures of a military nature, from the most modest to the most ambitious, contribute to a lessening of mistrust, fear, and error, thereby helping to consolidate efforts in the same direction that are undertaken in the social, economic, and political fields....Although they may not resolve all conflicts, by establishing certain mutually accepted standards of conduct with reciprocal obligations, which can be evaluated and verified, they contribute to rapprochement and reduce tension attributable to erroneous perceptions..."

In conclusion, he adds that: "...because they involve different situations, confidence-building measures do not present a single model. They emanate from practices and behavior conditioned by the historical reality in which they were born..."

29. The document presented by the delegation of Peru concerning point 1 of the agenda states:

"...Peru feels that now, as in the past, confidence-building measures to dissipate any type of threat to security whatsoever is a matter of interest to all the countries and should stimulate special concern and action by developing countries. They must give priority to their security, in the sense of defending their sovereignty, but also in the sense of making themselves viable, consolidating their democratic process, combating poverty and other scourges such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and protecting the environment and human rights....The current political context of hemispheric relations is conducive to identification and adoption of additional measures that are naturally encompassed in confidence-building measures..."

The document goes on to say: "...confidence-building, strictly speaking, is obviating the possibility of conflict. More broadly, it is creating conditions for reduction of arms and military expenditures and for disarmament....Confidence-building is an inducement to perceive the exact nature of a given fact or act, and stimulates belief in a state's trustworthiness....It should therefore be directly linked to policies and practices that encourage peace, cooperation, good will, and joint action..."

30. The meeting also received a presentation from the government of Trinidad and Tobago in the following terms:

"...it is almost axiomatic that the definition of security, in the Caribbean context, cannot be limited to matters of military aggression or threats. The definition must be broad enough to include any threat to a state's ability to enjoy democracy or the functioning of democratic institutions. Furthermore, in the context of Caribbean security, priority must be accorded to economic security.

...In the military area we could consider, for example, the idea of a regional military component that would aid countries who face threats to their democracy and stability.

...the Caribbean region has historically been an unwilling strategic platform during periods of conflict between our neighbors of north and south.

...We are firmly committed to the concept of confidence- and security-building measures in the Hemisphere, and to that end some of the following points might be dealt with in the course of our deliberations:

- promotion of demonstrated political will to prevent or peacefully resolve conflicts;
- continuous bilateral and multilateral dialogue among the states, with a view to preventing and easing conflicts;
- promotion of specific hemispheric mechanisms to assess conflict risk and an agenda for timely action;
- subregional confidence-building measures to supplement regional ones;
- resolution of concerns over the role and mandate of the Inter-American Defense Board.

31. With respect to item 1 of the agenda, the document containing the statements made by the delegation of Mexico at the meeting indicates that "the Delegation of Mexico has a deeply held opinion that the principal and basic preconditions for confidence are a specific and formal commitment by each member state of the Organization to expressly renounce the threat and use of force, and to settle disputes peacefully in accordance with international law, as expected by all the countries of the Hemisphere and humanity itself.

These conditions are so essential that the absence of such commitments not only undermines confidence, but, in and of itself, negates whatever progress and contributions that might arise from other measures, however imaginative and novel they may be.

This confidence originates precisely in the desire to avert conflict; without it, other measures are merely complementary, and hence useless....in order to contribute to the efforts being made in this particular area, the delegation of Mexico considers that once a commitment is made and a decision taken to peacefully settle disputes, confidence-building measures, beyond those traditionally linked to all aspects of disarmament, must stem from express agreements among the parties directly concerned, since a priori measures rarely fit the precise requirements of a particular circumstance."

32. At the conclusion of the First Committee's deliberations, Ambassador Peel summarized them in these terms:

- a. confidence-building measures must be seen in a broad political context;
- b. confidence-building measures may form part of a security strategy of individual countries, but they must also reflect the security concerns of all participants;

- c. OAS member states have positive cooperative relations, and Latin America is one of the world's least armed regions;
- d. there is presently a high degree of confidence among the member states;
- e. there are definite possibilities for development of cooperation and regional integration.

In this context the OAS should consider confidence-building measures for the purpose of strengthening yet further the good relations among the countries of the region.

33. It was also recognized that the concept of security is not purely a military matter. The concept embraces various elements, including economic, social, and development-related topics, and the threats posed among other things by arms trafficking, drugs, and environmental problems.

34. There was a consensus that confidence-building measures cannot be imported from other regions. They must be developed within the Hemisphere or, at least, suitably adapted to respond to hemispheric conditions. The measures can be of various types--bilateral, developed within subregional groups, or of a broader, multilateral nature.

35. It was finally noted that the work of the OAS should complement and not duplicate work undertaken by the United Nations.

36. The work of the Second Committee was chaired by Ambassador Patrick Lewis of Antigua and Barbuda, and began with an introduction by the Chairman of the Committee on Hemispheric Security, who recalled the presentations made during the preparatory session on the various experiences with confidence-building measures.

He also noted that the specific characteristics of the Hemisphere, especially its dedication to understanding and peaceful relations among countries, afford an opportunity to develop a regional catalogue without simply copying foreign models.

37. The Committee heard statements from the delegations of Peru, the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Canada, Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago, Colombia, Bolivia, and Uruguay, and from the observers from Spain and France.

38. Among the presentations circulated regarding this agenda topic, the Peruvian delegation recalled that the Declaration of Ayacucho was the basis for holding in Lima the First Meeting of Experts on Arms Limitation, which was attended by experts from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela.

It was later agreed to hold tripartite meetings. During these, the following agreements were reached:

- a. Ratification of the Cooperative Agreement for Promotion of Peace and Friendship among the armed forces of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, signed in 1976.

- b. Draft procedures for the exchange of information, consultation, and meetings.
- c. Sports, post-graduate, and academic exchanges among the military services of the three countries.

Following the severing of diplomatic relations between Chile and Bolivia in 1976 the meetings were bilateral, involving Peru and Bolivia.

The presentation also included a summary of confidence-building measures undertaken by Peru with Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Ecuador.

39. Another of the presentations on this topic was that of Bolivia, which contained the following points:

"...Side by side with regional policies for economic cooperation, military capabilities must be meshed in a collective security system that goes beyond individual states to function on a regional level....In this regard, we think that confidence-building measures by our countries to dispel perceptions of interstate threat--in some cases unjustified and in others correctable--contribute to hemispheric unity and cooperation....We therefore believe that each country's security consists in offering security to the rest, projecting the certainty that it will in no case resort to military force in interstate relations....To this end, the principal aspect of confidence-building is the correction of reciprocal perceptions that give rise in many cases to irrational competition and hostilities..."

40. Another presentation made to the Meeting of Experts on this topic was the one presented by the delegation of Colombia, titled "Colombia's Experience: Colombia's Commissions on Friendship and Integration with its Neighbors (Venezuela-1989; Ecuador-1989; Panama-1992; Brazil and Peru-1994)"

This document states: "...the mechanism of the Commissions on Friendship and Integration has been drawn up on the basis of identified bilateral interests, with instruments for prevention of and adequate reaction to situations that threaten shared values.

These instruments are various agreements on measures for binational action with a view to preventing and neutralizing situations that could entail risks shared in economic integration, increased trade, judicial cooperation, immigration control, etc.

41. The document describes the operation of the Friendship Commissions, chaired by the Foreign Ministers, which meet alternately in the two countries, with a frequency determined by the vitality of the process.

For greater efficiency, operational follow-up is entrusted to binational technical subcommittees that are organized in accordance with the various topics on the agenda.

42. In the document containing its statements, the delegation of Mexico referred to this point, indicating that "it is the view and position of this delegation that without a

welldefined concept of hemispheric security, and without the old threats or clearly identified new ones, the measures, singly or as a group, become imprecise and blurred.... Positive experiences with confidence-building measures employed in the peace process in Central America and in cooperative efforts toward integration between Brazil and Argentina suggest that such approaches are effective, and that they should be applied mutatis mutandis to similar situations as they arise and recorded in the annals of our Organization as a successful way to promote peace and confidence."

43. After describing the operation of the commissions, the document notes these conclusions:

- a. Colombia has met the challenge of coherent configuration of its own security spaces;
- b. The Friendship Commissions have medium- and long-range objectives of confidence-building in the region.
- c. Decision-making in the Commissions is by consensus.

44. As a result of the various observations presented in the course of the meeting, it was agreed to establish a working group entrusted with drawing up an illustrative list of measures that could be used for confidence- and security-building.

The resulting list is presented in Chapter IV of this report.

45. The work of the Third Committee on the political context for application of measures for strengthening and deepening confidence in the region was chaired by Deputy Secretary for War of Chile's Defense Ministry, Mr. Jorge Burgos.

46. The delegation of Mexico in its statement on this point said that: "Regarding a favorable context for confidence-building measures in the region, the resurgence and spread of democracy, of economic growth, and of trade activity in the region are in themselves reflections of confidence, not of a lack thereof.

47. In the course of its work, the Committee circulated a document prepared by the delegation of Argentina, which stated among other things that the following points are essential in defining the subject:

- a. the end of the cold war, international detente, and disarmament agreements;
- b. shared values in the region, emerging from the prevalence of democracy, which are reflected in:
 - market economic policies and progress toward economic integration of countries of the region;
 - new perspectives in civilian-military relationships.

In this regard, he added that: "...the political context resulting from the democratic consensus permits unprecedented advances in our Hemisphere, in the economic field as well as in security....The willingness to move toward new forms of regional security shows clear political vision consonant with the objective of consolidating democracy, building new cooperative security spaces in the region, and strengthening regional accords to contribute to global security and the objective of international peace and security..."

48. The Chairman of the Third Committee summarized the discussion of this topic, noting the following:

- mention was made of the European experience with confidence-building measures, although they cannot automatically be transplanted to our region.
- identified as elements of the new political context were the end of the cold war, shared democratic values, the process of increasing economic and trade integration, and new perspectives in civilian-military relationships, which make it possible to develop truly permanent state policies.
- concerning future measures in this regard, it was noted that it is necessary to take into account the current institutions and different situations in the subregions of the Hemisphere, as well as their effects on each of them.
- among obstacles to this favorable context, the Committee participants mentioned factors such as social uprisings, drug trafficking, and terrorism, all of which can have even international repercussions.
- it was considered desirable to distinguish between strengthening of confidence-building measures as such and the system of hemispheric security.
- it was agreed that the region has a great wealth of contributions to the topic of security and confidence-building. What is needed is to analyze what we have and organize the set of initiatives to define the general framework for discussion of confidence- and security-building measures in response to the new international situation.
- the democratization of our nations, bilateral and multilateral accords on free trade, and gradual resolution of border disputes are creating conditions for a legal and political framework conducive to mutual confidence.
- intensification of the measures must take into account the multiplicity and complexity of the factors involved. Today's mission is to create an atmosphere of solidly based, lasting measures.

49. The Fourth Committee, which considered "The OAS and Hemispheric Security," was chaired by Mr. Norman Wulf, Assistant Director for nonproliferation and regional arms control of the ACDA (Arms Control and Disarmament Agency).

50. Delegations made oral and written contributions to the discussion of the topic. Some of the points raised are noted below.

51. In a document titled "The Role of the Organization of American States in Hemispheric Security" the representative of Antigua and Barbuda to the OAS, Ambassador Lewis, noted:

"...the principle of multilateralism must be overreaching and all member states must commit themselves to that ideal. We must insist on the significance and importance of the principle of multilateralism in the operations of the OAS. The importance of multilateralism can in truth only be appreciated if it serves the hemispheric community in times of crisis and tension....The problem of drug-trafficking would appear now to be the most destabilizing factor in the region....The problem undoubtedly demands a vigorous international response but it is up to the Americas to deal with it regionally before making global commitments.

...It will be necessary to design machinery for collective security very carefully. It could consist of subregional security systems linked in a broader general system.

...Positive collective action in the Hemisphere is the best vehicle for safeguarding the principle of multilateralism in matters of hemispheric security. The OAS is the only organ that can realistically follow this path. Therefore, it is up to the countries of the Americas to build on the progress achieved in 1991, ensuring that representative democracy is the indispensable condition for peace, stability, and development...".

52. For its part, in its consolidated statements the delegation of Mexico emphasizes, among other ideas:

"....we have as a starting point for our work an undefined and practically nonexistent 'new concept of hemispheric security.' Although reference has been made to some 'new threats,' by no means agreed upon by all, these threats are not military in nature or origin. The delegation of Mexico has some problems with the Meeting's approach to its topic, because it is proceeding to draw up a list, or catalog, of military confidence-building measures without having previously identified the military threats that must be reduced or neutralized.

The sensitive nature and importance of our work requires first that we ourselves understand why we must abandon the old concept of hemispheric security and, in such an event, why we must propose a new one, and, second, that we identify which threats we want to prevent, so as to devise specific measures to counteract current or potential threats and thus foster and build that confidence, which, by the way, the states in the region have themselves been trying to generate spontaneously for several years now.

...It is clear that the countries of the Americas, in unified fashion and working together through the OAS, will be prepared to observe developments in the region so as to react in a timely fashion to well-defined threats and risks. Nonetheless, we must vigilantly avoid being held responsible or even culpable by mere allegation, such as the charge that because a few of our countries have managed to reduce the burden of their foreign debt a little, and have thus increased

