CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES FOR THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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ADDITIONAL REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

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Chapter I of the Charter, which states the purposes and principles of the United Nations, cites the maintenance of international peace and security as the first of these purposes. The Australian Government today, as twenty-five years ago, affirms its obligations to adhere to these purposes and principles and its intention to continue to work for their realization through all the provisions of the Charter.

Genuine support for these purposes and principles is essential for the creation of those conditions which are favourable to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. The conditions include the strict respect for treaty obligations and the principles of international law, and respect for the inherent right of self defence. Many of these conditions have been and are being elaborated in the work of committees of the United Nations.

An essential prerequisite to the strengthening of international security is the existence among countries of the will to strengthen it. This will must be expressed not only in pledging support to the obligations of the United Nations Charter but in actively working to make the United Nations a more effective instrument. This means that full use should be made, as appropriate, of the measures available and recommended through the United Nations in the settlement of disputes. In addition it means that countries should actively use the means that may be available to them to exercise an influence for peace.

The United Nations Charter recognized the special position of the great Powers in this regard. These Powers have a greater capacity than other Powers for strengthening international security; conversely they have a greater potential for weakening and damaging it. They therefore have a special obligation to maintain unanimity between themselves and to exercise their influence in a truly peaceful way.

It has been stated often that the United Nations can be only as effective as its Members allow it to be. To be fully effective as a means for strengthening international security it is essential that all its Members recognize and honour their obligations under the United Nations Charter as treaty obligations. Although
some measure of Charter revision might aid in making the United Nations a more effective instrument, it is basically a document of great strength whose potential has not as yet been fully realized.

Australia has contributed both in manpower and in costs to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. At the present time it has a police contingent with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and observers with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East and with the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).

The United Nations has had considerable experience in the field of peace-keeping and a useful purpose is being served by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which is analysing methods that have been employed. There is still some reluctance on the part of Member States to have recourse as appropriate to negotiation, to the appointment of fact finding and other bodies that can be made available to assist with the settlement of disputes.

The strengthening of international security has been challenged by the devising of new forms of aggressive action such as the practices of infiltration and subversion, the instigation of civil strife and terrorist acts that are taking place especially in the Asian region of the world. In its attempts to define aggression the United Nations must take full account of these and any other practices which might develop from them.

International security can be strengthened through regional co-operation, to which more attention should be directed. Australia is particularly concerned with the Asian region, where the social and economic conditions on which political stability depends are still developing. The tasks of development in these countries are made difficult, if not impossible, when their territorial integrity is threatened by hostile forces which undermine their economic, social and political structure.

The United Nations Charter gives due recognition to the place of regional arrangements for dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. The forms which co-operation within a region can take are varied and flexible. They may be bilateral or multilateral. Furthermore, regional arrangements provide a suitable institutional framework for the extension of all forms of aid which help to develop and strengthen the countries of each region. All measures which are designed to promote prosperity and economic growth everywhere are measures which will contribute towards the strengthening of international security.
BELGIUM

1 June 1970

The maintenance of international peace and security constitutes the primary purpose of the United Nations. Although in some cases the Organization has been successful in achieving this purpose, it must be recognized that in others it has been unable to settle, or even to halt, conflicts in various parts of the world. The causes of these failures must be explored in order to find the appropriate solutions.

The Belgian Government is therefore pleased to find that General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) provides a framework for an exchange of views and proposals for the strengthening of international security. It wishes to set forth its views on the most important aspects of the problem, reiterating or supplementing earlier proposals.

1. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, an appeal might be addressed to all States solemnly to reaffirm their unconditional adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and their will to respect to the fullest extent the international agreements to which they are parties.

2. The Charter provided the Organization with the means by which, in principle, it could attain its objectives. However, experience has shown that these objectives will not be attained unless the means are strengthened and used effectively.

The Belgian Government considers that the strengthening of the United Nations ability to act should be based primarily on the implementation of the measures envisaged in Chapter VI of the Charter.

3. Furthermore, the Security Council, to which the Charter entrusted primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has the task not only of settling conflicts which may arise but also of eliminating their causes.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium has called for the consolidation of the Security Council's authority in each of the statements which he has made to the General Assembly over the past three years. The Belgian Government wishes to reaffirm the proposals made on those occasions:
(a) As the Secretary-General of the United Nations has suggested, members of Governments or specially designated representatives should attend the periodic meetings of the Security Council envisaged in Article 23 of the Charter. In that connexion, the Belgian Government has noted with interest the memorandum submitted by Finland on 20 April 1970 (S/9759).

The Security Council might also be convened with the same membership in closed meetings in emergency situations.

(b) The permanent members of the Security Council should agree to waive their veto right in cases where, because of their own actions, the sovereignty and independence of a State are at issue before the Council.

4. The United Nations, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, should continue the study of peace keeping operations and of the establishment of a United Nations military force under the joint authority of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

5. International security might also be strengthened through recourse to the regional arrangements or agencies envisaged in Articles 52 and 53 of the Charter.

The present political climate suggests that prospects are favourable for employing a means which has been somewhat neglected until now and the usefulness of which was recognized by the authors of the Charter themselves.

Such arrangements or agencies could play an essential role in maintaining peace by guaranteeing the security of each State. This would give States the opportunity to play a more effective part, on a regional basis, in the political action required to reduce tensions, prevent conflicts, facilitate the search for a solution and guarantee respect for agreements which have been concluded.

6. However, the reduction of world tensions cannot be sustained unless substantial progress is made in the field of disarmament. It is true that some limited progress has been made recently with respect to this particularly difficult problem: the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is being implemented and it should be possible to conclude a treaty on the denuclearization of the ocean floor shortly. However, these achievements are only partial and very limited measures. Therefore, the Disarmament Decade proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 2602 (XXIV) should be viewed as the appropriate framework for the realization of more substantial progress.

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In a related context, the Belgian Government attaches the utmost importance to the formulation of rules and procedures whereby the competent United Nations organs can control weapons deliveries to areas embroiled in national and international conflicts.

7. The launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade will provide all States Members of the United Nations with the opportunity to renew their commitment to the fundamental objectives proclaimed in the Charter twenty-five years ago: to create conditions of stability and well-being and to assure a minimum standard of living compatible with human dignity. This political will must be confirmed; no international undertaking which is not based on it can succeed.

The Belgian Government therefore believes that it is of the greatest importance for the appropriate United Nations bodies to consider - with the determination to succeed - the principles in accordance with which closer co-operation may be established among the various international agencies in the United Nations system and assistance efforts may be based on the national plans of the developing countries.

8. Lastly, stable international peace and security cannot be achieved unless fundamental freedoms are respected. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should serve as an occasion for its Members to reaffirm their solemn commitment to universal respect for human rights for all - in the words of the principle contained in the Charter, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.
BULGARIA

[Original: French]
26 May 1970

At the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomed the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union with regard to consideration by the General Assembly of the question of the strengthening of international security.

The discussion during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the draft appeal to all States of the world introduced by the Soviet Union provided convincing proof that the international situation and the violent conflicts raging in various parts of the world imposed upon the United Nations the obligation to do everything within its power to strengthen international security. The representatives of most of the countries which are Members of the United Nations stated unequivocally that the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter constituted a firm basis for the adoption by countries of specific measures to strengthen international security. It was also stressed that the adoption by the United Nations of effective measures in this field on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary would consolidate its authority and its role as an instrument for international peace and co-operation.

The principles set forth in the Charter to the effect that Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force and shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means should not only be reiterated but also should be strengthened by General Assembly decisions based on the experience gained by the United Nations during the twenty-five years since it came into existence.

In so doing, the United Nations will be helping to dispel the sense of insecurity which the world's people are now experiencing and to settle violent
international conflicts. The fact that in many parts of the world armed attacks
are being made against sovereign States, thousands of innocent persons are losing
their lives and property and spiritual values are being destroyed makes it
imperative to take vigorous measures without delay. Such measures should open up
new prospects for creative action and active international co-operation.

In order to adopt a constructive approach to the question of strengthening
international security, the General Assembly should first call for a halt to all
acts which, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of
peaceful coexistence, constitute a direct threat to the peace and security of
peoples. This means, in particular, the occupation of foreign territories by armed
forces. It is essential that such occupation should cease immediately and that the
occupying troops should be withdrawn. In this connexion, the implementation of
Security Council resolutions concerning the withdrawal of occupation troops from
foreign territories will be of paramount importance.

The actions of racist and colonial régimes against the struggle of peoples
for their liberation constitute a threat to world peace and security. It will be
recalled that General Assembly decisions have recognized the legitimacy of this
struggle. The General Assembly should therefore insist on an immediate cessation of
all forms of colonial warfare and of measures for the repression of national
liberation movements.

In endorsing the concept of collective security, the Government of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria considers that the establishment of regional collective
security systems, in which the large and small States of a given region would
participate on a footing of equality, would be an effective means of strengthening
world security. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the concept of the
establishment of a European security system, which would no doubt play a major role

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in bringing about a détente and promoting the establishment of bonds of friendship and good-neighbourliness in one of the most sensitive areas of the world.

The implementation of all measures envisaged by the Charter to ensure the effective functioning of the Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is of particularly great importance for the strengthening of international security.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will support all proposals based on the Charter which will enable the Security Council to take more effective steps against acts of aggression than those adopted thus far, using the full powers vested in it by the Charter. It would be advisable for the Security Council, acting in accordance with Article 26 of the Charter, to hold periodic meetings with the participation of members of Governments or other specially designated representatives, at which the general state of international security should be considered.

There can be no doubt that the strengthening of security among peoples, the improvement of the international climate and the elimination of violent world conflicts will open up new opportunities for fruitful international co-operation in the economic, scientific and technological fields. That is particularly true for the developing countries, which have serious problems inherited from the colonial era to solve.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to contribute actively to the debate on the problems of international security at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to the adoption of decisions which would have an immediate and positive impact on the international situation as a whole. We are deeply convinced that the United Nations will be able to carry out its important tasks in the various spheres of international co-operation, including its obligations with respect to the developing countries, only if it can discharge effectively its principal task, that of safeguarding peace and strengthening international security.

(Signed) Ivan BACHEV
Minister for Foreign Affairs
DENMARK

The United Nations Charter, though drafted twenty-five years ago, still contains the fundamental keys to the preservation of peace. These, as set out in Chapter I of the Charter, are:

(i) The principle of the sovereign equality of all Member States;
(ii) The principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful means;
(iii) The undertaking of Member States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of political independence of any State.

In word as well as in deed, Member States must prove their will to adhere to the principles of the Charter and desist from one-sided interpretations and constructions in furtherance of national or bloc-policy interests.

The fact that no doubt exists about the obligations of Member States does not, however, rule out the possibility of strengthening the authority of the United Nations and its potentialities as a peace-preserving factor. In the following the Danish Government wishes to single out some of the vital issues which the Danish Government finds to be of paramount importance in this context.

In the view of the Danish Government, the efforts to achieve disarmament should be given very high priority. Denmark, for its part, has translated this view into practice through its speedy ratification of the test ban treaty, the treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Most urgent, however, is the need for curbing the accelerated strategic arms race, for which the great Powers obviously have a special responsibility. This is true of the development and deployment of offensive as well as defensive weapons.

Of overriding importance are also the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations which Denmark, over the years, has supported actively through participation
and through considerable financial contributions. It is essential that the studies of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should be expedited so that the United Nations will stand prepared to meet any future situation in which international peace-keeping operations would again become an important element in the settlement of conflicts. The Danish Government trusts that the studies of the Special Committee will lead to positive results and that it will prove feasible to devise an arrangement for the financing of such operations.

A very important aspect of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations is the prevention of international tensions. No less important than the strengthening of the United Nations peace-keeping capabilities is the strengthening of its capability to discharge its peace-making functions outlined in Chapter VI of the Charter. All means by which the third party role of the United Nations in pacific settlement of conflicts through negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation or arbitration could be enhanced deserve full consideration. Particular attention should be given to the adoption and strengthening of the United Nations machinery to cope with pacific settlement of conflicts in the light of the past experience and evolution of methods and procedures in the discharge of this function.

Moreover, it must be one of the most important tasks of the United Nations to assure the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Only with the assistance of the industrialized world to the developing countries, including facilities for the latter to share in technological advance, will it be possible to redress the social injustice which marks the world community.

The Danish Government considers it to be of crucial importance to complete the process of decolonization, to achieve universal acceptance of racial equality and, on the whole, to ensure full respect for general and fundamental human rights.

Finally, the Danish Government would consider it expedient that the International Court of Justice be used to a greater extent than heretofore for the settlement of international conflicts and for the codification of international law.

Being a European country, Denmark has a particular interest in the question of European security. It is a well-known fact that the Government of Denmark, as a link in the efforts to attain a durable and just settlement, supports the idea of
convening a well-prepared conference of all States responsible for European security in an effort to promote - also through multilateral channels - the cause of détente and European co-operation.

(Signed) Otto BORCH
Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations
In the extensive debate of the General Assembly at its last session, the head of the Hungarian delegation stated the position of the Hungarian Government on the Soviet draft appeal which the United Nations General Assembly would address to all States of the world on the strengthening of international security.

In the present international situation immense significance has been attached to the aforementioned proposal of the Soviet Government for the comprehensive purpose of achieving the security of the world, lessening international tensions, enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations of States having different social systems.

The Hungarian Government noted with satisfaction that all delegations unanimously supported at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly the inclusion of the item in the agenda, thereby demonstrating their awareness of the significance of the subject.

Mankind has attributed great importance to the activity of the United Nations during the past quarter of a century. The Organization was established with the purpose of making it possible, by uniting the peoples of the world, to secure a lasting peace and a better understanding among States. It can already be stated today that the activity of the Organization has contributed also to the success of the struggle for the prevention of a new world war. It must be conceded, however, that during the past twenty-five years a good many international crises have overshadowed the efforts made to strengthen peace.

Especially noteworthy initiatives have been taken by the United Nations in the interest of general and complete disarmament and the final liquidation of the colonial system. The constructive resolutions concerning these issues, however, have not been carried out as yet and the Organization must make further efforts to ensure the implementation of its resolutions.

The present time points out with particular sharpness that there is still a long way to go until war, aggression, the use of senseless force, is eliminated. It is evident that the acts of aggression committed in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and elsewhere equally threaten world peace and disturb the peaceful life of the peoples of other continents.
The Hungarian Government noted with satisfaction that the General Assembly unanimously adopted at its last session a resolution to consider the Soviet proposal at the twenty-fifth session. The Hungarian Government wishes to make a constructive contribution to the General Assembly's deliberations by stating its views on some aspects of the strengthening of international peace and security as follows:

1. Primary importance should be attached to observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between States. All wars in progress should be put to an end and care should be taken to prevent the occurrence of aggression in the future.

2. It is necessary to carry out the fundamental resolutions adopted thus far by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council:
   (a) The resolutions on general and complete disarmament; and on efforts to further introduce collateral disarmament measures;
   (b) The resolution on the final liquidation of the colonial system by putting an end to all fighting against the colonial peoples, by eliminating all forms of oppression and by granting independence to the people under colonial domination;
   (c) The resolutions calling for the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of action by the armed forces of some States against other States and peoples defending their independence and territorial integrity.

3. With a view to increasing the effectiveness of the Organization as a whole - this being an indispensable condition of international security - greater weight and responsibilities should be conferred on the Security Council.

4. Regional security systems should be established in order to promote the interests of international security.

The Hungarian Government believes that it would be useful and important for the largest possible number of States to express their views at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the strengthening of international security.


(Signed) Janos PETER
Minister of Foreign Affairs

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IRELAND

Memorandum

1. In this year in which the world celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, it is particularly appropriate to examine ways towards the strengthening of international security, while at the same time keeping in mind the sober fact that the principal aim and highest hope of the framers of the United Nations - the establishment of an effective system of collective international security - remain unfulfilled. The United Nations has proved capable of making a valuable contribution, if only on a partial basis, towards international security, and the Organization provides useful services in the vitally important fields of arbitration and disarmament. The aim of Member States must be to concentrate on strengthening the role of the United Nations in those areas in which it is already providing a dynamic towards the lessening of world tension and to utilize fully and, as necessary, augment the existing machinery of international organization aimed at promoting effective measures towards world peace and security. As the Secretary-General stated in his address on 7 April 1964, on "The Strengthening of the United Nations":

   "It is to be hoped that eventually the power of the great States, now precariously held in balance by nuclear armament, will be shifted to supporting, in all ways, the United Nations, which will only then become a true world authority. Until that time, the Organization must contrive, with all the support it can muster, to develop its potential in the spirit of the unity of human society and to search continually for a really effective system under which mankind can live together in peace."

2. A stable system of international security requires the firm control of international tension and the creation of a climate in which each State can act in the conviction that its legitimate interests are not threatened by others - a climate in which each State can pursue, without fear of outside domination or intervention, policies calculated to improve the lot of its people and contribute to a better world. To achieve this effectively it is essential that each Member State, in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under the Charter, faithfully observes the principles of the United Nations set out in Article 2 of the Charter and gives effect to each of the purposes of the Organization, as defined in Article 1.

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3. In particular each State must act in conformity with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. To this end it is especially important that full and speedy effect be given to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

4. Inasmuch as peace founded on justice is the indispensable basis for human progress, it is vital that the United Nations take positive measures to prevent conflict. Consequently it is necessary to implement more vigorously certain provisions of the Charter and in particularly those contained in Chapter VI concerning pacific settlement of disputes. Here greater recourse should be had to negotiation, fact-finding, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and judicial settlement in relation to international disputes. To that end fullest use should be made of all organs of the United Nations and in particular the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat and the International Court of Justice. Moreover, among the purposes of the United Nations is "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends"; greater attention to this purpose would help to strengthen international security.

5. As regards the Security Council, General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) very pertinently calls attention to Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, which provides for periodic meetings of the Council in discharge of its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security: the initiative of Finland, set out in document S/9759, to give effect to this provision is to be welcomed. The working out of new ways (including fuller recourse to Article 29) to strengthen the Security Council in the discharge of its functions under the Charter is of great importance to the success of the United Nations in the promotion of world peace.

6. The International Court of Justice has obvious potentialities in the field of judicial settlement. The important role devolving on the Secretary-General is recognized in Article 99 of the Charter and recourse to his good offices has proved efficacious in the past. It is most desirable that he use his good offices in any situation where it appears to him they could be useful; and in doing so he should be able to rely confidently on the co-operation of the entire membership.