CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES FOR THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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Memorandum

1. The Government of the Union of Burma has given careful consideration to the question of strengthening international security, which forms the subject-matter of General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV), and its views in this regard are as set forth in the present memorandum, prepared in response to operative paragraph 3 of the resolution.

2. The process of organizing a general framework for the strengthening of international security is one which requires a multilateral approach in international effort, in order to devise a system capable of achieving universal acceptance. In this context, the United Nations Organization remains the most acceptable international instrument designed to promote peace and security in the world. Whatever its imperfections, there is no alternative to the United Nations, which has the possibility of building up the necessary pattern of international security.

3. The fundamental purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of which depends on the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States. The principles for this are embodied in the United Nations Charter and their faithful observance is of paramount importance for the improvement of international relations and making the United Nations a more effective instrument for international conciliation. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations is a relevant and appropriate stage to reappraise the status of the United Nations and for reaffirmation by all Member States of their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

4. The basic problems which have stood in the way of international security are inherent in the present pattern of super-Power relationships, political and strategic. Consequently, the institution of more satisfactory arrangements for international security would depend mainly on these Powers, and exercise by them of caution and restraint from involvement in regional conflicts and respect for the integrity of less powerful nations. The Government of the Union of Burma believes that the exercise of such restraint could avoid a major confrontation and point the way to new openings for initiatives in the search for a universal system of collective security.

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5. Since under the Charter, primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security lies with the Security Council and the permanent Powers in particular, a broad pledge by these Powers to act on a programme to strengthen international security would give a sense of direction and continuity to getting on with specific tasks. The proposal to initiate periodic meetings of the Security Council in accordance with Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter would provide an appropriate forum for the permanent Powers to review and chart such a programme. Consideration should also be given to the desirability of constraints on the unrestricted use of the veto power and an attempt to define the special circumstances which should justify its use.

6. Any consideration of a programme to remove threats to international peace and security must take into account that an indispensable condition for the enhancement of the prestige and authority of the United Nations is the consequent enforcement of the principle of the universality of membership; that the preservation of peace and the prevention of war is the supreme task with which the world is faced today and to ensure this it is necessary to secure general and complete disarmament; that the process of disarmament would also release tremendous resources now being expended on armaments for the peaceful purpose of raising the living standards of the population of all States and especially the developing countries, where the hope for peace is inextricably linked with the striving for economic and social progress; and that formal United Nations endorsement of principles on the peaceful coexistence of States would have the effect of achieving wider acceptance of these principles as basic for the conduct of international relations.

7. Burma attaches the utmost importance to the right of all nations freely to choose their political, economic and social systems, best suited to their own conditions, and firmly believes that it will serve the cause of international peace, understanding and security if all nations respect this basic right and refrain from interference in each other’s internal affairs in any form whatsoever.

9. There are very real limits to the role which Burma can play in the search for practical solutions to problems agitating international security. Burma has scrupulously refrained from taking sides in international disputes and consistently followed a policy of independence and strict neutrality and hopes that this should serve in an indirect way as constituting a modest measure in the cause of international peace and security.

/...
MY delegation believes that one essential element in the task of strengthening international security is that the basic instrument governing the structure of the Organization - the Charter of the United Nations - should be subjected to detailed examination, which might possibly lead to its revision. On numerous occasions in the General Assembly and the Sixth Committee we have expressed our view that it is essential to establish a forum in which the concerns and preoccupations that have been displayed at various levels can be brought together and examined systematically. Addressing the Security Council on 16 June 1969, the President of the Republic of Colombia, Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, referred to the universalization of the Organization; and, during the general debate, Minister López Michelsen reiterated this idea, which is indisputable if one remembers that peace depends essentially on a joint effort in which the exclusion of certain countries on the ground of their views or their origin as entities of international law, is basically counterproductive. There must be a place in the United Nations for all nations, since peace is based not on the imposition of views but on agreement, and agreement is arrived at as a result of debate and controversy, and never by imposing silence on particular views or positions.

Within this concept of universality to which I have referred, there is now also the problem of the micro-States. The solution of this problem, in our view, will entail revision of the Charter since, with the text as it is at present drafted, there is no possibility of arriving at a legally acceptable formula for the establishment of a special category which would enable certain States to avail themselves of certain advantages without at the same time assuming excessive obligations.

My delegation also believes that the strengthening of peace depends to a large extent on the ability of the Security Council to give effect to its own decisions, particularly those relating to Chapter VII of the Charter, which may necessitate the use of force. The establishment of a permanent force - not just to meet specific emergencies, but rather as a permanent instrument of the Security Council's will - is therefore another of the aspects to which my delegation attaches special importance.
To sum up, my delegation believes that General Assembly resolution 2552 (XXIV) - the result of an initiative by Colombia - should be interpreted and used to ensure every concern and preoccupation regarding the structure of the Charter is examined by the Organization with the detailed attention which the subject deserves.

I may add that my delegation endorses in general terms the presentation on this question submitted at the appropriate time by the Brazilian delegation - a presentation which it regards as compatible with several of the previous plans.

ICELAND

Original: English
9 June 1970

Memorandum

In the Secretary-General's letter of 3 February 1970 (PO 110 (1-1)), Member States are requested to submit their views and proposals on the strengthening of international security.

The Government of Iceland welcomes this opportunity in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations to reaffirm its faith in the United Nations and to submit the following remarks in anticipation of a more detailed discussion at the next session of the General Assembly.

The United Nations Charter provides a sound framework for the effective pursuit of the fundamental aspirations of mankind. Under its provisions the policies and principles which form the basis for the protection of human dignity and well-being can be carried out. This applies to the solution of international disputes by peaceful means, economic and social development, the protection of human rights, disarmament and arms control. However, the United Nations can never be stronger or more effective than the Member States want the Organization to be. What is needed, therefore, is a genuine effort by all Member States, large and small, to live up to the spirit of the Charter. Renewed efforts for this purpose would indeed be worthy of the Second United Nations Development Decade and would contribute more than anything else to ensure the development of a world legal order based on justice and freedom from insecurity and fear.
A primary objective is the regulation of armaments and disarmament under effective international control. In that connexion a conference on European security, adequately prepared and providing reasonable prospects for success, is under discussion. Other such regional arrangements might also be considered in order to supplement the work of the United Nations, which must be relentlessly pursued.

Another primary objective in the maintenance of international peace and security would be to prevent disputes through a more efficient co-operation in furthering economic and social progress and the speedy solution of disputes, when they do arise, through full use of the United Nations principles of fact-finding, conciliation, mediation and recourse to the International Court of Justice. Should such efforts be insufficient, peace-keeping forces must be strengthened and fully utilized.

The development of international law and justice is a third primary objective. The protection of human rights and humanitarian law must be actively safeguarded and the human environment must be improved.

The Government of Iceland will continue to base its policy on the conviction that international security "is dependent upon the development of a world legal order based on justice and the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations".

NEPAL

[Signature]
15 June 1970

In response to General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV), requesting the States Members of the United Nations to inform you of their views and proposals on the question of the strengthening of international security, I have the honour to present below the views of His Majesty's Government of Nepal for your kind consideration, and necessary action.
You are aware that the Kingdom of Nepal has an abiding faith in the United Nations Organization which, in spite of certain shortcomings, is the only hope of mankind for the preservation of world peace. The world Organization has taken many bold steps but for which there might have been more conflagrations in the world; these are achievements to its credit. Nepal has unflinching faith in the noble ideals of the Charter and is dedicated to discharging its responsibilities as a Member. Nepal has always given its honest and sincere opinion in world problems on the merit of each individual case without any fear or favour. Nepal wants to see a strong and effective United Nations with still more power to work effectively for world peace and international justice.

His Majesty King Mahendra, in his statement to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, said:

"My country has come to the United Nations with as much faith in its Organization as in its Charter, with as much faith in its effectiveness as in its ideal. For, to a small country like mine, the United Nations represents the ideal as well as the practical. It satisfies us in so far as it helps us to work actively for larger unity and for the peace and prosperity of mankind; it satisfies us also in so far as it secures us morally and materially against encroachment and interference from others. A small nation has a stake in peace; a small developing nation such as ours, which is obliged to mobilize all its human and material resources for development, has a vital stake in peace. Though we have such a deep-rooted interest in peace, we have no means of preserving it alone. For this reason, the United Nations has more than ordinary significance for us because it provides, first, a feeling of collective security against encroachment and interference from others, and secondly, a climate of peace so necessary for our development. In short, we have come to the United Nations with a trust that is total and complete.

"... Indeed, there is no alternative to the United Nations. So far as we are concerned, the only real alternative to the United Nations is an even more powerful United Nations. Realizing this, we have tried our best to fulfil all our commitments to the Organization."

Most of the problems in the world are aggravated because of the direct or indirect interference by countries in the internal affairs of others. In no circumstances should a country interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Non-interference in internal affairs of a country must be ensured by the world Organization.
Effective maintenance and strengthening of international security can be possible only with the co-operation of all countries of the world. Hence Nepal wants universal representation in the United Nations Organization and has maintained that the People's Republic of China must have its rightful place in the world Organization. We are convinced that if the People's Republic of China as well as other countries are represented in the United Nations Organization, the Organization will definitely be more effective in maintaining world peace than otherwise. Without the co-operation of all nations, big and small, specially of the big Powers including the People's Republic of China, world peace and security cannot be maintained in the true sense of the word. Hence Nepal wants the People's Republic of China to be given its rightful place. A country with 700 million people which is also a nuclear Power cannot and should not be ignored in any realistic approach to world issues.

The world is faced with the threat of a thermonuclear war and Nepal feels that, under these circumstances, there should be complete nuclear disarmament, including a ban on nuclear tests except for strictly peaceful purposes. In the hope that this objective may be promoted, the Kingdom of Nepal has become one of the signatory countries to the partial nuclear test ban treaty as well as to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, though His Majesty's Government feels that the obligations accepted by non-nuclear signatories are not matched by comparable obligations on the part of nuclear Powers. We feel that underground tests also should be banned, and all countries, specially the big Powers, must work for the ultimate destruction of all kinds of thermonuclear weapons which are now in the possession of nuclear Powers and that there should not be any more proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In this nuclear age when total annihilation stares the world in the face, mankind's only salvation lies in peaceful coexistence. Nepal sincerely believes that coexistence is a *sine qua non* for the maintenance of world peace: either coexistence or, in its absence, a development too frightful to contemplate. It is therefore imperative that the world body should reaffirm its faith in the following principles, namely:

(a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
(b) Non-aggression;
(c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political and ideological character;
(d) Equality and mutual benefit;
(e) Peaceful coexistence.

All decisions taken by the Security Council must be without exception binding to, and faithfully implemented by, all member countries. Those who refuse to implement the decisions of the Council should be taken to task in an effective way. For this purpose, Nepal feels that the Security Council should be suitably reactivated, so that it always remains vigilant and is willing and able to discharge the responsibilities of the Charter. Unless the decisions made by this Council are implemented, the world Organization cannot be meaningful in strengthening international security.

In the interests of human dignity and the general climate of security, all vestiges of colonialism should be eliminated and the world conscience must be fully aroused against apartheid and racialism in South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere.

Forceful occupation of the territory of one sovereign country by another through the force of arms must be treated as a violation of the Charter. The right of all States to exist peacefully and securely within their borders without interference or threat from others must be guaranteed by the United Nations.

Peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations Organization should be provided and strengthened. The world Organization must have teeth to bite the violators of the spirit of the Charter if and when necessary. Then only can it strengthen international security by taking effective suitable action in time against those who act contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

The growing gap between the rich and the poor nations, the developed and the developing, is not without its vital implications for international security. Modern technology and science have made this gap bridgeable. Yet, even the modest goal that each developed country should use one per cent of its gross national product for assisting the developing countries has not been reached. It is, therefore, a matter of concern that the present outlook for international economic co-operation is bleak on account of the attitudes of developed countries.
The Kingdom of Nepal, while appreciating the bilateral aid received from friendly countries, feels that there should be still more multilateral aid through the aegis of the United Nations and its agencies. Though aid is helpful to the developing countries, better facilities for trade are of vital importance to them because the best aid is trade.

In addition there is considerable scope for increased co-operation among the developing countries themselves. The more developed of the developing countries can assist the less developed ones through aid and loans and, above all, through liberal policies of trade in relation to their commodities.

The inalienable right of free and unhindered access to the sea of the land-locked countries must be ensured by all coastal countries. A land-locked country, for no fault of its own, is handicapped in international intercourse for having to pay for longer routes and higher freights than a coastal country. It is essential that in the interest of general security and harmony the conscience of the international community should be fully alive to the genuine needs of land-locked countries so that they too can make comparable contributions to world peace and prosperity.
1. The consideration by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session, on a proposal by the USSR, of the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" illustrated both the immediacy of the problem and also the general interest displayed by Member States in the contribution which the United Nations can make to the consideration and solution of the major problems facing mankind today.

Concern for the strengthening of international security, and for the proper functioning of the machinery envisaged for that purpose in the United Nations Charter, is all the more justified in view of the fact that in certain parts of the world there are still hotbeds of conflict and sources of tension which affect the normal course of relations between States and endanger world peace. Imperialist circles are forming dissensions and tension, and are attacking the freedom and peaceful life of peoples with a view to maintaining and consolidating their domination.

The realization of international security is a matter of fundamental importance to the Romanian people. Romania regards an appropriate and lasting solution to this problem as a guarantee for the completion of its peaceful construction work.

2. The Romanian Government believes that international security requires a system of clear-cut commitments by all States, and also specific measures which will provide each State with a complete guarantee that it is safe from any threat of aggression or any other act involving the threat or use of force, and which will ensure the peaceful development of States in an atmosphere of détente, understanding and co-operation.

The decisive factors on which the maintenance of world peace and security and the improvement of the general political climate at present depend are respect for the right of every people to decide its own fate itself, and the renunciation of efforts to dominate other people by force.
International security can be realized only by the establishment and development among States of relations based on respect for the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs, territorial integrity, non-use of force or the threat of force, and mutual advantage.

The solemn adoption at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, of the declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter would provide a further expression of their universal importance and would at the same time constitute a specific step towards the strengthening of international security.

3. In view of the role which the United Nations plays in increasing co-operation among States, ensuring respect for international law and consolidating peace and the security of peoples, Romania believes that all interested countries without any discrimination should be represented in this forum, and that the principle of the universality of the Organization must be rigorously respected.

The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is clearly essential. Such a step, which Romania has consistently advocated, would strengthen the United Nations and enhance its effectiveness and prestige throughout the world.

The admission to the United Nations of the two German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany - would have a particularly important impact on the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole. Conditions must be created to enable other States as well to take part in the Organization's activities.

4. The inseparable link between the strengthening of international legality and the security of nations has led the United Nations to adopt various important documents for the codification and implementation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. This useful work, which should be continued, represents a significant contribution to the establishment of relations among States based on solid foundations of international law, and also to the settlement of international problems by exclusively peaceful means.

Another contribution to the strengthening of international security would be made by elaborating a generally accepted definition of aggression - a step which would facilitate United Nations activities in the maintenance of world peace.
5. In order to bring about an atmosphere of peace and security in the world, States must encourage and commit themselves to an extensive process of international co-operation, on the basis of equal rights and without any discrimination whatsoever. Co-operation is the tried and effective way of enabling peoples to get to know one another better, and of creating an atmosphere of international understanding which will make it possible to eliminate war from the life of peoples and establish a lasting peace.

6. The Romanian Government believes that determined steps must be taken to ensure that results are obtained in the efforts to halt the arms race and to implement specific measures of general disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

As a member of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, Romania - side by side with other countries - has constantly urged the adoption and implementation of specific disarmament measures capable of bringing about a gradual reduction in armaments and leading ultimately to the complete elimination of armaments and force from the sphere of international relations once and for all.

7. The maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security urgently require the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism and the elimination from relations between nations of all forms of exploitation and domination, which have helped keep many countries and regions in various continents in a state of under-development.

The granting of substantial and effective aid to the developing countries, in order to facilitate their comprehensive development on the basis of contemporary civilization, is an essential requirement of international life.

8. Efforts at the regional level to develop co-operation and ensure security in various parts of the world can have a positive effect on the development of the international climate as a whole. In this connexion, rapprochement and understanding between the European States are vitally important for the attainment of security on that continent.

With a view to achieving security in Europe, the Socialist Republic of Romania is working steadfastly for the preparation and convening of the pan-European conference on co-operation and security.

/...
The establishment of regional ententes and the development of good-neighbourly relations in all parts of the European continent, and on other continents as well, will have a particularly beneficial effect on the general political climate. Romania therefore considers it essential that all the Governments concerned should intensify their efforts to ensure an extensive development of inter-State relations in the Balkans, with a view to making this area an area of peace and peaceful coexistence, with no nuclear weapons.

9. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations should provide Member States with an opportunity to renew their efforts to promote the cause of peace and the strengthening of international security, to reaffirm their determination to ensure that international relations are based on the lofty principles of the Charter and the rules of international law and morality, and to eliminate the use of force, in any form, from relations among States.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

29 May 1970

In its approach to the solution of international problems the Government of the Soviet Ukraine is guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems - the immutable principle of the foreign policy of our State.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR takes the position that the main task of the United Nations, which was founded a quarter of a century ago by peoples determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, is to maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures to that end. Under the Charter of the United Nations all States Members of the Organization have assumed an obligation to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

/.../
The Government of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to emphasize that the development of international relations, particularly in recent times, urgently requires that the United Nations should intensify its efforts to maintain and strengthen peace and security. The priority and importance of this task arise from the fact that in various regions of the world acts of aggression are being committed, foreign territories are being seized, the national liberation struggle of the peoples for their independence and freedom is being suppressed by force, hundreds of thousands of people are losing their lives, material and cultural values are being destroyed, plans to revise the results of the Second World War are maturing, and the arms race is proceeding on an unprecedented scale. All this is preventing mankind from concentrating its material and spiritual efforts on economic and social progress.

At the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly the Ukrainian SSR stated its position in regard to the substance of the problem of strengthening international security, after stressing the importance and necessity of taking specific and effective measures in that connexion, and it fully supported the proposals contained in the draft "Appeal to all States of the world" submitted by the delegation of the USSR.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR declares that in future it will continue to give strong support to any proposals designed to improve the international situation and to strengthen co-operation between all States. For this purpose new collective efforts must be made, and new initiatives and new action must be taken, in strict compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In present-day circumstances it is essential above all to put an end to - and to prevent in future - any acts which constitute a direct threat to peace and security.

In view of the foregoing, the Government of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly should, on the item entitled "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security", adopt decisions providing for:

1. Prohibition of the acquisition of foreign territories by seizure, and the withdrawal of troops from such territories;

2. Immediate observance of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories;

/.../
3. Intensification of the Security Council's activities and enhancement of its role and effectiveness;

4. Strict adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations;

5. Implementation of general and complete disarmament, and also of partial disarmament measures;

6. Establishment of practical and effective regional collective security systems, with the participation of large and small countries;

7. Unconditional implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and cessation of any measures for the suppression of the peoples' liberation movements;

8. Promotion of the social and economic development of all peoples of the world.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the strengthening of peace, the consolidation of international security and the enhancement of the role and authority of the United Nations are urgently demanded by the entire world public. The adoption by the General Assembly of a decision on the strengthening of international security and the implementation of specific measures to that end will be in the interests of all countries and peoples.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Original: English
22 June 1970

1. The consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the question of the "The strengthening of international security" presents the world Organization with an opportunity of utmost importance to focus attention on the disturbing state of international peace and security, to reflect on the areas where the United Nations has failed to achieve what was originally expected of it, and to activate its mechanism and mobilize its reserves for the purpose of ensuring its effective functioning in the attainment of its primary purpose and the carrying out of its central task, namely: the maintenance of international peace and security.

/.../
A number of recent trends in international relations lend an urgent character to the question of "The strengthening of international security". There is at present a world-wide grave concern for the violation by some Members of the United Nations of the basic norms of the Charter relating to the outlawing of war as an instrument of national policy and the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by conquest. Grave concern is also caused by the persistent denial on the part of some States of the rights of peoples to self-determination and national independence and the suppression of national liberation movements and the struggle of peoples for the attainment of their inalienable rights to self-determination. These gross violations have resulted in a serious situation fraught with dangers to international peace and security.

2. The United Nations Charter ushered in a new era in international relations. It laid down the foundations for a new international order conceived in liberty, based on justice and equality and dedicated to progress. It prescribes basic principles and obligations for the regulation of international relations and the conduct of States, and institutes methods and machinery for the maintenance of international peace and security. The States Members of the United Nations, by ratifying the Charter, have pledged themselves to the respect of its principles and the attainment of its purposes.

3. Now that twenty-five years have elapsed since the inception of the United Nations, the time has come for all its membership to take stock of the achievements of that world Organization on which peoples have put such high hopes, and truly assess its effectiveness. No better occasion could present itself than this forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary session. It would be less than candid not to admit that the achievements of the world Organization have so far been wanting and its performance inadequate. The main challenge with which the United Nations has been faced during the last twenty-five years was its inability to react effectively and forcefully, as empowered by the Charter, to the tendency among some of its Members to defy and flout its purposes and principles and to challenge its collective will. Twenty-five years have gone by, but world peace has not been established, and international security has not been assured. The world is still witnessing acts of aggression being committed with impunity. Force is still being used by some States as an instrument of national policy and a means of furthering their expansionist ambitions. The territorial integrity and political independence of States are constantly threatened. Gross
violations of human rights are being tolerated or glossed over. Policies based on fallacious and racial concepts are being not only practised, but in certain cases encouraged. Effective measures have not yet been undertaken towards general and complete disarmament while nuclear and thermonuclear stockpiles are increasing day after day. The elimination of economic disparities and the eradication of the roots of social conflict have not been dealt with effectively. The establishment of conditions of economic and social justice which are fundamental to further the cause of international peace and security is relegated to secondary importance.

4. For some of those grave international problems the United Nations has either not taken any effective action or when it has, has been reluctant to follow it up or to ensure that its collective will be respected. In other words, there has been a lack of determination on the part of the international Organization to resort to those pertinent provisions of the Charter that have conferred upon it the power to curb any defiance of its principles and to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. By failing to give effect to its resolutions and to ensure respect for its will, the United Nations has not adequately carried out the primary task entrusted to it by the Charter: the maintenance of international peace and security. If a global war has been averted, local wars abound in various parts of the world and have inflicted great destruction and sufferings upon many innocent peoples and subjected their towns and villages to the experimentation of advanced lethal weapons and means of mass destruction.

5. It is only through timely action and deliberate resolve that the world Organization can spare the international community the relapse to the era of the predominance of the policies of force in international relations. It is only through the reassertion by the United Nations of its determination to impose its collective will that it can avert falling into ineffectiveness. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be a milestone in the history of the United Nations. It is highly opportune that all Member States should rededicate themselves in good faith to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and commit themselves to respect and abide by the collective will of the international community.
6. Compliance by Member States with United Nations resolutions is imperative for the United Nations to discharge its functions. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have been seized with a multitude of questions purporting to the maintenance of international peace and security. The resolutions adopted by these two principal organs of the world Organization are the considered judgement and the expressed will of the community of nations.

7. The United Nations Charter sets up an elaborate enforcement mechanism to ensure adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Accordingly, the Security Council was vested with adequate powers to enable it to take effective action whenever peace is threatened. It is therefore essential that the action which the Security Council adopts to maintain or restore international peace and security be mandatory and promptly enforced. Provisions to this effect were embodied in Articles 25 and 49 of the Charter. However, it is to be noted that the authority of the Security Council, as the organ with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been impaired by the non-implementation and continuous defiance of its resolutions. A glance at the United Nations balance-sheet clearly indicates that some of the most important resolutions which were adopted unanimously by the Security Council were not implemented regardless of the grave implications to world peace. The Secretary-General rightly stated on 26 May 1970 that:

"... a more effective United Nations, a more disciplined and orderly functioning of this world Organization, must see to it that the resolutions or decisions, particularly of the Security Council, when they are adopted unanimously, must be enforceable."

8. The Charter, on the other hand, by empowering the General Assembly to consider any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, assumed that its resolutions will be heeded. The recommendatory nature of General Assembly resolutions, in matters pertaining to peace and security, does not imply that States are at liberty to flout their provisions. It is, therefore, inconceivable that General Assembly resolutions be treated as mere exhortations or political pronouncements and be continuously defied. The Secretary-General has pertinently called attention to the importance of observing General Assembly resolutions on many occasions. In the introduction to his 1960-1961 annual report he stated that:

/...
"... although the decisions, legally, are only recommendations, they introduce an important element by expressing a majority consensus on the issue under consideration.

"Naturally, such a formula leaves scope for a gradual development in practice of the weight of the decisions. To the extent that more respect, in fact, is shown to General Assembly recommendations by the Member States, they may come more and more close to being recognized as decisions having a binding effect on those concerned, particularly when they involve the application of the binding principles of the Charter and of international law."

9. The respect for the United Nations authority and its decisions necessitates immediate reactivation of the enforcement machinery and the application of the sanctions prescribed in the Charter. Proposals aiming at making the Security Council more effective as the prime guardian of international peace and security are always welcomed by the Government of the United Arab Republic. The Government of the United Arab Republic noted with appreciation the constructive initiative taken by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in requesting the inscription of an item entitled: "The strengthening of international security". The deliberations which ensued on that item afforded Member States an ample opportunity for a comprehensive appraisal of the United Nations effectiveness in the realm of peace and security. The Government of Finland followed up by another commendable step. It proposed instituting periodic meetings of the Security Council in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter as a further measure toward making the United Nations more effective in maintaining international peace and security. It is to be noted that the Security Council has already taken a positive step in that direction.

The Government of the United Arab Republic will consider with keen interest all suggestions aiming at strengthening international security. Meanwhile, it is studying the possibility of introducing proposals to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly which it hopes would contribute to the implementation of United Nations resolutions.
ZAMBIA

[Original: English]
18 June 1970

... Zambia supports the Committee's recommendation to the General Assembly. However, the situation in southern Africa should have been referred to in the recommendations of the First Committee as drawn out in the report dated 13 December 1969 (A/7903). It is common knowledge that the situation in southern Africa constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security.

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