Twenty-fifth session

**CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

Report of the Secretary-General

**CONTENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>Paragraphs</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS</td>
<td>1 - 14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70-11450
II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. INTRODUCTION

1. After the constructive and extended debate on the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" included in the agenda of its twenty-fourth session as an important and urgent matter, the General Assembly adopted unanimously, at its 1936th plenary meeting on 16 December 1969, resolution 2606 (XXIV), the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"

"1. Believes that, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the General Assembly should consider appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security;

"2. Invites Member States to study the proposals and statements made during the consideration of the item entitled 'The strengthening of international security';

"3. Requests Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals on this subject not later than 1 May 1970 and also of any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security;

"4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-fifth session an item entitled 'Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security';

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received pursuant to paragraph 3 above."

In pursuance of the resolution, the Secretary-General addressed a letter, dated 3 February 1970, to the Governments of Member States requesting their views and proposals on this subject and on any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security. The substantive portions of the communications received so far in reply to the letter of the Secretary-General are reproduced in section II below.

2. The communications from Governments explicitly indicate that Member States attach great importance to the question of strengthening international security. As is recognized in these replies, this question is a broad one and includes among
its aspects such important problems as strict observance by all States of the principles of the United Nations Charter, disarmament, the strengthening, in accordance with the Charter, of the peace-keeping and peace-making machinery of the United Nations, regional arrangements, economic and social development, the responsibility of all Powers, big or small, not to violate the established norms of international behaviour. In their quest for peace and security the Member States have put forth several proposals for discussion and action at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

3. I have had occasion to present my own views on these problems to the General Assembly, particularly in the introduction to my annual reports on the work of the Organization. It may be appropriate, however, to recapitulate those views here, from the standpoint of their bearing on the strengthening of international security.

4. It has seemed to me in recent years that the greatest obstacle to the strengthening of international security has come from the growing tendency for States to revert to a reliance on force as a means of resolving their international differences. The continuing arms race not only consumes substantial human and material resources but in itself constitutes a growing threat to peace and security.

5. Maintenance of international peace and security is not only the primary goal of the United Nations but also the sine qua non for the very existence and progress of mankind. Modern society has no other alternative to annihilation than to strengthen the force of law against the law of force. The consolidation of peace and security calls for general and strict observance by all States Members or non-members of this Organization of the principles of non-use of force or the threat of force, non-interference in internal affairs, equal rights, mutual advantage, and the right of each nation independently to decide its own way of life and foreign policy.

6. As I have repeatedly emphasized, one of the main prerequisites of the strengthening of international security is for all States to live up to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to rededicate themselves once again to the norms of international behaviour and morality set out in the Charter. This would be as much in the interest of the major Powers as it would be in the interest of all the others.
7. The situation, existing in various regions of the world, testifies to the timeliness of such rededication in this anniversary year for the United Nations. The war in South-East Asia does not show signs of abating, the Middle East conflict continues. Potentially dangerous are tensions in Africa, where remnants of colonialism are allowed to exist. While there is some progress in the East-West détente, further efforts are still needed for the building of European security on the basis of confidence, mutual respect and development of friendly relations. The constant source of insecurity in the world is still the unbridged gap between industrially developed countries and the developing ones.

5. There is no alternative but to find ways of alleviating these tensions through fresh actions taken by States. In the last twenty-five years the world and this Organization have gone through many cold war crises. But even during that period a number of international conflicts and problems were solved through the efforts of the United Nations. It is our hope that the Organization will continue to contribute to the settling of outstanding issues in the years to come. In this process, the United Nations should be considered not as something static, except for its basic purposes and principles, but rather as an evolutionary and open-ended organization, responsive to the constantly changing requirements of international society.

9. It has seemed to me that one of the ways in which the dangerous drift back to reliance on the use of force and violence in the pursuit of national ends can best be checked lies in the strengthening of both the peace-keeping and peacemaking functions of the United Nations. In this connexion, I have drawn attention to the urgent need for States to have wider recourse, in their relations with other States, to the various means for the pacific settlement of disputes, including negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice, and have drawn particular attention to the availability of the International Court of Justice, as a principal organ of the United Nations, for the settlement of legal disputes.

10. I have in the past put forward a number of suggestions for steps which seemed to me likely to enhance the general capacity of the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, which is entrusted with the primary
responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to
discharge their functions. In 1967 I drew attention to the right of the Security
Council, under Article 34 of the Charter, to investigate any dispute or any
situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute,
and suggested that Member States should give further study and thought to the
opportunities provided under this Article for the Security Council to inquire
at an early stage into such situations or disputes.

11. I also drew attention to the provision made in Article 23, paragraph 2, of
the Charter for periodic meetings of the Security Council at which each of its
members might be represented by a member of the Government or by some other
specially designated representative. I continue to believe that, once initiated,
such periodic meetings will provide an outstanding opportunity for a general
review of matters relating to international peace and security and for seeking
a consensus approach to such matters.

12. While I firmly believe that the United Nations collective security system
has to function well enough to make it unnecessary for Governments to rely on
the residual provisions for individual and collective self-defence, provided for
in Article 51 of the Charter, the regional arrangements may well contribute to
the strengthening of international security provided the primary and overriding
responsibility of the United Nations in this field is fully recognized and
respected.

13. I have also repeatedly emphasized my conviction that the full potential of
the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace
and security can only be realized when the principle of universality of
membership is more fully applied. As a result of the significant increase in its
ranks, the General Assembly reflects more than ever before the political
configuration of the world and is thus better able to play its part. It remains
ture nevertheless that it is difficult to make progress on major issues, including
disarmament, as long as one of the major Powers is not in the world Organization.
In regard to some of the divided countries as well, I continue to believe that the
political obstacles may not be insuperable, while there will be obvious
advantages in admitting them to membership and enabling them to take part in the
work of the Organization.
14. One cannot escape the fact that major differences exist among the States in regard to the principles to be proclaimed by the United Nations which could strengthen international security and to the ways and means to implement them. But it has become equally clear from the debate at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly that many of the differences are by no means irreconcilable and that given time - and hopefully by the twenty-fifth anniversary - it will be possible for the General Assembly to take meaningful actions regarding strengthening international peace and security.
II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

AFGHANISTAN

[Original: English]
25 April 1970

The views of the Government of Afghanistan concerning the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" were put forward by the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in the plenary meeting on 29 September 1969 [A/PV.1770/7] and in the First Committee on 23 October 1969 [A/C.1/PV.1663/7]. The Government of Afghanistan has no further comment to make at this stage regarding this matter.

AUSTRIA

[Original: English]
1 May 1970

1. It is the principal objective of each nation's policy to safeguard its security and independence. This is true for all States. It is particularly true for a country like Austria, committed by its own free will to a policy of permanent neutrality and thus not belonging to any military alliance. Its national security being closely related to the degree of international political stability, Austria has a direct and vital interest in the strengthening of international security, and in all initiatives advanced in this respect.

2. It is for this reason that Austria has welcomed the debate, at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, on the item "The strengthening of international security". The Austrian Government has studied with great care and interest all proposals and comments presented in this context.

3. The maintenance of international peace and security is the first purpose of the United Nations. This is clearly laid down in the Preamble and in Article 1 of the Charter. To strive continuously towards the realization of this objective must indeed be the foremost aim of United Nations activities.

/...
4. Thus, the strengthening of international security calls in the first instance for a strengthening of the United Nations, which, twenty-five years ago, was conceived by its founders as the very instrument for the attainment of this goal. It is the sincere hope of the Austrian Government that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will provide an opportunity for Member States to assess realistically the past achievements and failures of the world Organization. It is only in the light of such an evaluation that future efforts to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations will yield positive results.

5. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have clearly defined functions regarding the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter entrusts in particular the Security Council with special responsibilities in this field. All ideas which may be put forward with a view to improve the working methods of these two main organs of the United Nations should be given most careful consideration. In this connexion, the Austrian Government feels that the provisions of Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, calling for periodic meetings of the Security Council, may commend themselves for implementation.

6. In order to safeguard international peace and security, the Charter of the United Nations sets forth basic rules of behaviour in international relations designed to enable all countries to solve their problems by peaceful means. The Austrian Government believes that the General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session, should, in the appropriate form, reaffirm the commitment of all Member States to respect these fundamental principles and to act accordingly.

7. Such a declaration by the General Assembly should, in the view of the Austrian Government, take into account all elements essential to the maintenance of international peace and security. It should include adequate reference to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations and focus attention on the importance of the peaceful settlement of disputes through appropriate methods of conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement.

A comprehensive statement of this nature should, however, not be restricted to the immediate aspects of international security but should also give due consideration to the underlying causes of insecurity in our time. The lack of progress in the disarmament efforts, the continuing armaments race, particularly in the nuclear field, have a direct impact on the security of all nations,
especially of the smaller countries. The need for early and effective measures of
arms limitation and disarmament should thus find due reflection in the document
to be adopted by the General Assembly. The General Assembly should equally take
into account the problems of economic development and the gap which continues to
separate industrialized and developing countries. In this context, reference
should be made to the necessity of promoting more effectively the economic and
social advancement of all peoples.

The need for further steps in the field of the protection of human rights,
as well as in the elimination of racism and all other forms of discrimination,
should be expressed in an appropriate way. Similarly, the necessity to pursue
the process of decolonization should be stressed. The rule of law, to be
continuously expanded and promoted by the progressive codification of international
law, should find its proper reflection.

8. Such a declaration would be of particular significance if it were
unanimously adopted by the General Assembly. It could then be interpreted as
setting forth the declared common intentions of all Member States and could thus
be considered both a rededication to the principles of the Charter and a
programme of action of the United Nations for the years to come.

9. However, international security, and the national security that flows
from it, do not result from the mere adoption of resolutions, declarations or
other documents. What is requested is corresponding action taken by each individual
country in the spirit of these resolutions.

Concrete steps conducive to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust
and confidence are necessary. In this connexion the Austrian Government is
encouraged by the recent entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation
of Nuclear Weapons, and by the resumption of the bilateral talks on the limitation
of strategic armaments between the Soviet Union and the United States.

10. With regard to the specific problems of Europe, the convening of a
European security conference would, in the view of the Austrian Government,
contribute effectively to the strengthening of security in that part of the
world. The Austrian Government has therefore reacted favourably to initiatives
taken in this respect.
11. The Austrian Government strongly believes that each and every country should attempt in a pragmatic way to solve all problems in its immediate neighbourhood by peaceful means, and to take effective measures to reduce tension and promote co-operation. Austria's road to independence may well serve as an example for the positive and beneficial results to be derived from sincere efforts on the part of all concerned to reach a commonly acceptable solution of a particular problem. The signing of the Austrian State Treaty in May 1955 and the withdrawal of all remaining foreign troops from Austria's territory in the ensuing months have decisively contributed to the stability and the political climate in central Europe.

12. The reduction of tension and promotion of co-operation in all fields has indeed always been the guiding principle of Austria's foreign policy. It has enabled Austria to establish and maintain friendly relations with its neighbours, as indeed with all States Members of the United Nations. The Austrian Government is determined to continue this policy.

BRAZIL

[Original: English]
3 April 1970

The Government of Brazil welcomes this opportunity to express its views on the question of the strengthening of international peace and security.

During the debates on this subject at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the delegation of Brazil had occasion to present the position of its Government on some of the most important aspects of this problem. At that time, it discussed the essential premises of international peace and security, emphasizing in particular the close relationship that exists between international security and other international problems such as disarmament and economic development.

To put it briefly, the Brazilian Government believes that the strengthening of international security depends on the strict and effective observance by all countries of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

/...
It follows that one of the best and surest ways to strengthen international security is to strengthen the United Nations itself.

In the view of the Brazilian Government, the task of strengthening the United Nations could at the present time be carried on in two different ways: first, taking advantage of the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, by a rededication of the Member States to the purposes and principles of the Charter, especially on the part of those countries that enjoy a special status within the Organization and have a correspondingly higher degree of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; second, by the improvement and development of the collective security machinery of the United Nations.

As far as the machinery is concerned, two different avenues could be explored: (a) the revision of the Charter for the purpose of adapting it to the new functions the United Nations is expected to perform in the field of international security twenty-five years after its foundation; and (b) the full utilization of the procedures already made available to the Organization by the Charter as it now stands.

Despite the high priority that the Government of Brazil attaches to the need for a revision of the Charter, in particular to cover new fields of collective security action such as the peace-keeping operations, it recognizes that, to produce immediate effects, some urgent measures could and should be taken without waiting for the necessarily lengthy procedures entailed by a revision of the Charter.

In the opinion of the Brazilian Government, this development of the capacity of the United Nations to intervene effectively in and control situations where the danger of an international conflict exists should be based, to the extent feasible, on the full exploration of the possibilities opened by Chapter VI of the Charter, that is to say, of those diplomatic mechanisms which so far have been only sparingly utilized.

It is clear from past history that the decisions of the Security Council on matters related to international peace and security have rather frequently been ignored and disrespected, to the detriment of the Organization and of the interests of the world community as a whole.
This unsatisfactory situation arises from certain contradictions in the structure of the United Nations, which the Government of Brazil does not wish to discuss at this stage. While this state of affairs prevails, however, it is necessary to find other means, in line with the purposes and principles of the Organization, to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the Council.

It is well known that the working procedures of the Security Council have evolved substantially in the recent past, leading to an increasing diplomatic activity among its members, with the result that the decisions of the Council now result more from an intense process of informal consultations than from the formal debates around the Council table.

Notwithstanding these developments, which have been accompanied by a trend towards unanimous decisions, the Council has not been able to ensure the observance of its resolutions. It is the understanding of the Brazilian Government that this situation derives from the fact that the consultations among the members of the Council are directed mainly to the collateral aspects of the issues before that body and therefore cannot provide real solutions. Moreover, the Council has frequently come to unanimous decisions at the expense of the meaningfulness of its resolutions and by resorting to vague or ambiguous language, which usually calls for "interpretative" declarations by the Council members. On such occasions, the underlying disagreements become all too apparent.

Therefore, the first road to be explored in the effort to revitalize the security machinery of the United Nations should be one that would lead the Security Council to the substantive examination of the fundamental issues involved in each specific case posing a threat to international peace and security which exists or arises. Obviously, the consideration and study of the real issues would be greatly expedited if the parties to each situation where a danger to peace exists could participate in the process of consultations that already takes place among the members of the Council.

This could be accomplished by the establishment by the Security Council of ad hoc committees for the pacific settlement of disputes, in which the parties to a conflict or a situation which might endanger international peace and security would take part, together with some other delegations (possibly four in number) appointed by the Council at the suggestion of the parties. These committees,
working under the authority of the Security Council, would have the broadest possible mandate, that is, to explore all possible means to maintain or re-establish peace in a situation of grave international crisis.

The committees would work exclusively through the process of harmonizing the views of the parties. They would meet in private and would have no official agenda or records. The link with the Security Council would provide the committees with essential formal status; on the other hand, by adopting flexible procedures, the committees would eventually be able to make progress where the Council had not.

When desirable, the committees would report their suggestions or conclusions to the Security Council which could, in turn, through its endorsement, give them official character.

It is the opinion of the Government of Brazil that the ad hoc committees could not only be helpful in expediting the consideration of issues already before the United Nations, but could also provide a suitable framework for the discussion of some important international issues and problems from which the United Nations has been excluded, not for want of competence, but possibly for lack of a more flexible machinery.

The Government of Brazil is well aware of the fact that the adoption of new mechanisms such as the one described above would not in itself be sufficient to bring about the desired strengthening of the Organization and that more substantive measures, including some which would require a revision of the Charter, would be necessary. However, in the view of the Government of Brazil, the establishment by the Security Council of ad hoc committees for the pacific settlement of disputes and similar measures emphasizing the diplomatic role of the Council, as distinct from its political role, would have an immediate, positive impact on the present capabilities of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security.
BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Original: Russian
30 April 1970

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, resolutely opposed the imperialist policy of predatory wars and the oppression and enslavement of peoples, and countered this policy with the Leninist policy of defending the freedom and independence of peoples, defending peace, repelling the imperialist aggressors and strengthening international security.

The First All-Byelorussian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, held in February 1919, proclaimed in its manifesto that:

"Conscious of its close and indissoluble links with the struggling proletariat and the working peasants of the whole world, the Congress, in the name of the millions of workers and peasants of Byelorussia, solemnly affirms its wish to live in peace and friendship with all peoples."

The Byelorussian SSR is waging a constant and persistent struggle for peace and for the strengthening of international security. The activities of the Byelorussian SSR in the United Nations have always been guided by these lofty ideals, since the Byelorussian SSR considers that the United Nations has no more important or urgent task than the struggle to maintain peace and strengthen international security.

The existence of forces of reaction and war, the continuing arms race, and the use of military force by international imperialism and the colonialists in various parts of the world, make it essential to activate and mobilize all peace-loving forces in the struggle for peace, in order to protect the peoples from the danger of a thermonuclear war and from further aggressive acts by the imperialists.

By supporting the USSR proposal for the strengthening of international security at the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Byelorussian SSR once again demonstrated its determination to co-operate in every possible way in strengthening peace and international security. This is our basic foreign policy line bequeathed to us by V.I. Lenin, the founder of the first socialist State in the world.

/...
The comprehensive discussion on the question of the strengthening of international security which took place during the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly showed that the peoples of the world are deeply interested in the adoption of practical decisions to strengthen peace and the security of peoples. The proposals of the Soviet Union, which are contained in the draft appeal to all States of the world submitted by the Government of the USSR, were widely supported. The implementation of these proposals would undoubtedly open the way to lasting peace and international security.

The time which has elapsed since the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly has shown once again that the measures proposed by the Soviet Union in its draft appeal to all States of the world - and also the proposals submitted by a number of States concerning the need to bring about general and complete disarmament and to take partial measures in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of international security as a means of promoting the social and economic progress of all the peoples of the world - are sound, necessary and urgent.

The Byelorussian SSR welcomes the unanimous decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session to consider recommendations on the strengthening of international security, at the twenty-fifth session, and it believes that the decision to be adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session on measures for the strengthening of international security should be based on the draft appeal submitted by the Soviet Union.

The Byelorussian SSR is firmly convinced that one important condition for the relaxation of international tension and for strengthening the security of the peoples would be an immediate decision by the General Assembly declaring that the seizure of foreign territories in violation of the Charter of the United Nations is inadmissible, and calling for the withdrawal of troops from such territories.

The proposal that States should comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of troops occupying foreign territories is an important and timely one.

/...
The defence of peace and the strengthening of international security are indissolubly linked with the struggle to ensure that all Governments without exception pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence with States having different social systems. The Byelorussian SSR considers it extremely important that all the States of the world should be guided in their policies by the vital interests of the peoples in preserving peace and strengthening international security and should, in their international relations, strictly abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence of States.

The Byelorussian SSR has always advocated the earliest possible implementation of general and complete disarmament, and considers that general and complete disarmament is the most cardinal method of strengthening peace and international security. At the same time, the implementation of partial disarmament measures would help considerably to relax international tension and strengthen international confidence and peace.

The Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to the earliest possible conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons.

The completion of the work on the Draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof would also represent an important step on the road to disarmament.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that one important measure for strengthening international security would be the prohibition by all States of war propaganda. All mass information media should be used to combat the inhuman ideas of war, neo-nazism, racism and colonialism.

The Byelorussian SSR is convinced that regional security systems in various regions of the world, based on the joint efforts of all States in each region, and set up and acting in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, could also contribute to the strengthening of international security.

The creation of a system of collective security in the European continent is one of the principal tasks facing all the peoples of Europe. The Byelorussian SSR
supports the proposal for a pan-European conference on security. Such a conference would open the way to measures for safeguarding peace, security and co-operation in Europe.

In our times - in an age when revolutions of national liberation are occurring on an ever-increasing scale - the proposal for the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial domination, and the immediate granting of independence to all such peoples, is of immense significance.

The Soviet Union's proposals for increasing the effectiveness of the Security Council, which under the Charter of the United Nations bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, are also important.

The Byelorussian SSR regards the implementation of effective measures for the strengthening of international security as a way of solving the social and economic development problems of all peoples and States in the world.

The Byelorussian SSR would like the United Nations decision on the question of strengthening international security to contain a programme of practical action for maintaining and strengthening peace throughout the world. The adoption of such a decision would undoubtedly help to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in the struggle for peace and international security.

All peoples need peace. The Byelorussian people, which is engaged in the creative work of constructing a communist society, needs peace. In May 1970 the peoples of the world are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory over German fascism. The Byelorussian SSR, one quarter of whose population died in the struggle to save mankind from fascist slavery, believes it has a duty to prevent any repetition of the tragedy of the Second World War, and to prevent the unleashing of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Guided by the Leninist ideas of peace and friendship among peoples, the Byelorussian SSR is resolutely and consistently striving for the maintenance and strengthening of peace, for a solution to the problem of disarmament, for the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, for social and economic progress, and for the implementation of the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
The strengthening of international security, in its broadest sense, is the basic objective of the United Nations. This means that all its purposes - peace, friendly relations, international co-operation and harmonizing the actions of nations - contribute to and are dependent on the strengthening of international security.

Although these purposes may be said to reflect absolute values, taken as a whole the condition of international security cannot be usefully thought of as static. Peace is a process requiring continual adjustments among nations. Further economic and social development is sought by all. The full enjoyment of human rights in dignity by every human being must be envisaged as an essential aspect of international security. The principles of justice demand constant reassertion and defence. A stable and secure world order can be realized only if the international system is resilient and capable of evolution, and not rigid and resistant to change. The United Nations therefore cannot itself be static if it is to serve these purposes.

The United Nations Charter embodies those principles which all Member States have in common and without the observance of which none would be secure. States see international security in terms of their own security; if any State is insecure or feels itself to be insecure, this will affect the security of others. Nevertheless, the perception of security by one State will not necessarily be that of all and the embodiment of principles in a document does not by itself ensure the security of any. Not only must the Charter and the Organization which rests upon it be flexible enough to accommodate the differences of national perceptions, they must also accommodate changing perceptions and therefore changing differences. The United Nations will not promote security if it is used to support some immutable status quo or to impose the objectives of some States at the expense of others, nor if attempts are made to alter or reinterpret the Charter by means other than those which the Charter itself provides.

International law must also evolve if we are to strengthen international security, for it provides the framework for orderly and peaceful relations among nations. The institutions associated with the development, promotion and implementation of international law should be capable of providing assurance to each member of the world community that peace, justice and development can be attained without recourse to methods which might jeopardize the security with which
they are inextricably linked. Where the law is inadequate it must be developed. Thus, for example, it is essential that the members of the international community should join together in developing an international legal régime designed to ensure to human beings the right to live in a wholesome natural environment.

The Charter recognizes the sovereign equality of States. It also reflects political and economic realities by providing for the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council. These responsibilities confer special powers on the permanent members. They do not confer exemption from observance of the principles which are binding on all Member States; nor do they entitle the permanent members, any more than other members, to impose their will in disregard of the interests of less powerful States. The Charter has proved realistic in acknowledging the inequalities of power among States. It does not sanction inequality of rights.

Violations of the principles of the Charter and hence damage to international security have been committed both by permanent members of the Security Council and by other States. It remains to be proved, however, that anything is to be gained by trying to enlarge the powers of any one United Nations organ at the expense of another. The resources of the Organization are rarely used to their maximum effect. Such use requires an act of political will in reconciling national interests with international obligations.

There are three aspects to such a reconciliation. The first is observance of Charter principles without exception by all States, notably the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among States, and in particular those relating to the non-use of force or threats of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, and of the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States. This would preclude such concepts as spheres of influence or closed political systems which repress the process of evolving mutual interdependence upon which international security depends.

The second aspect is effective agreement to avert international conflicts by using the full capacities of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and all other United Nations organs, both as they are laid down in the Charter and as they have evolved over the years; to resolve disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter when they nevertheless occur; and to give substance to the provisions of Chapter VII where it becomes necessary to enforce Security Council decisions.
The third aspect arises from the fact that although the Charter remains the essential basis for international security the passage of twenty-five years has brought about changes in the international scene not envisaged when it was drafted. In particular, questions of economic and social development and peace-keeping have assumed a character and dimension not spelled out in specific terms in the Charter and these, together with questions such as arms control and disarmament, the peaceful use of outer space and the resources of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, the elaboration of the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among States and a definition of aggression, are being considered within the existing framework of the United Nations Charter and bear testimony to its inherent flexibility and resiliency.

In the field of development an improved and sustained effort is required within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade to promote economic growth as an essential element of international security. Economic growth is not an end in itself, but a means of accomplishing the larger goals of development. It must become an engine of social progress toward justice and the full enjoyment of human rights by each member of every society and development assistance must support the kind of economic change most likely to bring this about.

Peace-keeping has developed in accordance with the Charter to complement the functions of peace-making covered in Chapter VI and peace enforcement covered in Chapter VII. The essential need now is to develop agreed procedures which will enable the United Nations to act constructively in situations of conflict to foster or maintain conditions under which peaceful settlement is possible on a generally acceptable basis and which will ensure that no State, either by exploiting United Nations peace-keeping operations or by preventing them, will be able to obtain advantages for itself to the detriment of others. Such procedures require the full use of all the resources provided by the Charter, supplemented by specific agreements covering those areas which experience has shown to be essential to effective peace-keeping but on which the Charter is silent.

Moreover, if all Member States act to liquidate the indebtedness of the Organization arising from past peace-keeping operations, arrangements for financing future operations could be more easily put on an agreed footing.
In addition to being essential for the establishment of lasting international security, arms control and disarmament are intimately connected with peace-keeping and with economic growth and development. Although the ultimate United Nations objective is and must remain general and complete disarmament under strict international control, experience has shown that arms control and disarmament are best approached by means of cumulative collateral measures. The most potent threats to international security are posed by strategic nuclear weapons. The competition in conventional armaments is, however, also a dangerous source of instability and the smaller countries share the responsibility of the great Powers to exert every effort to strengthen international security by arms control and disarmament measures.

The Canadian Government has consistently sought to strengthen international security. For example, in pursuance of the principles contained in the Charter and of those set out above, Canada supports the aims of economic and social development, and has steadily increased the volume of its development assistance accordingly. Canada has taken part in United Nations peace-keeping operations, earmarked forces for possible such use in future, and continues to seek ways of overcoming difficulties surrounding this United Nations function. Canada contributes both to the substantive work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and to making it an effective negotiating instrument for progress in arms control and disarmament. Canada is ready to co-operate in measures to improve the operational effectiveness of the United Nations in all fields, and has put forward proposals for that purpose in the hope of ensuring that the will of the international community to attain security is not frustrated by inadequacies in the machinery for its expression.

The Canadian Government believes that the present international insecurity is remediable and that the United Nations is an essential instrument for the purpose. The effectiveness of the United Nations depends, however, on the will of all its Members to use it to capacity and to accept the concomitant obligations, some of which may be onerous or seem to run counter to national interests narrowly conceived. Without the United Nations such a will could not be translated into practice. Without such a will the United Nations is powerless...
The paramount purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end, the United Nations is required to take effective collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to settle international disputes by peaceful means in conformity with justice and international law. These are the obligations which all Member States have pledged themselves to discharge. It seems to us, therefore, that the strengthening of international security depends not so much on any new proposals which Member States may care to make as on the faithfulness with which the basic principles of the Charter are carried out. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, in his address before the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly on 6 October 1969, had the following to say on this subject:

"The purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter represent... the highest and noblest ideals ever conceived by man. If there is a gap between Charter goals and reality, the reason is that it is not always easy for man to live up to his most cherished ideals. But this does not mean that he should stop trying. On the contrary, the effective functioning of the United Nations demands urgent and serious effort on the part of its Member States to make a reality of the aims of the Charter. It is the failure of Member States to make good their commitments to the Charter that is responsible for the state of frustration in which the United Nations now finds itself."

[A/FV.1779, pp. 38-40]
CYPRUS

Original: English
31 March 1970

1. The views and proposals of the Government of Cyprus on this subject are set out in the statement of the Permanent Representative of Cyprus before the First Committee during the consideration of this item [A/C.1/PV.1650, pp. 42-56].

2. Regarding the measures to be taken for the purpose of the strengthening of international security, the Government of Cyprus would suggest that this could be best achieved through the strengthening of the United Nations. In particular, the Government of Cyprus suggests that a study be made of the three interrelated problems of disarmament, peace-keeping and peace making as well as the development of the modalities on a systematic basis for the pacific settlement of international disputes within the provisions of Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.
The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic warmly welcomed and whole-heartedly supported the initiative of the Government of the USSR which requested that an item on the strengthening of international security should be included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and proposed the adoption of an appeal to all States of the world.

The Czechoslovak Government reaffirms that, in the present complex international situation, it regards the United Nations as an important instrument for helping to solve urgent problems of peace and security. The Principles and Purposes of its Charter provide a reliable guide for dealing with unsolved international problems, and also for strengthening the United Nations itself and its role in the modern world. The Czechoslovak Government considers it useful to stress its point of view in this respect particularly at the present time, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of this Organization.

The United Nations twenty-fifth anniversary is an important turning-point in its existence. It forces mankind to consider whether and to what extent the Organization has fulfilled the hopes and expectations which were placed in it when it came into being after the victory over the forces of reaction and fascism in the Second World War, and to wonder whether the spirit of cooperation has not disappeared from it, and whether the original highly important role for which it was founded - to save mankind from the scourge of war and to unite its strength to maintain and strengthen international peace and security - has not been forgotten.

In view of all the problems which face the United Nations and of which we are fully aware, we believe that the matter is one that concerns the Organization, which can and must play an important role in questions relating to peace and security. But this assertion cannot conceal our concern at the fact that, in spite of certain specific positive results which the United Nations has achieved during the past years in its efforts to reduce international tension, it has still not made use of all opportunities for the full implementation of the ideas...
and purposes for which it was founded twenty-five years ago. The fact remains
that there are still vast territories in this world of ours in which the peoples
are suffering under the colonial yoke. Unfortunately there still exist in the
world smouldering hotbeds of war, which threaten to flare up into a world-wide
conflagration that might well transform our earth into a dead planet. Accordingly,
one of the most pressing tasks of our time is to eliminate the existing military
conflicts once and for all and to establish conditions which will prevent the
outbreak of another war.

The experience of the twenty-five years of the United Nations existence
confirms that its authority and prestige depend primarily on the fact that it
can react to the course of world events in the light of the Principles and
Purposes expressed in its Charter. Practical experience confirms that violations,
distortions or evasions of the main principles of the United Nations Charter have
always led to the creation of hotbeds of conflict, have increased tension in
international relations, and have at the same time interfered with and hampered
all United Nations activities. On the other hand, the experience of the past
years shows that, while the United Nations has achieved some positive results
during its existence, it has done so only in cases where it has based its
action on these principles and adhered to them consistently.

The Czechoslovak Government has always maintained that the only way to
increase the effectiveness of the United Nations is to comply consistently
with the existing provisions of the Charter, and not to revise them. The
Czechoslovak Government has argued, too, that it is essential to make use of
all the opportunities provided by the Charter which have remained unused for
many years. This point of view of the Czechoslovak Government has been stressed
many times in the negotiations on the United Nations peace-keeping operations,
which are an important integral part of United Nations activities as a whole.
In the same spirit the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always striven to
ensure that the Organization’s activities in the maintenance of peace and
security - including peace-keeping operations - should be consistently based,
both in form and content, on those principles of the Charter on which the security
machinery is founded.

/*...*/
The Czechoslovak Government feels that, during the past years, the United Nations Charter has proved its viability and invariably constitutes an important document in the effort to defend and strengthen peace and security. Accordingly, the existing conceptions of the Charter and its security machinery, which are based on the unanimity of the great Powers in the Security Council and stem from their special responsibility for the fate of the world, must in all circumstances be fully upheld and maintained.

In this connexion the Czechoslovak Government believes that efforts to strengthen peace and security would undoubtedly be furthered if there was general support for the possibility of using Article 28 (2) of the Charter, concerning the holding of periodic meetings of the Security Council to discuss the situation regarding international security and to adopt the necessary measures for strengthening it.

The Czechoslovak Government believes that the Organization's twenty-fifth anniversary is a propitious occasion for holding a discussion, within the context of the existing provisions of the Charter, on ways of strengthening peace and security in the world.

Some serious problems still await solution. One of the most important problems is the continued existence, in the second half of the twentieth century, of colonialism and racism. Though ten years have passed since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, this Declaration has still not yet been fully implemented. The main obstacles to the consistent implementation of the Declaration are the economic, political and strategic interests of the imperialist Powers which, regardless of all the United Nations resolutions, are using all kinds of pressure, including the use of force, to maintain their domination. The Czechoslovak Government considers that the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of States which have liberated themselves from colonial dependence is highly relevant in present circumstances, and that the implementation of this requirement would help the peoples in their struggle for independence.

The time has also come for the United Nations to get rid of the ballast with which it has been encumbered during past years and which merely hampers its activities and damages its image in the eyes of the peoples of the world. The
United Nations must atone for the injustice committed by the imperialist Powers which misused the Organization in regard to the Korean people; and it must meet the just demands of the Korean people and withdraw from Korean territory the United States forces which are unlawfully stationed there under the United Nations flag.

The Czechoslovak Government wishes to point out once again, as it has often done in the past in statements by its representatives in various United Nations bodies, that the negative stand and the machinations of the imperialist Powers have made it impossible to implement several United Nations resolutions which can and must help to eliminate hotbeds of international tension. Some examples are the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1957 on the settlement of the situation in the Middle East, the many resolutions on the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, resolutions against racism, etc.

The Czechoslovak Government is convinced that efforts to attain world peace and security would be considerably furthered by the establishment of regional security systems. This would involve agreements in specific fields which would help to expand mutual co-operation and create an atmosphere of trust among States in the various fields concerned.

In this connexion the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regards the establishment of a collective security system in Europe as particularly important. This was the purpose of the initiative of the socialist countries as expressed in the appeal by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to all the States of Europe, which was adopted at Budapest in 1959. In this appeal the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization proposed the early convening of a pan-European conference on security and co-operation, to discuss problems whose solution would help to strengthen security and multilateral co-operation in Europe. In the same spirit the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, at their meeting in Prague in October 1959, proposed that the pan-European conference should discuss questions relating to the safeguarding of European security and the renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between European States, and also questions relating to the expansion of commercial, economic, scientific and
technical relations. The ever-increasing understanding and support for this idea among the European peoples is definitely encouraging.

The peoples recognize that the strengthening of international security and peace would be accompanied by a strengthening and expansion of international economic co-operation, that they could devote more efforts and resources to the development of their own social and material achievements and to the development of health services, education, science and culture, and that it would be possible to solve successfully some problems of present-day life, such as the problem of the human environment, etc.

Another valuable contribution to the strengthening of international security, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak Government, would be to give the Purposes and Principles of the Charter a specific content by drafting a definition of aggression and elaborating legal principles concerning friendly relations and co-operation. A generally accepted definition of aggression would strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and would undoubtedly help the Security Council considerably in discharging its responsibilities.

The elaboration of legal principles concerning friendly relations and co-operation between States would provide a political and legal basis for the development of friendly relations and international co-operation. The Czechoslovak Government is therefore convinced that the results of the work in that field, which is now being undertaken by Special Committees of the United Nations, will be finalized and approved during the forthcoming jubilee session of the General Assembly.

The Czechoslovak Government has always maintained that questions relating to peace and security are the affair of the peoples of the world. It is therefore also in favour of the idea of the universality of the United Nations and the elimination of all discrimination against States. It has supported - and will continue in every possible way to support - the admission to the United Nations of both sovereign German States. The measures proposed in the draft appeal to all States of the world, which was submitted by the Soviet delegation during the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, are based on the Charter of the United Nations and strengthen its basic principles and provisions. The Czechoslovak Government believes that the forthcoming twenty-fifth session
of the United Nations General Assembly should, in the context of the discussion on the question of the strengthening of international security, adopt a document which would emphasize the above-mentioned recommendations and demands, and would be addressed to all States of the world.

With regard to the request made in the resolution that Member States should inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of any measures which they take for the purpose of strengthening international security, the Czechoslovak Government wishes to recall that it has on a number of occasions already provided the world public with information on such measures in statements by its representatives in United Nations bodies, and it will do so again during the forthcoming jubilee session of the General Assembly.

On behalf of the whole Czechoslovak people we express the hope that a situation will be established in the world, in which by the combined efforts of the progressive and peace-loving forces it will be possible to paralyse the forces of reaction and aggression; a situation in which there is no possibility of war flaring up in any part of the earth; a situation in which the era of disarmament will dawn and the curse of colonialism will be eliminated altogether. The Czechoslovak Government declares that it is ready to do everything in its power to ensure that these noble objectives which were given to the United Nations at the time of its formulation are transformed into reality.
The Finnish Government regards the United Nations as the primary means available to States for the maintenance of international peace and security. It follows that the Finnish Government approaches the question of strengthening international security from the point of view of strengthening the United Nations in order to make it a truly effective instrument for peace.

It is natural for a neutral country like Finland, which bases its security not on military alliances but on a foreign policy designed to keep it outside of international conflicts, to work for a peaceful and rational world order anchored in the universal collective security system of the United Nations Charter. Finland believes that it can best do so by adhering strictly to its policy of neutrality. This policy, while enjoining Finland to refrain from taking sides in disputes between the great Powers, enables it to maintain friendly relations with all States across the dividing lines of ideology and military blocs. On this basis it is possible for Finland to make an active contribution to the strengthening of international security.

The general views of the Finnish Government on the subject of the strengthening of international security were outlined in the statement of the Finnish representative during the discussion of this item at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. The Finnish Government therefore wishes, in this context, to give an account of concrete measures directly related to the strengthening of international security which Finland recently has taken.

Periodic meetings of the Security Council

According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council is intended to act as the supreme organ of a world-wide collective security system. For this purpose it is vested with the power to make decisions binding upon Member States. Since the Members of the United Nations have empowered the Security Council to act on their behalf in matters concerning the maintenance of international peace and security, it should be in the common interest of all Members of the Organization to uphold and enhance the authority of the Council as the guardian of world peace.

A step in this direction would be to make use of the provisions of Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter on the holding of periodic meetings of the Council on
the level of members of the Government or other specially designated representatives. At the time the Charter of the United Nations was framed, such meetings were intended to enable the Security Council actively to direct events in the interest of maintaining international peace and security. But this intention has never been carried out. The provision in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter has till now remained a dead letter.

Each of the three Secretaries-General of the Organization has suggested that periodic meetings of the Council be held. An analysis of these as well as other previous initiatives on the convening of the periodic meetings of the Security Council tends to support the conclusion made by Secretary-General U Thant in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization in 1967 (that previous efforts to implement the relevant provisions of periodic meetings of the Security Council failed not on their merits but on the basis of the prevailing atmosphere at the times when they were made).\(^1\)

The Finnish Government believes that it should now be possible to consider instituting periodic meetings of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter and that this would be an important step toward enhancing the authority of the Security Council and making it more effective in maintaining international peace and security. Such a step would be particularly appropriate during the twenty-fifth anniversary year of the Organization.

Consequently, and acting in accordance with its established policy of working for the strengthening of the United Nations, the Finnish Government has taken an initiative in this matter by submitting on 3 March 1970 to the members of the Security Council a memorandum on the subject of initiating periodic meetings of the Security Council in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. After preliminary discussions on this question the President of the Security Council, acting in his capacity as the representative of Finland, proposed on 20 April 1970, that consultations be undertaken with a view to having this question considered, in due course, by the Security Council. At the same time, the memorandum of the Finnish Government on the periodic meetings of the Security Council was distributed as an official document of the Council (S/9759).

**Peace-keeping**

The effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security can be further improved through the use of various peace-keeping and peace-
making methods. The subject of peace-keeping holds a special interest for Finland. As a neutral country which maintains friendly relations with all States, Finland has been called upon time and again to provide personnel and other services to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. Finland has contributed men or money to each of the peace-keeping operations mounted by the United Nations so far—in most cases both men and money. Finland continues to make available personnel for service in all current peace-keeping operations of the United Nations: Cyprus, the Middle East, Kashmir. Finland is prepared to continue to do its share in making the Organization an effective instrument for keeping the peace. For this purpose Finland maintains a stand-by force which can be made available to the United Nations for peace-keeping purposes and, together with the other Nordic countries, holds regular training courses to prepare officers for United Nations service.

The Finnish Government believes that the use of United Nations observers or forces or other similar services has become an indispensable tool in the hands of the international community for the prevention or containment of crises and conflicts that might endanger world peace. It is the hope of the Finnish Government that tangible progress in the current negotiations on this subject could be recorded at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

European security conference

It follows from Finland's interest in strengthening the universal collective security system of the United Nations, that it is also interested in making a contribution towards developing a regional European arrangement consonant with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

As is known, the Finnish Government has taken an initiative in this matter and announced its readiness to act as host for a European security conference. The Finnish Government believes that Finland is qualified for this task: it maintains good relations with all the Governments concerned and adheres to a neutral position on the central issues dividing Europe, notably on the German question.

In May 1969 a memorandum outlining the views of the Finnish Government was sent to the Governments of all European States, to those of East and West Germany and to the Governments of the United States of America and Canada, suggesting that a conference on European security problems should be carefully prepared in advance so as to ensure its success and that preparations should begin through consultations between the Governments concerned. The Government of Finland has received replies and reactions from practically all Governments responsible for European security. On 25 February 1970, the Finnish Government appointed a roving Ambassador to pursue consultations on the basis of the views expressed by the Governments...
concerned. A communiqué giving the views of the Finnish Government and explaining
the task of the roving Ambassador issued on the said date read as follows:

"Since Finland last May made its initiative concerning the conference
on European security a noticeable degree of interest towards this question
has emerged among the Governments concerned. So far practically all
Governments responsible for European security have given their views on
the security conference and taken a positive attitude in principle to the
further development of questions relating to European security.

"The attention that the Finnish initiative has gained is highly
appreciated in Finland. We see as a constructive development the
activity which the European Governments have demonstrated in searching
for new ways to solve European security problems. It could be claimed
that already by now there exists a wide network of contacts and negotiation
between the Governments generating a process which is necessary for
promoting a wide mutual understanding.

"At present an active exchange of views is carried out over the
questions which should be included in the agenda of the eventual
conference. This gives expression to the natural striving to create
concrete contents to measures aimed at the lessening of tension in
Europe. As the possible host country, Finland has not deemed it proper
to take a stand on the various proposals for the agenda since we believe
that the result in this question will depend on the reaching of wide
agreement between the parties concerned. Careful study has been given in
Finland to different alternatives to promote the idea of a European
security conference. We are aware that in the discussions relating to the
security conference it is generally felt in Europe that the safeguarding
of peaceful development and prevention of possible conflicts should be
set as a goal of the endeavours.

"Therefore we are interested in studying to what degree the present
developing process could be extended to a permanent arrangement. Such a
peace arrangement should naturally be consistent with the purposes and
principles of the United Nations. One possibility of realizing this
would conceivably be the creation of regional arrangements envisaged in
Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. In our view a
European peace arrangement could be taken as a common goal for all
Governments responsible for the security of Europe.

"Therefore the participation in various stages of the process aiming
at the creation of a European peace arrangement need not imply recogni-
tion of the present circumstances under international law unless the
Governments concerned expressly so agree.

"As a possible host country it is important for us to have a clear
picture of the development accomplished in various contacts and negotiations.
In order to give its own contribution to advancing the process of European
security, the Finnish Government has appointed Ambassador Ralph Enckell as roving Ambassador. His task will be to have talks in various capitals to find out and to make note of the progress accomplished in questions dealing with European security. The task of the roving Ambassador will also be, while explaining the attitudes of the Finnish Government on security problems, to find out whether Finland could contribute to the promotion of mutual understanding between the various parties."

In the view of the Finnish Government, the discussion of the item on the strengthening of international security at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations showed that there is a need for the General Assembly to consider in a comprehensive way different aspects of international security and to review the work of various United Nations organs and bodies dealing with questions related to this subject. The Finnish Government welcomes therefore the decision to inscribe this item on the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The possibility may be worth considering of making this item a permanent feature of the agenda of the First Committee of the General Assembly.
During the discussions prior to the vote on resolution 2606 (XXIV) the French delegation already had the opportunity to stress its great interest in the question of the strengthening of international security, which reflects one of the basic premises of the French policy of promoting the establishment and maintenance of peace throughout the world. The deterioration of the international situation, the growing use of violence, the increasingly frequent violations of international morality have only prompted it to increase its efforts in this regard.

Of course, the general conditions for international security are included in the Charter itself which goes to the heart of the problem in setting forth the purposes and principles of the Organization. However, it might be useful to recall that international security is impossible without a lasting and true détente which implies a permanent desire for co-operation and conciliation on the part of all countries. It also implies the development of good-neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation, particularly in economic matters, between States in the same region of the world. Of course, such co-operation precludes any policy aimed at forming blocs or establishing hegemony and the various manifestations of the spirit of conquest, domination and intolerance. The existence of political and military groupings and alliance and assistance agreements should not constitute an obstacle to the development of international relations and should not prevent States from enjoying all the prerogatives which derive from their sovereignty. States should respect each other’s right to belong to or withdraw from an alliance.

The concept of international security is, moreover, closely linked to the idea of true disarmament. The anxiety and fear which peoples continue to feel cannot be dispelled by the adoption of partial measures, such as the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons or the banning of certain nuclear tests. The security of mankind cannot really be guaranteed without true disarmament which should really involve the destruction of and a ban on
the production of atomic weapons and their delivery systems under strict and effective international control. The nuclear Powers must therefore agree among themselves on the necessary arrangements. Moreover, nuclear disarmament should be accompanied by a reduction in conventional weapons, organized in such a way that the completion of successive stages does not disrupt the balance of power.

Obviously, international security is also endangered when the economic development of many countries is hampered by the structure of the world economy. The ever-growing disparity between the poverty of some countries and and prosperity of others may well introduce further unrest and discord in international relations. It is therefore essential that real progress should be made during the Second United Nations Development Decade, particularly with regard to development aid and the organization of the markets for the main primary products. For its part, France has continually supported the efforts of the developing countries to persuade the industrialized countries, and in particular the major ones, to increase their aid and to apply new trade policies.

The French Government believes that there is no better way to achieve these principal objectives, and thereby to improve the international climate, than to reaffirm in strong terms the need to respect the principles set forth in the Charter and those on which States should base their international relations. These are essentially the principles of sovereignty, international co-operation, equal rights, territorial integrity, political independence, the right of all peoples freely to choose their social systems, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition through war and, lastly, the principle that a State may not invoke the internal situation in another State or its political or social régime in order to justify the use of pressure or any other form of intervention. These principles will be more strictly observed and their application more effectively supervised by international opinion if all uncertainty and ambiguity regarding their scope and interpretation are removed. In this respect, France earnestly hopes that, at its forthcoming session, the General Assembly will be in a position to adopt
a formulation of the seven principles which the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States has been instructed to codify. Such a declaration, which would be a decisive step in the development of international law, would be of prime importance in strengthening international security.

Finally, it is necessary to stress the basic role of the Security Council, upon which the Charter has conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is in fact the only organ of the United Nations which, in certain conditions, is competent to undertake a peace-keeping operation involving the use of military force. These exceptional powers are both legitimate and necessary for the preservation of the world balance. The effectiveness of the Security Council could doubtless be increased if new procedures, such as the holding of periodic meetings envisaged in Article 28 of the Charter, were adopted or if the permanent members were to make a new and systematic effort to co-operate. For its part, the French Government is open to any suggestion, but it considers that the Security Council itself should take the relevant decision.

Since the General Assembly, in its resolution of 16 December 1959, decided to continue at its next session consideration of the question of the strengthening of international security, the French Government hopes that a text based on the comments made by States either during the debates in the Assembly or in their replies to the Secretary-General may be adopted unanimously at the next session.
The Government of Gabon wishes to point out that on many occasions in the United Nations it has fully explained its position with regard to the question of establishing internationally the best methods of promoting peace and of ensuring that States do not resort to violence in order to settle their problems and are able to live in security, since a state of war affects all nations, including those which are not directly involved and which do not take part in the hostilities.

The fundamental principles upheld by Gabon, on which its policy in the field of international security is based, are as follows:


Mutual respect of States through good reciprocal relations.

Negotiation in the event of disputes and, if necessary, recourse to good offices and arbitration.

General disarmament.

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Better understanding on the part of the big Powers of their world responsibilities, based on the unfortunately ideal and even utopian principle that law is mightier than force.

The Gabonese Government's policy regarding international peace and security has never varied. It requires both in order to build the country up to the desired stage of development and well-being, a task to which all its efforts are being devoted.

Consequently, the Gabonese Government is not opposed to the inclusion in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of and item entitled "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security".

As in the past, the Gabonese Government will continue to give its complete support to any initiative or effort aimed at strengthening international security and preserving peace throughout the world.

/...
1. The approach of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations offers a most appropriate occasion to draw the balance-sheet of the world Organization in pursuing its primary objective, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. Taking stock of its flaws and shortcomings, the United Nations should, now, explore all possible methods in order to increase its effectiveness and respond to the constantly changing requirements of the world community.

The quest for peace is a primary responsibility and a permanent goal for all peoples in the world. Therefore, Member countries, whether big, medium or small, are duty-bound to express, candidly, their thoughts on this important matter.

2. United Nations machinery for peace-making and peace-keeping should be improved, in order to attain final and just settlement of disputes and not merely provisional pacification. It has, however, to be stressed that no matter how serious the defects of the United Nations Charter machinery may be, the failure of the Members to make adequate use of the existing machinery is even more serious. The lack of political will is indeed more serious than the lack of effective machinery.

3. The performance of the Security Council, and more particularly of its permanent members, has not lived up to the expectations of the international community. The previous long period of paralysis due to the abuse of the veto seems to have given way to a new era of inaction. Unanimity, though, desirous as it might be, should not lead to the adoption of resolutions which frustrate rather than encourage and promote the quest for peace. Violations of the established norms of international behaviour by both big and small Powers have been tolerated and power politics tend to become a determining factor in the conduct of international relations. Small countries will not feel sheltered from the threat and calmly turn to the search for a better life for their peoples as long as they feel exposed to all sorts of intimidating factors.

4. Article 2 of the Charter contains the basic code of international ethics. An essential prerequisite to the creation of any system of security is universal respect for independence, territorial integrity, political sovereignty,
non-interference in domestic affairs and the need to refrain from all forms of threat or use of force and pressure in international relations.

The General Assembly has not failed to reassert, time and again, these basic principles. Thus by its resolution 2131 (XX) of 1965 the Assembly solemnly declared that "every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State" and that "no State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State".

Following the above resolution the General Assembly adopted, at its twenty-first session, resolution 2225 (XXI) which called upon all States: "To carry out faithfully their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty and to urge them to refrain from armed intervention or the promotion or organization of subversion, terrorism or other indirect forms of intervention for the purpose of changing by violence the existing system in another State or interfering in civil strife in another State."

Therefore, what is required for the strengthening of international security is not so much a tedious reiteration of these principles, enunciated twenty-five years ago, but their scrupulous observance as well as the respect for and implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the major United Nations bodies.

5. Chapter VI of the Charter contains valuable provisions for hammering out the peaceful settlement of disputes. More frequent use should be made of the provisions of Articles 34 and 99 and more especially of Article 36, which permits recommendations for settlement to be made to the parties in dispute. The Security Council must play a more active part in meeting the diverse tasks entrusted to it, without prejudice of course to the powers and function of the General Assembly and the prerogatives of the Secretary-General, whose role in this matter must not be minimized.

6. It is also urgent to undertake, afresh, efforts to finalize the principles of friendly relations and the definition of aggression and to ensure the eradication of racial discrimination and the unhindered use of the right of the
peoples to self-determination. We should not, also, lose sight of the fact that international security is incompatible with misery and ignorance and it cannot be assured while the masses are living in want and despair. A new global strategy for economic development, providing inter alia for the sharing of the achievements of science and technology, has to be applied during the Second United Nations Development Decade, thus preventing the division of the world in two antagonistic camps: between the poor countries and the rich, between the north and the south.

7. The attainment of a more orderly regional organization of the world will be futile if no progress is previously made in removing the causes that brought about the division of certain areas in what are known as "blocs". "Blocs" are the result and not the cause of the division of the world in such groupings.

Doubtless the development of better understanding and closer co-operation amongst neighbour countries, independently of their political, economic and social systems, based on the respect of sovereignty, independence and non-intervention in the internal affairs of each other, is desirable and should be sought as a contributing factor to the strengthening of international security.

9. Finally, it is hardly necessary to stress that international security will be illusory, whatever rules we adopt and whatever machinery we set up, without total and complete disarmament under international control. Arms limitation, whether nuclear or conventional, should be sought as a first step towards general and complete disarmament.

INDIA

[Original: English]
29 April 1970

The Government of India considers that the preservation and strengthening of international peace and security can be ensured by scrupulous and universal respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and peaceful coexistence. The principles of peace include peaceful settlement of disputes, renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-interference in the internal affairs of States,
inviolability of established frontiers and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by conquest. The lasting security of all nations can be assured only if these principles are universally accepted and adhered to. It is equally important to make urgent progress towards general and complete disarmament. The growing gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world also constitutes a serious menace to world peace and an obstacle to the strengthening of international security; economic co-operation and development assistance at a level consistent with the needs of the developing countries are essential to remove these inequalities and to assure a durable peace.

ITALY

Original: English
30 April 1970

1. It is the firm belief of the Italian Government that the establishment of lasting conditions of peace and security throughout the world represents the first and foremost objective of United Nations activity; therefore, the principles, rules and provisions for the attainment of such aim must form the corner-stone of the whole Organisation.

On its part, the Italian Government has consistently directed its foreign policy towards the fulfilment of the ideals enshrined in the Charter and has always given its full support and co-operation to the United Nations in every field, and specifically in the field of security. In this spirit, it has actively contributed to the settlement of international conflicts and disputes; it has taken part in peace-keeping operations; it has proposed that general and complete disarmament be achieved under adequate international control; it has furthered the codification of international law and the improvement of the procedures of conciliation and arbitration; it has advocated far-reaching programmes of social and economic progress aimed at eliminating the existing gaps between developed and developing countries and the consequent root causes of instability and insecurity; it has supported a thorough review of the structure and working methods of the United Nations in order to increase the over-all effectiveness of the Organization.
2. As no supranational authority has yet been vested with adequate powers to maintain peace and security, the primary responsibility in this field still rests with individual States. It is therefore essential that Governments, and particularly those of the Member States whose special status in the Organization implies special obligations, rededicate themselves to the Charter's principles and aims, firmly pledging to observe them without any waiver of geographical or ideological nature, to abide by the decisions and recommendations of the main organs of the United Nations, to pursue their foreign policy's objectives in harmony with the interests of the international community and with the actions of the United Nations.

Governments should, in particular, confirm their full and unconditional allegiance to such basic principles of the Charter as the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the renunciation of the threat or use of force, non-intervention, the sovereign equality of States, the self-determination of peoples, the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Governments should agree to seek the solution of any regional crisis or conflict only on the basis of Chapter VI of the Charter, to accept and broaden the competence of the International Court of Justice, to establish compulsory procedures pursuant to Article 33, to work out pragmatic and realistic solutions to the problems relating to the organization and financing of peace-making operations, to enhance the capability of the United Nations under Chapter VII of the Charter by starting negotiations for the implementation of the provisions contained in Article 43 in step with a process of general and complete disarmament.

3. While the regional aspects of security should be the main concern of the States directly involved, a global approach should prevail in considering the problem and the subsequent United Nations tasks on a world scale. In fact, it is indisputably clear that the maintenance of peace and security does not require only the prevention of armed conflicts and the elimination of political controversies leading to them. It also commends the adoption of a comprehensive programme of action in which the multifaceted issue of security would be dealt with in all its different components, particularly through the achievement of significant progress towards disarmament, the approval of more effective measures
in the field of human rights and for the elimination of any form of racism, the completion of the decolonization process, the reduction of the economic, social and technological unbalances hampering the consolidation of friendly and stable relations among States, the general promotion and application for peaceful aims of the knowledge and benefits deriving from the use of nuclear energy, from the exploration and exploitation of outer space and of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction.

Member States should strive for the establishment of a body of rules and of an international order capable of meeting the expectations of mankind as a whole. In this spirit, they should give adequate contents to the Disarmament Decade proclaimed at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly and to the Second United Nations Development Decade, on which the less privileged areas of the globe are building their hopes for a better future. They should also pursue a strict and thorough co-ordination of these and other United Nations programmes and activities with a view to redirecting them in a global design aimed at ensuring peace and security.

4. Finally, it appears essential that Member States should objectively assess the ability of the United Nations system, in its present structure and functioning, to cope with responsibilities and tasks that have deeply evolved in the twenty-five years elapsed since the adoption of the Charter. Security is not a static concept and the Organization should dynamically adapt itself to the changing conditions of international relations.

5. Attention should be focused primarily, albeit not exclusively, on the Security Council. Its composition should, to begin with, fully reflect the provisions of Article 23 and therefore be adjusted by taking into account, in the first instance, the contribution of the Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and the other purposes of the Organization. Furthermore, to enhance the authority, prestige and potentialities of the United Nations, it would be most desirable to ensure the unceasing association to its works of the countries which, being on the nuclear weapons threshold, have renounced of their free will becoming nuclear military Powers and exercising major political, economic and cultural influence in the world. This could be achieved without necessarily bringing, at this stage, drastic changes in the basic concepts governing the decision-making process of the Council.

/...
The working methods of the Council should also be reviewed. The Italian Government feels that an important step towards lessening the danger of international conflicts could be made through the establishment, under Article 29, of a subsidiary organ entrusted with the task of monitoring and restraining the flow of armaments, and particularly of sophisticated weapons, towards areas where conditions of tension prevail; such an organ might be articulated in sub-committees, set up on a regional basis, for individual areas.

6. In the opinion of the Italian Government, the impending twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations offers a unique opportunity for reappraisal, stock-taking, rededication. Member States would bear a grave responsibility if such opportunity were to be missed because of lack of political will, because of insufficient ingenuity or inadequate response to the expectations of world public opinion.

JAMAICA

[Signature]

4 May 1970

Jamaica will support any reasonable proposal to strengthen the efficacy of the United Nations within the meaning of Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. In addition, Jamaica is willing to support any proposal for meaningful action under Article 29 of the United Nations Charter.

Although no specific proposal on the subject is being advanced at the present time, Jamaica is always ready to make every possible contribution in this sphere in accordance with the Charter.

In support of this, it will be recalled that Jamaica has made several financial contributions towards the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in Cyprus. We have signed the nuclear test ban treaty and signed and ratified both the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Treaty of Tlatelolco) and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We have expressed our opposition to the use of chemical and biological warfare. Within this region, we have offered to assist in finding a peaceful solution to the territorial dispute existing between Guyana and Venezuela,
and Jamaica is a member of the Good Offices Commission which has been set up by the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) to examine the question as to whether Guyana should be allowed to sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

JAPAN

[Original: English]
1 May 1970

1. We have no panacea for the strengthening of international security. Formulation of elaborate rules and regulations for the conduct of international affairs or drafting of solemn declarations filled with beautiful words will merely be a futile exercise unless every nation of the world assumes a genuine attitude to seek peace and puts into action what is written on paper. This being so, however, the purposes and principles of the United Nations, enunciated in the Charter as the fundamental norm of behaviour for all peace-seeking nations of the world, are in our view still worthy of our support, notwithstanding the passage of twenty-five years since that document was brought into existence after the end of the last world war. We may venture to state further that as long as all States of the world, including non-member States of the United Nations, act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, there will be little room for a disturbance of international peace. For the purpose of strengthening international security, it is essential, therefore, to reaffirm these purposes and principles.

The Government of Japan is convinced that, above all, the two obligations having forbearance for their object, namely, non-use of force and non-intervention in the domestic matters of other nations, as provided in Article 2, paragraphs 4 and 7, of the Charter, together with the closely related principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, as set forth in paragraph 5 of the same Article, constitute the most important elements for the maintenance of international peace and security and that these are, indeed, the essential minimum obligations of all Member States. This should be the point of departure for any discussion of concrete measures for the strengthening of international security. We wish to
emphasize that unless and until every Member State fulfils these obligations, we can hardly expect any meaningful result from discussion of ways and means to maintain international peace and security.

2. The purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter having been thus reaffirmed, the Government of Japan wishes to stress once again the need for reviewing the Charter as an important step towards the strengthening of international security. The Government believes, as stated before, that the purposes and principles of the Charter are still fresh and valid today, but it is also true that the present international situation is considerably different from what the United Nations Charter envisaged at the time of its inception twenty-five years ago. It is on the basis of this reality that States Members of the United Nations should endeavour to search for the best methods to materialize the ideals which underlie the creation of the United Nations. There is no need to consider the San Francisco régime to be a priori fixed or permanent. From this standpoint, the Government of Japan takes the view that it would be necessary to discuss thoroughly measures to strengthen substantially the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility within the framework of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connexion, attention should be drawn to the statement calling for the review of the activities of the United Nations which was made by the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. K. Aichi, during the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly A/PV.1756.

3. From the viewpoint of the need to ensure effective performance by the Security Council of its duties under the Charter, it would be most pertinent to review the problems of the Council, and its composition, in particular, in such a way that it would better reflect the present international reality. The Government of Japan firmly believes that such a review would be useful to bring about the strengthening of the Security Council.

In view of the changes in the world situation which have taken place since the establishment of the United Nations, it is evident that in today's world not only military power but also the economy, science and technology and culture have come to play important roles for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. It would, therefore, be essential that those nations which possess powers in these
fields should be given a status enabling them to make greater contributions to the
maintenance of peace. This point should be fully taken into consideration in
reviewing the Charter.

The question of reviewing and possibly amending the Charter should primarily
be discussed under the item entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the
review of the Charter of the United Nations", which has already been included in
the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.
Nevertheless, for the purpose of the substantial strengthening of the Security
Council even prior to amendment of the Charter, it would be necessary to ensure
forthwith the faithful application of the relevant Article of the Charter.
Article 25, paragraph 1, of the Charter lays down the criteria for the election
of non-permanent members of the Security Council and points to the need to pay due
regard "in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations
to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes
of the Organization". The Government of Japan considers it desirable that more
substantial consideration should be given to this criterion.

4. The Government of Japan highly evaluates the functions discharged by United
Nations peace-keeping operations during the past twenty-five years in preventing
the enlargement or recurrence of conflicts. We must admit, however, that because
of the fundamental difference of views existing among major Powers with regard
to the establishment of peace-keeping operations or the methods of sharing
expenses, the progress of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping
Operations is extremely slow.

It is expected that the permanent members of the Security Council, above all,
having in mind the significance of peace-keeping operations and their
responsibilities in the maintenance of peace and security, will make further
endeavours to bring about substantial and rapid progress in the deliberations of
the Special Committee and, in particular, of its Working Group.
1. The basic, priority objective of the United Nations since its establishment has been the maintenance of international peace and security. The results achieved in that direction, however, are not yet satisfactory, for various overt or latent conflicts continue to trouble certain areas of our planet.

In the circumstances, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations clearly affords it an excellent opportunity to devote itself to a common effort of reflection and, in the light of past experience, to determine the remedy for the failures it has met with up to now.

2. Taking the San Francisco Charter as a point of departure, the basic principles set forth in it are just as valid today as they ever were, despite the profound changes which have taken place in the international situation.

That being so, it would be wise to highlight the provisions - without dismissing any of them a priori - of the Charter which, despite its indivisible unity, affect more than others the maintenance of international understanding, and to study the various courses of action which may be taken.

3. In the first place, such an understanding would entail an obligation for every State to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States and from interference in their internal affairs. That elementary principle has its roots in the sovereign equality of all members of the international community. It is universal and admits of no exception, whatever the pretext or form.

4. Difficulties may arise between sovereign States. The Charter, and Chapter VI in particular, shows how to keep the resulting disputes and differences from degenerating into conflicts. In the view of the Government of Luxembourg, the possibilities the text offers have not yet been translated into action sufficiently.

Action by the Secretary-General in conciliation and mediation procedures deserves to be encouraged. The same is true of efficient action by the General Assembly and Security Council; the Council can gather new strength through the organization of periodic meetings as provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. With a view to ending legal or political disputes peacefully,
settlements through arbitration or by virtue of decisions of the International Court of Justice might usefully become the rule, although that machinery has so far been used only in isolated and exceptional cases.

5. In addition to the preventive measures intended to keep differences from ending in conflict, the ultimate development of specific methods currently under consideration for the purpose of ensuring the maintenance of peace is of immediate importance. The presence of the United Nations in certain critical areas would, in case of conflict, make a significant contribution to the development of peaceful and just solutions.

6. Among the problems which primarily affect the most powerful countries, that of disarmament should be given particular emphasis. Any real détente will, over the long term, depend on general, genuine, controlled disarmament, covering conventional armaments as well as nuclear weapons. Despite the appeals and conferences which have followed one another for the past quarter of a century, no decisive progress has been made in this direction. Action must be taken to ensure that the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the formulation of an agreement on the demilitarization of the sea-bed and the current talks on the limitation of strategic weapons will soon lead to new, practical and effective measures.

7. The shipment of conventional arms to certain critical areas often helps to maintain or perpetuate centres of tension and indeed open conflict. By subjecting such shipments to impartial control, the United Nations would facilitate a détente. In this case in particular, peace-making can no longer remain the exclusive province of the great Powers; it should, on the contrary, become a collective endeavour requiring the participation of all States.

8. Experience has shown that the conclusion of regional agreements, as provided for in Article 52 of the Charter, serves the cause of peace to the extent that the participants in such organizations scrupulously abide by the principles of the Charter and, in particular, eschew any claim to hegemony in the region concerned. The development of arrangements of that type would promote an international détente, provided that all States Members of the United Nations correctly defined the principles at issue and, in a spirit of genuine sincerity and good faith, agreed to give them a uniform meaning.

/...
9. A détente will also be promoted by real progress in economic and social development. The success of the efforts made in this area during the current decade will depend largely on the volume of the resources which can be released through genuine disarmament.

When putting the principles and procedures laid down in Chapter IX of the Charter into practice, the States Members of the United Nations should, in the opinion of the Government of Luxembourg, focus their efforts more on co-operation in a multilateral context.

Lastly, the conditions of stability and well-being necessary to ensure peaceful, friendly relations between nations will be satisfied only when active respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms has become a reality throughout the world.

MADAGASCAR

Original: French
7 April 1970

The Malagasy Government recognizes the importance of the question of strengthening international peace and security, as raised by the Soviet Union delegation in both the General Assembly and the First Committee.

While it is, of course, true that the facts of the international situation are making the need for strengthening international peace and security increasingly evident and require a fresh collective effort and fresh initiatives of the States Members of the Organization, these same States must not forget that international security depends less on good intentions than on the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations.

This being so, specific and effective collective measures ought to be taken to forestall and avert any threat to peace.

This need for specific and effective action does not, however, seem to have been adequately reflected in the appeal reproduced in paragraph 7 of document A/7903 of 13 December 1969. Not all the causes of international tension have been enumerated and those that appear to have been selected arbitrarily. More specific reference should have been made to the problems of disarmament, development, decolonization and racial discrimination.

/...
Furthermore, the Malagasy Government feels that the collective political security system should be complemented by a collective economic security system (action to combat hunger and poverty, effective measures to halt the continuing deterioration of commodity prices, a more equitable distribution of world resources, and so on).

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]
[13 April 1970]

For reasons which were adequately explained in the statement made by its representative in the First Committee on 22 October 1969, the Mexican Government considers that:

1. The first requirement for the strengthening of international security is that all Members of the United Nations, and especially those which are permanent members of the Security Council, should constantly bear in mind that, as the San Francisco Conference solemnly proclaimed, the principles of the Charter constitute "the supreme rules by which the Organization and its Members must be guided in carrying out their duties and undertaking to achieve their common goals" and that consequently those principles "will in practice constitute the touchstone of the effectiveness of the Organization".

2. The principles of the Charter, like the other obligations deriving from it, must be applied "in good faith", as is stated in its Article 2, paragraph 2; this necessarily implies conduct in keeping with those principles and obligations, since it is deeds and not words which are required to remedy the unsettled state of international security in which the world finds itself.

3. In any proposals which are prepared, due prominence must be accorded to the fundamental principles prohibiting the threat or use of force in international relations, and direct or indirect intervention, for any reason, in the internal or external affairs of a State.

4. Disarmament will have to be dealt with quite extensively, with emphasis inter alia on the urgent need for nuclear disarmament as well as chemical and
biological disarmament, and also on the importance of establishing nuclear-free zones and on the pressing need for Powers in possession of these terrible weapons of mass destruction to undertake to respect such zones in formal international instruments which are legally binding.

5. If the proposals should refer to regional arrangements or agencies, the Government of Mexico, in accordance with the position it has consistently taken on the subject, believes that it will be necessary to state unequivocally that the United Nations is the supreme authority in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, that such arrangements or agencies must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the world Organization, that enforcement action applied under or by such arrangements or agencies shall be subject to the provisions of Article 53, that their measures for the pacific settlement of local disputes shall be subject to the provisions of Article 52, paragraph 4, and lastly, that in the event of a conflict of obligations of the kind dealt with in Article 103, the obligations of Members under the Charter shall prevail, as is stipulated in that Article.

6. With regard to the procedural aspect, the Mexican Government feels that for any resolution adopted on the subject to have some probability of being effective, its content must be such as to gain general or at least extremely wide acceptance. The preparation of a text to meet this requirement will certainly be an arduous, lengthy and difficult task, and it would therefore be desirable, as soon as the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly begins, to establish a working or study group to undertake the necessary preparatory work.

7. This work should, as the Mexican delegation indicated in the above-mentioned statement of 22 October, be based on the United Nations Charter and take full account of resolution 2131 (XX) on non-intervention, of resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization, of the views received from Governments, of the records of the First Committee and of various other documents which should include the reports of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, those of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the Disarmament Commission, including, of course, those proposed prior to 1969 by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
It is the opinion of the Government of the Netherlands that, more than ever before, the peoples of the world share a common interest in peace and security. For modern weapons technology has created such capacities for destruction that another world war would result in total catastrophe for mankind. Therefore, the efforts to curb and reverse the arms race are of vital importance. Fully conscious of its responsibilities as a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Netherlands Government will not fail to contribute to those efforts.

However, reducing the dangers inherent in the armaments situation is in itself not sufficient to ensure security. One should also recognize the necessity of solving, or preferably preventing, such conflicts as may lead to war. The third preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) deserves full attention since its broad scope offers a basic guideline for the promotion of universal security. It states 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".

Within the context of the United Nations, some valuable experience has been gained in the field of preventing or solving conflicts, and activities in this field should be intensified. For instance, continuing attention should be given to the practice and feasibility of peace-keeping operations, whose effectiveness has been proven on a number of occasions. The Government of the Netherlands trusts that renewed efforts will be made to develop effective measures enabling the immediate utilization of stand-by forces whenever the need should arise.

In 1962, by resolution 1815 (XVII), the General Assembly recognized the paramount importance, in the promotion of the rule of law among nations, of several selected "principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States". The work of the Special Committee entrusted with the formulation of these principles has great significance for the progressive development of international law.
The Government of the Netherlands continues to attach value to methods of impartial fact-finding as a real contribution to the peaceful settlement of disputes. In many instances, the elimination of differences between parties as to the facts underlying a case may help to reach a solution and to prevent conflicts.

If the importance is stressed here of preventing conflicts, one should guard against the misconception that the prevention of conflict would solely aim at maintaining the status quo. Security is not necessarily served by the suppression of dynamic evolution. Political oppression as well as economic exploitation carry in them the seeds of conflict. Therefore, in order to strengthen international security, high importance should be given to promoting the respect of human rights, to protecting and furthering democratic freedoms, to implementing the right of self-determination as well as to enhancing co-operation in economic and social development. A world legal order based on justice can only be accomplished if it comprises possibilities for peaceful change. Of course, such possibilities are not entirely lacking in the present world order, as is evidenced by the process of decolonization which, in the majority of cases, has followed a peaceful course.

However, at the moment of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it is not irrelevant to question whether the present world order sufficiently conforms to the increasing interdependence of all peoples which requires that, if necessary, national interests be subordinated to common interests. A secure world system is impossible if individual States are unwilling to accept such subordination. Eventually it will be indispensable for the world to evolve into a system of strengthened global responsibilities in order to cope with global tasks.

Under the impact of the Second World War, the Governments which founded the United Nations in 1945 took some modest steps in that direction. The results are found in particular in Articles 24 and 25 of the Charter. In the future, however, the quest for peace and security will make it necessary for the States of the world to accept farther-reaching limitations of their national sovereignty on behalf of international tasks and authorities. It is essential that the nations should be aware of the increasing need for efforts in that direction.
Awareness of the need for an evolution towards some degree of abrogation of national sovereignty has manifested itself on several occasions. One of these was the joint statement of the United States of America and the Soviet Union of 19 September 1961 on the principles which should serve as a basis for disarmament negotiations.\(^2\) Paragraph 7 of the statement contains the concept of vesting the United Nations with means to enforce its authority in order to "ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations". This concept clearly points to a fundamental transformation of the world political system in the sense outlined above.

Eventually, the security of mankind can only be ensured by the development of a world legal order based on justice, in which the issues of international politics will have been transformed into issues of global domestic politics.

NORWAY

\(^\text{Original: English}\) 1 May 1970

The Government of Norway welcomes this opportunity to present some comments and views concerning the question of how the world community could best strengthen international peace and security. It is proper that this question is being discussed by the United Nations in the year of its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The maintenance of international peace and security is a global question. Disturbances of the peace, the use of force or the threat of use of force are of major concern to all nations - large and small. This is recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, which makes the maintenance of international peace and security the primary purpose of the world Organization. The attainments of the United Nations in this field are of vital importance for the achievements of the other purposes which the Charter sets forth.

It is the long-established policy of Norway to work actively through the United Nations and in other ways for the reduction of international tension and

\(^2\) Ibid., Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4379.
to support constructive and realistic measures designed to strengthen international peace and security. With this objective in mind the Norwegian Government has consistently advocated a gradual expansion of the authority of the United Nations.

The ability of the United Nations to act effectively in the field of international peace and security depends basically on the willingness of Member States to fulfill their obligations under the Charter. It is of fundamental importance that Member countries respect the Charter and that decisions made and actions taken are based on its principles.

The Charter has placed special responsibility on the permanent members of the Security Council. The effectiveness of the Council depends on a reasonable measure of understanding and agreement existing among these members. The Norwegian Government welcomes the signs of increasing willingness on the part of the great Powers to make the necessary compromises in order to reach consensus, thus living up to their common responsibilities and, indeed, their common interest in avoiding major conflagrations. The unique status of the permanent members of the Security Council is, however, but one aspect of a system in which all Member States - the great Powers, the medium-sized and the small States alike - share responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In this context of strengthening international peace and security the Government of Norway attaches special importance to the efforts to maintain and strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations. The Government of Norway welcomes the pragmatic approach now being applied by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. This approach may not bring immediate and spectacular results, but it conforms to political realities and gives hope for future achievements.

Serious attention should also be given to the need to improve the peace-making role of the United Nations. Ways and means for a more effective application of Article 33 of the Charter concerning negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement should be studied. In this connexion it may be desirable to consider seriously the implementation of the provision in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter concerning high-level periodic meetings of the Security Council.

The Government of Norway hopes that Member Governments will use the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations to make voluntary
contributions to the Organization so that its financial position, and thereby its effectiveness, may be secured.

One of the preconditions for progress in the field of international peace and security is a dynamic continuation of the efforts towards arms control and disarmament. In this field the major Powers have to take the lead, and the Government of Norway has noted with satisfaction the continuation of the talks between the United States and the USSR on the limitation of strategic arms. In the field of arms control and disarmament the smaller countries also have an important role to play.

The Norwegian Government has welcomed the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a very important step in limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. It also attaches great importance to the progress made in the discussions in Geneva to exclude weapons of mass destruction from the sea-bed and to limit the risk of biological and chemical warfare.

Regional co-operation in the field of international peace and security is based on the sovereign equality of States may be a valuable and essential supplement to the endeavours of the United Nations. In this spirit the Norwegian Government has welcomed the proposal for the convening of a conference on European security as a positive initiative towards creating a just and lasting peace in Europe based on stability, security and mutual confidence. The Government of Norway is willing to participate in a conference which is well prepared, which has reasonable prospects for success, and in which the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, as well as the non-aligned countries of Europe, may participate.

The strengthening of international peace and security depends on a variety of factors, among which the observance by all States of the rules of international law is of particular importance. The further development of the legal principles and rules governing the relations between States should be of primary concern to the United Nations. In this connexion it should be noted that the United Nations Charter itself is not rigid and static. It is a flexible instrument which clearly allows for the development of new rules to meet the changing needs of the international community. The Government of Norway feels that the protection of human rights and the development of humanitarian international law are problems that should remain under constant review by the United Nations. Equally important
for the prospects for international peace and security is an acceleration in the efforts to bridge the gap between the industrialized countries and the less developed nations of the world.

PAKISTAN

Original: English
30 April 1970

The Government of Pakistan welcomes this opportunity to express its views on the question of the strengthening of international peace and security, especially as this opportunity coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations and is an appropriate occasion to look back and evaluate the achievements and shortcomings of the world Organization in the maintenance of world peace and security.

While the United Nations has undoubtedly contributed to some extent in preventing a major war and also in dampening and limiting local armed conflicts, it has failed to fulfil its central purpose, which is the promotion of just and peaceful solutions of disputes and situations which constitute a danger, actual or potential, to international peace and security. Such disputes and situations continue to exist and threaten to erupt from time to time into armed conflicts.

The Organization has been unable to de-escalate or even to arrest the arms race, in particular the nuclear missile competition between the super-Powers. Despite a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the danger of a wider dissemination of nuclear weapons has not been entirely contained. In view of the serious concern being expressed by the great Powers for their own security, many of the smaller States must feel that the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations provide no real assurance of respect of their sovereignty and territorial integrity from their more powerful neighbours.

This sense of insecurity is but one symptom of the weakness from which the world Organization suffers. It is, therefore, both timely and appropriate that at its twenty-fifth anniversary session the world Organization should seriously examine how a greater assurance of security can be derived by Member States. In
doing so, it should not confine its debates merely to symptoms but should address itself to the root causes of tensions and conflicts in order to find the best means to eliminate them.

In this task, while every peace-loving State must play its due part, a special responsibility rests on the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council. They should not only scrupulously observe but also secure compliance of respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter from all Member States. The entire concept and basis of the United Nations is predicated on a common will and good faith on the part of the great Powers to act together to uphold the structure of world peace and security in accordance with the obligations they have assumed under the Charter, and in particular, to prevent and suppress aggression and other breaches of the peace and to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the principles of justice and international law.

The twenty-fifth anniversary session affords a unique occasion for all Member States to consider what renewed efforts should be made to strengthen international security and to bring about just and lasting solutions to those parts of the world where armed conflicts are taking place or dangerous tensions still exist. An end to the hostilities in Indo-China, to the torment of the Middle East and to the festering disputes in other parts of the world which threaten to erupt into armed conflicts, must be brought about without delay within the framework and on the basis of the relevant international agreements or resolutions of the United Nations.

In regard to disarmament there could be no better way of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations than by the conclusion of agreements to control and limit the ever-accelerating race in the development of weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical or biological.

The concern of all Member States also needs to be extended to include the need for strengthening the security assurances given to non-nuclear-weapon States by transforming what are only statements of intention into undertakings of a binding nature to protect such States against nuclear attack or threat. In particular, the nuclear-weapon Powers need to take into account the fact that the effective exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence by a
non-nuclear-weapon State would require the co-operation of nuclear-weapon States in the qualitatively new situation created by the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, as the threat to the security of a great majority of States stems from the accumulation of conventional armaments rather than from nuclear weapons, efforts to negotiate and conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament need to be urgently renewed.

For many years, the United Nations has been discussing the question of peace-keeping operations but with little result. Agreement at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly in regard to peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council would be a notable contribution to the strengthening of international security.

The existence of economic and social disparities among nations constitutes one of the gravest potential dangers to world peace. Concerted and effective international action within the framework of the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade would be highly conducive to injecting an element of stability into the precarious basis of the present international order.

In regard to the machinery of the United Nations, the full potential inherent in the role of the Security Council as the principal organ charged with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security needs to be realized. The proposal for periodic meetings of this principal organ envisaged in Article 29, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations - if acted upon - would enable it to turn its attention to the examination of the state of security in different parts of the world from time to time, thereby revitalizing the Organization in the field of international security.

The Government of Pakistan attaches far greater importance and significance to the achievement of concrete results at the twenty-fifth session on as many of the above-mentioned questions as possible than to merely debating them without any fruitful outcome. It is its hope that the twenty-fifth anniversary will be marked by concrete and substantial achievements on as many questions before the United Nations as possible.

/*...*/
PHILIPPINES

Original: English
30 March 1970

As a Member of the United Nations, the Philippines assiduously favours the strengthening of international security and maintains its firm support of the purposes and principles of the world Organization.

If the United Nations is now faced with the problem of strengthening international security, it is not because its purposes and principles are found to be wanting, but rather because the root cause of the problem may be found elsewhere.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, General Carlos P. Romulo, in his policy statement before the General Assembly on 22 September 1969 [A/PV.1760], said: "It is true that the purposes and principles of the Charter were, in a very real sense, written for the ages - valid not only for this generation or the next but also for the generations to follow. But the machinery and the methods for their realization were not meant to be immutable. After twenty-four years, it is certainly necessary to scrutinize them closely and see how they may be made more useful and effective in our rapidly changing world."

The Philippines has reiterated on several occasions its support of initiatives towards disarmament under effective international control. It has signed the partial test ban treaty, the outer space treaty and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - all measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament. It participated in the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States which had called upon the nuclear super-Powers to start negotiations in the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems. The Philippines believes that the nuclear-weapon race helps create the feeling of insecurity and the fear of annihilation among the nations of the world today. It is of the view that international tensions will be lessened and international security will be greatly enhanced if steps are taken towards nuclear disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States.

Another factor that looms large in efforts towards strengthening international security may be found in the area of social and economic development. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in his policy statement before the General
Assembly, also spoke of measures designed, in his words, "to facilitate the formulation of a global strategy for development, based on a workable partnership between the rich and the poor nations intended to bridge the steadily widening poverty gap which threatens to tear the international community asunder in the coming decade". This statement was but one of the many heard during the general debate of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly expressing similar or analogous sentiments on the danger of the worsening economic gap between the developed and developing nations and the danger it poses to the fabric of peace. The Secretary-General himself had shared the same fear. Such statements will continue to be heard in the future unless this dangerous trend is arrested and reversed by positive measures of international co-operation in the social and economic fields.

The twentieth report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace summarizes the problem of economic and social development, as follows: "It is clear that there can be no peace in the world as long as more than two-thirds of the world's population are underfed, underhoused and undereducated. One cannot expect them to accept this fate for ever, and if there is no hope of improving their lot peacefully, they will not for ever refrain from disturbing the peace if force should appear to them to be the only way out of their present misery. While success will depend to a large extent on the efficacy of local efforts, sufficient means will have to be provided by the world community for removing this great danger to world peace."

It was timely and opportune that this item on the strengthening of international security was considered by the General Assembly on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. It is to be hoped that an appeal acceptable to all may be evolved in time for the anniversary, the promulgation of which could be a highlight in the programme of commemorative activities.
1. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has welcomed with great satisfaction the draft "Appeal to all States of the world" for the strengthening of international security, which was submitted by the USSR delegation during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly A/7903, para. 17 and which is now the subject of the Secretary-General’s note in connexion with resolution 2606 (XXIV).

The Government of the Polish People's Republic considers the draft appeal to be an important initiative which truly illustrates the ideals and aims of the United Nations, and its adoption and implementation on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization will contribute to the further strengthening of the role and significance of the United Nations, to better and fuller realization of the hopes placed by peoples of the whole world in the United Nations.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic approves the above proposal and will grant it its full support. At the same time the Government of the Polish People's Republic is convinced that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will give its full attention to the above draft appeal and will recommend all States to undertake concrete steps aimed at the implementation of the postulates and ideas contained therein.

The position of the Government of the Polish People's Republic in this matter was presented at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in the statements delivered by Mr. S. Jedrychowski, Minister for Foreign Affairs, during the general debate A/FV.17677 and by Mr. J. Winiewicz, Deputy Foreign Minister, in the First Committee. The aim of the present remarks of the Polish Government is to present further observations of a general character with the understanding that they will be supplemented by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

2. In the opinion of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, and in compliance with the draft appeal, the Charter of the United Nations should be the basis for all efforts aimed at the strengthening of international security.
The provisions contained in the Charter, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems, are the fundamental premises for maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security.

The key problem, however, is that the provisions of the Charter be fully utilized and observed in the process of harmonious and constructive shaping of international relations, and that the decisions of the United Nations be generally and fully respected and implemented, which would serve the strengthening of international security and at the same time would consolidate the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

The principle of peaceful coexistence of States should be generally implemented in order to eliminate effectively still existing centres of serious international tension which threaten world peace, such as aggressive wars waged by American imperialism in Indo-China and by Israel in the Middle East.

The present situation in those two regions does not result from the lack of efforts aimed at the maintenance of peace, but is caused by the challenge against peace perpetrated by those forces which are violating the generally accepted norms of international law and refuse implementation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

Effective efforts should be undertaken in order to eliminate potential centres of armed conflicts connected with the use of force against national and liberation movements, with neocolonialist forms of exploitation of developing countries and with a continuing arms race.

The general renunciation of the use of force or the threat of using force as a means for settling international disputes should be the basic principle of the conduct of States on a general scale as well as on a regional scale.

Peace and security as well as social and economic development should not constitute exclusive values guaranteed only to a few nations. They should be common values and should be enjoyed by humanity as a whole. It is extremely important nowadays, when the beneficial possibilities of the scientific and technological revolution of the second half of the twentieth century are more and more visible, when more and more progressive directions of social development connected with the ideals of democracy and socialism are being accepted in the world.
3. The steps aimed at general and complete disarmament should be an important factor in the strengthening of international security. Under conditions of consistently realized disarmament the principle of elimination of wars as a means of settling international disputes will become real because of the lack of material premises for waging aggressive wars.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic, stressing the importance of general and complete disarmament as a political goal of present times, supports at the same time all constructive efforts aiming at the honest implementation of partial disarmament steps.

The starting point for such a programme should be the implementation of already existing resolutions and arrangements limiting the scope of improvement, possession and use of nuclear weapons, most of all that of the Treaty on the partial ban of nuclear tests and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The principle of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which is now a norm of international law, should be fully observed by all States. To this effect there is a necessity, on the one hand, for the accession to the Treaty of those States which have not yet done so and, on the other, for ratification of the Treaty by those States which signed it but are reluctant to ratify it.

The Polish People's Republic attaches a particular importance to the postulate, submitted in the separate draft international convention $^{[see A/76557]}$, of the general prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. We consider it necessary to undertake promptly appropriate steps aimed at the elimination of those frightful means of mass extermination from the military stockpiles.

The Polish People's Republic will continue to support disarmament initiatives which effectively limit the threat of nuclear war and lead to the lessening of the heavy economic and social burden which the present arms race constitutes.

4. Consolidation of peace and normalization of international relations in different regions of the world have a basic significance for the strengthening of general security. A specific role in this matter falls to Europe because it is a region in which the fate of peace is equal to the fate of peace and security in the world.
As a result of the last world war and the post-war development of the European continent, a definite territorial and political status has been formed there and the maintenance of this status lies in the interest of every State desiring the strengthening of peace and security. The present political map of Europe is and must remain permanent. It is, objectively, a necessary element of the permanent system of collective security.

The creation of conditions for stabilization of permanent peace in Europe requires univocal recognition by all European States of the final character of their borders, first of all of the Oder-Neisse border, and the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a subject of international law and international relations, with full rights. These are indispensable premises of the permanence of European security, the strengthening of the security system on a world scale, as well as of the normalization and further all-round development of relations among all States.

5. On the basis of the application of the principle of peaceful coexistence, both on a regional and a world scale, it will be possible to develop economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation among all States, guaranteeing reciprocal benefits to all partners. Such co-operation has to be free from any discrimination. Its range and direction should not be limited or hampered by a narrow framework of closed economic and political groupings.

6. With the aim of putting into life in a practical way the principle of peaceful coexistence and wide development of co-operation among European States, the Polish People's Republic put forward as early as 1964 the idea of convening a conference on problems of security and co-operation in Europe. This idea was subsequently developed in the Budapest Appeal of socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty signed on 17 March 1969, in the Memorandum of the Government of Finland of 5 May 1969, as well as in the Prague Declaration of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of countries of the Warsaw Treaty of 31 October 1969, becoming thus a concrete political proposition addressed to States interested in the problem of peace and co-operation in Europe. The convening of such a conference is at present the principal matter in developing a European dialogue on the subject of the consolidation of security and universal co-operation in Europe. Such a conference and the adoption of documents defining principles of relations /...
among European States would facilitate the process of normalization of these relations and would bring closer the reality of replacement of the political and military groupings existing in Europe by a system of collective security.

7. At present, the Government of the Polish People's Republic is considering what concrete measures should be undertaken in order to ensure the practical implementation of the postulates contained in the draft appeal on the strengthening of international security with particular regard to the possible contribution of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and of the United Nations as a whole.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes - already at this time - to draw attention to the urgent tasks aiming at:

(a) Fuller utilization of all constructive possibilities which are created by the provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the tasks and role of the Security Council as the principal organ of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. In conformity with the position taken during the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Government of the Polish People's Republic supports the idea of periodic meetings of the Security Council with the participation of members of Governments or other especially appointed representatives;

(b) The acceleration of the United Nations work on the definition of aggression and codification of principles of peaceful coexistence;

(c) The assurance of universal respect for principles of international law by all States in compliance with Article 2, paragraph 6, of the Charter.

3. The initiative concerning the appeal to all States of the world is aimed at strengthening international security through the consolidation of the United Nations authority. To this end close observance of the provisions of the Charter, full implementation of the Security Council's competences and strict realization of its decisions, as well as the conferment on the United Nations of truly universal character, are necessary.

Expressing its deep interest in the matter of implementation of the submitted draft appeal, the Government of the Polish People's Republic declares its full support for the constructive efforts which the United Nations should undertake in virtue of this draft appeal.

/...
1. The Spanish Government considers that the maintenance of international peace and security, the primary objective of the United Nations, requires the strengthening of the institutional machinery of the United Nations, so that its prestige and authority are enhanced. This involves the establishment of operational instruments which can create a more equitable international order based on respect for the principles of the Charter, the control of force, and the elaboration and development of certain postulates of international ethics and of certain legal principles which should govern international relationships.

2. In the Spanish Government's opinion, the strengthening of the Organization's moral authority must be accompanied by a similar strengthening of its institutional machinery. The purposes and principles of the Charter continue to be fully valid; but the institutional system of the United Nations could acquire greater flexibility and efficiency if we improve the structure and operations of certain of its organs and if we make full use of the possibilities offered by those same Charter provisions. To this end, the Spanish Government has favoured the holding of periodic meetings of the Security Council which are provided for in Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter and at which important agreements could be reached for the strengthening of international security.

3. The establishment of regional security systems with the equal participation of all States within a certain geographical region, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, may constitute an important contribution to the strengthening of international security. The Spanish Government views with special interest the possibility of establishing a European regional security system which will provide a suitable framework for ensuring peace on our continent, promoting co-operation in all fields, and thus helping to strengthen international security.

4. Peace-building and peace-keeping require us to put an end to the occupation of territories conquered by force of arms and to the continued existence of colonial situations in territories where, moreover, military bases have been set up. Such situations constitute a violation of the principles of
non-intervention and respect for the territorial integrity of States, a permanent threat to their sovereignty, and a danger to international peace and security. 5. In the Spanish Government's opinion, the strengthening of international security involves a parallel collective effort aimed at the establishment of a genuine peace, based on disarmament and the reform of the economic and social structures of the international community. There is no greater security than that which emerges from general and complete disarmament under international control; nor can we speak of any other peace except that which is based on equitable social and economic conditions which encourage the development of peoples. Disarmament and economic development thus constitute the two pillars on which we must build true peace.

SYRIA

[Original: English]

30 April 1970

While the Syrian delegation to the twenty-fourth session has given its Government's views on the draft "Appeal to all States of the world" on this item submitted by the delegation of the USSR during that session A/7903, para. 17, and welcomed this timely initiative by the USSR, it may be useful to summarize as follows the salient points of the Government's stand on this question.

1. No international peace, no international security is attainable while concepts of conquest and occupation - which the Charter expressly outlaws - still form the basic philosophy and actual practice of régimes supposed to be members of the international community, owing allegiance to the Charter. The Israeli permanent aggression in the Middle East and its consequences of occupation of large areas of three sovereign Arab States Members of the United Nations, and of expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine from their homeland, constitute the ugliest phenomenon characterizing the post-war period, which the Charter envisaged as free from the "scourge of war". No measures for strengthening international peace and security can be meaningful if this cancer is not cured. This is indeed an imperative priority, that the international community should act upon immediately lest the survival of its members as sovereign and independent States be jeopardized.

/...
In this context, the support and encouragement which the aggressors receive, particularly from one of the permanent members of the Security Council, a member that puts its imperialist designs above its moral duties, deal the heaviest blow to international law and morality and to the effectiveness of the United Nations. If any steps are to be taken to re-establish the rule of law and abolish the rule of force, withdrawal of foreign troops from occupied territories should come first.

2. Nor does international peace and security obtain if no halt is put to the imposition by force of the hegemony of the United States over South-East Asia. What credibility is left in "an international community ruled by law, order and co-operation" if the destructive war machine of the United States is allowed to continue its extermination of the innocent masses of the Indo-Chinese peninsula under the false pretext of an act of collective security - an act which in reality is unilateral, one which the international Organization neither decided upon nor sanctioned.

3. The road to international peace and security lies in respect for the exercise by the colonial peoples and territories of their right to self-determination, in the liberation of territories under occupation, in the recognition of the struggle for liberation and independence, legitimate and hence meriting the support of the community of nations. It lies in the complete ban of conquest, occupation and annexation. Only through such a road can the cherished aspirations of humanity to peaceful existence and fruitful co-operation be promoted.

4. The elimination of aggression, conquest and occupation and the promotion of justice in international relations will further the establishment of peace through the narrowing of the gap between developing and developed countries. The amelioration of the international climate will release valuable resources spent on armaments, to raise the level of mankind, and will lessen the gap between rich and poor and establish a true international society based on equity and equality.

Now, for the realization of all these objectives, the Security Council should naturally be equipped with effective powers. The Charter does provide the Council with enforcement capabilities. The reinvigoration of the Council is therefore a need and a possibility. Any proposal to smooth the functioning of the Security
Council - such as the periodic meetings provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter - would be welcomed by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic. Its stand is motivated by respect for principles and apprehension of the great danger attending the international community if the Council sacrifices principles for the sake of expediency. The criteria of justice should definitely prevail over the criteria of force.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should be the occasion to strengthen the capabilities of the United Nations, to increase its ability to realize its objectives and to establish the foundations of international peace and justice. That is why the item of international peace and security promises to be the most important item in this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

TURKEY

8 May 1970

1. Turkey has always attached great importance to the establishment of lasting and effective security in international relations as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations and has worked tirelessly for its attainment.

The Government of Turkey believes that there is a close relationship between national security, which is the principal goal of each country's foreign policy and the security requirements of the international community. Consequently, these two requirements should be harmonized and made to coincide to the greatest extent possible. It is for this reason that Turkey regards international security as contributing to its own security. It is also for this reason that the guiding principle of its foreign policy has been "Peace at home and peace in the world".

2. The preservation and promotion of peace and security in the world and the attainment of those conditions that contribute to peace and security are also the main objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. To attain these objectives the Charter has provided these fundamental principles to guide international relations: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, refraining from the threat or use of
force, the non-interference in domestic affairs, the sovereign equality of States and the inviolability of international treaties. When these principles are respected, international security is reinforced, while their violation affects and even endangers world order. Thus the purposes and principles of the Charter are the pre-conditions for international security, which is strengthened to the extent that these purposes and principles are lived up to.

3. In this context it is necessary to underline the obligations and responsibilities of the members of the international community. Since the United Nations does not dispose of supranational powers to preserve peace and security, Member States bear a special responsibility in this regard. This responsibility involves the conduct of foreign policy in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and abiding by the recommendations and decisions of the main organs of the Organization.

Respect for these principles would also require that they must be interpreted and understood in an objective manner without attempting to apply criteria that would tend to affect or modify their original intent.

In addition to the purposes and principles of the Charter and the duties and responsibilities of Member States as elements contributing to the attainment of international security, we must also consider the comprehensive machinery established by the Charter and the functions and powers of the organs that are the components of this machinery. The roles and responsibilities of these organs should be stressed, their performances critically appraised and the ways and means sought to enable them to perform their proper functions.

4. In other words, to reinforce international security, we must conduct ourselves in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the precepts of international law and the commitments and duties arising therefrom while strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for peace. It is by these methods that security can be substantially strengthened. Turkey supports the efforts aimed at achieving this objective and has considered with interest General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV) dealing with the problem of the strengthening of international security.

5. As a system of principles, organs and functions, the United Nations is one of the most essential elements of peace and security in the world today. During the twenty-five years of its existence the world Organization has contributed
constructively to the solution of numerous problems, while many other problems have remained unresolved. This has been due to the inability to make full use of the possibilities provided for in the Charter or because the decisions of the principal organs were not in complete accord with the Charter or because these decisions were influenced by different political attitudes. Consequently, we must work towards making the Organization and its organs effective instruments by providing them with the ability to promote action to preserve peace. Obviously this cannot be accomplished in one step.

6. While considering the ways to strengthen the Organization, we should carefully review the full range of possibilities offered by the Charter. Turkey believes that if the possibilities existing in the Charter are brought to bear on current international problems and difficulties related to security, much greater benefits can be derived from the Organization. In this manner, the Organization can be rendered more active and effective in a number of important areas. In doing this, we should not lose sight of the fact that the United Nations has been set up as a balanced system of principles, organs, functions and powers. We should therefore try not to isolate certain fields of activity; we should refrain from establishing unwarranted preferences and priorities among different fields of activity, and see to it that we do not upset the balance between the powers and functions of the main organs.

7. When the question of strengthening international security is approached in a constructive manner, it can be seen that there is a close relationship between security and problems relating to the following fundamental areas: the solution of international disputes by peaceful means, economic and social development, disarmament and arms control.

It is a fact that certain international difficulties pose a grave threat to security. The gap between industrialized and developing countries continues to widen, the arms race, particularly in the case of nuclear arms, is a special source of tension and threatens the security of all States. These three areas are closely interrelated. The possession of vast amounts of destructive armaments creates fear and suspicion, thus making peaceful solutions more difficult. Consequently, general and complete disarmament under effective international control must be an essential element to any scheme to strengthen security. Economic and social development will bring about a more just economic
and social order, increase international co-operation and make it possible for countries to improve their relations, thus strengthening international security. A world in which the majority of the inhabitants live in conditions of misery cannot enjoy progress and stability. It is for this reason that industrialized countries should provide adequate assistance to support effectively the developing countries' efforts to carry out their economic and social development.

Thus, in strengthening the United Nations, we must strive to establish an international order based on economic and social development, disarmament and the peaceful solution of disputes as the essential basis for international security.

To the extent that the United Nations can be made to become an instrument for carrying out effective political and economic action, the cause of strengthening peace and security will have been served.

(a) Chapter VI of the Charter, as well as Article 2, paragraph 3, provides for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Within this context Article 33 in particular imposes the duty to settle disputes by peaceful means and indicates the various ways to go about achieving this end. The possibilities suggested in Chapter VI and the machinery envisaged for this purpose have thus far found only limited application. In this regard, one might contemplate additional ways for having recourse to the International Court of Justice, seek new ways to render the Security Council more effective, and accelerate the work going on in the field of the preservation of peace.

Since the establishment of the United Nations the Security Council has been able to play only a limited role in the areas of peace-keeping and security. It has been able to prevent the aggravation of disputes but has not been able to preserve the peace in those areas where hostilities broke out. This is due both to the frequent violation of the obligation to carry out the decisions of the Council in accordance with Article 25 and to the fact that very often the Council has dealt with a situation endangering peace when it was already too late. To this must be added the structural weaknesses of many of the Council decisions. For this reason it would be desirable to enhance the functioning of the Security Council so as to enable it to deal with important international disputes at an early stage. In this manner it will be possible to take preventive action before a serious threat to peace develops.
While on this subject, the importance of peace-keeping operations and the possibilities these operations offer for peaceful settlement of disputes should be emphasized. The work being carried out in this area should be accelerated and practical and realistic solutions should be found to the important aspects of peace-keeping operations, such as their organization and financing.

In conjunction with this, the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression and of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States should be accelerated. The principles and guidelines to be established and developed in these areas will make a useful contribution to the legal and political foundation on which the United Nations can base its activities.

For strengthening international security, the importance of and the respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law should be underlined.

(b) The United Nations has been relatively more successful in the economic and social fields. In this area, it is necessary to expedite the measures to reduce the gap between developed and developing countries. Consequently, the objectives and measures contained in the international strategy for development being prepared for the Second United Nations Development Decade should be supported.

(c) The unsatisfactory state of developments in the disarmament field affects the security of all States.

The United Nations has declared the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade. During this period we must concentrate on the subject of disarmament so as to achieve significant developments in this field.

8. The foregoing points are not meant to be exhaustive. To these should be added such other important points as decolonization, respect for human rights, the prevention of racial discrimination, and the equal rights and self-determination of nations. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should provide a propitious opportunity for reviewing these aspects of the Organization and for a re dedication to its objectives and principles.

/...
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

In submitting the problem of the strengthening of international security for discussion at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Government was prompted by the need for positive efforts to discharge the main responsibility of the United Nations - the maintenance of international peace. The successful solution of countless other problems facing mankind in the political sphere as well as in the economic, social and other spheres, depends to a large extent upon this. The strengthening of international security is particularly pertinent today, since the international situation is still tense and conflicts and hotbeds of tension are constantly erupting here and there in the world.

In approaching the problem of the strengthening of international security, the Soviet Government is guided by the basic principles for the development of relations with other countries formulated by the founder of the Soviet State, V.I. Lenin, who was the first person in the history of mankind to evolve new principles of international relations - the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. A deep concern for peace and international security is inherent in the very nature of the socialist system. The Soviet Union's struggle for the strengthening of international security is the corner-stone of its foreign policy.

The foreign policy activities of the Soviet Government are based on a desire to obtain favourable international conditions for the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people and other peoples struggling to save mankind from the threat of thermonuclear war and to consolidate peace and respect for human rights on earth. With these aims in view, the Soviet Union is tirelessly adopting measures, both inside and outside the United Nations, to reduce tension in different parts of the world and to put an end to the aggressive activities of some States against other States and peoples defending the independence they have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, and their territorial integrity.

The wide-ranging discussion at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the question of the strengthening of international security showed
that the States Members of the United Nations attach great significance to this important question. The draft appeal to all States of the world submitted by the Soviet Union contains a large number of proposals which, if implemented, could make a considerable contribution to the strengthening of international security. From the very beginning of the discussion of this question, the Soviet Union had displayed a willingness to listen to the views of other States on various aspects of this problem and has taken part in consultations with a view to formulating a comprehensive decision which would command the evident support of all States Members of the United Nations interested in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace.

In the resolution unanimously adopted at its twenty-fourth session, the General Assembly resolved to consider at its twenty-fifth session recommendations on the strengthening of international security.

The Soviet Union favours the adoption at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of a decision on measures for the strengthening of international security. In the opinion of the Soviet Government, this decision should include the following essential provisions:

1. Prohibition of the acquisition of foreign territories by seizure in violation of the United Nations Charter and withdrawal of troops from such territories.


3. Enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the Security Council, as the organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. Adherence by States in their international relations to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

5. Need to achieve general and complete disarmament and to implement measures of partial disarmament.


7. Cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and granting of independence to all such peoples.

/...
8. Strengthening of international security as a means of promoting the social and economic development of all peoples of the world and of solving the problems of the human environment.

The Soviet Government is convinced that the adoption at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of a decision on the substance of the question of the strengthening of international security and the implementation of specific measures for the strengthening of international security would be in the interest of all States, large and small. This action would help to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of peace.

With regard to the recommendation made in the General Assembly resolution to the effect that States Members of the United Nations should submit information on any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security, the Soviet Union, as the proponent of this question in the General Assembly, has already described at the twenty-fourth session the measures it has taken in this direction and intends to give further details at the twenty-fifth session.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as an official document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) A. GROMYKO
Minister for Foreign Affairs

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Original: English
30 April 1970

1. The first purpose of the United Nations, as laid down in the Charter, is to maintain international peace and security. The United Kingdom is a member of the Security Council and therefore has particular responsibilities in this field. This year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations and the Government of the United Kingdom, which was one of the founder-signatories, believes that this is a fitting moment to declare once again its support for the purposes and principles of the Charter and, above all, for the maintenance of peace and security.

/...
2. Peace is indivisible and so is international security. That security, if it is to be stable, must rest upon the widest possible foundations. The task of statesmanship is not only to resolve disputes but to prevent their arising, for whatever reason. Both these aspects are considered in this memorandum, together with the framework within which efforts to strengthen security can be most effective.

3. The United Kingdom Government believes that the Charter of the United Nations and the institutions set up by it are a sound and practical framework for maintaining international security. Failures come not from the machinery itself but from lack of political will to make proper use of it. The United Kingdom believes in a steady, organic evolution of the United Nations, but this will come about more satisfactorily if we concentrate on applying the Charter flexibly and imaginatively to new situations as they arise rather than by changing the basic framework. And in so far as the Charter may require reinterpretation from time to time, this should be done only by common consent; otherwise dissension will replace unity of interest. Unilateral or selective appeals and declarations, exaggerating the importance of any one Article of the Charter at the expense of others, or resolutions claiming to have more authority than the Charter confers, can only weaken the basis of agreement on which international security must be built.

4. The standing of the United Nations must depend on the respect given to its authority and its decisions. The Charter recognizes that Member Governments are obliged to consider their own interests in deciding on their attitude to resolutions of the General Assembly and the action to be taken on them. But the spirit of the Charter is that, in so doing, Members should take a broad view of their interests in the light of their responsibilities to the United Nations. Furthermore, decisions of the Security Council regarding international peace and security are to be fully accepted and implemented by all the Members. For the ability of the United Nations to carry out its primary task of maintaining international security depends, in the last resort, on the authority of the Security Council to take mandatory action and to enforce it.

5. But when enforcement action is needed, it can only be because the international community has failed to reach agreement voluntarily and in
co-operation. So a first need is for wider use of the machinery which exists for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including the International Court of Justice. The United Kingdom Government hopes that Governments will make readier use and at an earlier stage of all the political and judicial means which exist for reaching peaceful settlements. The United Kingdom Government is ready to join in any general reaffirmation of commitment by Member States to spare no effort to settle their disputes or resolve their points of friction in a peaceful way in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter. Preventive measures must be taken in good time. It is the parties to a dispute who should, in the first place, take such necessary action. But the Secretary-General, by the use of his good offices, can often help where other action is difficult or embarrassing. This is most valuable. At other times the Security Council itself may wish to take action to encourage the parties to a dispute to resort to conciliation, mediation or arbitration. New opportunities for this could arise from periodic meetings of the Council at ministerial level of the kind suggested in the memorandum of the Finnish Mission circulated as document S/9759. The United Kingdom Government has declared its readiness to participate in such periodic meetings in order to make the Security Council more effective as prime guardian of international peace.

6. The development of peace-keeping activities by the United Nations under successive Secretaries-General is an outstanding contribution to international security. The United Kingdom Government will therefore go on helping and contributing to these activities and it will also continue to join in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which it hopes will now go forward more rapidly and successfully.

7. Many Member Governments have joined in United Nations peace-keeping. To meet emergencies as they arise, such support must be ready and effective the moment it is needed and have the necessary backing. The United Kingdom has been glad to be able to give useful help on many occasions. Britain contributes a major contingent of troops to the United Nations force in Cyprus and also provides logistic backing and considerable financial support for this operation. In 1965 the United Kingdom Government declared its readiness to contribute substantially to any United Nations peace-keeping operation, if called upon. It also made the first - and so far the largest - voluntary contribution to help meet the over-all
deficit on United Nations peace-keeping operations. This deficit continues to hang over the United Nations. The United Kingdom Government looks to fellow members to take the occasion of the Organization's twenty-fifth anniversary to wipe it out.

8. A world which is peaceful and secure should become a world which offers a better life for all. This must be the aim. Success in achieving it will itself re-enforce international peace and security. The United Nations system has a real part in building, a world in which economic growth can be sustained and domestic and external trade grow. The United Nations has always had a special regard to the needs of the developing countries. It should not overlook the smallest of the new States, for whom it may in future be desirable to make special arrangements.

9. This better world must rest on a well-developed and respected system of international law, covering all the varied aspects of relations between States. Progress here is gradual but steady. The conclusion at Vienna in 1959 of the Convention on the Law of Treaties should be a major step in clarifying and consolidating the law governing treaties on which so many international relations and transactions are based. The United Kingdom Government has signed this Convention and it hopes that all other Member Governments will do likewise. Similarly, the United Kingdom takes an active part in the work of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in studying and defining the principles set out in Article 2 of the Charter. These are fundamental to the preservation and strengthening of international security - to take but one example, by enjoining States in their international relations to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. It must indeed be hoped that a declaration can result which secures the support of all Member States.

10. To create and enjoy a better life to the full, man must seize every opportunity offered by science and technology to extend his resources and make the fullest use of them. But if this is not to bring risks of rivalry and friction which endanger international security, then the exploration and exploitation of new areas needs to be carried on under internationally agreed arrangements. The
Antarctic Treaty and the treaty on outer space have set models: it is right and important that the United Nations work concerning the sea-bed should also bring agreement on these lines and Her Majesty's Government will continue to participate in work to this end.

11. A great part of man's resources are today not being used to build a better world but are diverted to the amassing of arms of destruction, in such vast quantities and of such a destructive power as the world has never seen before. This arms race imperils peace and security. The burden and the threat can only be lifted by international agreement on appropriate measures of arms control and disarmament. The United Kingdom has for many years been working to bring these about in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. Our goal is general and complete disarmament under effective international control. But this will not be soon or easily achieved and we are therefore seeking early agreement on those more limited measures of arms control and disarmament which are most urgently needed and which we think should be attainable. For example, we have played an important part in the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty, the treaty for the peaceful uses of outer space and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We believe that these real successes should be augmented by treaties for arms control on the sea-bed and by a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The United Kingdom has also urged the need for new agreements in the fields of chemical and biological warfare to strengthen the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and we have tabled in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva on 10 July 1969 practical proposals in the form of a draft Convention for the Prohibition of Biological Methods of Warfare (DC/232, annex C, sect. 20). This would prohibit all use, production and possession of biological agents for hostile purposes, and it would directly involve the United Nations in dealing with complaints of violations. We hope that speedy progress will be made to adopt this United Kingdom draft Convention. Finally, we would welcome international agreement on effective measures to control the arms trade.

12. The United Kingdom does not stand alone in its search for security. Last December, Britain joined with its allies concerned with security in Europe in reaffirming their commitment to seek a greater relaxation of tensions. They stated their belief that it should be possible, by discussion of specific and well-defined
subjects, progressively to reduce tensions and so to facilitate discussion of the more fundamental questions. They made it clear that they would see mutual and balanced force reductions, accompanied perhaps by other measures, as contributing to the same end. They declared their intention of continuing and intensifying contacts, discussions and negotiations through all appropriate channels, bilateral and multilateral, in order to tackle the substantial problems of co-operation and security with real prospects of success. The most momentous example of this may prove to be the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks which have begun between the United States and the USSR and whose successful conclusion will be so vital to the prospects not only of European but also of world peace.

13. This is what the United Kingdom has been doing to strengthen peace and international security. We believe that it is in these ways and in these fields that it can be further strengthened. But the United Kingdom Government is ready and determined to join in all practical or useful efforts which other Members may suggest and it will examine most carefully the memoranda which are being submitted by other delegations to see what new ideas, activities or agreement may emerge from them and what new opportunities they may give for strengthening international peace and security.
I would like to refer to the detailed report made by President Nixon on 18 February on "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970s -- A New Strategy for Peace". President Nixon said in that statement:

"As the United Nations begins its second quarter century, America reaffirms its strong support for the principles and promise begun at San Francisco in 1945. Our task now -- as for all United Nations Members -- is to help the Organization in steady progress toward fulfilment of that promise."

As this report testifies, the attitude of my Government continues to be that the maintenance of international peace and security depends on the fulfilment of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Support for the Charter is a solemn commitment to which each State Member of the United Nations is bound. Moreover, the Charter should be viewed in its entirety, and efforts to interpret certain of its fundamental provisions in a way which seems to cast doubt on others must be resisted.

"To maintain international peace and security" is the first purpose of the United Nations enunciated in Article 1 of the Charter. This purpose incorporates the national interest of all Member States and must permeate the work and the spirit of this Organization. The Charter was never conceived of as immutable; in fact, it provides for a process of amendment. But even were amendment feasible, it is difficult to believe that any problem of peace and security could be solved merely by Charter amendment. What is needed is an active will on the part of the Member States to recognize the binding nature of their commitment to the principles of the Charter, and to make full use of its provisions. Regardless of similarities or differences in social, economic or political systems, this commitment is incumbent upon each Member State - large, medium or small - in the conduct of its relations with every other State, as well as in its conduct within the United Nations. To the same end, it is equally important that Members should strive far more consistently to maintain the integrity of all the international agreements by which they are bound, lest the international order be further endangered.
Under Article 24 of the Charter, the Members of the United Nations conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council's specific powers in this field are set forth in other provisions of the Charter relating in particular to the prevention or stopping of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. The Government of the United States fully supports these provisions and has repeatedly demonstrated this fact. My Government also continues to hold that the General Assembly has important functions in promoting international peace and security, as provided elsewhere in the Charter, in particular in Article 10. The United States Government will continue to support the Assembly's exercise of these functions, for example, in the event of the failure or inability of the Security Council to exercise its responsibilities. The roles assigned to the Secretary-General and the International Court of Justice in maintaining international peace and security are also significant, and the United States firmly believes that they must be utilized wherever possible if the objectives of the Charter are to be fully realized.

The United States believes that the current world situation calls for the development of more effective and flexible procedures for United Nations peace-keeping, to increase its reliability and improve the ability of the United Nations to respond in emergencies. We therefore urge all concerned to press ahead in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to devise workable ground rules and improved peace-keeping machinery suitable for observer missions and for larger peace-keeping forces. Success in this effort could provide greater security for small nations that wish to have recourse to United Nations peace-keeping and help achieve a general lowering of fear and tension by reducing the possibility that small wars will become major military confrontations. An important aspect of this work, in which my Government intends to continue to take an active part, is to consider possibilities for improving advance arrangements for observers and military contingents, including logistics, as well as for reliable and equitable financing.

Promoting international peace and security requires attention not only to peace-keeping in the strict sense but also to the prevention and peaceful adjustment of disputes. Under-Secretary of State Elliot L. Richardson discussed
the important role the United Nations as well as regional groups can and should play in this broad field of activity in a speech delivered on 29 April 1970 at the Convocation on the Challenge of Building Peace. He pointed out that various instruments and modes for alleviating tension, for conciliation, and for early warning of impending conflict are at the disposal of United Nations Members both within and outside the United Nations context. Yet many of these have fallen into disuse. We need to establish the habit of resorting to ameliorative and conciliatory procedures. In particular, we need to make a determined effort to activate Charter provisions which offer expanded uses for the General Assembly and the Security Council and those that provide for fact-finding, investigation, conciliation and mediation. Articles 14, 28, 33 and 36 of the Charter include provisions which should be more fully utilized in order to promote peaceful rather than violent change.

Among specific proposals that have recently been advanced for enhancing the ability of the United Nations to act in the field of international peace and security is the suggestion submitted by the Permanent Representative of Finland and contained in document S/9759 of 20 April 1970, for periodic meetings of the Security Council as envisaged in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. The United States welcomes this proposal and looks forward to further consultations concerning it and the modalities under which such periodic meetings would be held.

My Government has also given some consideration to another idea for strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in this field. It is related directly to Article 33 of the Charter, which enjoins the parties to any dispute likely to endanger international peace and security to seek a solution "first of all" by various peaceful means, some of which are therein enumerated. One of these is "enquiry". The Security Council has also found it useful on a number of occasions to have the report of an impartial third party available to it before attempting to take action. The United States has in the past supported the proposals of other Member States for establishing "fact-finding" machinery in accordance with Article 33. In pursuit of these proposals, we would suggest the establishment of a panel of United Nations fact-finders, who would be available to the Secretary-General or one of the other organs of the Organization, or directly to Member States, for prompt travel to the area /...
involved, at the request or with the consent of one or more party, in order to make inquiries and report on the facts of a situation. I suggest that in this connexion the provisions of General Assembly resolution 268 D (III) of 28 April 1949 concerning a Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation be reviewed and that the possibility of revitalizing the Panel provided for in that resolution be considered. We would welcome the views of others on this subject.

I should also like to draw your attention to the address of Secretary of State William P. Rogers to the American Society of International Law delivered on 25 April of this year, in which he urged that greater use be made of the International Court of Justice. He suggested a number of specific steps that might be taken to increase the usefulness of the Court and to encourage recourse to it. I commend these to your attention and to that of other Member States.

Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have responsibilities set forth in the Charter for disarmament and the regulation of armaments. The United States firmly supports the important objective of practical agreements in this complex field and we are currently participating in negotiations in several forums to control both nuclear and so-called conventional weapons. Concerning the latter, we remain interested in the possibility of limiting weapons being shipped into areas of high tension.

One of the greatest contributions to international security, we believe, would be the elimination of the root causes of international tensions. The following are examples of underlying factors which must be dealt with:

- The Second United Nations Development Decade provides each of us with an opportunity to build on the progress already made toward freedom from want, hunger, disease, and inequality of opportunity, including that inequality which results from the lack of advanced technology.

- There must be the fullest possible promotion of human rights and respect for the basic political rights of man as contained in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To this end we favour creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

- International co-operation requires a free flow of people and information across international frontiers.

/...
- We must rededicate ourselves to an end to racism and to the principle of self-determination for all peoples.
- The utmost international co-operation is required in the development of the new frontiers such as outer space and the deep sea-beds as well as for the régime of the law of the sea.
- The same applies to the problems of population and environment.

Nothing can more surely hinder the effectiveness of United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security and to attain its other objectives than to deny it the funds necessary to carry out its operations efficiently. It is important, therefore, that all Members make a renewed effort in the spirit of the twenty-fifth anniversary toward resolving the financial problems of those United Nations operations, agencies, and programmes faced with arrears, deficits and financial insufficiency.

The high aims of those who wrote the Charter and who decided "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security" are difficult but not impossible to attain. I have mentioned a few specific ideas, along with some of the more general considerations, that may assist us toward that end, and I am confident that there are many more. Most important of all, however, is not the machinery or procedures we may devise. These can indeed be helpful, but above all a renewed commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter is required - a rededication that would make of this twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations truly an event for celebration. My Government welcomes the opportunity for such a rededication.

(Signed) Charles W. YOST
Permanent Representative