



UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/8431 and add.1, 2, 3, 4, 5

24 September 1971

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH/
RUSSIAN/SPANISH

Twenty-sixth session
Agenda item 34

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 1932nd plenary meeting, on 16 December 1970, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) entitled "Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". Paragraph 27 of the Declaration reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

Emphasizes the need for the United Nations to exert continuous efforts for the strengthening of international peace and security and requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on steps taken in pursuance of the present Declaration."

2. Pursuant to this request, I addressed a letter to Governments, dated 25 January 1971, transmitting the text of the Declaration and requesting information on any steps taken by them for the purpose of strengthening international security. The substantive portions of the communications received so far in reply to that letter are reproduced in section II below.

3. The communications received from Governments reflect the great importance they attach to this subject. These Governments confirm their adherence to the principles of the Declaration, report on various steps they have taken to further the aims of the Declaration, express their concern over unsettled situations which, in their view, hinder the strengthening of international security, and outline the action they deem necessary in order to implement the Declaration. The time has come to agree on practical means of strengthening international security.

4. I wish to offer some further thoughts on this important Declaration in addition to the views I have already expressed on international security in the introduction to the report on the work of the Organization. 1/

5. There are now welcome signs which testify to the potential of the Declaration. The situation in Europe is improving. The recently concluded four-Power negotiations concerning West Berlin open the door to the solution of other European problems as well as to further détente. It is to be hoped that a conference on European security will soon be convened. The prospects are now brighter for the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe than was the case last year. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, with their far-reaching implications for the arms race in general, appear to have gathered momentum.

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/8401/Add.1), paras. 97 and 162-169.

6. The time has come to realize that the arms race must eventually defeat its own purpose since it cannot purchase security over the long-term. Its pursuit of "sufficiency" is ephemeral and its security gains at best uncertain. The world cannot tolerate the continuation of the armaments race and the existence of ever-growing stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion, let me affirm my belief that the five nuclear Powers have a special responsibility to find a proper forum and then to begin negotiations on both nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons. Indeed, all nations must strive to agree on world disarmament, nuclear and conventional. Millions as yet unborn will be affected by the success of this enterprise. Neither concern nor rhetoric are sufficient for the task; it is action which is called for. In this connexion it should be noted that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament hopes to present to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons. The destruction of these weapons, which is called for in the convention, would represent the first instance that a most dangerous weapon would actually be eliminated from existing stockpiles.

7. Of considerable importance are those provisions of the Declaration which reaffirm that it is the duty of every State to refrain from the threat or use of force, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention to the Charter, and that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. One of the main prerequisites for the strengthening of international security is that all States shall live up to the principles of the Charter and shall constantly rededicate themselves to the standards of international morality and behaviour set out in the Charter.

8. The world situation, fraught with unprecedented dangers, clearly calls for such rededication. Peace is yet to come in Indo-China. The situation in East Pakistan is a matter of deep concern, not only in the humanitarian sense, but also as a potential threat to peace and security. The Middle East remains a source of serious danger to peace for the world at large. There is need for further efforts to build a lasting peace in Europe. In Africa, dangerous colonial tensions still survive, as do the policies of apartheid. With regard to these world danger spots, the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration would help to remove many a serious threat to international peace and security.

9. The Declaration also called for the convening of 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 believe that such periodic meetings will create new and concrete opportunities for the Security Council in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. I also believe that it may be useful to look into the possibility of having the Security Council meet occasionally away from Headquarters as has been proposed.

10. It is inescapable that major and dangerous differences should exist among nations. As we stand at a crossroads of history with human destiny in the balance, we have no other option than to strengthen international security. As we enter a new era, the United Nations must remain flexible and adapt itself to changing

circumstances. We must find the courage to go forward with vision and energy and to continue in our pursuit of universality and unity in peace.

11. On the principle of universality of membership my convictions are clear. I have made them known repeatedly over the last 10 years. The full political potential of the United Nations can be realized only when this principle becomes reality and the time has come for this realization to take place. Now, as a result of the significant increase in its membership, the General Assembly reflects, more realistically than ever before, the political configuration of the world. The United Nations has played a major historical role in bringing this about. More than a thousand million people have been freed of colonial rule since the end of the Second World War and the founding of this Organization. It is an exodus to freedom unprecedented in history. It remains true, nevertheless, that it is difficult to make progress on major issues, including disarmament, as long as one of the major Powers and several other States are not represented in the world Organization. I am sure that this era of exclusion will soon come to an end. The United Nations has before it the remarkable opportunity to become the first major international organization in history to become universal. The United Nations must be universal in membership if it is to mirror political realities rather than reflect a political world image that is unreal, distorted and ultimately dangerous.

12. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security affords a propitious opportunity to advance on the road to peace. Under the Charter it is the solemn duty of all States to implement this Declaration in its entirety. It is to be hoped that this item will be of lasting concern to the Assembly and that its discussion will help to underline the interdependence of various world problems, for international security is a mosaic of global pieces. It can be built and maintained only when we see the vision of peace as the common dream of all men, and the seeds of conflict as the common danger. In a world in which the instruments of war have outpaced the instruments of peace, such a global vision is essential, for only then can the United Nations be truly united. Only then will the United Nations become transformed from man's best hope for peace to the historical instrument which can save the human race from the devastation of another world war.

AUSTRIA

/Original: English/
20 August 1971

1. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security reflects the principles which have consistently guided the Austrian Government in this question. In particular, Austria recalls and herewith reaffirms the ideas put forward in the Austrian memorandum of 1 May 1970 (document A/7922, pages 8-11) on the question of the strengthening of international security.

2. Bearing in mind the terms of resolution 2734, the following concrete steps have been taken:

(a) Austria has signed the "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 in the Subsoil Thereof". The ratification procedure is in progress.

(b) Austria has again acted as host to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

(c) Austria continues to support the various efforts regarding the convening of a European Security Conference. It also supports all other efforts designed to bring about a lessening of tension and a strengthening of security in Europe.

(d) Austria will in the near future conclude a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Organization in accordance with article III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

BELGIUM

/Original: French/
30 July 1971

On the instructions of his Government, the representative of Belgium has the honour to inform the Secretary-General that Belgium continues to hold the same position regarding the strengthening of international security as that set forth in the memorandum of the Belgian Government attached to letter No. S. 2127 of 4 June 1970 from this Mission.

The views expressed in that document coincide with the purposes and principles embodied in resolution 2734 (XXV). Accordingly, Belgium reaffirms its intention to continue to base the conduct of its foreign policy on those purposes and principles.

BRAZIL

/Original: English/
5 August 1971

It should be noted that in the opinion of the Brazilian Government, steps taken by individual States, important as they may prove to be, will not in themselves fulfil the aims and objectives of the Declaration, since its implementation also requires a number of collective measures to be agreed upon at the United Nations. In this respect, the few months which have elapsed since the Declaration was adopted do not suffice to provide adequate perspective for a clear evaluation of the response of the international community to its provisions.

The Brazilian Government considers the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as one of the most significant documents adopted by the United Nations since the San Francisco Charter.

In his Message to Congress on 31 March 1971, His Excellency the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Mr. Emilio G. Medici, had the occasion to remark: "Brazil is convinced that the political character of the United Nations must be revitalized, and acting on this conviction, has taken a very active part in the negotiations for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which, in fact, was presented by its Permanent Representative to the United Nations in his capacity as President of the Latin American Group, during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This document is uniquely important as it provides for the strengthening of the United Nations as a political institution and a centre for political action and negotiation. It received the affirmative vote of almost the entire membership and is today part and parcel of the new philosophy governing the World Organization as an element of peace, justice and progress and not just as an instrument for the maintenance of the international status quo."

The Declaration explicitly reaffirms the purposes and principles of the Charter and the unquestionable competence of the General Assembly, which is the representative organ par excellence, for examination, debate and action on the larger questions affecting peace in the world, the security of all nations and the economic development of the developing countries. The Declaration is therefore a positive step towards the political strengthening and diplomatic reactivation of the United Nations.

Ever since the item on the strengthening of international security was inscribed in the agenda of the twenty-fourth General Assembly, Brazil has been aware of the political and diplomatic implications of a discussion on the larger questions of peace and security for the international community as a whole and especially for the medium and smaller countries. The Brazilian and Latin American initiative in embarking upon a dialogue on the subject in the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly has borne fruit, since it not only contributed to remove the discussions from the sterile context of propaganda and

cold war, but also, after two years of intensive negotiations in which all the groups of countries represented took part, it made possible the adoption on the basis of consensus, of a document which is truly a political programme for the United Nations.

The Brazilian reply to the questionnaire on the strengthening of international security circulated among the Member States by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in compliance with resolution 2606 (XXIV), in essence contained an original and completely practical suggestion, to wit, the recommendation that the Security Council make use of the machinery provided in Article 29 of the Charter for the creation of subsidiary organs within the framework of the pacific settlement of disputes. This suggestion, an apparently simple one, actually had the purpose of bringing into focus in a direct, immediate and concrete way the fact that there is a need to reactivate the United Nations diplomatically, since the subsidiary organs to be established would have as their basic goal engaging the parties to a dispute in informal diplomatic negotiations (under the authority of the Security Council) with the other Member States chosen by the parties acting as mediators. In this way it would be possible, if it were deemed convenient in the judgement of the Security Council, to bring back into the sphere of the United Nations the discussion of political problems that have somehow inexplicably been diverted from it.

The General Assembly, in adopting the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, recognized the usefulness and timeliness of the Brazilian suggestion and made the necessary recommendation in this sense to the Security Council. It is now appropriate for the Security Council to proceed further with that recommendation, associating itself with the General Assembly in this step, however modest, towards strengthening the United Nations.

During the twenty-fifth General Assembly, 23 Latin American countries decided to make a contribution of their own in the form of a draft resolution aimed at correcting several aspects of the clearly recognizable institutional crisis in the United Nations and at counteracting trends which, if continued, would render the Organization impotent and inoperative. What they were seeking, in short, was to strengthen international security by shoring up the United Nations politically and diplomatically. The draft resolution in question stated with renewed emphasis that the establishment of true peace and real security means that all States, large and small, must abide by the principles, while strictly observing the purposes, of the United Nations Charter, since those principles and purposes make up a veritable declaration of the rights and obligations of States. The draft resolution solemnly reaffirmed the priority of obligations contracted in the Charter over any obligations incurred in any other international agreements. It defined the existence of a close and direct link between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of developing countries.

All this shows clearly the vital importance of the Latin American contribution to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, since the final text of the Declaration incorporates all the essential points of the Latin American draft resolution.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security represents concrete progress, as far as concepts are concerned, in the field of international security. Which is not to say that the Declaration is perfect - no document which

has gone through the sieve of consensus can ever be perfect. It does, however, stand as an affirmation of the need to reactivate and develop mechanisms for the United Nations to use in the effective exercise of its role as the main political and diplomatic forum of international life. It is a call for justice and reason, with an appeal for relations among the States Members to go beyond the application of outmoded theories such as the balance of power, power politics and spheres of influence.

Of particular importance are the terms in which, on the one hand, the Declaration calls upon the Security Council, including the permanent members, to intensify efforts to discharge, in conformity with the Charter, its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, and, on the other hand, reaffirms the competence of the General Assembly, once again under the Charter, to discuss and recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among States, thus endorsing the necessity for a balanced distribution of functions between the organs of the United Nations system responsible for peace and security. The Declaration does not endow the permanent members of the Security Council with any function other than those strictly provided for under the Charter. It reaffirms the letter and spirit of Article 24 which confers upon the Security Council as a whole the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and thereby repudiates the fallacious theory that the permanent members of the Security Council jointly or separately enjoy special prerogatives in this field of action. The Declaration maintains intact the principle that the Organization is based on the sovereign equality of all its Members, this being the cornerstone of the structure of the Charter.

Above all, the Declaration demonstrates that the diplomacy of medium and small Powers has an important role to play in the consideration of the larger questions of international peace and security. Moreover it clearly demonstrates that such questions have an immediate impact upon the interests of such countries - a large majority of which are developing countries - affecting the preservation of their political independence, maintenance of their territorial integrity, establishment of effective juridical equality among States, promotion of accelerated economic development and satisfaction of their permanent aspirations and objectives on an international level.

The discussions in the Political and Security Committee were a positive step to arrest the trend towards depoliticizing the United Nations, a tendency which has been favoured by the Super Powers in the interests of freezing present patterns of power distribution. In that sense, these discussions were at the same time a manifestation of support for the system of collective security embodied in the Charter, a system which represents the mainstay of international legality, as against attempts to institute power as the sole basis regulating international relations.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is fully compatible with the traditional course of Brazilian foreign policy. Brazil considers building peace with justice the central problem of our day and that true peace demands a transformation of the international structure. Peace cannot be an instrument for maintaining, or, even worse, increasing the distance separating the poor nations from the rich ones. Brazil has always aimed at preserving its territorial integrity, political security and national identity, while

accelerating its economic, cultural and social progress. Engaged upon the task of carrying out its aspirations, Brazil reaffirms its inalienable sovereignty over its own natural resources and its undeniable right to protect and exploit them freely for the benefit of the Brazilian people. It emphasizes particularly the unquestionable right of each State to set the limits of its jurisdiction over the seas adjacent to its coast, in accordance with its geographical and geological peculiarities.

In the conduct of its foreign policy on the bilateral and multilateral levels the Brazilian Government has the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security clearly in mind. In his aforementioned Message to Congress, President Medici stressed: "Following an historically consistent behaviour, Brazil is against the division of the world into spheres of influence. It considers peace a prerequisite for progress, and it remains faithful to the precept of the peaceful settlement of controversies, the basis of our diplomatic action."

As a country not directly involved in any area of acute tension or conflict, Brazil feels very strongly that current international problems must be settled in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, which have now been unequivocally reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Declaration is no static document: its implementation will depend upon the adoption of a large number of practical measures, including, in the opinion of the Brazilian Government, a review and eventual actualization of the Charter of the United Nations and the creation of a mechanism of collective economic security, paralleling that which has existed since 1945 in the political field, in order to extend to all countries, especially the developing ones, protection against all kinds of economic aggression, threat or pressure.

The Brazilian Government's view is that, if the Charter is revised, one of the questions which deserves first priority is that of the peace-keeping operations. Brazil, which has always made a positive contribution towards this question, is much concerned with the fact that the peace-keeping operations have taken place in a constitutional context not provided for in the Charter. Brazil has repeatedly suggested that a new chapter - the so-called Chapter Six-and-a-half - should be added to the Charter in order to discipline these operations which combine the spirit of Chapter VI with some of the methods of Chapter VII. Most of the opposition to this idea has come from those who insist upon perpetuating the machinery for international peace and security which was established in 1945. In any event, it should be emphasized that the Brazilian Government is convinced that peace-keeping operations cannot be isolated from the concept of collective responsibility as incorporated in the Charter.

The Declaration is a broad programme of political and diplomatic objectives that, based on the Charter, can serve as a nucleus for the gradual development of the right to international security, as much in its political aspects as in its economic ones. On this level, the task for the coming years will be conditional upon the definition of this right and its sources, norms, obligations and sanctions, in full consonance with the Charter.

Brazil considers that the question of the Strengthening of International Security should remain inscribed in the agenda of the General Assembly as a priority matter for discussion in the First Committee.

BULGARIA

/Original: French/
10 August 1971

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, is a document of exceptional importance. This Declaration is an expression of the determination of Member States to direct the efforts of the United Nations, as a matter of urgency, toward achievement of the fundamental objective for which the Organization was established, namely, peace and international security. The Declaration enumerates a series of measures which States should take in order to strengthen peace, eliminate and overcome the threat of war and guarantee security and the peaceful development of peoples.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which took an active part in the preparation and adoption of the Declaration, attaches great importance to the specific steps outlined for the realization of the main objectives of this important document.

The Declaration's provisions on the strengthening of international security are fully in accord with the basic principles of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and with its desire to help make the United Nations an effective organization. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is aimed exclusively at developing co-operation with all States, regardless of their political and social systems, on the basis of the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of rights and non-interference in internal affairs. In the same spirit as that which underlies the Declaration, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is continuing to exert its unceasing efforts to help reduce tension in international relations. It has always been in favour of effective measures to eliminate existing hot beds of war and remove threats to the peace in the various parts of the world. The Bulgarian Government has always emphasized the need to exclude the threat or use of force and armed aggression from relations among States. It has always advocated the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the development of co-operation among all peoples and all States, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

This policy of peace, which has been pursued actively and consistently, has been resoundingly confirmed once again by the decisions of the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which took place in April 1971. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is fully convinced that the promotion of international co-operation, including regional and bilateral co-operation can contribute to the strengthening of international security. With that aim in view, it has consistently exerted great efforts to help make the Balkans an area of good neighbourliness, co-operation and peace, and a region free of nuclear weapons.

The efforts of the Bulgarian Government to foster an atmosphere of trust and understanding in the Balkans and increase co-operation for the mutual benefit of the Balkan States are making a major contribution to the strengthening of world

peace and security. Strictly by adhering to this policy, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has taken a large number of new initiatives in recent months. Diplomatic meetings and talks have been held with representatives of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Greece on questions of common interest and on the further development of co-operation among the Balkan countries.

The problem of the strengthening of peace and security in Europe is central to the foreign policy activities of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is well known that any conflicts that break out on the European continent soon ignite the whole world. Without lasting peace and security in Europe it would be impossible to ensure peace and security in the world. It is in the vital interest of all the European countries and of the world community that the security of the European continent should be strengthened, the frontiers established in Europe at the end of the Second World War being recognized as definitive.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is participating, together with the other socialist countries, in preparation for a conference on European security, and has undertaken major diplomatic and political activities to that end.

The conclusion of bilateral and multilateral regional agreements between European States renouncing the threat or use of force would be an important contribution to the consolidation of European security. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will do everything in its power to put that idea into practice.

It will be impossible to consolidate international peace and security as long as the imperialist aggression in South-East Asia and the Middle East has not been ended and as long as the hot beds of war in those regions have not been eliminated. The principle, which is confirmed by the Declaration, that peoples have the right to settle their own affairs without any external interference means that a solution to the Indo-China problem can be found only on the basis of the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the United National Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos. The proposals of 1 July 1971 of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam represents an exceptionally important step toward the solution of the conflict in South-East Asia.

The alarming situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli aggression against the Arab States is, in the opinion of the Bulgarian Government, another cause for concern. It is necessary, as a matter of urgency, to end this dangerous situation, eliminate all the consequences of the aggression by applying the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, and thus clear up the whole atmosphere in this key region of the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, steadfastly abiding by its policy of peace, has always taken the view that unless the arms race is halted it will be impossible to achieve the strengthening of international security. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the appeal to all States set forth in the Declaration to "make urgent and concerted efforts... for the cessation... of the... arms race at an early date". It would thus be possible to eliminate the increasing threat to peace, which is a major obstacle to the solution of the main problems of economic and social development.

The far-reaching programme of disarmament measures proposed by the USSR in April 1971 with the ultimate goal of achieving general and complete disarmament is without question an important contribution to the strengthening of world peace. The Bulgarian Government warmly welcomes and supports the proposals of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of international agreements on nuclear disarmament by all nuclear-weapon States, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, the elimination of foreign military bases, reductions in armed forces and weapons in those areas where the confrontation of military blocs is particularly dangerous, cutbacks in military expenditure, and so forth.

Implementation of the principle of universality of the United Nations "would increase its effectiveness in strengthening international peace and security". Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the simultaneous admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations would without question enhance the Organization's prestige.

The struggle for recognition of the "inalienable right" of "peoples...still under colonial or any other form of external domination" to "self-determination, freedom and independence" and for the elimination of the criminal policy of apartheid and of racial discrimination is an integral part of the activities of the United Nations. In accordance with the decisions of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always supported and will support in the future the legitimate struggle of peoples still under colonial domination for their freedom and national independence. It warmly welcomes and fully and wholeheartedly supports the Declaration's provisions requesting Member States not only to refrain from all military and repressive measures aimed at preventing the attainment of independence by colonial and dependent peoples but also to contribute actively to the speedy and final elimination of colonialism and of any other form of external domination.

Initiatives to promote the strengthening of international security and the adoption, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, of the appropriate methods and formulations, must be accompanied by a still more active use of the potentialities of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The further enhancement of the role of the Security Council, which is especially stressed in the Declaration, the use of the powers granted to it by the Charter for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and the strict observance of its resolutions would without question contribute to the strengthening of international security.

The Declaration on the strengthening of international security has been greeted with renewed hope. If that hope is to be justified, specific steps must unquestionably be taken to ensure that the Declaration is applied in international life.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to support and to take any measure that may be indicated in the spirit of the foregoing and in conformity with the Charter, so that the efforts of Member States may be mobilized for the application of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This question should be considered at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly and practical measures for the realization of the noble and lofty purposes of the Declaration should be envisaged. This will

strengthen the role of the United Nations, enhance its prestige and give it a new impetus toward the realization of its chief objective, the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]
27 July 1971

The Byelorussian SSR is very glad that a highly important document, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, was adopted almost unanimously by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. This confirmed once again the indisputable fact that the essential and central task of the United Nations was and is the maintenance of universal peace and security.

It will be recalled that the Byelorussian SSR was one of the countries which proposed the idea of the adoption by the General Assembly of a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The essence of the Declaration which was adopted lies in its provisions to the effect that States have a duty not to permit the acquisition of territory by means of the threat or use of force in contravention of the United Nations Charter and that no such territorial seizures shall be recognized as legal and its demand that States Members of the United Nations should implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter. In the present international situation in which the aggressive imperialist forces are continuing to resort to forcible seizures and are attempting to take over foreign territories, confirmation by the General Assembly of these positions is extremely relevant.

The Declaration's provisions forbidding forcible or other action against peoples who are fighting colonialism and stating that assistance should be rendered to these peoples in their legitimate struggle and its resolute condemnation of the criminal policy of apartheid are also very important.

The Declaration contains numerous recommendations aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the Security Council as the United Nations organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is in the interest of all peoples and all countries, large and small. It is the sacred duty of every State to put the provisions of the Declaration into practice and to ensure their strict application by everyone.

The Byelorussian SSR notes with satisfaction that, since the adoption of the Declaration, peace-loving countries have taken new steps to strengthen the cause of peace and security of peoples. In this connexion, the decisions of the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) are of outstanding significance. The Congress evolved a broad programme for the struggle for peace and independence of peoples, and against the aggressive policy of imperialism. The decisions of the Congress set as a goal the elimination of the sources of military conflict in South-East Asia and the Middle East, the immediate repulsion of any acts of regression, and the conclusion of bilateral or regional agreements renouncing the threat or use of force for the solution of disputes. With regard to Europe, the Congress advocated final recognition of the territorial

changes resulting from the Second World War and the adoption of all necessary measures to ensure collective security. Countries were urged also to conclude agreements banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, to put a stop to all nuclear weapon tests and to help in the creation of nuclear-free zones.

The twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU made important proposals on universal nuclear disarmament and the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers for this purpose, on the redoubling of efforts to end the arms race, on the elimination of foreign military bases, on the preparation of measures to reduce the probability of an accidental outbreak of war, on cut-back in military expenditures, and other subjects. The Congress came out strongly in favour of full implementation of United Nations decisions on the elimination of the remaining colonial régimes.

The twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU expressed a desire to strengthen and develop relations with other States, and affirmed the readiness of the Soviet State to co-operate with them on the basis of mutual benefit in the solution of such problems as the preservation of the natural environment, the development of natural resources and of transport and communications, the prevention and eradication of dangerous diseases, the exploration and exploitation of outer space and the oceans.

The twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU spoke for all the Soviet people, numbering many millions, including all the peoples and all nationalities in the country.

The Byelorussian SSR fully supports the constructive foreign policy programme approved at the twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU and believes that its implementation would radically change the international political climate of our planet, and would strengthen the cause of peace and security of peoples and open the way for broad international co-operation.

Unfortunately, the foreign policy of a number of States is not modelled on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. By pursuing an imperialist course, these States pose a serious threat to peace and security.

In this connexion, the Byelorussian SSR strongly condemns the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indo-China and demands that this aggression be ended, that all the aggressor's troops be withdrawn from that area and that the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos be given the opportunity to conduct their internal affairs without foreign interference. A constructive and realistic basis for the solution of the Indo-Chinese problem is to be found in the well-known proposals put forward by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Patriotic Front of Laos.

A policy of open defiance of the United Nations and of gross violation of its decisions, including the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, is being pursued by the Government of Israel, which is destroying all possibilities for a political settlement in the Middle East and is refusing to implement the various parts and provisions of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and, particularly, to withdraw its troops from all the occupied Arab territories.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security points out the role of regional co-operation in the preservation of peace. In this connexion, the Byelorussian SSR wishes once again to stress the importance of steps to ensure collective security in Europe, and to support the convening in the near future of an all-European conference. War must not be allowed to break out ever again in the centre of Europe. The Byelorussian people, who made great sacrifices in the fight against fascism, are strongly in favour of making the European continent an area of lasting peace, where the territorial integrity of all States, with their present frontiers, would be strictly observed. The Agreement between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, signed in August last year is expected to play an important role in this matter.

Despite the clear provisions of the Declaration, which speak of the legitimacy of the struggle of oppressed peoples for the speedy elimination of colonialism or any other form of external domination and which appeal to all States to render assistance to struggling peoples, a number of countries continue to wage bloody colonial wars, taking advantage of the assistance and protection of their stronger allies through aggressive blocs. The United Nations must not waiver in its efforts to end colonialism once and for all. The United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must despite the obstacles put in its path by certain Western countries, henceforth make these questions the focus of its activities.

As is stated in the Declaration, "the achievement of universality of the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, would increase its effectiveness in strengthening international peace and security". In order to achieve genuine universality of the United Nations, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored, the Chiang Kai-shek régime must be expelled from the Organization and both German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany - must be admitted. The discrimination in the United Nations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people must stop.

In conclusion, the Byelorussian SSR wishes once again to emphasize that of all the varied goals and objectives of the United Nations, the central and essential one has been and still is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". The achievement of this priority goal should be the main yardstick for judging the results of the work of the United Nations.

The Byelorussian SSR looks upon the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and as a forum for the active struggle to curtail aggression and guarantee the security of peoples. The role of the United Nations in the struggle for peace and independence of peoples must be steadily enlarged. The economic and social questions on the Organization's agenda must not be allowed to "swallow up" the most important political problems. Indeed, in the present difficult international situation, renewed efforts are required to bring about more active United Nations participation in the lofty task of defending and strengthening peace.

We believe that the forthcoming twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should discuss in detail all aspects of the implementation

of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and take constructive steps to ensure that the Declaration is put into practice.

The Byelorussian SSR will continue to support any United Nations activities aimed at the maintenance of peace and security and at the complete and unconditional implementation of the essential provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

/Original: Czech and English/
27 July 1971

In recent times the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic expressed on various occasions its positive attitude to the United Nations. Czechoslovakia is one of the authors of numerous proposals and initiatives submitted in the United Nations in the field of political, legal, economic and social questions. This was also the case at the last 25th anniversary session of the General Assembly which approved the Declaration of Principles of International Law, concerning the friendly relations and co-operation between States in conformity with the United Nations Charter, which was worked out by the United Nations on the basis of our initiative.

Czechoslovakia has always actively endeavoured that the United Nations should become, as it was the desire of nations of the world at the time of its foundation, an effective, authoritative organ which should solve and can solve its fundamental task - to maintain international peace and security, to prevent and to eliminate threats to the peace and to suppress all manifestations of aggression.

The 25th anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, which we remembered last year, offered a good opportunity to examine how the United Nations fulfilled its fundamental task.

We have stated that in spite of certain partial positive results which it achieved in the fight for relaxation of international tension, it has not used all possibilities for a full realization of the given objectives. However, we have to state today again, after the lapse of another year, that peace and security of the world are not fully and permanently secured. We see that dangerous hotbeds of war arise in various parts of the Earth and that open acts of aggression take place. Nations of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia continue to be victims of the imperialistic aggression. Aggressive actions of Israel against Arab countries also continue. These centres of aggression have the danger of possible overgrowing at any time into a widespread conflict with unimaginable consequences. The arms race has not been stopped. The fundamental human rights and liberties are being violated and the brutal oppression of the population in colonial countries and racial discrimination continue to take place.

Under these circumstances the United Nations cannot be only a passive observer. It has to employ all available means to eliminate these diseases of today's world. That is why the initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union, which proposed already at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to include into its agenda the question of "Strengthening of the International Security", has met with such a wide positive response. The Czechoslovak Government has welcomed and expressed its full support to this initiative. Thanks to the wide support of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations and thanks to the active endeavours of the peace-loving forces it was possible to bring this initiative to a successful end and to adopt the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security at the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Positions and views of Member States on this question, the discussion and the almost unanimous adoption of the Declaration at the 25th anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly give evidence of great interest of Member States in this significant question, and prove that the strengthening of international security is a very important matter for them.

The fundamental aim of our foreign policy is the active defence of peace, development of political, economic and cultural co-operation with all States and we are convinced that this policy is in conformity with the desire of all nations and people of good will. These principles were also confirmed at the recent 14th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In the situation of continuing confrontation of forces of progress and peace with the forces which do not hesitate to risk war adventures, the United Nations can play an important role. We consider the United Nations a significant instrument for the solution of urgent questions of peace and security.

Many important problems wait for their solution. One of the most important problems is the problem of disarmament. When speaking about the necessity of the strengthening of international security, we cannot avoid this sphere. It is quite obvious that the achieving of progress in this sphere would immensely strengthen the international security and would strengthen the hopes of mankind for a lasting peace. Even if we recognize certain partial positive results in the existing disarmament efforts, we have to state that we are still far from being fully satisfied with them.

The Czechoslovak Government has always attached great attention to the questions of disarmament. Representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic work in various disarmament organs in the capacity of delegates and experts continuously from 1958. It is natural that we support the appeal to all States, especially those having nuclear weapons, which is contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, that they should exert immediate and concentrated efforts towards an early end and change in the arms race, towards liquidation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and towards conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision.

Another problem which should be solved without delay is the continuing existence of colonialism and racialism in many parts of the world. Colonial powers in an effort to preserve their domination over vast territories, use all means to suppress national liberation movement in the under-developed colonial territories. For this purpose they are prepared to use the most brutal methods of terror and repression.

It was a meritorious act of the United Nations that it has condemned the further continuance of colonialism as a crime, that it recognized the lawfulness of the struggle of nations of colonial territories for self-determination and independence by all available means. The United Nations can help, to a considerable degree, in achieving the objective of a complete liquidation of the remnants of the colonial system if it directs its efforts to a consistent fulfilment of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Nations, and of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and United Nations General Assembly.

It is also high time for the United Nations to indemnify the wrong committed by the imperialistic forces towards the Korean people and to comply with the just demand of the Korean people and to comply with the just demand of the Korean people that the United States troops, stationed there unlawfully under the United Nations flag, be withdrawn from its territory.

The strengthening of peace and international security would mean today the strengthening and widening of international economic co-operation. In conditions of a secured peace the nations could devote more efforts and means to the development of their social and material standard, to the development of health services, education, science and culture and they could successfully solve other topical problems of today's life such as problems of human environment, utilization of power and other natural resources, development of transportation and communications, prevention and liquidation of the most dangerous and most spread diseases, research and use of the cosmic space and oceans.

As an inseparable part of the problem of the strengthening of international security are also the arrangements of regional character which can in many respects positively influence, or accelerate the solution of the task of safeguarding the security in the whole world.

Czechoslovakia, together with other socialist States of the Warsaw Treaty, considers in this connexion as very positive all measures leading to the formation of an effective system of security and peaceful co-operation among States of the European continent. The convening of an all-European conference, which would mean a beginning of the process of the gradual solution of this urgent and important task, shows an effective road to the safeguarding of security in this one of the most sensitive parts of the world.

Questions concerning peace and security are the matter of all nations of the world. When we call for a higher effectiveness of the United Nations, then it is really high time that in this organization the principle of universality should definitely win and that any discrimination in this respect should be eliminated. We support the restoration of legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and the admission of both sovereign German States into the United Nations Organization.

Czechoslovakia borders upon both German States and is able to see every day that the German Democratic Republic satisfies all conditions prescribed by the United Nations Charter for such an admission. It has proved by its foreign policy that it not only complies with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter but that it realizes these principles and purposes in practice. Admission of both German States in the top world organization would contribute to the reduction and gradual liquidation of the tension in this very sensitive part of the world.

The principles laid down in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security represent a programme of actions aimed at the securing of peace in the whole world which could, to a considerable degree, improve the international situation and solve urgent international problems. We consider this Declaration as a joint contribution of all peace-loving forces of the world to the endeavour for the securing of the peaceful future of mankind. Its adoption would mean a first step in this direction which should be followed by concrete deeds in order to fulfil its principles. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is prepared to contribute with its share to its realization.

DAHOMÉY

/Original: French/
23 April 1971

Sir,

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Dahomey has taken no special measures to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Dahomey wishes to emphasize, however, that it has always conformed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations both in its relations with neighbouring countries and within the regional organizations of which it is a member.

DENMARK

/Original: English/
30 July 1971

The Danish Government wishes to reaffirm its views on the strengthening of international security as set out in the note from the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations of 22 May 1970 reproduced in document A/7922/Add.1.

As for further steps taken in pursuance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security Denmark has on 23 April 1971 ratified the 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 in the Subsoil Thereof.

FINLAND

/Original: English/
2 September 1971

The Finnish Government welcomes the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as an expression of the will of Member States to work together for a peaceful world order and to that end to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. Finland for her part will continue to give full support to efforts to translate the Declaration into reality.

The views of the Finnish Government on the strengthening of international security have been set out in previous statements, in particular in its reply of 30 April 1970 to the Secretary-General's letter of 3 February 1970 (A/7922). As to specific steps taken in pursuance of the Declaration adopted on 16 December 1970 the Finnish Government wishes to draw attention to its continued consultations on the possibility of convening a conference on European security. Subsequent to

developments described in the reply referred to above the Finnish Government, in a memorandum dated 24 November 1970, stated that in its view discussions relating to a conference on European security had reached a phase where it might be appropriate that the governments concerned would instruct the heads of their missions in Helsinki or other representatives to have consultations on the arrangement of such a conference with the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and, if agreed, to do so in multilateral gatherings in Helsinki. Subsequent consultations, and the present trend of political developments in Europe, encourage the Finnish Government to express the belief that it will be possible before long to begin such consultations in Helsinki.

FRANCE

/Original: French/
23 August 1971

1. The French Government believes that the maintenance of international peace and security is not only the prime objective of the United Nations but also the prerequisite for the existence and progress of all mankind. It recognizes the importance and over-all value of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which represents a balanced compromise between the divergent points of view that were expressed in the General Assembly. The Declaration, of course, does not have the effect of creating new rules of international law which would depart from those already recognized and accepted by Member States, but it has the merit of solemnly reaffirming the determination of the international community to find solutions to current problems in accordance with the objectives and principles to which it committed itself in the Charter. The French Government in the letter which it addressed to the Secretary-General on 13 May 1970, had occasion to stress that the problem of strengthening international security was a basic and permanent concern of its foreign policy.

2. Suffice it to note that, in the interests of peace, France has embarked on an active policy of détente and co-operation between East and West, with encouraging results. This policy can, of course, have the desired success only if there is a permanent willingness on the part of all the countries concerned to co-operate and practise conciliation. The policy rules out the supremacy of one nation over another, confrontations between blocs, and any manifestations of a spirit of conquest, domination or intolerance. It means respect for the social, political and economic structures of States, affirmation of national identity, and the free circulation of ideas, goods and people - in other words, the possibility of establishing and carrying on a lasting and trustful dialogue.

3. These efforts towards peace may, however, have only a limited effect if general and complete disarmament, which the whole world desires, is not achieved. Disarmament, it should be emphasized, must not be confused with certain partial measures which, in the last analysis, only result in strengthening the monopoly of the nuclear Powers. Nor can disarmament be confined to bilateral agreements which, however much they may arouse interest can lead only to arms limitation. In the view of the French Government, any attempt at disarmament is truly meaningful only if it is directed, as a matter of priority, towards nuclear weapons and is aimed at eliminating such weapons under effective international control. For more than 10 years, France has maintained that useful negotiations on this subject should be held between the Powers directly responsible, namely, the five nuclear Powers. Such negotiations could have as their immediate objective the destruction, prohibition and control of all means of launching nuclear missiles, with a view to achieving, at a later stage, a ban on the production of such arms and the destruction of existing stocks in State arsenals. If genuine nuclear disarmament were achieved measures for conventional disarmament would also have to be devised in order to offset possible resulting imbalances.

4. Equally essential to international security is the principle that industrialized countries should provide assistance to developing countries. Otherwise, the widening gap between the poverty of some countries and the affluence of others will quickly become a source of bitterness, rebellion and tension. The French Government, for its part, regards such assistance as the fulfillment of a moral obligation arising from the necessity of solidarity among peoples. That is why in its sixth plan which recently received parliamentary approval, it reaffirmed its determination to maintain its assistance at a high level. For 10 years, France has been in the very front rank of developed countries in this respect. It is with the same end in view that France has striven to strengthen the ties between the European Economic Community and eighteen African and Malagasy countries that it was the first country to propose generalized preferential treatment for products from developing countries, and that it has persistently sought solutions to the problems involved in organizing the market for major primary products.

5. Lastly, international security depends not only on the policies of States or groups of States acting separately but also, and especially, on collective action by the United Nations. The French Government is more convinced of this than ever before. It therefore supports any measures that may strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations as a whole, and particularly of the Security Council on which the Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council is the only United Nations organ which is empowered, under certain clearly specified conditions, to apply economic and military sanctions. These exceptional powers are both legitimate and necessary for maintaining balance in the world. Action by the Council can be facilitated by systematic prior consultation among its permanent members. Within the framework of the present division of responsibility among the various United Nations organs, the General Assembly could function more effectively if its procedures and organization were rationalized. France has participated actively in the work of the Committee which is considering this subject and has recently submitted some constructive proposals on that subject. Action in this field is essential. However, the United Nations will not really be in a position to accomplish its mission until its universality is unanimously recognized. Restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China will, without a doubt, be a decisive step in that direction.

6. The above are the principal ideas which have guided the French Government in its efforts to strengthen international security. It will continue to pursue the same course in close co-operation with all interested States. Nevertheless, it remains receptive to any initiatives and proposals that might be made in the competent United Nations organs and at the next session of the General Assembly. The French Government takes this opportunity to reiterate its devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to express the hope that the Member States will seek ways to make fuller use of the many possibilities offered by the Charter, rather than undertaking the difficult task of revising it.

GREECE

/Original: English/
14 September 1971

The views of the Greek Government on the strengthening of international security have been set out in the Note of the Permanent Representative of Greece dated 22 April 1970, reproduced in document A/7922.

In reaffirming its adherence to the tenets and ideals of the United Nations Charter and to the principles enunciated in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Greek Government has the honour to submit enclosed herewith a memorandum pertaining to the implementation of the aforesaid Declaration.

Memorandum

The contents of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (Res. 2734 (XXV)), are in fact a true and complete reflection of the concepts, principles and methods, on which the policies of Greece have been unfailingly based.

It is common knowledge, borne by the facts, that Greece's policy aims and has always aimed at the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security. Greece believes that good relations and co-operation with other States, irrespective of their social and economic system, governed by the principles of the United Nations Charter and in particular by mutual respect of sovereignty, independence, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, are a basic prerequisite of lasting security and peace.

Guided by these principles, Greece has steadily worked toward improvement and furtherance of her relations with other nations and especially with her neighbours. Official visits, intense negotiations and co-operation on various fields and on practical problems, in a spirit of good will and sincerity have positively contributed in recent months to further improvement of bilateral relations between Greece on the one side and her northern neighbours, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia on the other, to the undoubted benefit of the whole Balkan region.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Greece and the People's Republic of Albania, a few months ago, has been a positive and important step towards elimination of strains in the area and normalization of the relations of the two countries.

The Greek Government's relentless search for solutions to problems existing between Greece and Turkey, its efforts to forestall any exacerbation of the situations resulting from these problems and its attachment to peaceful procedures is one more manifestation of Greece's dedication to the United Nations Charter and the principles reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

In a wider context, Greece has contributed positively to the strengthening of international peace and security by ratifying the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, by actively participating in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea Bed and Ocean Floor, by supporting all efforts aimed at promoting economic development of developing countries, and by contributing in a most substantial way to the peace-keeping action of the United Nations.

Greece is confident that her policies constitute a strict and full implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and a faithful reflection of her dedication to the Charter and the United Nations.

HUNGARY

/Original: English/
31 July 1971

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic ascribes an important role to the United Nations Organization in the struggle for the strengthening of peace and international security. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic fought consistently for the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and was one of those who voted for its adoption. Consequently the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic endorses the principles contained in the Declaration.

One of the most important foreign policy principles of the Hungarian People's Republic is to do our utmost to defend and strengthen the positions of peace in the international arena. In our international relations we wholly comply with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and we do all we can to make them respected by other countries, too. We have taken and will also in the future take a stand consistently against Israeli aggression in the Middle East and the aggression being committed by the United States of America in Viet-Nam as gross violations of the United Nations Charter, and we definitely support the victims of aggression, the peoples of Indo-China and the Arab peoples. We persist in our opinion that the conflicts should be settled peacefully, by means of negotiations. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic definitely supports the proposals of the Government of The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the Patriotic Front of Laos and the United National Front of Cambodia concerning the termination of aggression.

The consequences of the Middle East aggression and the continuation of the aggression against the peoples of Indo-China are factors which especially disturb and empoison the present international situation. We think that the liquidation of the consequences of the Middle East aggression and the immediate cessation of the aggression against the peoples of Indo-China would in themselves be a big step towards the creation of a quieter, more normal international atmosphere and create more favourable conditions also for settling other controversial issues.

The President of the Presidential Council, the Head of the Government and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic have had several meetings in 1971 with leaders of other States belonging to different groups of countries. During these talks evaluating the international situation they have expressed concern because of the growing danger spots of the international situation and have stated their common desire for a negotiated solution of the conflicts menacing the peace of the world.

The Hungarian People's Republic is a European country and therefore is especially concerned with the peace and security of the European continent. For this very reason we have long been fighting to secure recognition by all European countries of the realities, the existing frontiers, the existence of the German Democratic Republic, the special status of West Berlin, because only on this basis is it conceivable that the peace of our continent should rest on really durable and solid foundations. Now as before we believe that an all-European Conference on security would render service to the cause of peace on our continent, and accordingly our diplomacy, making use of bilateral and multilateral contacts alike, has taken, and is ready to continue to take, its share of the efforts being made to create European peace and security.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great importance to the discussion of the questions of disarmament and to efforts at their solution made both in and outside the United Nations. We were pleased to have been invited to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, to have been given an opportunity to use also this important forum, in accordance with our modest ability, for the promotion of the cause of disarmament. The Hungarian delegation participating in the work of the Committee is guided by the desire to contribute as actively as possible to working out disarmament measures and having them accepted. Thus, recently the Hungarian delegation, together with the other socialist delegations, has co-sponsored a draft treaty concerning the prohibition of biological (bacteriological) weapons and other toxic substances. The Hungarian People's Republic has acceded also to the 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 in the Subsoil Thereof.

As concerns the universality of the United Nations Organization, the Hungarian People's Republic is firmly convinced that the achievement of real universality would be a great contribution to increasing the effectiveness of the Organization. This is why we consistently endorse the idea that any State which accepts the obligations contained in the Charter, and which is able and willing to carry them out, should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. This applies in particular to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and to the admission of the German Democratic Republic and, of course, the Federal Republic of Germany if it applies for membership. We deem it necessary to stop immediately the discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other socialist countries.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has always supported the efforts to liquidate as soon as possible the last remnants of the disgraceful colonial system.

The Hungarian Government and Hungarian representatives active in the various international organizations, in compliance with the provisions of the United

Nations Charter and the generally accepted norms of international law, take a stand consistently against racial persecution and racial discrimination. The Hungarian People's Republic is a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. We emphatically condemn the vicious policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa and, in common with other countries in the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid we fight consistently against all manifestations of this policy. Pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic maintains neither diplomatic nor economic nor other relations with the Republic of South Africa.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic regards the international economic and social problems as major tasks of the United Nations, yet it considers the main task of the Organization to be its effective contribution to the solution of essential political problems. Therefore the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is resolutely against any step that might ultimately deprive the Organization of its political character.

We can state on this basis that the foreign policy of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is in harmony with the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In the future, too, we shall endeavour to contribute to having these principles as widely accepted and respected as possible.

IRELAND

/Original: English/
9 August 1971

The avowed aim of the Declaration is to give effect to the Charter of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that the Government of Ireland submitted certain proposals on the Strengthening of International Security on 22 May 1970 set out in pages 15 to 19 of document A/7922/Add.1 of 14 June.

In the belief that the Declaration adopted on 16 December 1970 is calculated to serve that aim the Government were happy to support it. They have uniformly striven to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter as required by Article 4 (1); and their policies have been consistently informed by respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter.

ITALY

/Original: English/
6 August 1971

The views expressed in the memorandum on the question of "Strengthening of the international security" forwarded with note No. 2337 of 30 April 1970 continue to inspire Italy's positions on the matter concerned, in full respect of the norms and principles of the Charter to which reference is made in the same declaration.

KUWAIT

/Original: English/
5 August 1971

1. Kuwait has shown special interest in promoting amity and harmony among the Emirates of the Arabian Gulf. It has been promoting the establishment of a Federation among the Emirates which will ensure constructive co-operation among the States of the Arabian Gulf in a manner that will strengthen international peace and security. The Government of the State of Kuwait has also been extending aid to the countries of the Arabian Gulf especially in the fields of education and health.

2. Kuwait supports all measures taken by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. It is a party to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer-Space and Underwater signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963. Kuwait believes this Treaty should be extended so as to include the banning of underground nuclear weapon tests as well.

3. Kuwait signed the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to which it attaches vital importance. However, Kuwait could not ratify the Treaty on account of the aggressive attitude adopted by Israel, which is bent on expansion and consistently flouts the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

4. Kuwait recognized the People's Republic of China and established diplomatic relations with her. Kuwait also repeatedly advocated seating the People's Republic of China at the United Nations so as to achieve the universality of the United Nations.

5. Kuwait is completely opposed to colonialism and apartheid. It has complied with all United Nations resolutions imposing a boycott on Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. It has offered scholarships to students from African countries which are still under foreign domination.

6. Kuwait has been extending aid to all countries afflicted with national disasters.

7. Kuwait established a Fund for Arab Economic Development which has been extending aid to Arab countries to accelerate their economic and social development.

8. Kuwait has been faithful to the cause of the people of Palestine who were expelled from their national homeland. It has done everything within its power to help the people of Palestine regain their legitimate rights, which are confirmed in United Nations resolutions, and which include their right to return to their homeland. Kuwait resisted the Israeli aggression which was perpetrated in June 1967. It has been since then extending aid to the countries which were the victims of that aggression and will continue to help these countries eliminate the consequences of Israeli's aggression.

LUXEMBOURG

/Original: French/
30 July 1971

On the instructions of his Government, the Permanent Representative of Luxembourg has the honour to draw the Secretary-General's attention to the fact that many of the considerations set forth in note No. A.1.48/205 of 5 May 1970 from the Luxembourg delegation were reproduced in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV); Luxembourg's foreign policy has always been based upon the general principles expressed in that resolution. Accordingly, Luxembourg will continue to observe those principles in the future.

MADAGASCAR

/Original: French/
12 May 1971

The principles which have formed the basis of the external and economic policy of the Malagasy Republic since it regained its sovereignty are in conformity with the affirmations contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1970 as resolution 2734 (XXV). Consequently, the recommendations addressed to Member States in the Declaration do not require the adoption in the Malagasy Republic of any new measures to implement the Declaration. In its relations with other States and with the United Nations, the Malagasy Republic intends, for its part, to follow the same lines of conduct as in the past.

MALAYSIA

/Original: English/
26 July 1971

The Charter of the United Nations has in succinct words embodied the desire and hopes of mankind for peace, freedom, justice and economic progress. Malaysia regards the Declaration on the Strengthening of the International Security as a restatement or rededication of Member States to the principles enshrined in the Charter and to the noble objectives of the United Nations. A fundamental element of Malaysia's foreign policy is its belief in and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Malaysia believes that all States have the right to choose their own political ideology and their own economic and social system and that they must respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, in an environment of big power rivalry which exists today, Malaysia has chosen the policy of non-alignment which is not merely an abstention from partisanship in big power conflicts, rather it seeks the creation of a more safe, just and equal international order.

Closely related to this policy of non-alignment is Malaysia's belief that the security of South East Asia can best be achieved through acceptance by major powers that the region be left in peace. Malaysia strongly feels that this area of the world should be neutralized so as to deny any interference from without. She is working towards the realization of this objective.

The arms race and disarmament are perhaps two of the biggest factors making a call for a declaration on international security a necessity. In this regard, Malaysia has consistently urged and supported the move for the limitation on strategic arms development which have crucial importance for furthering the progress of disarmament and arms control. In 1970 Malaysia signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and in December 1970 she acceded to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. A recent example of her concern for international security was her signing on 20 May 1971 of the Treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed and ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof.

The vigorous opposition of the Government of Malaysia to colonialism and apartheid have been made abundantly clear in the records of the United Nations and at other international forums. It will continue to support decolonization. Malaysia has also given financial support to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

Security is forced and unreal when a major part of the world live in want and misery. Economic development and the raising of the standard of living of the masses is the keystone to peace. Malaysia is currently engaged in her Second Development Plan designed to improve the economic, social and cultural fabric of the country. In striving to create the conditions of stability and well being and to ensure a minimum standard of living within the country, Malaysia would also contribute to the economic and social progress and development as set forth in the International Development Strategy.

In accordance with the United Nations Charter which calls for international co-operation and friendly relations, Malaysia has made important strides in trying to foster co-operation among her many neighbours. The Association of South-East Asia (ASA) was formed in 1961 and was subsequently succeeded in 1967 by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Its aim is the promotion of economic development and the fostering of closer social and cultural ties between the countries concerned.

The spirit of the declaration on international security is in consonant with the cardinal principles of Malaysia's foreign policy. The declaration is also a reiteration of the principles of the United Nations Charter which Malaysia has constantly supported and in which she will continue to prove her faith for the betterment of the international situation and world order.

MONGOLIA

/Original: Russian/
30 August 1971

At the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the initiative of the socialist countries, a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted reflecting the main principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, represents a realistic and practical programme for ensuring peace and universal security.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is convinced that the practical implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will undoubtedly promote the development of co-operation in the interests of nations.

The evolution of events in the world shows that, despite the consistent efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving States, the current international situation still remains tense. In these circumstances, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the United Nations should use all its resources and exert every effort actively to implement the purposes and principles proclaimed in its Charter and to ensure the practical implementation of all the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

One of the most important conditions for the maintenance of international peace and security is the prevention and elimination of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression. From this point of view, the first and foremost task is still the elimination of the existing hotbeds of war in Indo-China and the Near East.

The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian socialist country, strongly supports the immediate cessation of United States aggression in Indo-China, the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from that area and a solution to the problem of Indo-China on the basis of the constructive proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the National United Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos. This condition corresponds fully to the spirit and provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which once again reaffirms the right of peoples to determine their own destinies free of external intervention.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the United Nations should make every effort to secure a political settlement of the Near East crisis in accordance with the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. This would help to preserve peace not only in the Near East, but throughout the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic is deeply interested in ensuring peace and security in Asia and the Far East and to that end it is continuing its efforts to turn the Asian continent into an area where lasting peace and stability, mutual understanding and co-operation prevail.

The United Nations is faced with an immediate task - that of putting an end to intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and achieving a settlement of the question of the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from South Korea, thereby contributing towards the elimination of tension in that part of the world.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic warmly welcomes and supports the efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving states in Europe to establish a system of collective security on the European continent. The existence of such a system in that continent would be of great importance in ensuring peace and security not only in Europe but throughout the world. The convening of an all-European conference on questions of co-operation and security would help to create an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding among European States.

Further constructive measures in the field of disarmament, above all on the prohibition of all forms of weapons of mass destruction, would undoubtedly help to strengthen peace and the security of the peoples and to improve the international situation. In this connexion, the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the constructive programme for peace and international co-operation put forward by the Soviet Union in April of this year, especially the far-ranging programme to achieve general and complete disarmament.

Among the measures directed towards the strengthening of international security, the problem of the complete removal of the last vestiges of colonialism and the elimination of racism and apartheid in all its forms and manifestations occupies an important place.

The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of making the United Nations more effective as an important instrument for peace and international co-operation.

The achievement of genuine universality of the United Nations would be of great significance in enhancing the role and effectiveness of that authoritative international organization. The Mongolian People's Republic has supported and still supports the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and a favourable settlement of the question of the admission to the United Nations of both German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expects that the question of the status of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will be considered in detail at the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations so that agreement can be reached on specific measures for the implementation of the Declaration. Any constructive efforts directed towards the strengthening of peace and the practical implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will meet with the support of the Mongolian People's Republic, which throughout the half century of its existence and development has invariably pursued a policy of peace and friendly co-operation among nations.

NETHERLANDS

/Original: English/
30 July 1971

The Netherlands Government considers its views on the strengthening of international security, as formulated in this Mission's note to the Secretary-General of 30 April 1970, no. 1608, to be reflected in resolution 2734 (XXV) of the General Assembly. Bearing in mind the terms of resolution 2734 (XXV) the Netherlands will, therefore, continue to strive to bring about the realization of its views.

NIGER

/Original: French/
10 May 1971

The Republic of the Niger, in the conduct of its Government's policy and its relations with the rest of the world, has always observed the fundamental principles adopted by our Organization and designed to ensure man's moral, material and spiritual well-being in a world of peace, complete security and social justice.

The Government of the Republic of the Niger scrupulously observes the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which the Assembly adopted as resolution 2734 (XXV).

That is why the Government of the Republic of the Niger has undertaken to settle its differences with other States by peaceful means without the use of force, to contribute to the efficiency of peace-keeping operations, to strive to enhance the authority of the Security Council and to respect the obligations flowing from international law.

NORWAY

/Original: English/
31 July 1971

In its general policy declaration on 18 March 1971, the Government of Norway stated inter alia:

"In its foreign policy the Government will make every effort to promote peace and relaxation of international tension. It will work to ensure the realization of a European Security Conference. The Government will work for extended aid to, and co-operation with, developing countries...".

The Government of Norway wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is of paramount importance for international peace and security that all member countries fulfil their obligations under the Charter and act in accordance with its principles and purposes. Through active participation in the United Nations and through the widest possible international co-operation the Government of Norway wishes to make its contribution to international solidarity, peace and security.

The ability of the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities for upholding international peace and security is dependent on the willingness of Member Nations to invest the Organization with sufficient authority and sufficient financial means. The Government of Norway has over the years consistently worked to strengthen the United Nations in both these respects. It attaches special importance to the efforts to maintain and strengthen the peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations. It wishes to express the hope that all Member Nations will participate in the efforts to secure the financial position of the Organization.

The Norwegian Government has actively advocated measures designed to increase the authority of the United Nations to bring humanitarian assistance to civilian populations, suffering on account of conflicts, natural disasters and other forms of catastrophe. Increased United Nations authority in this field would strengthen the hand of the United Nations in its efforts to maintain international peace and security.

The Government of Norway has consistently striven to follow a non-partisan policy in the Middle East conflict, and feels that the United Nations should continue to play a central role in the efforts to settle that conflict. Norway has participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations in the area in the past and continues to place observers at the disposal of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. The Norwegian Government has declared its readiness to participate in future peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, provided such participation is acceptable to the parties concerned.

Universality of membership is essential for a realistic approach by the United Nations to the problems of international peace and security. It is important that the Government of the People's Republic of China should be allowed to occupy its lawful seat in the United Nations. Norway will, in accordance with its consistent policy in this field, vote for the seating of the Government of the People's Republic of China at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

Peace and security in Africa cannot be established on a lasting basis unless the colonial problems in southern Africa are solved without delay. All peoples in these areas must be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The Norwegian Government wishes once more to place on record its strong support for the peoples in colonial areas who are struggling for freedom, and its deep regret that some Governments are still trying to oppose the historic process of decolonization.

It is essential for improving the prospects for international peace and security that sustained and accelerated efforts are made to bridge the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing part of the world. National and international action is necessary if the goals and objectives of the Second Development Decade are to be achieved. Norway has accepted the strategy for the Second Development Decade without reservations and is planning to increase her official development assistance to 0.75 per cent of GNP not later than 1974.

Regional co-operation for international peace and security may serve as a valuable and necessary supplement to the endeavours of the United Nations in this field. The Norwegian Government is actively supporting the efforts to convene a well prepared conference on European Security and co-operation. Such a conference would constitute a natural continuation of the process of negotiation initiated last

year between East and West. This would enable all interested countries to engage themselves actively in the work of creating a better and safer Europe. Increased co-operation on concrete problems of mutual interest across the political barriers could make an important contribution to a relaxation of tension in Europe.

The Government of Norway will continue to support all realistic efforts towards arms control and disarmament. It has taken a positive attitude towards negotiations between the major nuclear weapon states, in particular to the strategic arms limitations talks, hoping that all nuclear weapons States, as well as all other States, will make their appropriate contribution to arms control and disarmament.

The Government of Norway is actively supporting the efforts to bring about a mutual reduction of forces in Europe, and has welcomed recent indications that negotiations may eventually be initiated in this field. It is hoped that this will contribute to a further reduction of political tension in Europe and to more stable and peaceful relationships in the world, based on mutual confidence among states.

Following the successful work of the Safeguard Committee of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in which it participated, the Government of Norway has opened negotiations with the IAEA with a view to concluding a safeguard agreement in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

In the past year another limited step in the right direction was taken when a number of states signed the 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. This treaty has already been ratified by the Norwegian Government.

The Norwegian Government has noted with satisfaction recent indications that it might be possible in the near future to reach international agreement on a convention prohibiting the development, production and stock-piling of biological (bacteriological) means of warfare, and hopes that it will soon be possible to reach agreement on a similar convention concerning chemical means of warfare.

PHILIPPINES

/Original: English/
19 August 1971

With respect to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security contained in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), the Philippine Government favours the strengthening of international security and maintains its firm support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It believes that disarmament or more specifically nuclear disarmament, will lead to a lessening of international tensions, thereby enhancing international understanding. International security can also be strengthened through efforts in the field of social-economic development. The worsening economic gap between the developed and developing nations should be bridged by positive measures of international co-operation in the social and economic spheres. Unless such measures are undertaken, peace will be greatly endangered as two-thirds of the world's population who are underfed, underhoused and undereducated may resort to violence if this should appear to them to be the only way out of their present misery.

During the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the Philippine delegation, under the leadership of His Excellency Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, sponsored a resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The resolution called for a linkage between savings produced by disarmament and development and which in effect would link the Disarmament Decade with the Second Development Decade.

In addition, the Philippine Government has undertaken several projects and activities since the adoption on 16 December 1970 of the above-mentioned Declaration, which activities can be considered as steps taken in pursuance of the provisions thereof:

1. The Philippine Government hosted the Twenty-first Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan which met in Manila from 16 to 25 February 1971 in which Ministers of the twenty-four Colombo Plan countries had useful discussions on the following major issues: (a) policy implications of development with social justice; (b) development and education, formal and non-formal; (c) population policies and the role of external assistance; (d) the question of supply of equipment independently of experts and the greater utilization of experts available in developing countries in technical co-operation programmes; and (e) public attitudes towards aid. In addition, the Ministers and senior-level government officials of the Colombo Plan countries considered ways and means by which the procedures of technical co-operation between donor and receiving countries could be further improved. Furthermore, the Consultative Committee selected as special topic for discussion in the next meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee to be held in New Delhi, India, in 1972 the following subject: "The Loss of Skilled Personnel From Developing Countries, Its Incidence, Effects and Measures for Control". The Consultative Committee also agreed that the Colombo Plan Senior Information Officers' Conference, to be held in 1972, should be asked to consider as its theme "The Role of Communication in Development".

2. The Philippine Government also hosted the Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting which took place from 12 to 13 March 1971. In his opening address at the Meeting, His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines, reiterated the firm support of the Philippine Government for the ASEAN ideals of peace, social justice and economic well-being through regional co-operation action, and through the spirit of equal partnership, understanding and goodwill. He recalled that countries in the ASEAN region had been helpless victims of world Powers in their ideological power play, and stressed that from this common misfortune grew an awakening to their common identity and community of interests. Citing the need for new directions in regional co-operation, President Marcos invited the Ministers to join him in declaring the 1970s as the ASEAN Development Decade. He stressed that to realize the ultimate goal of establishing an ASEAN Common Market, ASEAN should now take bold steps by setting up at an early stage a limited free trade area on a selective commodity basis and by establishing a payments union within the ASEAN region.

In their policy statements, the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs emphasized the value of regional collaboration and reaffirmed their determination to intensify the efforts of their respective Governments in this direction. They agreed, therefore, on the urgent need for the Permanent Committees of ASEAN to work out their respective lists of priority projects which could be implemented as soon as possible.

The ASEAN Foreign Ministers reiterated the necessity of close consultation and co-operation among their representatives at regional and international forums so that the members of ASEAN would always present a united stand to advance their common interests.

3. The Philippine Government hosted the twenty-seventh session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) which took place in Manila from 20 to 30 April 1971. The Philippine Government welcomed, in particular, the adoption of resolutions relating to the following: (a) the Asian Plan Action for the Application of Scientific Technology to Development; (b) the responsibilities of the United Nations International Organization in promoting industrial development in the Asian region, in particular its assistance to the Asian Industrial Development Council; (c) the periodic performance appraisal of national and regional levels during the Second Development Decade; and (d) the strengthening and co-ordination of regional structures of the United Nations.

4. The Philippine Government was also host to the Sixth Ministerial Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), comprising Australia, the Republic of China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Kingdom of Thailand, and the Republic of Viet-Nam. Representatives from the Khmer Republic and the Kingdom of Laos participated as observers at all sessions of the meeting. A representative of Indonesia was present at the opening and closing sessions as a special guest of the Philippine Government.

President Marcos in his address at the opening session, described ASPAC as a platform for mutual counsel and a forum for peace through which it would be possible to reconcile the diverse interests and conflicting wills of nations in Asia and the Pacific. He suggested that an expanded role for ASPAC in shaping the peace and stability of the region. Affirming that one of the basic principles of ASPAC is adherence to the right of peoples to self-determination, President Marcos proposed

an attitude of "realistic circumspection" in order to achieve stability and establish the essential conditions for the social and economic development of the region.

The ASPAC Ministers deliberated on a wide range of vital issues and outstanding problems affecting intra-regional relations. They undertook a comprehensive review of the events and various developments in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres within the region and the underlying questions of peace and regional security.

In their frank and constructive exchange of views and statement of national purposes, the ASPAC Ministers explained their respective positions on current problems and their attitudes on the policies of major Powers in the world as these affected the region. While recognizing the diversity of their cultural backgrounds and national interests, they reaffirmed their common need for greater co-operation and unity. They reiterated in particular the need to reduce international tensions and to work closely with one another as well as with other countries for this purpose. They reaffirmed the basic responsibility of Asian and Pacific countries to solve the problems of the region. They also reaffirmed their profound conviction that the less powerful nations of the area are entitled to the full recognition, scrupulous observance, and strict respect, by more powerful States, of their desire to live in peace, independence and harmony.

Furthermore, Secretary Romulo proposed at the ASPAC Ministerial meeting that the Economic Cooperation Centre, an ASPAC project located in Bangkok, should undertake a study regarding the initial steps which could possibly be taken towards achieving some kind of an ASPAC limited free trade area. Such a study, he declared, could first deal with a few products which could be extended reduced tariffs by ASPAC member countries, which reduction could be phased during a specified number of years.

5. The first meeting of the Joint Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation of the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of Indonesia and its technical panels took place in Manila from 22 to 29 July to review the implementation of the various economic and technical co-operation agreements signed between the two countries. Secretary Romulo, in welcoming the members of the Joint Commission, emphasized the historical significance of the meeting particularly in the context of the rapid changes and developments in Asia. He indicated the areas of collaboration which were covered by the various economic agreements between the two countries and stressed that these were but a few instances where the Philippines and Indonesia could assist each other in their common aspirations for progress, industrialization, and development.

The Joint Commission outlined the areas of co-operation between the Philippines and Indonesia in the following fields: forestry; border trade and shipping; and coconut and coconut products. It also adopted measures aimed at implementing the Agreement on Processing Arrangements and the Utilization of Excess Capacities in Industries.

6. In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Philippine delegation, at the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, actively supported resolutions which focused special attention on the deep-rooted blight of racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and racial intolerance.

The Philippine delegation also stressed the implementation of the principle of self-determination, particularly in the context of colonial rule imposed on alien peoples. The Philippine delegation also supported resolutions relating to: (a) the continuing study of scientific and technological developments as they affect human rights including the right to life itself; (b) the education of world youth for the development of its personality in the strengthening of its respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; (c) the proper implementation of the supplementary Slavery Convention of 1956; (d) the drawing up of model rules of procedure for the United Nations bodies relating to violations of human rights; (e) the possibility of drawing an international convention on the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions.

7. The ASEAN National Secretariat of the Philippines, through channels, and the ASPAC National Secretariat of the Philippines, through channels, invited the attention of the ASEAN Ministers at their Fourth Meeting and of the ASPAC Standing Committee, respectively, to the United Nations General Assembly resolution 2716 (XXV) relating to the unified long-term programme for the advancement of women, in accordance with a letter from the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

8. Because of its faith in rule of law in international relations and because of its belief that all Member States of the United Nations should voluntarily accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice to settle international disputes by peaceful means, the Philippine Government continues to hold the position that its claim to sovereignty over the territory of Sabah should be settled by the International Court of Justice. The Philippine Government has given every possible proof that this legal, orderly and peaceful means of strengthening the Philippine claim to Sabah is the means preferred and deliberately chosen by the Government and people of the Philippines. The Philippine Government maintains this position within the context of cordial and fraternal relations between the Philippines and Malaysia and within the context of co-operation in the ASEAN, ASPAC and in regional associations, of which the Philippines and Malaysia are members of good standing.

POLAND

/Original: English/
30 August 1971

The Government of the Polish People's Republic welcomed with great satisfaction the adoption by the General Assembly at its anniversary session of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which constitutes an important political document of the present era in that it reaffirms the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and recommends to all States the implementation of those principles in the interest of universal peace and security. It thus re-emphasizes the essential political role of the United Nations - the maintenance of international peace and security.

In accordance with the basic tenets of its foreign policy, by developing peaceful and friendly co-operation with all countries concerned, irrespective of their political and social systems, the Polish People's Republic has, in its daily life, been implementing the principles and recommendations embodied in the Declaration. By coming out with concrete initiatives for the strengthening of international peace and security and for peaceful co-operation among nations, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has time and again given proof of its active support for the fundamental principles of international co-existence, so forcefully and clearly set out in paragraph 2 of the Declaration.

Poland has always opposed, and continues to oppose, all acts of aggression and violations of the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration, for any act of aggression is a threat to the world peace and undermines the system of international security. Poland, together with other socialist countries, once more has stated its condemnation of aggression and all acts incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the Declaration by signing three important declarations of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Member States issued following the Berlin Conference in December 1970, and relating to the cessation of imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East as well as calling for an end to imperialist provocations against independent African countries.

Poland has from the very beginning firmly denounced the armed intervention of the United States in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Poland fully understands the aspirations of the peoples of Indochina, striving for the right to determine their independent and democratic existence in conditions where the military and political intervention of the United States, will have ceased in conditions of genuine peace. Poland strongly denounces the interference of a foreign power in the internal affairs of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos which is a negation of the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration. It regards such interference as a serious threat both to the existence of those peoples and to international peace and security.

The still unresolved conflict in the Middle East continues to be the object of constant concern and attention for the Government of the Polish People's Republic. Together with other socialist States signatories of the Berlin Declaration "On the Establishment of a Lasting Peace and Security in the Middle East", Poland expressed

its grave concern over the persistence in the Middle East of a situation endangering the cause of peace, a situation arising from the aggressive position, incompatible with all principles of contemporary international relations, taken by Israel and the imperialist Powers which support it. Poland does not spare any effort in giving its support to the legitimate cause of Arab peoples. It demands a speedy and thorough settlement of the Middle East conflict through the full implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of 22 November 1967. For Poland, with her own tragic experiences, it is abundantly clear that the Arab peoples' demand for the restoration of all territories seized from them by the aggressor is legitimate. Poland fully endorses the provision of the Declaration that: "the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter". The principle, reaffirmed over and over again by the General Assembly that no aggressor shall be rewarded for activities contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter is, in our opinion, of universal importance. Universal too, should be the fundamental principle of the observance by all States of the decisions of the Security Council. As a member of the Security Council Poland resolutely adheres to this position.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic always supported and continues to support, the deep-running historical currents of social progress related to the struggles waged by peoples for their national and social emancipation, the ultimate eradication of colonialism and counter-action to any form of neo-colonialism, the condemnation and practical work for the liquidation of all forms of racial discrimination, including apartheid. Poland is guided in these actions by the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 14 December 1960 and numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, including the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and also by the right of peoples, reaffirmed by these resolutions, to struggle for their independence and freely to shape their social and political systems. Only the implementation of these resolutions, only complete liquidation of colonialism and full respect for the right of peoples to self-determination may properly serve the cause of progress, peace and international security.

A platform for wide and constructive efforts towards strengthening international security, upon which Poland concentrates its particular attention, is the establishment of a system of regional security and co-operation in Europe. This continent where two world wars originated is today the scene of the confrontation of two opposing military potentials, of two different political and military blocs. Thus, by actively working for a détente and setting-up a regional security system on this continent, we are promoting the strengthening of world-wide security and we are working for the implementation of the goals of the Declaration.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic has on various occasions put forth a series of fundamental initiatives, inter alia, the nuclear free zone plan and the plan for freezing nuclear armaments in Central Europe. These are Poland's substantive contributions to the building of a system that could provide a model for regulating inter-State relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence and peaceful co-operation.

In launching its peaceful initiatives Poland acts in close co-ordination with her allies along with wide consultations and exchange of views with the NATO States and all other States desiring to engage in constructive co-operation in this field. Together with other States Members of the Warsaw Treaty, Poland has for years now been actively engaged in presenting constructive suggestions on the preparation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Recently, a number of important documents have been published reflecting the position of the Socialist States on the subject. All of them were signed by Poland. Following the Conference of Foreign Ministers of States Members of the Warsaw Treaty, held in Bucharest on 18 and 19 February 1971, a final communiqué was published stating that the Ministers had exchanged information and views on the progress of the preparatory work for the convening of the European Conference. The participants in the conference noted progress in the détente on the continent of Europe and stated that in the atmosphere of increasing confidence among European States "... it is possible and necessary to have a practical and constructive approach to concrete problems in order to accelerate the convening of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation".

On the strength of the above-quoted recommendation and also on the basis of Poland's general policy for the normalization of inter-European relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic came forward with another diplomatic initiative designed to bring closer the views of States and to set forth possible practical steps for the multilateral preparation of the European Conference. In the memorandum addressed to the Finnish Government in April 1971, which was also transmitted to other Governments concerned, the Polish Government recapitulated the above-mentioned dialogues which have taken place during the last two years in the convening of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation. The Polish memorandum states that practically all States on the continent took part in the all-European discussion on the subject. Notwithstanding periodic interruption of the discussion due, inter alia, to the fact that for certain States, their participation in multilateral preparations was conditional on prior settlement of specific questions, the discussion as such has become conducive to détente.

It is the feeling of the Polish Government that the all-European discussions held so far indicate that "the Conference could become an important instrument for the creation of a security system in Europe based on the principles of mutual confidence and co-operation between States and peoples". On the strength of the opinions expressed, Poland notes a convergence of positions of the parties to the dialogue of a number of basic questions relating to the convening of the Conference: firstly, as to its composition: it should include all European States and the USA and Canada; secondly, Helsinki is recognized as the most convenient venue; thirdly, there is a consensus that the agenda of the Conference be so drawn up as to create optimum conditions for its success and as to provide for subsequent conferences dealing with the settlement of further problems of security and co-operation in Europe.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic, appreciative of the positive outcome of the all-European discussions on the convening of the Conference, expresses its firm belief in its memorandum of April 1971, that conditions are

already ripe for proceeding to multilateral preparations for the Conference. At the same time Poland favours the continuation of the current dialogue by such forms of exchange of opinions as bilateral consultations or group consultations of the States concerned at Helsinki. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has also expressed its readiness to consider favourably any other organizational suggestions designed to accelerate or streamline the preparatory work for the European Conference.

Although the aforesaid initiative of the Government of the Polish People's Republic relates primarily to the organizational aspects of preparations for the Conference, Poland was guided in its presentation by the need for consolidated action for the creation of a lasting system of regional security and co-operation in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The Polish Government will continue its efforts to secure the implementation of the concept underlying the Conference.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic also wishes to make a positive contribution to the strengthening of European security by striving towards complete normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, with the signature of the Treaty of the Basis for the Normalization of Regulations Between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany of 7 December 1970, as a premise. This act of historic significance, together with the 1950 Zgorzelec /Görlitz/ Treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic, constitutes a formal legal and political recognition of the final nature of Poland's frontier on the Odra and the Nysa. It concludes an important historical chapter, for thus ends a period of almost two decades in post-war Europe in which official claims to Polish territory continued to be advanced by one of the two German States. Such claims augured nothing good for Europe and embittered political relations among European peoples. With the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty of 7 December 1970 and of another treaty of wider political importance for the security of the whole continent, that between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics of 12 August 1970, the proper basis for complete normalization of relations on our continent has been established. Admittedly, it does not yet mean that all controversial matters have been resolved. But it does set the scene for the energetic preparatory work for the European Conference on Security and Co-operation which will deal with the key problems of peaceful co-existence and co-operation on this continent.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic attaches great importance to the speedy entry into force of the Treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and that of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany, through the process of formal ratification. In spite of the obstacles raised by the other side, Poland maintains the firm belief that the legal and political settlement achieved with the Federal Republic of Germany is final and that a similar position will be adopted by the Government, parliament and the people of the Federal Republic of Germany since it will benefit not only the signatories but Europe as a whole and the world at large as well.

Poland put forward a number of initiatives, plans and proposals for disarmament. All are well known to the international community. At present, conditions seem to favour the implementation of measures imposing limitations on the nuclear and conventional armaments race which would alleviate the enormous economic and social burden of the incessant arms race on mankind. Favourable circumstances are taking shape for de-escalating armed confrontation in the strategically most sensitive region of the world - at the border-line of two powerful military and political blocs in central Europe. Poland is determined to bring its active contribution into the general efforts to abate the threat of war and to consolidate peace through the reduction of armed forces and armaments and by adopting other measures aimed at the ultimate goal of securing general and complete disarmament.

The main prerequisite for disarmament is, in Poland's view, a halt to the strategic arms race and subsequently a reduction in such arms, thus ensuring equitable conditions for stable and lasting peace and security for the great Powers, medium and small States alike. In this connexion, Poland welcomes the current statements by the Government of the Soviet Union and the United States on the possibility of limiting specific categories of strategic arms. The Government of the Polish People's Republic also endorses the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union on the disarmament negotiations of the five nuclear Powers. The participation of all nuclear Powers in disarmament negotiations, in particular as regards the formulation of agreements on the limitation of nuclear arsenals, is a prerequisite for the success of efforts to guarantee a reduction of the world armaments race and for the signature in the future of a Treaty of general and complete disarmament.

Poland feels that it is essential constantly to emphasize the necessity of adherence to the provisions of the disarmament treaties already signed in the 1963-1971 period, and in particular of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty of 1 July 1968. Immediately after its ratification, Poland set about working out the necessary means and procedures to implement its provisions and in particular article 3. In the autumn of 1970 the Government of the Polish People's Republic was the first to undertake negotiations with the IAEA on the application of the safeguards system of the Agency under the NPT. The negotiations are in progress. The Polish Government hopes that soon, under an agreement with the IAEA, it will be in a position to introduce the appropriate control measures. However, the Government of the Polish People's Republic regrets to state that a number of States, including some with large nuclear potential, have so far failed to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty and have not started to prepare the way for the implementation of the provisions relating to control by the IAEA, in accordance with article 3 of the NPT. Poland expects that the ratification will take place as soon as possible and that the prerequisite for full implementation of the Treaty which is of especial importance in central Europe, will thus be met.

The favourable dialogue among European States on their security highlights the timeliness of the proposals for the reduction of armed forces, of armaments and military expenditure in Europe, particularly in the area of highest concentration of potentials - in the centre of the continent. Poland co-sponsored and energetically supports the proposals embodied in the Memorandum by the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member States Conference in June 1970 at Budapest on the need for reduction of foreign troops stationed in the territories of European States. These problems are, in the view of Poland, ripe for discussion

and any convenient form of talks on the subject is acceptable for the Government of the Polish People's Republic. It welcomed, with much interest and hope, the Soviet proposals on the initiation of negotiations for the limitation of armaments and armed forces in central Europe as well as many other important disarmament proposals regarding the liquidation of foreign military bases, the ban on the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of all nuclear tests and the convocation of a World Disarmament Conference. To accept and implement those proposals would open up a new era in the history of mankind and would create conditions exceedingly auspicious for the peaceful development of mankind.

Poland is continuing to participate actively in the Conference of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, concentrating its attention on such important problems as the elaboration of an international convention on the complete prohibition and elimination of biological weapons and toxins, on elimination of chemical weapons, on complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests, on the reduction of military budgets and similar measures. The Government of the Polish People's Republic attaches considerable importance to the question of general and complete disarmament and will continue to bring its contribution to constructive discussions on the elaboration of an international treaty in this respect.

As a member of the Security Council, Poland has been actively co-operating in every effort of this main organ of the United Nations, responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. This position was emphasized by Dr. Stefan Jedrychowski, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, who pointed out in his speech during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, that Security Council resolutions must be fully and unconditionally respected. Poland's participation in the peace-keeping operations of the Security Council was illustrated, inter alia, by the participation of the Polish Representative in the special missions sent to Guinea, in connexion with the invasion of the Portuguese colonialist aggressors, and to Senegal, to examine the situation along the border between Guinea (Bissau) and Senegal.

Poland sets great store by the effectiveness of the United Nations as a world organization promoting the principles of peaceful co-existence of States with different social and political systems. Profound concern for the Organization's effectiveness dictates in the view of Poland the need for making the United Nations universal. In addition to the obvious need to restore to the People's Republic of China the legitimate place and the rights in the United Nations, Poland has been actively supporting the demand that the two German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should be admitted into the United Nations. This would increase the Organization's authority, would reduce controversies within the Organization and its organs such as the Economic Commission for Europe and would help to promote international co-operation.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic makes active use of its international contacts and participation in international organizations, including the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the FAO, IAEA and other agencies and organs, in order constantly to stress the importance of expansion of international exchanges of economic, scientific, technological and commercial co-operation, for the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations among nations in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The activity of the Government of the Polish People's Republic in the sphere of social problems, including the struggle for respect for human rights, is too extensive to be reported in one memorandum. One should, however, mention here Poland's efforts to implement international conventions drawn up under the sponsorship of the United Nations, such as that on the prohibition of all forms of racial discrimination including apartheid and that on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity and, also, the contribution made by the Polish People's Republic to the struggle for the enforcement of economic, social and cultural rights.

The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is connected with a series of actions, moves and initiatives of the Government of the Polish People's Republic over the period that has elapsed since the adoption of this important document at the **twenty-fifth session** of the General Assembly. The present memorandum lists only some of the more important of these measures in order to illustrate Poland's actions regarding the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

ROMANIA

/Original: French/
14 September 1971

(1) The Socialist Republic of Romania, which devotes all its efforts to far-ranging peace-building activities, is vitally interested in the strengthening of peace and security, which is the central and continuing aim of its foreign policy.

Bearing constantly in mind the need for rapprochement and understanding among peoples and for active participation in the international exchange of material and spiritual goods, Romania is developing co-operation with all States of the world, whatever their social system. Romania constantly bases its foreign relations on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and mutual benefit, principles which are becoming increasingly necessary in international life as the only means of ensuring fruitful co-operation among nations and achieving a climate of peace and security in the world.

Romania believes that respect for the right of each people to live at liberty and to decide its own destiny for itself, and the complete elimination from international relations of the threat or use of force are the essential requirements for normal relations among States, for the development of co-operation and for the strengthening of international security.

Failure to observe the fundamental obligation of all States to refrain from resorting in their international relations to the threat or use of force and to pressures and constraints of all kinds, seriously endangers the peace and security of peoples. For this reason, the fundamental rights and obligations of States must be reaffirmed in international law, and respect for such rights and obligations by all States and with regard to all States must become a dominant feature of relations among States.

In the Romanian Government's view, international security requires a system of clear commitments on the part of all States, as well as specific measures which would afford every State a full guarantee of protection from any danger of aggression or other acts involving the threat or use of force, and ensure its peaceful development in an atmosphere of détente, understanding and co-operation.

Respect for the sacred right of each people to live and develop in a free and sovereign manner and the renunciation of any attempt to impose domination on other peoples by force are decisive factors on which the maintenance of peace and security in the world and the improvement of the general political climate at present depend.

(2) In the view of the Romanian Government, the strengthening of international security, which is the primary purpose of the United Nations, must be a constant concern of that Organization. The submission of this question for special consideration by the United Nations, in 1969, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, was a measure which received general support.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which was co-sponsored by Romania, and which solemnly reaffirms the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States, and the obligation of States to comply strictly with them, is a political document of particular importance, and it should guide both the actions of all Member States and the activities of the United Nations in accomplishing its highly responsible mission of maintaining peace and strengthening security in the world.

The implementation of all the provisions of the Declaration and the determination to follow them up constitute a primary duty requiring the concerted and continuous efforts both of Member States and of the United Nations. The experience of history and recent developments show that the United Nations must play a more important role and make a more effective contribution towards promoting a policy of peace, security and détente, while at the same time it must act more firmly to prevent war, thwart all aggression, resolve disputes among States by political means and defend the principles of the United Nations Charter. This will require substantial improvements in the activity of the United Nations, and in the first place the implementation of the principle of universality. The United Nations must provide all States, large, small or intermediate, with a framework within which they can play an active part in debating and solving the problems of international life in the interests of co-operation among peoples, the strengthening of security, a relaxation of tension and peace. The Romanian Government believes that no international problem, whatever its nature, can be resolved by certain States or certain groups of States alone. Problems which affect the fate of all countries must be solved with the participation of all countries.

In reaffirmation of its consistent position, the Romanian Government believes that the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, in the Security Council and in the other organs of the United Nations system is now more necessary than ever. It is totally irregular that one of the founders of the United Nations - the great Chinese people - should be prevented from occupying its rightful place in the Organization. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of the United Nations and in international life is in line with the interests of all peoples and with the cause of co-operation and peace in the world. It is indeed a prerequisite for the solution of the great problems confronting mankind.

The Romanian Government also supports the admission to the United Nations of the two German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany - as well as the admission of all other States which are arbitrarily kept out of the Organization.

(3) In accordance with the fundamental aspirations of the Romanian people, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania attaches primary importance to the immediate cessation of the arms race and to the achievement of general, and in the first place nuclear, disarmament.

In the belief that it is one of the fundamental tasks of all States to undertake specific action with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament, the Romanian Government is resolved to strive steadfastly to attain this vital need of mankind, since it is convinced that the achievement of disarmament will be of enormous importance to the peace and security of the world and will at the same time make a direct contribution towards accelerating the development of human civilization.

Acting on this belief, Romania has submitted to the Disarmament Committee in Geneva a series of proposals calling for the urgent adoption of practical and effective measures to bring about an end to the arms race, to reduce military expenditures, and to achieve disarmament.

Concerned at the magnitude and the evolution of the arms race and bearing in mind the responsibilities with regard to disarmament which, under the Charter, devolve upon the United Nations, the Romanian Government requested the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations of the item entitled "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security".

The achievement of disarmament requires participation by all States in efforts to achieve that goal as well as the mobilization of peoples for action which will put an end to the dangerous evolution of the arms race. It is in that spirit that Romania has in the past declared its views; it attaches particular importance to the convening of a general conference on disarmament which would discuss the major problems of disarmament and in the first place, those relating to the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

The Romanian Government believes that it is the highly responsible duty of all States and of the United Nations to make sustained efforts and to undertake energetic action with a view to the adoption of effective measures for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, for the dismantling of military bases, the withdrawal of troops from foreign territory, the elimination of military blocs and the achievement of other practical measures which would contribute to progress towards general disarmament, and to the strengthening of international peace and security.

(4) Starting from the idea that peace is indivisible, Romania is constantly concerned that hotbeds of tension and existing conflicts in the world should be eliminated, seeing this as an essential condition of international security. It is essential to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam and to foreign intervention in Indo-China, to see the troops of the United States of America and its allies withdrawn so that the Viet-Nameese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples may decide for themselves on the course of their development, without outside interference. The Romanian Government is in favour of a political solution to the Indo-China conflict, based on the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the Royal Government of National Unity and the National United Front of Cambodia and the proposals of the Patriotic Front of Laos.

The Romanian Government believes that everything must be done to solve the conflict in the Middle East as soon as possible, on the basis of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967, by withdrawing Israeli troops from the occupied territories, guaranteeing the territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region and settling the problem of the Palestinian population in accordance with its wishes and legitimate interests.

Romania is firmly in favour of the withdrawal of United States troops and the elimination of American bases in South Korea, and respect for the inalienable right of the Korean people to reach their own decisions on the problems which concern them.

Romania resolutely supports the just cause of the People's Republic of China concerning the withdrawal of United States troops from Taiwan, which is an integral part of China.

(5) The Socialist Republic of Romania supports the struggle of peoples for national independence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism and against apartheid and other forms of national oppression or racial discrimination, and backs the efforts made by the developing countries to strengthen their independence, achieve economic and social emancipation and exercise control over their own national resources.

(6) Being convinced that the economic and social progress of all countries is a fundamental prerequisite for the maintenance of peace and international security, Romania is anxious to see an extension and diversification of economic co-operation among States aimed at supporting their own development efforts, allowing them greater access to the achievements of science and technology and eliminating the economic, technological and scientific gap between the developing and the developed countries.

(7) The Romanian Government has undertaken a sustained course of action to normalize relations and develop co-operation among the States of Europe and to achieve security in that continent, and it wishes to contribute towards building relations among States in Europe which will lead to the elimination of the threat or use of force, ensure the free development of economic, scientific and cultural exchange and transform the continent into an area of peace and peaceful co-operation. In the view of the Romanian Government, the achievement of security in Europe also requires the implementation of effective measures to reduce military tension and achieve disarmament at the European level. Together with other European States, Romania is in favour of convening a general European conference on security and co-operation in that continent, a conference in which all States concerned would participate, and it believes that the preparations for the convening of such a conference must not be made subject to any prior condition.

In the context of efforts to achieve European security, Romania attaches particular importance to regional understanding, and is firm in its belief that the Balkans should become an area of peace, co-operation among peoples and good neighbourliness, and a nuclear weapon-free zone.

(8) In the view of the Romanian Government, the need to strengthen international security requires that the United Nations should act more firmly to ensure that all its Members and all States respect the principles of international law. The United Nations is called upon to make a greater contribution towards strengthening international legality and ensuring that all States comply with the fundamental obligation of refraining from the threat or use of force and from pressures and constraints of all kinds, and respecting the national independence and sovereignty of each State, since that is the corner-stone of peace and security in the world.

PERMANENT MISSION OF SPAIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS

/Original: Spanish/
9 September 1971

No. 127

The position of the Spanish Government with regard to the strengthening of international security remains the position set out in note No. 87 from this Mission, dated 29 April 1970 (reproduced in document A/7922). The Spanish Government has noted with satisfaction that its views were shared by many other Governments and are duly reflected in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In accordance with its position, the Spanish Government reaffirms its intention to continue basing its international relations on those principles.

Among the steps taken in pursuance of the Declaration, emphasis should be laid on the first periodic meeting of the Security Council at the ministerial level, which was held on 10 October 1970 and was presided over by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Spanish Government is gratified that it helped to make that meeting possible and hopes that it will be followed by further meetings of the same type.

The Spanish Government considers it especially important to establish a European regional security system. To that end, the Spanish Government has informed most European Governments that Spain considers it necessary to hold a European conference on security and co-operation as soon as possible; the conference should be held at the highest possible level and should be prepared to consider all subjects. Spain respects the political, economic and social systems of other countries and feels that in Europe there are too many walls and not enough bridges. It therefore urges that bridges should be constructed quickly, on the basis of mutual respect, with thought for the future and not the past. It is in this spirit that the Spanish Government has resumed consular and trade relations with most of the Eastern European countries.

Lastly, the Spanish Government considers that, in order to attain the objectives of the Declaration, the adoption by States of individual measures, no matter how important, will not suffice; what is needed is collective measures, which should be agreed on within the framework of the United Nations, especially measures designed to strengthen the Organization's institutional machinery.

SWEDEN

/Original: English/
9 September 1971

The Swedish Government, by letter of 9 September 1970, contained in document A/7922/Add.4, stated its view on the question of the strengthening of international security. The Government, in that letter, expressed its opinion on the general principles involved as well as on specific fields of United Nations activities, which are of particular importance for international security. The views thus stated remain unchanged and need not be repeated. The part year, however, gives occasion to a few additional remarks.

Disarmament efforts must be further intensified. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is now completing its tenth year of activity. Only very few encouraging results have been achieved so far. The world is still far from real disarmament. It is incumbent upon the nuclear-weapon Powers to achieve a meaningful limitation and reduction of both their defensive and offensive nuclear arsenal. The world community must work together to check and reverse the trend towards ever-increasing armaments which constitute a heavy drain on the resources of nations.

In its above-mentioned letter, the Swedish Government mentioned the importance of efforts to counter racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. The problems related to that region have increasingly become matters under active consideration by the Security Council. Welcoming this trend, the Swedish Government hopes that the Council will soon resume consideration of the Namibia question in the light of the advisory opinion delivered on 21 June last by the International Court of Justice. The Government considers, further, that the question of the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa should again be taken up by the Security Council for serious consideration in all its aspects. With regard to the question of Southern Rhodesia, the Swedish Government has stated that it would welcome a decision by the Security Council to widen the mandatory sanctions to comprise further measures foreseen in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter.

The Swedish Government expresses the hope that the People's Republic of China will be admitted without further delay to its rightful place in the United Nations and all activities of international co-operation. This must be considered as one of the most vital contributions to the strengthening of international security that can be made at the present time.

The preliminary agreement on the status of Berlin reached on 23 August 1971, between the representatives of the four big Powers concerned is a very important step forward towards a lasting détente and increased co-operation between all countries of Europe.

In the view of the Swedish Government, the progress so far achieved in the German question has considerably improved the prospects of organizing a conference on European security on the lines suggested among others by Sweden.

It must be hoped that the positive development of the German question will continue and, inter alia, result in the two German states being admitted to membership in the United Nations.

Thus, the United Nations may be envisaged as a universal organization covering practically all States of the world. The more important is it that this instrument for international peace and development be strengthened and made more effective as a result of a thorough review of its functions and performances.

Finally, the human environment presents problems of ever increasing importance. It is not only that some problems of safeguarding our environment do, in fact, amount to problems of human survival. The nations of the world face also a new dimension of international co-operation within the field of rational management of natural resources in order to obtain international security. Basic resources that become scarce, e.g. water, create a need for international action. Likewise the negative influence of pollution from one country may cause tensions that must be avoided through an efficient co-operation in the planning of development and environment.

TURKEY

/Original: English/
10 September 1971

The primary task of the United Nations is to maintain and strengthen peace and security in the world which still constitutes the main challenge to mankind.

The basic objectives of Turkey's foreign policy have always conformed to the ideals and purposes embodied in the United Nations Charter. Therefore, since the foundation of the United Nations, Turkey has not only adhered scrupulously to the provisions of the Charter, but also contributed effectively to the attainment of its goals.

Consequently, Turkey has welcomed and supported actively the efforts within the United Nations to strengthen international security. In the reply to the Secretary-General on 8 May 1970, (document A/7922), the Turkish Government expressed its views on the measures which she considered to be important for strengthening international security. Among the various measures elaborated, Turkey underlined the responsibilities imposed on every Member State by article 33 of the Charter for settling their disputes by peaceful means and emphasized the importance of abiding by the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law.

Turkey considers the adoption of the Declaration on the strengthening of International Security at the Twenty-fifth Session of the General Assembly as an important step towards revitalizing the United Nations efforts for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, thus providing an opportunity for overcoming the gap between the goals of the Charter and the present state of international relations. The Declaration, by reaffirming once again the validity of the principles of the Charter without impairing the inherent balance of it, constitutes a significant guideline which may contribute positively to the development of relations between Members helping the attainment of the ultimate goal envisaged in the Charter - peace and security based on law and order.

However, no matter how perfect and significant a declaration may be, it is true that international security can not be strengthened by mere declaration unless the Member States show the will to implement their provisions, and sincerely conform their actual policies to the purposes and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

In this respect it is encouraging to witness some concrete achievements and some new prospects which have taken place since the adoption of the Declaration. Among them the achievements on the disarmament field are noteworthy. The treaty prohibiting the deployment of nuclear weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor is a significant step towards general and complete disarmament. The draft convention banning the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons demonstrates another important accomplishment in the field of disarmament.

Turkey, being fully aware of the close relationship between disarmament and measures for arms control on the one hand, and international security on the other has signed the "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 in the Subsoil Thereof" on 25 February 1971

The general direction of Turkey's foreign policy, as well as her concrete contributions to peace and security, clearly demonstrate Turkey's willingness and determination to ensure in international relations the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

/Original: Russian/
29 July 1971

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR was gratified that the initiative taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the efforts of many States Members of the United Nations culminated in the drafting and adoption at the anniversary twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Ukrainian SSR welcomed the adoption of that important international document because it regards the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and international co-operation and holds that the main purpose and most important task of the United Nations is to take effective measures for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The almost unanimous adoption by the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security attests to the paramount importance of this international political problem of the present day and to the desire of the overwhelming majority of States that effective measures contributing to the strengthening of international security should be taken.

Now the United Nations has the task of using all its influence and authority to ensure the strict observance of the provisions of the Declaration, which reflect the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force, and compliance with the provision stressing the need for all Members of the United Nations to implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the United Nations Charter.

The implementation of these and other provisions of the Declaration will facilitate the normalization of the international situation, the settlement of disputes and the strengthening of international security and peace throughout the world. At the same time, the way in which these key problems are settled, the way in which States strive to fulfil the central task of the United Nations, namely the maintenance of international peace and security, will determine the success or failure of efforts to solve the problems confronting the United Nations and all mankind in the economic, social and other spheres. For that reason the Ukrainian SSR, while actively supporting the role of the United Nations in all the spheres envisaged in the Charter, is vigorously opposed to the "de-politicization" of the Organization and to any attempts to have it concentrate its main efforts on certain questions at the expense of the fulfilment first and foremost of its all-important political tasks.

From the very beginning of its existence, the Ukrainian SSR has taken a position in defence of peace and the strengthening of international security, a position which is dictated by the socialist character of the structure of the Ukrainian State.

This policy, like all of the Ukraine's activities in the United Nations, is fully in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and conducive to the implementation in practice of the tasks set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Ukrainian SSR, in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, resolutely supports the decisions of the United Nations aimed at strengthening peace and security throughout the world and measures to normalize the international situation and strengthen co-operation among States. This consistent political course was confirmed once again at the most recent session of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports the programme of peace and international co-operation adopted at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a programme which reflects the interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the peace-loving States of the world.

The approach of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR to the solution of the main problems of the day is one which is conducive to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Ukrainian SSR resolutely calls for the immediate settlement of the military conflicts in Indo-China and the Middle East and the elimination of all potential hot-beds of such conflicts, as also the prevention of threats to peace and security. The imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, must be brought to an end without delay, the forces of the aggressors must be withdrawn completely, and a peaceful political settlement must be achieved on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests and rights of the States and peoples which have been the victims of the aggression, particularly the right of peoples to determine their own destiny and settle their internal problems without foreign intervention.

A realistic basis for bringing the war to an end as quickly as possible and achieving a political settlement in Viet-Nam and the whole of Indo-China is to be found in the latest proposals put forward at the Paris negotiations by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the National United Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos.

A political settlement in the Middle East should be based on the termination of aggression, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and recognition of the independence and sovereignty of all the States, and respect for the legitimate rights of the peoples, of that area.

The Ukrainian SSR calls for the immediate implementation of the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1967 in all its provisions and the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

The interests of peace and security require that the potentialities of the United Nations should be more fully used and that any act of aggression and any breach of the peace should be immediately and decisively rebuffed.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR also considers that in the interest of strengthening peace and security and thereby giving effect to the provisions of the Declaration it is necessary to put an end to the unlawful intervention of the internal affairs of the Korean people and secure the withdrawal of the United States and other foreign troops occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The Ukrainian SSR, which in the years of the Second World War was devastated by the forces of fascism in Europe, knows as the result of its own experience all the horrors of war and foreign invasion and is particularly interested in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security on the European continent, which is a paramount condition for the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

Therefore the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, like other European countries, is seeking to bring about the lessening of the tension existing in Europe, recognition of the inviolability of the boundaries of all European States fixed after the Second World War, and the creation of the conditions necessary for achieving European security. The establishment of a system of collective security in Europe is one of the most important tasks confronting all the peoples of that continent.

Accordingly, the Ukrainian SSR unconditionally supports the proposal for the convening of an all-European conference on the question of guaranteeing European security. The success of such a conference not only would open the way to guaranteeing peace, security and co-operation in Europe but also would be a substantial contribution to the cause of guaranteeing the security of our whole planet, relaxing tension and strengthening peace throughout the world, and putting into effect the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Government of the Ukraine attaches great importance to both all-European and bilateral efforts to achieve a relaxation of tension in Europe. In this connexion the Ukrainian SSR welcomed the conclusion in 1970 of treaties between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which should play a major role in ensuring the inviolability of boundaries in Europe and help to create an atmosphere of peaceful co-operation.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR, desirous of ensuring the effective implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the enhancement of the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations, consistently urged the achievement of universality of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The basis for this position is the conviction that questions of peace and security are the concern of all the peoples of the world and that the discrimination imposed by certain Western Powers against a number of States can only hinder the effective implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. It is essential to restore the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and expel from the Organization the Chiang-Kai-shek clique, which represents no one, to admit both German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, to the United Nations, and to put an end to the discrimination practised against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as well as a number of other States.

These measures, which the Ukrainian SSR advocated, would facilitate the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in particular paragraph 24, which expresses the conviction that the achievement of universality of the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, would increase its effectiveness in strengthening international peace and security.

The implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security would also be in continuance with the Ukrainian SSR's consistent position of asserting the principle that States should refrain from the threat or use of force to settle disputes. This principle must be the foundation of relations among States, together with the principles of peaceful coexistence and of the achievement and development of international co-operation.

The Ukrainian SSR has always advocated measures to put an end to the arms race as quickly as possible and the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and it regards these measures as the most important means of strengthening peace and international security.

For this reason, the Ukrainian SSR was among the first to sign the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, in 1963, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, in 1967, and the 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 in the Subsoil Thereof, in 1971.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the earliest possible completion of work on the preparation of conventions to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of, and to eliminate, chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, which, together with nuclear weapons, are the type of weapons presenting the greatest danger to mankind.

The Ukrainian SSR supports the specific programme proposals advanced by the Government of the Soviet Union on disarmament, including nuclear disarmament by all the nuclear Powers, the reduction of armed forces and armaments in potentially dangerous areas, in particular Central Europe, the reduction of military expenditures, and general and complete disarmament.

The Ukrainian SSR also supports the proposal to convene a conference of nuclear Powers to draft measures dealing with nuclear disarmament.

The relevant provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security also correspond to the position of the Ukrainian SSR on the questions of the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and the struggle against racism, apartheid, and the resurgence and activation in certain countries of nazism, neo-nazism and other inhuman ideologies and practices. The Ukraine consistently complies with United Nations decisions on these subjects, resolutely advocates the immediate elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations and supports the just struggle of the peoples of colonial territories for their liberation.

The Government of the Ukrainian SSR also wishes to stress that the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the corresponding provisions of the Declaration on the

Strengthening of International Security is prevented by sabotage on the part of certain Western Powers which are continuing and increasing their assistance and support of all kinds to the racists and colonialists, in defiance of United Nations decisions and their obligations under the Charter.

If the complete elimination of colonialism is to be achieved as rapidly as possible, it is essential that all States without exception should comply with the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

Because of the primary importance to the United Nations on the problem of strengthening international security, the Ukrainian SSR believes at its forthcoming twenty-sixth session the General Assembly should consider in depth the progress made in implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The United Nations and its Members are now, after the adoption of the Declaration, faced with the task of securing its implementation through their joint efforts and of taking appropriate practical measures to that end.

The United Nations, which is called upon to play an important part in the strengthening of peace and the expansion of international co-operation, must use all its capabilities and intensify its efforts to achieve its main purposes in the interests of mankind, by checking the forces of reaction and aggression, eliminating hot-beds of armed conflict, and assuring the peoples of peace and international security throughout the world.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

/Original: Russian/
13 July 1971

The Soviet Government regards the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and international co-operation. The Organization has made a definite contribution to the maintenance of peace and the implementation of the purposes and principles of its Charter. At the same time it must be recognized that it is not yet making full use of its capacity in the struggle for peace and the strengthening of international security.

The Soviet Union would like the United Nations to be an effective and authoritative organ directing its efforts towards the fulfilment of the main purpose for which it was established more than a quarter of a century ago as a result of the victory of the peoples in the war of liberation from facism.

The Soviet Government considers that the successful solution of the problems confronting the United Nations in the economic, social and other fields depends directly on the way in which it solves its central problem - that of maintaining international peace and security, preventing and removing threats to peace and repressing acts of aggression. The Soviet Government was guided by this consideration when it put forward its proposal concerning the discussion of the question of strengthening international security at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly and subsequently submitted, together with other socialist countries, a draft declaration on that question at the General Assembly's twenty-fifth session.

The Soviet Government based itself on the conviction that the maintenance of international peace and security and the adoption of effective measures to that end constitute the most important task of the United Nations.

This initiative by the socialist countries received broad support from the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. As a result of the constructive discussion of this important question and the active efforts of the forces dedicated to peace, the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in which were reflected the most important principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, particularly the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force, as also the requirement that all Members of the United Nations should comply with the decisions of the Security Council in conformity with their obligations under the United Nations Charter. The Declaration is a programme of measures to secure peace throughout the world, measures which, as a whole, can do much to normalize the international situation and contribute to the settlement of urgent international problems. The virtually unanimous adoption of the Declaration at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly gives weight and authority to that document.

The Declaration having been adopted, all States Members of the United Nations, all peoples who are dedicated to the cause of peace, now have the task of implementing it.

Both the general direction of the Soviet Government's foreign policy and its specific acts bear witness to its determination to secure the implementation in practice of all the provisions of the Declaration.

Throughout its history, the Soviet Union has unswervingly pursued a policy of actively defending peace, for the very nature of the socialist organization of the Soviet State is such that it could not be otherwise. This was reaffirmed in the specific programme of peace and international co-operation adopted at the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The problems covered by that programme are of great importance for international relations today. Their solution would be in the interests of all the peoples, regardless of the nature of the social and economic systems existing in the various States. This programme of action for the years immediately ahead is based on the results of the struggle for peace and equitable international co-operation which have already been achieved or have begun to be apparent in the past few years.

The solution of these problems associated with the struggle to secure peace would lead to a radical change in international relations, from tension to relaxation and lasting peace. This specific peace programme is also in conformity with the purposes set forth in the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Foremost among the tasks to be carried out in waging the struggle for peace is that of eliminating the existing hotbeds of war in Indo-China and the Middle East and preventing others from developing. It need hardly be said that without accomplishing this it will be impossible to normalize the international situation.

The Soviet Government is convinced that the hotbeds of war in Indo-China and the Middle East can and must be eliminated by means of a settlement fully recognizing the lawful rights of the States and peoples which have been the victims of aggression, on the basis of the right of peoples, as confirmed in the Declaration, to decide their own destiny without outside interference.

The Soviet Government resolutely demands that the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indo-China should be brought to an end. A constructive basis for the settlement of the problems of Indo-China is to be found in the well-known proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the National United Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos. The essential objectives of these proposals are to put an end to aggression, to secure the withdrawal of the forces of the aggressor and to enable the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos to settle their domestic problems free from outside interference. As one of the permanent members of the Security Council, who are called upon in the Declaration to intensify efforts to discharge the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security conferred on the Council by the Charter, the Soviet Union calls for a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the implementation of all the parts and provisions of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

It is a well-known fact that the Arab States, including the United Arab Republic, have expressed their readiness to conclude a peace agreement with Israel on that basis, which not only would bring about the elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression in 1967, first and foremost the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, but also would put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been going on for so many years, on the basis of recognition of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the Middle East.

The Soviet Government is ready to participate, together with the other Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, in providing international guarantees of a political settlement in the Middle East.

If peace is to be maintained and strengthened, all acts of aggression and international lawlessness must be dealt with firmly and without delay. The Soviet Government believes that to this end the capacities of the United Nations should be fully used. The Soviet Government consistently urges that the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security on the basis of strict compliance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security should be enhanced. The United Nations can and should considerably increase its efforts on behalf of the cause of peace on earth. The achievement of genuine universality in the United Nations would have great significance as a serious step towards increasing the effectiveness and authority of the Organization. This would be facilitated by the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion from the Organization of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. A positive solution should be found without delay to the question of the admission to the United Nations of both German States - the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. It is time to put an end to discrimination by the United Nations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The United Nations must terminate the unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and settle forthwith the question of the withdrawal of United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The Soviet Government feels that refusal to use force or the threat of force in settling disputes should be an indefeasible law of international life. As a practical step towards implementing the principle of the non-use of force, confirmed in the Declaration, the Soviet Union considers that it would be desirable for the countries which share that view to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional agreements. The Soviet Union is ready to conclude such an agreement, strengthening and developing the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, with any State or group of States.

The history of recent decades convincingly demonstrates that the most important factor in the maintenance of peace is the achievement of collective security in Europe, for that continent has been the scene of two world wars which caused all mankind, particularly in Europe, the deaths of tens of millions of people, incalculable suffering and the destruction of treasures created by the labour of man. The Soviet Union, pursuing a policy favouring the definitive recognition of the territorial changes brought about in Europe as a result of the Second World War, does so in the interests of all States and

all peoples. An important factor in guaranteeing the inviolability of the borders of the European States is the treaty concluded by the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany in August 1970. Believing that the development of international, regional and bilateral co-operation will contribute to strengthening international security, as is recognized in the Declaration, the Soviet Union is continuing to make persistent efforts to improve the situation in Europe and to develop co-operation on both a bilateral and an all-European basis. The convening of a successful all-European conference would be a decisive step towards relaxation of tension and the consolidation of peace on that continent.

Responding to the provision in the Declaration calling on all States to contribute to the establishment of an effective system of collective security without military alliances, the Soviet Union has confirmed its willingness to agree to the simultaneous abrogation of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Agreement or, as a first step, the liquidation of their military organizations.

The strengthening of international security is, of course, inconceivable without control and limitation of the arms race, without a cessation of the arms race. The Soviet Government supports the appeal, contained in the Declaration, to all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to make urgent and concerted efforts to control, limit and put a complete stop to the arms race. In April 1971 the Soviet Union put forward a wide-ranging programme of action to promote disarmament, including nuclear disarmament for all nuclear-weapon States, general and complete disarmament, a reduction in armed forces and weapons in areas where military confrontation is particularly dangerous, above all in Central Europe, a reduction in military expenditure primarily by the major States, and other specific measures.

The whole world is aware of the efforts made by the Soviet Government to ensure the speedy and full implementation of the decisions of the United Nations relating to the elimination of the remaining colonial régimes and the general condemnation and boycott of racism and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations.

At the same time some States are actually trying to impede the completion of the decolonization process. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations contains an appeal to all States to render assistance to the United Nations in bringing about the speedy elimination of colonialism or any other form of external domination. Disregarding this position taken by the highest forum of nations, however, some countries have responded to the appeal in their own way and have even gone so far as to withdraw from membership in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. But, irrespective of the attitude of individual States to the work and tasks of the Committee of Twenty-Four, the attention of that Committee should continue to be focused on questions relating to the final elimination of colonialism.

In supporting the appeal for the promotion of international co-operation, contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Soviet Union is prepared to participate, jointly with other interested States, in solving such problems as the preservation of the environment, the development

of power and other natural resources, the development of transport and communications, the prevention and elimination of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the study and exploration of outer space and the world's oceans. But questions relating to the strengthening of peace and international security must, of course, be the main focus of the activity of the United Nations.

The tasks of the United Nations are vast and varied and the Soviet Government believes that the United Nations should be active in all the areas specified in the Charter. It would be wrong, however, if questions relating to international co-operation in the economic and social sectors, however important those sectors might be, were to push the main political problems into second place in the work of the United Nations. The Soviet Government is firmly opposed to the "depoliticization" of the United Nations.

At its twenty-fifth anniversary session, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by the wish of an overwhelming number of States Members of the United Nations, adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The task now is to ensure by common efforts that the main provisions of this important document are implemented. This purpose will undoubtedly be served if the question of the implementation of that Declaration is considered by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

The Soviet Government urges that the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security should be considered in detail by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session so that the States Members of the United Nations might agree on practical measures in this area.

The United Nations must find the strength within itself to intensify its work in a decisive area - in the maintenance and strengthening of universal peace. This is expected of the United Nations by all those who are not indifferent to the fate of the world, by all those who want to see the potentialities of the United Nations fully utilized. For its part, the Soviet Government will continue to do everything in its power to maintain and strengthen peace.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

/Original: English/
14 September 1971

The Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations has the honour to refer to His Excellency's note No PO 112 (1-2) of the 1st of February, with which His Excellency transmitted the text of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. In reply, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom wishes to refer to his Government's reply to the enquiry conducted by the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV).^{*} The Government of the United Kingdom continue to be guided by the views and policies described in that reply.

^{*} See document A/7922, p.80

YUGOSLAVIA

/Original: English/
20 August 1971

In its reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 2 June 1970, as well as in the statements made by Yugoslav representatives during the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has set out its general concept of and approach to the question of the strengthening of international security and emphasized the priority importance it attaches to this subject-matter. The achievement of a lasting and universal security constitutes one of the fundamental aims towards which the international community should strive. Contemporary development demonstrates that in international relations, parallel with certain positive tendencies contributing to the improvement of relations, primarily between the great Powers, policies of military intervention, local wars, pressures, interference in the domestic affairs and the threat and use of force continue to persist threatening independence and security of many countries and regions in the world.

The Yugoslav Government is of the opinion that the strengthening of international security and consolidating of independence, sovereignty and integrity of all States, without exception, are a component and an inseparable part of the same process and that a stable peace in the world can only be achieved by building such relations as would facilitate unobstructed internal development and independent and equitable activity of all States in international life. The consistent adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, upon which rests the policy of active and peaceful coexistence and their implementation in relations among all States, irrespective of their size, level of development, differences or similarities in social systems, constitutes a vital precondition to the improvement of international relations and to the strengthening of security in general.

Proceeding from this assumption, Yugoslavia and other participants at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka, pledged themselves for a substantive examination of the problem of international security in the United Nations and made their contribution to the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security during the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The adopted Declaration is of a multipurpose significance. It basically reflects interests and positions of the broadest circle of States, in particular of non-aligned and other independent countries whose security is most often being jeopardized. This is the first time that the United Nations has adopted a document on this problem, attesting not only to the interest of a large number of States in having the competence of the General Assembly reasserted, but also in having the United Nations deal more actively with the question of peace and security which, under the Charter, falls into the category of the fundamental purposes and principles of the Organization. The Declaration links the basic principles underlying relations among States with the need for intensifying the efforts towards resolving concrete international problems. More specifically, the Declaration is action-oriented in substance.

Naturally, the actual significance of the Declaration and its contribution to the consolidating of peace and strengthening security in the world, depend upon the readiness of States to consistently implement its fundamental purposes and principles.

In view of the fact that the strengthening of international security constitutes a long-term and a complex process, the Yugoslav Government on this occasion wishes to submit some of its viewpoints regarding measures which in the present phase could be undertaken with a view to consolidating peace and security in conformity with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

(1) The existence of hotbeds of war, crises in Indo-China and in the Middle East, interventions and pressure of colonial and racist régimes against independent States in Africa, as well as the accumulation of military potential in certain areas of the world, especially in the Mediterranean region, constitute the basic causes of instability in international relations. The elimination of these open and potential hotbeds of war, should figure as a priority task in the efforts of the international community in preserving peace and security and in applying the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. For years, the Yugoslav Government has been exerting resolute efforts towards the ending of the war in Indo-China, the withdrawal of foreign troops from this area and the achievement of a political settlement of outstanding issues on the basis of the recognition of the legitimate right of the people of that area to determine, free of external intervention, their own security, neutrality and non-alignment in South-East Asia. Yugoslavia is also endeavouring to make its contribution to the efforts for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Middle East, on the lines of the application of the Security Council resolution of November 1967, the inadmissibility of the occupation of Arab territories and the ensuring of the rights of the people of Palestine. Yugoslavia has supported and is exerting efforts towards the realization of the principle contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security whereby territorial expansion at the expense of other States shall not be carried by way of military intervention and occupation, furthermore, that such a policy shall not be tolerated in international relations.

With a view to implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is of the opinion that the General Assembly, at its twenty-sixth session, should formulate a demand for the cessation of armed conflicts, without delay, the ending of military interventions and the withdrawal of foreign troops, as well as for the securing of legitimate rights of the peoples fighting for their national independence and freedom.

As a European country, Yugoslavia is actively engaged in the efforts of improving the situation and advancing co-operation in all areas among the States of this region, as well as in strengthening security on the European continent. To this end she supports the idea of convening a European Security Conference. Yugoslavia, therefore, feels that the question of European security cannot be viewed isolated from the developments in the Mediterranean region where intensive accumulation of military potential is taking place, creating instability and endangering independence of the Mediterranean countries. The strengthening of European security presupposes an improvement of the situation in the area and the creating of conditions for the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the

Mediterranean. Yugoslavia is also exerting efforts with a view to making its contribution to the advancement of co-operation in the Balkans and to the promotion of good-neighbourly relations with the countries of this region.

(2) The strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, as an integral part of the democratization of international relations, is a vital factor in the building of a stable system of international security and in achieving comprehensive co-operation and progress in general. The United Nations constitutes the most suitable framework for concerted actions, equitable participation and contributions of all States to the efforts directed at resolving the most important international problems upon which depend the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of international security. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations in eliminating conflicting situations and sources of military crises should, during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, figure in the centre of activities directed towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The obtaining situation, characterized by certain immobility, by-passing and more frequent exclusion of the Organization from the settlement processes of the most important issues, could have very dangerous consequences for the United Nations and for the majority of Member States. For the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the domain of peace and security of vital importance are the following elements:

- Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the achievement of the universality of the United Nations. A more resolute action should be initiated during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly in order to solve the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, without whose active participation there can be no meaningful progress in the consideration of the most important problems of the contemporary world. The General Assembly should also examine other questions relating to the universality of the Organization so as to create conditions for the solving of the question of membership of other States as yet not members of the United Nations. Here, above all, the Yugoslav Government has in mind the two German States.

- Strengthening the role of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and promoting co-operation between those two principal organs are of vital importance to the effective performance of the United Nations in the field of consolidating peace and international security. A more specific engagement of the General Assembly in the examination of questions falling within this area would contribute towards having the Security Council more efficiently discharge responsible duties entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that it would be useful to request the Secretary-General to submit periodic reports to the General Assembly and to the Security Council on security problems in various regions of the world. Also the holding of periodic meetings of the Security Council - outside the United Nations Headquarters - meetings devoted to the study and reassessment of the situation in given regions would contribute to a more effective action of the United Nations in safeguarding peace and international security.

- The question of peace-keeping operations is closely linked to the strengthening of international security. For known reasons the system of

collective security has so far failed to function effectively. The peace-keeping operations represent a form which could contribute to a more successful action of the United Nations in the field of preserving peace and security. Therefore, as one of the first measures on the line of the concretization and implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the General Assembly should more resolutely undertake the finalization of guidelines for peace-keeping operations and harmonizing of viewpoints on other important aspects of this problem. To this end it is necessary to intensify and expand the activity of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

- The expediting of the work on defining aggression would also mark a significant step in the direction of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The adoption of a document on this question - a document enjoying broad support of Member States - would contribute to the limiting of aggressive acts and to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and international security.

(3) The success of the action to strengthen security is conditioned to the resolving of some of the most acute international issues, particularly disarmament, economic development, elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism.

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has on a number of occasions stressed the close link between problems of security and progress in the field of disarmament. Recently a number of initiatives have been undertaken in this area opening up a possibility for a more effective treatment of various aspects of disarmament problems. In the opinion of the Yugoslav Government it is essential, for these favourable conditions exist now, to go beyond the partial approach in examining disarmament and to proceed with the review of comprehensive aspects of this issue. The activization of the existing forums, especially of the General Assembly and its organs, would facilitate the enlisting of a broader circle of countries in the settlement process of the disarmament problem and contribute to achieving more rapid progress in this area. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hopes that the two great Powers engaged in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) will submit a detailed report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly making it possible for the General Assembly to consider this question and to formulate its recommendations. The Yugoslav Government supports the initiatives for regional disarmament in Europe, which should include all the regions of this continent, being of the opinion that the participation of all European States constitutes a vital precondition to the success of this action.

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers the existing instability in the world to be in great measure a consequence of differences in the level of economic development. Less developed countries and regions are exposed in particular to the policy of pressure, blackmail and interference in the domestic affairs. This points to the need for a more resolute orientation of the international community in the direction of finding solutions to problems besetting the developing countries. The implementation of decisions and agreements outlined in the International Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade is one of the priority tasks of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The achievement of the Strategy goals would contribute not only

to greater progress in the field of disarmament, but also to the stabilization of the situation in the world in general and to the elimination of root causes undermining international security, especially the security of development countries.

Well known is the position of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the effect that persistence of strongholds of colonialism and racism constitutes elements which threaten the peace and security in Africa and in other parts of the world. Yugoslavia is supporting and extending assistance to the liberation struggle of colonial peoples and will continue to pledge itself for a more resolute action of the international community toward securing the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence, in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Special Programme of Activities adopted during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

These are some of the fundamental elements the consideration and solution of which in the ensuing period will represent a vital precondition to the strengthening of international security. The Yugoslav Government considers necessary, and it will strive toward having the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly pay special attention to the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the adoption of concrete measures for the realization of at least some of its basic principles and provisions. For its part Yugoslavia will, as in the past, endeavour to contribute to the consolidating of peace and security and to the removing of all basic causes undermining stability in the world.
