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NOTE VERBALE DATED 17 DECEMBER 1964 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION OF BULGARIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and on the instructions of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has the honour to state the following:

In accordance with its consistently peaceful policy, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly and unswervingly adheres to the view that it is essential to strengthen the United Nations, to increase its role in international relations, and to turn it into a truly representative organ for international co-operation on a basis of equal rights and for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. The essential conditions for the achievement of these objectives are the strict observance of the United Nations Charter by all the States Members of the United Nations, wider use of the peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes provided for in the United Nations Charter, and the renunciation by certain Powers of their attempts to use the United Nations to further their own selfish policies which are against the interests of peace and international co-operation.

Recently, the question of the so-called United Nations peace-keeping operations has assumed particular urgency and significance. It is the Bulgarian Government's view that this question is inseparably linked with the question of the system of collective security within the framework of the United Nations and the improvement of the United Nations effectiveness in maintaining peace and security, and that it is only a small part of this larger question. This explains the careful watch kept by Member States on developments in connexion with these questions and the great interest shown by them in the search for ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations and safeguarding international peace and security.

There can be no question but that the search for ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations can only be carried out on the basis of the United Nations Charter and subject to the existence of a genuine desire for equitable co-operation between all the interested parties. Any other attempts which fail to take these basic requirements into account cannot lead to positive results and are fraught with additional artificial difficulties and obstacles.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that the establishment and use of such forces should be an exceptional and extreme measure, to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter, in order to prevent or stop aggression, only when all the possibilities of settling disputes or conflicts between States by peaceful and non-military means provided for in the Charter have been exhausted. Under the United Nations Charter, only the Security Council is competent to take preventive or enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. It is likewise within the competence of the Security Council to take decisions in all matters relating to the establishment of United Nations armed forces, the definition of their duties, their composition and strength, the direction of their operations, the structure of their command, the duration of their stay in the area of operations, and their financing. According to the United Nations Charter, no other body, including the General Assembly, has the right to decide these matters. In the light of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Bulgarian Government considers that when United Nations military operations are unavoidable they should be carried out by forces made up of military contingents from States belonging to all the social systems at present existing in the world, that is to say, including contingents from the armed forces of the Socialist countries, which should, of course, also participate in the command of military units established by a decision of the Security Council.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready in case of need to make contingents from the Bulgarian armed forces available to the Security Council, in accordance with Article 43 of the United Nations Charter, once the relevant agreement has been concluded with the Security Council. Provided the United Nations Charter, and particularly its provisions regarding the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council in all matters connected with preventive

or enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security, is strictly observed, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is also willing to participate in the payment of the expenses of military operations which the Security Council may undertake in the future.

As a Socialist country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is vitally concerned with the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. For that reason, its Government fully shares the views expressed in the Memorandum of the Government of the USSR (document S/5811) dated 10 July 1964 and the Note Verbale dated 26 November 1964 from the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (document A/5821) and supports the measures proposed in those documents, which are in accordance with the United Nations Charter and represent a reasonable basis for the achievement of agreement among the States Members of the United Nations regarding the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations in the safeguarding of international peace and security. The Bulgarian Government is of course also willing to give due consideration to other proposals which might further the conversion of the United Nations into a truly representative and effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and a centre where States might agree on activities designed to achieve the common objectives of its Members.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations has the honour to request that this note be circulated to the members of the Security Council.
