United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

**Official Records** 

## CONTENTS

Chairman: Mr. Agha SHAHI (Pakistan).

## **AGENDA ITEM 103**

## The strengthening of international security (A/7654, A/C.1/L.468)

1. The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the decision taken by the Committee at its 1651st meeting this morning, we shall begin our consideration of the first item on the agenda, namely, "The strengthening of international security", agenda item 103. I should like to draw the attention of the members of this Committee to the two documents that have been issued on this item: first, document A/7654, request for the inclusion of the item in the agenda, a letter dated 19 September 1969 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, addressed to the Secretary-General; and second, document A/C.1/L.468, a draft appeal to all States of the world, submitted by the USSR.

2. Before I give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to say how much the Chairman and, I am sure, all members of the Committee have appreciated his positive response to my request that he speak this afternoon rather than on Monday, 13 October. His intervention today will enable all delegations to study his statement and prepare themselves for taking the floor by, I would hope, early next week.

3. I now call on Ambassador Yakov Malik of the USSR.

4. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. Chairman, I wish to assure you in my very first statement here at this session that the USSR delegation will sincerely co-operate with you and will not contravene your desire, which may be regarded as a ruling, that no congratulations be addressed to you. I presume, however, that your ruling applies to you personally as Chairman, and not the the Committee's officers in toto. I shall therefore, on behalf of the USSR delegation, congratulate the officers of the First Committee, who are so brilliant a group-I repeat, a brilliant group-representing as they do the three mighty continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose peoples, I am deeply convinced, sincerely want peace and are eager to devote their energies not to destructive but to creative purposes, to social and economic progress, true independence, and the developFIRST COMMITTEE, 1652n

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ment of good, friendly relations and understanding among all the peoples of the world. We are cheered by this fact and regard it as a good omen for the beginning of our work.

5. The First Committee is about to begin its work of the twenty-fourth session. The USSR delegation wishes to express its satisfaction and gratitude to all the delegations here present for their unanimous decision to discuss as the first item on the Committee's agenda the item proposed by the USSR and entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654]. We are gratified and encouraged by this decision. It is proof manifest that the States Members of the United Nations regard the strengthening of international peace and security as the most urgent and important question before them. We hope that as a result of the discussion of this important question at the current session, States and peoples will strive together to achieve that high and noble goal.

6. From the first day of its existence, the United Nations has been primarily concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security. In fact, that is the reason it was brought into being nearly a quarter of a century ago-to enable men everywhere to work in peace, steadily raising their level of living and reaching new heights in science, cultural endeavour and the arts, without the fear that on some tragic days all the fruits of their labour may be turned to dust and ashes, and they themselves killed or mutilated.

7. The obligation to ensure international security and prevent the outbreak of another war is the torch passed on to us by the 50 million dead of the Second World War, including the 20 million Soviet citizens who gave their lives for peace and security.

8. To strengthen the peace and to ensure peaceful living conditions is what is asked of us by the hundreds of millions who constitute the new post-war generation and who want to use their labour, their broad knowledge and their useful energies not to destroy what has been created by their predecessors, including the older generation, but further to develop civilization and to multiply the benefits brought to mankind by the scientific and technological revolution.

9. To ensure peaceful living conditions and to strengthen international security is also our duty-the duty of the United Nations-to the as yet unborn generations, to those who will inhabit the earth in the decades and centuries to come and who are entitled to receive our planet into their keeping in a state that will not merely support life but will encourage ever greater progress.

10. The peoples of the world want peace. The fate and welfare of every family, every community, every nation,



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regardless of social systems, national, racial or religious affiliations, and geographical situation, depends on whether or not we are successful in strengthening international peace and security. It is being ever more widely realized that the next few years may mark a turning point in human history-for they will decide whether or not mankind can avert the threat of nuclear war.

11. Naturally, nations have different historical experience behind them. Some have known in full measure the untold suffering and countless losses of the Second World War. Others, although they sent hundreds of thousands of their sons to the fields of battle, were lucky enough not to face the flames of war on their own territory. Still others were only distantly affected by the conflagration, while some were able merely to observe it from afar. This may be why representatives of different countries in the United Nations, sometimes in the heat of the debate and sometimes in conversations behind the scenes, disagree on what problem should be given absolute priority in United Nations work. In fact, however, there can be no ground for disagreement here: both the founding Members of the United Nations, i.e., members of the great coalition in the war against fascism, and those States which joined the United Nations later, some of them as a result of the collapse of colonial empires in the 1950s and 1960s, are equally affected. Any world war that broke out in our time would inevitably become a world-wide nuclear missile conflict, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of millions, leaving the large cities and the territories of many countries in ruins, and destroying the greatest treasures of world civilization.

12. This applies to Europe, which has long numbered the victims of its endless wars in the millions. According to the historians, 3.3 million died in the European wars of the seventeenth century, 5.2 million in those of the eighteenth century, 5.5 million in the nineteenth century, and 60 million merely during the first half of the twentieth century. It applies equally to all the other continents-Asia, North and South America, Africa and Australia. Thermonuclear warfare threatens the entire world.

13. It is no accident that the very first lines of the United Nations Charter proclaim the determination of the peoples to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to live in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security.

14. Can this great historical problem be solved? My country replies firmly and with assurance: Yes, it can.

15. As in the past, the Soviet Union is prepared to make a substantial contribution to the solution of this problem and to full use being made of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, frustration of aggressive designs, the struggle against colonialism and racism, disarmament, and relaxation of international tension. This position is not determined by current circumstances or temporary factors. Rather, it is in line with the general peace-loving policy of the Soviet State, as laid down by its founder, the great Lenin, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth will soon be celebrated by all progressive mankind. At the very dawn of its existence, at the first international conference it attended—at Genoa in April 1922—the young Soviet State

urged nations to secure world peace and proceed to a general limitation of armaments. In the early 1930s, when once again war threatened in Europe, the Soviet Union advocated in the League of Nations measures to ensure collective security and effect disarmament, including general and complete disarmament. But although by then the Soviet Union had become a great Power, it was still alone in its struggle for peace and its voice was drowned in the chorus of those who wanted to accelerate the arms race and persuade the fascist aggressors to turn their faces to the East. The social movements favouring peace were then weak and disunited. The Soviet Union's proposals to form a broad anti-fascist and anti-military front met with no response or support from other States. Its attempt to avert the Second World War failed.

16. The situation is different today. There is every reason to believe that international security can be strengthened. Although the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations is a short period in historical terms, it has encompassed events of enormous significance. During this period there were radical shifts in the balance of power on the world arena to the side of peace and the forces of progress. The mighty confraternity of the socialist States was formed. Colonial empires collapsed. Dozens of colonial territories in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Oceania smashed the chains of colonial enslavement, proclaimed their independence, became sovereign States and joined the United Nations. As a result, the forces of peace have increased manifold, and the United Nations has become stronger, more representative and more viable.

17. It can therefore be said with confidence that the maintenance of international security today is not a Utopian dream but a reasonable goal, although its attainment naturally requires stubborn and persevering efforts on the part of States and nations. There are now genuine possibilities of averting another world war and satisfying the peoples' yearning for peace.

18. The struggle for peace is today inextricably joined with the struggle for national freedom, progress and democracy and for liberation from foreign oppression, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

19. The mere fact that it has been possible to prevent the outbreak of another world war for over two decades represents a great achievement on the part of all peaceloving forces. The United Nations, too, has done its share. If we were to sum up briefly the activity of the United Nations during that period, we must recognize in all fairness that the United Nations has to its credit a good many measures designed to maintain peace, develop friendly co-operation among States, and liberate peoples from colonial oppression. These include resolutions, adopted on my country's proposal, recognizing general and complete disarmament to be the most important problem of our day and calling on all States to make every effort to solve it. They include the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], also adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist, African and Asian States. They include the well-known decisions of the United Nations condemning imperialist aggressors, defending small countries, and objecting to intervention in the domestic affairs of States. They include numerous resolutions adopted by various United Nations organs which have served to settle international conflicts and to encourage the struggle against nazism, racism and *apartheid*. Lastly, they include United Nations resolutions on the development of international collaboration in various areas of science, economics, social affairs and law.

20. However, important as may be this aspect of its activity, it is clear that the main purpose of the United Nations-the maintenance of international peace and security-has not yet been achieved. The Secretary-General rightly remarks in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that there has been "very little progress in the world at large towards the goals of the United Nations Charter-to maintain international peace and security."

21. Now in one part of the world, now in another, military hostilities break out, the territories of independent States are invaded, thousands upon thousands of people are killed, and wealth created over centuries by succeeding generations is destroyed. Everyone knows in what parts of the world these things are taking place, so that I hardly need be more precise. In tropical jungles and sandy deserts, in tiny villages and cities of world renown housing the monuments and shrines of many civilizations, true patriots are forced to take up arms to defend the lawful right of their peoples to freedom, independence and happiness.

22. Those who are still trying to undo the results of the Second World War are also being heard from. It is surely no secret that revanchism is once again on the rise. Only the deaf can fail to hear the frenetic cries for a smashing of the frontiers laid down in Europe after the victory of the anti-fascist coalition.

23. The arms race-the race to produce nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and so-called "conventional" weapons-is proceeding at a mad pace. This race diverts vast material and intellectual resources from creative purposes and poisons the international atmosphere; at any moment, it may lead mankind to the brink of war.

24. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has still not been fully implemented. Military force is brutally used to suppress national liberation movements.

25. It is, of course, gratifying to note that the somber days of the "cold war" are now a thing of the past. Characteristically, the idea is gaining ground that confrontation should give way to negotiation. But international tension is still with us, the "position of strength" policy is still sometimes applied, while in some parts of the world a hot war is in progress: bombs are dropped on peaceful citizens, children and old men; napalm destroys all life in its wake; and barbarous chemical weapons are being used.

26. The stepping up of the arms race, criminal intervention, acts of aggression, repression, attacks on national freedom, and refusal to comply with the Security Council's resolutions on the political settlement of military conflicts and on the withdrawal of occupation troops are all manifestations of imperialist policy. It is because of them that the peace is still unstable and fragile, and that there is as yet no genuine, reliable security. The peoples have no confidence that peace may not be broken.

27. Fresh collective efforts and further initiatives are needed to strengthen international security. All States Members of the United Nations, all the States in the world, must take part in them.

28. As a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, having, together with other members of the Council, a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Soviet Union believes that new and important steps towards strengthening the peace must be taken through the United Nations.

29. Pursuing the policy of peace proclaimed and leagued to us by the great Lenin immediately after the October Revolution, anxious to promote the effective maintenance of international security, and believing that the course of international relations in recent years makes it imperative for the United Nations to intensify its efforts to discharge its principal function, the USSR Government has once again taken the initiative and proposed for the consideration of the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654]. I note with deep satisfaction that the USSR proposal has met with support and that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have accepted the appeal of the Soviet Union in a serious and responsible frame of mind. During the general debate at the plenary meetings of the current session, representatives of many States have indicated that inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" was an appropriate and timely measure.

30. In his statement before the Assembly [1756th plenary meeting], A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR and the head of my delegation, explained in general lines what the Soviet Union deems to be the principal requirements for strengthening international security and the steps and measures which the General Assembly should approve to that end. A purposeful and specific programme of such action is contained in the draft Appeal to All States of the World [see document A/7654] submitted by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly for discussion. In preparing this document, the USSR Government was guided by the statement of V. I. Lenin that in questions relating to the maintenance of peace stress should be laid on the simplest and clearest decisions and measures that are truly conducive to peace.

31. A most important measure for strengthening international security, in our view, is the cessation of any acts which directly threaten international peace and security.

32. This means the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of armed action by some States against other States and peoples defending the independence they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 198.

have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, and their territorial integrity.

33. It means the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and the granting of independence to all such peoples.

34. It means observance by States of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories.

35. There is no need to explain in detail that unless these measures are implemented, lasting international security can hardly be counted on. Those who plot territorial annexation, who are intoxicated by temporary military successes, who refuse to obey the decisions of the Security Council and who ignore the principle that foreign territory is not subject to seizure, are not merely near-sighted politicians who are playing with the fate of their own and other peoples; they are dangerous men, whose actions threaten world peace and international security.

36. No less a responsibility is incurred by those who are forcibly maintaining colonial rule over millions in various parts of the world. Colonialism by its very nature generates war. I would cite as examples the events in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. Yet another example is afforded by the installation of military bases on island colonial territories throughout the world.

37. The General Assembly has repeatedly declared in its recent resolutions that the continuance of colonial rule threatens international peace and security. The Security Council reached the same conclusion after considering some individual colonial conflicts. So long as vestiges of colonialism remain, so long as colonial wars and other military operations are conducted against the national liberation movement, the duty of the United Nations in maintaining peace and strengthening international security will not have been discharged.

38. Another measure proposed by the USSR Government in the interest of strengthening international security is a reaffirmation of the principle that all the States of the world must be guided in their foreign policies by the vital interests of all peoples in preserving peace and strengthening international security.

39. States must strictly abide in their international relations by the principles of peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their social system—the principles of the sovereignty, equality and territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system. States must settle all disputes between them exclusively through peaceful means without the use or threat of force.

40. The strict observance of these rules in international relations is a *sine qua non* of a reliable system of international security. We say this with such determination because, from the very first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin's principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems became

the cornerstone of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The Soviet Union, moreover, holds that the policy of peaceful coexistence, far from excluding them, presupposes resolute resistance to imperialist aggression and support for peoples fighting against alien domination and for their freedom and independence.

41. Further, the Soviet Union proposes, in the interest of strengthening international security, a number of measures designed to make fuller use of the possibilities and the machinery of the United Nations by giving effect to a number of Charter provisions which have heretofore been used too little or not at all. The first of these measures is the creation of regional security systems in various parts of the world, based on the joint efforts of all States of the areas concerned. Such regional security systems could be set up and could function in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

42. The Soviet Union makes this proposal being mindful of the fact that security on the world scale is the sum total of security conditions in different geographical regions. In this connexion, I am gratified to note that the cause of strengthening European security seems to be gaining ground, or, at any rate, gaining adherents in great numbers. In Europe, that birthplace of two world wars, there is increasing support for the proposal of the socialist States Members of the Warsaw Pact to convene an all-European conference to consider the question of creating a system of collective security and co-operation of European States. Preparations are now being made for practical action to convene such a conference.

43. The Soviet Union's position with regard to European security gives proof of the consistency of the policy it has pursued since the beginning of its existence. As L. I. Brezhnev recently remarked, "The policy of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and all the other Warsaw Pact countries in European affairs is clear and consistent. We are for the peaceful coexistence of States, regardless of differences in their social systems. We are against a division of Europe into mutually opposed military groupings, and for collective European security. We are for a relaxation of tension and the development of truly good-neighbourly relations with all States, including the Federal Republic of Germany. We would naturally welcome manifestations of realism in that country's policy and would appropriately respond to them. But our struggle against militarism and revanchism is a matter of principle, and here there is no room for compromise."

44. Let me now turn to Asia. The peoples of certain Asian countries have been living for decades on end, through no fault of their own, under war conditions, under extreme tension, and under incredible hardship and suffering. As A. A. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, said in his statement in the General Assembly on 19 September *[1756th plenary meeting, para. 151]*, many Asian countries are seeking for ways of ensuring peace and security through collective efforts. He stressed that all States in that area, regardless of differences in their social systems, must think about and work towards a system of collective security in Asia, because that would be in the interests of every single one of them.

45. Being an Asian as well as a European State, the Soviet Union is ready to take part in consultations and exchanges of views on all matters relating to the proposal for the creation of a system of collective security in Asia, with a view to bringing about a durable peace and good-neighbourly relations in that continent.

46. An important component of the Soviet Union's proposals for the strengthening of international security is the proposal for increasing the effectiveness of the Security Council, which, under the Charter, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

47. Of all United Nations organs, only the Security Council is empowered under the Charter to take enforcement action, including the use of armed force, in order to prevent or arrest acts of aggression. Only the Security Council can take decisions which are binding on all Member States. The Security Council derives these special powers from the Charter provisions to the effect that in discharging its duties the Council shall act on behalf of all the Members of the United Nations, who agreed to accept and carry out its decisions when they became Members of the United Nations.

48. During the past quarter of a century, the Security Council has considered dozens of situations in different parts of the world, where the flames of war were threatening to spread. During this time, it has taken many important decisions preventing conflicts and promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes among States. Clearly, the Security Council will continue to discharge these functions. I can only hope that, where necessary, the Security Council will take effective practical measures against acts of aggression, using where required the full range of the powers accorded to it by the Charter.

49. This remark is particularly pertinent today, when some of the Security Council's decisions, although unambiguously framed, remain on paper and are not implemented. Indeed, there are Member States which openly ignore the Security Council's resolutions, violate its sanctions, and defy both the Council and the United Nations as a whole. This is an abnormal and unhealthy phenomenon. Vigorous measures must be taken to ensure the implementation of all the resolutions of the Security Council. If they were all scrupulously implemented, the international situation would be much more stable.

50. While giving the Security Council the powers to settle disputes between States, resolve critical situations and repress acts of aggression, the Charter also authorizes the Council to take more general measures for the maintenance of peace, including consideration of questions relating to the cessation of the arms race and to disarmament. Naturally, the Soviet Council must not duplicate the work of organs already concerned with these problems, particularly the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Nevertheless, without interfering with these organs, the Security Council has a valuable contribution to make to the general strengthening of international security by implementing the provisions of Article 28 of the Charter, which allows it to function flexibly and in particular provides for periodic meetings of the Council at which its members may

be represented by a member of the Government or by some other specially designated representative.

51. At such periodic meetings, the Security Council could consider the general state of international security with a view to elaborating effective measures to strengthen security in the interests of all States. Such meetings could be preceded by preparatory work in the form of consultations between the States members of the Security Council, and the Council could adopt important political documents at them. A frank exchange of views at a high Government level between representatives of States members of the Security Council from the various geographical regions of the world would in itself have a beneficial effect on the international situation.

52. The USSR Government accordingly proposes that the General Assembly should submit for consideration by Security Council a recommendation that it should hold periodic meetings as provided for in Article 28 of the Charter. In our opinion, the Security Council could call the first of such meetings some time after the end of the current session of the General Assembly.

53. The founders of the United Nations were perfectly well aware that if they did not want the Charter to become a collection of petrified dogma, they must provide an opportunity for the further definition and development of its fundamental principles and provisions in accordance with changing conditions and needs in international relations. That is why the Charter has fully retained its pertinence and significance as a political and legal instrument for regulating relations among States with different social systems, has stood the test of time, and has permitted an intensive effort to develop its principles and provisions in the light of changing circumstances.

54. In the interest of strengthening international security, the USSR Government proposes accelerated work to define more closely the purposes and principles of the Charter with regard to evolving a generally acceptable definition of aggression, agreeing on the principles of friendly relations and co-operation of States and arriving at an understanding on United Nations peace-keeping operations on the basis of strict observance of the Charter.

55. As we know, special committees of the United Nations have been dealing with these questions. They must intensify their efforts with a view to the earliest possible submission of their proposals and recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Security Council. We believe that they can do so.

56. The formulation of a generally acceptable clear definition of aggression would definitely enhance the role of the United Nations in preserving international peace and security and would be of invaluable assistance to the Security Council in the discharge of its weighty duties. The Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, at its two sessions, achieved a measure of agreement with regard to various elements of a definition of aggression. This work should be continued and brought to a rapid conclusion.

57. It is hard to overestimate the beneficial consequences of an agreement on the legal principles of friendly relations

and co-operation of States, in other words, the principles of peaceful coexistence. I note with satisfaction that the special committee concerned with these questions has made marked progress in its work, and could well complete it within a short time. That would be a landmark in the political and legal endeavour to normalize international relations.

58. The first-indeed, the very first-signs of progress have been manifested recently in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, whose function it is to strengthen United Nations machinery for arresting aggression and maintaining international peace and security on the basis of strict observance of the Charter. For many years, this important field of United Nations activity was an arena for disagreements and clashes, since there was a definite tendency to by-pass the Charter and to use United Nations peace-keeping operations-that powerful means of international action-for the selfish purposes of a single group of States. I need not remind the Committee of the sad consequences of that policy and practice for those who had relied on them and of the difficulties they had created for the United Nations itself.

59. These lessons of the recent past have apparently been taken to heart, and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has for the first time applied itself to formulating guidelines for conducting such operations in strict observance of the Charter. I can only wish it speedy success in its intricate and arduous task.

60. The USSR delegation has deemed it necessary to offer these explanations of the draft Appeal to All States of the World [A/7654], on the strengthening of international security submitted by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly for its consideration. We trust that these explanations will give other delegations a deeper and fuller understanding of the purposes, meaning and significance of the USSR proposals. I would now comment briefly on the form of the document proposed by the Soviet Union.

61. In casting its document on the strengthening of international security in a form somewhat unusual in United Nations practice—the form of an appeal to all States of the world—the USSR Government was guided by two main considerations.

62. The first was a desire to give the document a dynamic character, going beyond a mere setting forth of considerations or recommendations usual in General Assembly resolutions and even beyond the solemn proclamation of guidelines and principles which is the customary form of General Assembly declarations. The USSR Government wanted to cast its documents in a form which would in itself call for some response or reaction on the part of Governments and would not allow them to remain passive and indifferent to a United Nations decision on so vital a matter as the strengthening of international security. We believe that in the Appeal we have found a form which answers that purpose.

63. Secondly, the USSR Government feels that the Appeal should be addressed not only to the Governments of the States Members of the United Nations, but to the Governments of all States of the world, including those which are not members of the United Nations or do not take part in its activities for one reason or another. As we all know, not all States, and in particular not all great States, participate in the activity of the United Nations; moreover, the States which are not members of the United Nations or do not take part in its activity include States whose policies have a marked effect on the general international situation. It seems logical that a United Nations Appeal on so important a question should be addressed and communicated to those States as well. This approach is based directly on the Charter, whose Article 2, paragraph 6, provides that the United Nations shall ensure that States which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with United Nations principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

64. I would further remark, with regard to the form of the document which, I believe, should be adopted by the General Assembly as a result of its consideration of the question of strengthening international security, that the Appeal to All States of the World should not be accompanied by any introductory, additional or special resolutions. The USSR delegation proposes that the text should be adopted as it stands, although, as always, it is ready to consult and exchange views with other delegations on the various provisions of the draft.

65. I should like to make one other point, to which the USSR Government attaches great importance. In its view, consideration of the strengthening of international security should not be confined to a debate at the current session and adoption of the Appeal. It should be continued by communicating the Appeal, once adopted, to the Governments of all States of the world and requesting them to transmit information on any steps taken by them in pursuance of the provisions contained in the Appeal. Compilation and study of the replies of Governments to the Appeal on the strengthening of international security would provide an excellent basis for considering at the twentyfifth session of the General Assembly the item entitled "Progress in the implementation by States of measures for the strengthening of international security". The Soviet Union's programme of action for strengthening international security offers an excellent basis for United Nations work in preparing for its twenty-fifth anniversary.

66. The USSR Government proposes that a decision should be taken here and now to include that item in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session.

67. The USSR delegation appeals to the delegations of all other States to give careful study to the Soviet Union's proposal for the strengthening of international security, bearing in mind that it is not directed against any State but is intended rather to strengthen the security of all countries and peoples of the world.

68. The USSR delegation submits for the consideration of the First Committee the draft Appeal to All States of the World on the strengthening of international security, which has been circulated as an official document (A/C.1/L.468) and to which it draws the attention of representatives.

69. In conclusion, I would express the confidence that consideration by the General Assembly of the item entitled

"The strengthening of international security" and adoption of the Appeal will have a favourable effect on the general state of international relations, and will help to relieve international tension and to strengthen peace and security. This is what all the peoples of the world are waiting for.

70. The CHAIRMAN: There are no other speakers for this afternoon. The next meeting of the Committee will be held

at 3 p.m. on Monday, 13 October. Two delegations have inscribed their names. I would request members of the Committee wishing to take part in the general debate on this item to communicate their names to the Secretariat as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.