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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt is of the view that strengthening international security is urgently required to safeguard the maintenace of world peace. The first purpose of the United Nations in conformity with its Charter requires the world organization to take effective collective measures for the prevention of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression. United Nations has been, heretofore, unable to live up to its Charter responsibilities by taking a more effective role in the maintenance of international peace and security. Adopting resolutions and calling upon States to respect and implement these resolutions do not suffice. The experience of the past quarter of a century clearly reveals that non-compliance with past resolutions has gravely undermined the whole United Nations system. The United Nations Charter was drafted in a manner which provides the machinery necessary for the prevention of any infringement on its fundamental principles. The Charter devoted a whole chapter to regulate the United Nations role with respect to threats to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression. The Security Council, the organ vested with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, was empowered to enforce its decisions. In fact, the whole system devised by the Charter to maintain international peace and security hinges on the efficacy of the Security Council. It is therefore imperative that the Security Council should not shirk from resorting to the appropriate measures to ensure the full and prompt implementation of the resolutions pertaining to peace and security.

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt is of the opinion that the present ineffectiveness of the Security Council is due, mainly, to two factors:

- 1. The inability of the Council to reach the appropriate decision whenever international peace and security are threatened;
- 2. The non-implementation by many States of Security Council resolutions which has eroded confidence in the Council and contributed to diminishing the Council's authority.

The strengthening of international security would therefore necessitate that the Security Council assert its primary responsibility as the executive organ vested with the power to use the collective security system devised by the Charter. The Charter system was firmly based on the assumption that effective collective measures will be promptly applied. The present reluctance on the part of the Security Council to invoke its Chapter VII powers, even when acts of aggression and breaches of the peace are repeatedly committed have, in fact, deprived the United Nations of its enforcement machinery which the authors of the Charter have considered as the real guarantee for the maintenance of world peace. The predilection to operate exclusively under the provisions of Chapter VI has transformed the Security Council, contrary to the Charter concept, into a debating organ. The Council has, moreover, not been able to follow up and enforce the very few binding decisions it has managed to adopt. The failure to apply the Charter concepts, however, has its origin in the United Nations practice and not in the United Nations Charter itself. The Charter is a dynamic constitutional instrument capable of potential evolutions. Member States could always redirect

its evolution in order to enable the United Nations to meet its fundamental responsibilities. Thus, it is imperative that Member States undergo radical changes in their political approach to the role of the Security Council with a view to returning to the original Charter concepts.

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt considers that in view of the tendency to acquiesce in the non-compliance with United Nations resolutions, it has become imperative that the Security Council undertake a comprehensive follow-up programme to ensure that its previous resolutions are fully carried out. This requires thorough re-examination of the stage of implementation. Without such an examination, it is doubtful that the Security Council could restore its credibility as the effective organ which exercises under the Charter the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

On its part, the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has consistently followed the basic Charter principles in its international relations:

1. Egypt supports the principle that States refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. A principle which is universally considered as the cornerstone of the contemporary international system. It follows that all violations of that principle and all the consequences of the illegal use of force are, by necessity, to be opposed. Egypt has therefore condemned all the manifestations of the illegal resort to armed force. At present, flagrant violations are being committed against the peoples of Viet-Nam, southern Africa, Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. In view of these illegal actions, Egypt considers that the withdrawal of the aggressive force is a prerequisite to the restoration of peace. Thus, it has called for the immediate withdrawal of the American forces from Viet-Nam, the racist South African forces from Namibia, and the Portuguese colonialists from Angola and Mozambique.

With respect to the Middle East it is to be pointed out that Egypt has in conformity with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, called for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the territories occuped by armed force. It has, from the outset, accepted the peaceful settlement as prescribed in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Egypt has, moreover, repeatedly declared its full readiness to carry out all its obligations under that resolution, provided that Israel will do likewise. Full and unreserved co-operation was always extended to the Secretary-General's Special Representative. Ambassador Jarring, throughout all the phases of his mission. The latest Egyptian memorandum to Ambassador Jarring dated 15 February 1971, which contained a positive answer to Ambassador Jarring's note of 8 February, has been universally considered as a clear evidence of Egypt's sincerity in seeking a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In contrast, Israel had but one objective since the adoption of Security Council resolution on 22 November 1967 and that is, to frustrate and impede its implementation.

The Middle East crisis constitutes a direct threat which could gravely endanger world peace. The continuation of this crisis without the full implementation of the Security Council resolution will undoubtedly lead to further deterioration of the already explosive situation in the Middle East. It is, therefore, imperative to remedy such a deteriorating situation. This is a collective responsibility; hence all Member States, whether big or small, have a direct interest in the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East. The

General Assembly has, in resolution 2628 (XXV), expressed its serious concern on the continuation of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, which it considered a serious threat to international peace and security. Moreover, it urged the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which provides for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. One year has elapsed since the adoption of this General Assembly resolution and Israel has not yet complied with its provisions. It is therefore incumbent upon Member States, individually and collectively, to strive resolutely for the full and complete implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The Security Council is duty-bound to act in accordance with its Charter responsibilities and discard its reluctance to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter.

- 2. The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has always strongly upheld the principle of non-acquisition of territory by force, which constitutes one of the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of the United Nations Charter is based. This basic principle of contemporary international law is solemnly reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Paragraph 5 of the Declaration provides 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, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal...".

Strict observance of this principle is not only a requisite for the maintenance of peace, but it also affords the only way to preserve the foundations of the world legal order that was established when the United Nations came into being.

3. Egypt has also consistently upheld the principle of self-determination. By word and deed, it has striven continuously to assist the struggle of the oppressed people in Africa and Asia who aspire to exercise their inherent right to self-determination. It is to be recalled that the peoples of Namibia and Palestine are the only nations who were entrusted to mandatory powers under the League of Nations as a sacred trust of civilization to prepare for their attainment of full independence. However, their legitimate right has been usurped and the United Nations has proved helpless to assist in their plight.

It is to be noted that respect for full independence could not be attained unless certain Powers realize that resort to policies of force and domination would not be tolerated by the community of nations. In Africa and Asia today, independent countries are being subjected, whether directly and indirectly, to various forms of neo-colonialism. With respect to the exercise of right to self-determination, the strengthening of international security necessitates that the United Nations role should not be confined to admitting new nations to membership as independent countries, but it should also ensure respect for their territorial integrity and political independence.

4. The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt is fully convinced that international security is linked to the question of disarmament. It has therefore consistently called for the realization of general and complete disarmament under

effective international control. It has always supported all endeavours aiming at channelling the huge sums spent on armaments and weaponry to peaceful uses, particularly in the economic and social development fields. Egypt has always advocated this line of policy in all the international forums in which it has participated.

- 5. Egypt believes that the United Nations was conceived as a universal organization. Thus, international security would be further strengthened by the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China. As a permanent member in the Security Council, the People's Republic of China would assume its rightful responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security and will undoubtedly add a considerable contribution to the maintenance of peace.
- 6. Egypt is of the opinion that respect for human rights is an indispensable element whose realization is necessary to world peace. The Charter, in Article 55, stipulates that the observance of human rights and fundamental freedom is required for the creation of the condition of stability, which is a prerequisite for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.
- 7. The strengthening of international security requires that Member States combine their efforts and work for:
- (a) Increasing co-operation between States on the basis of equality and full respect for sovereignty;
- (b) Narrowing the economic and social gap between the developed and developing countries in order that the community of nations reach a high degree of social integration which would contribute to the cause of international peace.

The challenges which the developing countries face are increasing with the passage of time. This increasing gap constitutes an impediment in the path of co-operation between the developed and developing countries. One of the basic purposes of the United Nations is to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations and it is to be stressed that in the realm of economic development the United Nations should pursue a more active and effective role in narrowing the existing increasing gap between the developed and developing countries.

In the light of these considerations, the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt notes with satisfaction that the theme of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations was peace, justice and progress. This reflects a fundamental concept contained in the United Nations Charter which closely links peace based on justice with progress.

These are the objectives which all States must strive to achieve so that international peace and security shall be maintained.