

CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

EXEMPLAIRE

COPY

N° 410

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH
23rd September, 1970

NATO CONFIDENTIAL
SUMMARY RECORD
C-R(70)45

Summary record of a meeting of the Council held at the
NATO Headquarters, Brussels, on Wednesday, 9th September, 1970
at 10.15 a.m.

PRESENT

Chairman: Mr. Manlio Brosio

BELGIUM

Mr. A. de Staercke
Mr. R. Fourdin

CANADA

Mr. Ross Campbell

DENMARK

Mr. O. Bierring
Mr. B. Sondergaare

FRANCE

Mr. F. de Rose

GERMANY

Mr. W.G. Grewe
Mr. W.U. von Hassell

GREECE

Mr. P.A. Cavalierato

ICELAND

Mr. N.P. Sigurdsson

ITALY

Mr. C. de Ferrariis
Salzano
Mr. M.M. Alessi

LUXEMBOURG

Mr. L. Schaus
Mr. J. Alex

NETHERLANDS

Mr. H.N. Boon
Mr. F.J.A. Terwisscha
van Scheltinga

NORWAY

Mr. R.T. Busch
Mr. A. Arnesen

PORTUGAL

Mr. A. Nogueira
Mr. Bonifacio de
Miranda

TURKEY

Mr. Nuri Birgi

UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. A.D.F. Pemberton-
Pigott
Mr. J.H. Lambert

UNITED STATES

Mr. R. Ellsworth
Mr. S. de Palma

INTERNATIONAL STAFF

Deputy Secretary General:

Mr. O. Olcay

Deputy Assistant Secretary General
for Political Affairs:

Mr. F.E. Maestroni

Assistant Secretary General for
Defence Support:

Mr. Tyler Port

Executive Secretary:

Mr. K.W. Andreae

MILITARY COMMITTEE

Representative:

Major General P.J.
Symons

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

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I. COUNCIL CONSULTATION ON THE WORK OF THE 25TH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Document: PO/70/383

1. The CHAIRMAN said that it was proposed to devote the Council's first meeting after the summer vacation to an exchange of views on the problems of interest to the Alliance which would come up during the 25th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. He expressed the hope that this Session, which coincided with the 25th Anniversary celebrations in October, would provide an opportunity to bring Heads of State together at a time when private talks might contribute to the quest for solutions to major world problems. He wished to begin by welcoming the high-ranking officials from capitals who had come to join in this exchange of views. He drew attention to document PO/70/383, which contained a list of items on the General Assembly's Agenda which might be of interest to the Alliance. This had been prepared by the International Staff as a basis for the Council's discussion, and was neither definitive nor exhaustive.

2. Mr. de PALMA (United States) began by describing the climate which was expected to prevail at the 25th Session. Fifth to sixty Heads of State would probably be present, especially during the commemorative ceremonies on 24th October. However, there was little prospect that they would make any genuine contribution to the discussions or sign any declaration.

3. As regards the main part of the Session, he expected that a number of Declarations would be tabled on subjects such as the 25th Anniversary, Colonialism, Arms Control and Disarmament, the Strengthening of International Security, and perhaps also on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations. It was to be hoped that these would provide an opportunity to reaffirm certain obligations under the Charter and put forward constructive suggestions. Above all, however, they should be moderate in tone, particularly in the case of the general Declaration on the 25th Anniversary - which should be largely commemorative - and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. While the draft of the latter previously submitted by the Soviet Union had been unacceptable, he felt that the Western draft was very satisfactory and hoped that it would be supported by all the members of the Alliance.

4. In view of the artificial climate created by the commemorative ceremonies, the attendance of Heads of State and the participants' anxiety to live up to public expectations, the concrete results of the Session were likely to be limited.

However, he hoped that, without making any changes in the existing institutions, successful efforts could be made to improve working procedures, which were tending to become less effective. It was especially important to return to stricter principles for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the peace-keeping aspect of the United Nations rôle. The Security Council's procedures for investigating disputes should be reviewed so that the parties concerned kept out of the scene and ceased to consider the United Nations as a forum in which they could publicly air their differences. Facts should be ascertained by a Committee, which should report to the Security Council and mediation or conciliation panels should be re-established. Similarly, an attempt should be made to give the International Court of Justice new impetus by updating its statute and procedures.

5. One instance of a satisfactory procedure was that which had been used for the Declaration on Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. The draft of this Declaration had been prepared by a comparatively small body, working by consensus without voting, and was simply a restatement of a Charter principle, which would thus become international law. The United States felt that, in its present form, this draft was constructive enough to be acceptable and hoped that it could also be endorsed by its Allies and a large enough number of other countries to ensure that the Declaration was approved by the Assembly without undue polemics. The only point which was causing his country concern was the possibility that Article 107 of the Charter (on the aftermath of the Second World War) might be brought up in connection with the Declaration.

6. On the prospects of improving peace-keeping arrangements, he said that United States and Soviet Representatives were pressing ahead with bilateral talks on the Ad Hoc Committee's work. However, the Soviet Representatives appeared to be unwilling to approve the proposal for the improvement of arrangements for observers' groups. He added that, in the United States view, the whole range of peace-keeping procedures required to be changed. The United States agreed that the Security Council should continue to be responsible for taking essential decisions - i.e. on whether or not a specific peace-keeping operation was necessary and on the mandate of the group and the sort of forces to be involved. However, questions such as the selection of commanders or delicate negotiations with countries regarding the despatch of national contingents should be dealt with by the Secretary General so as to preclude the danger of a Security Council veto. So far, the Soviet Union had maintained that all these decisions should be taken unanimously; however, it might conceivably agree to consider a United States suggestion to the effect that, once the Security Council had arrived at the basic decision, all other decisions should be taken by the Secretary General in consultation with a Security Council Committee, whose views would have to be taken into account.

7. On administrative and budgetary questions, he asked member countries to join in pressing for a general review covering not only the budgets of the United Nations and its agencies but also their administration and management. The United States Delegation would urge the General Assembly to take a decision, which would be in keeping with the Charter, providing for a periodic review - every two years, for example - of the activities and expenditures of the entire United Nations system. He felt that there was a special need for an external evaluation of the effectiveness of the voluntary aid programmes, which would account for \$495 million in 1970, and that an evaluation procedure to operate throughout the United Nations system should be established for this purpose.

8. In conclusion, he enlarged on the motives behind the United States Senate's decision - which had been taken at the request of Mr. Meany (President of the AFL-CIO Trade Union Federation) and Mr. Neilan (former Head of the New York Chamber of Commerce) - not to pay the second half of the United States contribution to the International Labour Organization (ILO) for 1970. He stressed that the action of the Director-General of the ILO in selecting a Soviet Assistant Director-General had no bearing whatsoever on this decision and that the United States main concern was at the increasing tendency to adjust the ILO to the needs of the Soviet Union, whereas United States employers' associations and workers' trade unions were being voted down. He felt that it was not in the ILO's interest to be gradually transformed into a political body playing the Soviet game. Furthermore, Congress was concerned at the steady rise in the Organization's budget. However, the United States Government clearly recognised that it was under a legal obligation to pay its contribution to the ILO.

9. Mr. LAMBERT (United Kingdom) said that Mr. Heath would visit New York from 20th to 25th October for the 25th Anniversary celebrations, while Sir Alec Douglas Home would attend at the opening session of the General Assembly and would also accompany Mr. Heath. As regards the "Historic Declaration" commemorating the 25th Anniversary, preliminary work was already under way on a document which would be couched in rather general terms in order to attract the fullest support. With this in mind, the United Kingdom had prepared a draft which had recently been circulated in New York, while the Soviet Union had also circulated a suggested wording to the 25th Anniversary Committee. The Western Consultative Group had done very useful spade-work during the summer on the text for the Declaration on the strengthening of international security, the lead being taken by Italy, Belgium and Canada; this text had been made available to delegations from other geographical groups, and especially the Latin-Americans. The Soviet Union had so far declined to accept the Western draft as a basis for negotiations. He agreed with Mr. de Palma that the wording submitted by Mr. Gromyko the previous year had been unacceptable and that an effort should be made to prevent the Russians from establishing their paternity of this item and seek to impose their own text. However, there would no doubt be some hard bargaining to come over these texts, as over the Declarations on colonialism and world economic development.

10. A subject of special interest, on which he would welcome his colleagues' views, was whether Charter Review was expected to be a prominent item at the General Assembly. It would be recalled that, following a Colombian initiative, this question had attracted some attention at the 25th Assembly. He did not know whether the new Colombian Government would be as forward in the matter as its predecessor. At all events, the United Kingdom was opposed to a radical review of the Charter, although it did not preclude the possibility of some individual amendments. The United Kingdom also supported the Canadian proposal that there should be a Committee to look into the possibility of organizational improvements in United Nations procedures, and was willing to discuss the United States proposal for grouping scientific and technological items into one Committee. However, it did not favour the creation of an Eighth Assembly Committee or a new department in the United Nations Secretariat. The United Kingdom was also very interested in the proposal for a review of the rôle of the International Court of Justice in an effort to give it new scope for action; however, this would call for careful study.

11. On topical political issues, he said that the Assembly's discussions on African questions would no doubt reflect the exchanges of views which had taken place in the Security Council during the summer; however, the tone of the Resolutions which were passed would depend on developments at the Lusaka Conference. In so far as the Middle East was concerned, he still felt that it would be inappropriate for the Assembly to discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict and that the resumption of the Jarring Mission offered the best prospects of success.

12. On disarmament, he said that the United Kingdom had welcomed the joint United States-Soviet Union revised draft Sea Bed Treaty which he hoped would meet with enough support in the General Assembly to be opened for signature without having to be referred back to the CCD at Geneva. While the CCD's last session had been very fruitful, unfortunately the same could not be said for the Sea Bed Committee, which, at its August session in Geneva, had failed to draw up a comprehensive and balanced declaration of principles. However, he hoped that a compromise might yet emerge from consultations during the autumn and that the Committee would be able to tackle effectively the problems of limits, an international régime and machinery. In this connection, he felt that it would be preferable to avoid establishing yet another committee to consider the desirability of convening a Law of the Sea Conference, since this would reopen questions which had been satisfactorily settled at the 1958 Geneva Conference. He hoped that this question would be dealt with in the Sixth Committee.

13. In conclusion, he expressed concern at the recent hijacking of aircraft, which, he felt, called for action at international level. The United Kingdom was prepared to support the Netherlands initiative on this problem at the General Assembly.

14. The BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that his Government's position was similar to that which had been outlined in a restrained and constructive fashion by Mr. de Palma. Belgium, too, hoped that the climate of debate at the General Assembly would be conducive to more satisfactory working procedures. On the Declarations, he expressed satisfaction at the political support the United States was prepared to provide for the proposal on friendly relations and co-operation among states, and said that his Government's position on this would probably be the same as the Western group's. He pointed out that the principles laid down in this Declaration might have implications for the security of the Atlantic Alliance. Should the East-West negotiations make headway and the question of a Code of Good Conduct be placed on the Agenda of a European Security Conference, it would be possible to consider implementing the principles approved by the United Nations in a regional setting. His Government could likewise agree to the Western group's draft Declaration on the "Strengthening of International Security".

15. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that his statement would comprise two parts: first, general issues connected with the 25th Anniversary celebrations and, secondly, specific items.

16. The most important point under the first heading was the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The draft which had emerged from the Western group's informal talks had been submitted to the Soviet Union by Canada and Italy. However, the Soviet Union had not yet taken up a position on it, no doubt because it was awaiting other versions before accepting the Western draft as a basis for discussion. As regards the draft Declaration on "Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States", he felt that the preparatory work had been satisfactory, and especially the definition of non-intervention and the right of self-determination. His Government had approved the present draft subject to confirmation. Since the United States, too, had approved the draft, he hoped that it would thus be possible to counter last-minute amendments. On Charter review, he recalled that Canada had proposed the establishment of a Committee of Wise Men which would study the rationalisation of the General Assembly's procedures and organization and report at the 26th Session. This proposal had been very favourably received by Cameroon, India and Japan, among the non-aligned countries, and also by Italy. He understood that Denmark, the Netherlands, Greece and the United Kingdom had already expressed support for the proposal and his Government would welcome support from other countries.

17. On the more specific issues, he stressed that efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East would be severely impaired should this question be placed on the Assembly's Agenda. He would welcome his colleagues' views on the likelihood of a request being made to this effect and on possible countermeasures. As regards South Africa, severe criticism was likely from the African countries and an attempt would have to be made to moderate this, emphasising the need for social justice. On peace-keeping operations, he had taken note of Mr. de Palma's comments regarding the status of Soviet-United States negotiations on the methods employed. His Government felt that the main consideration was that the prestige of the Committee of 33 should not be damaged so that its mandate could be renewed.

18. On the budgetary issues, his Government shared the United States Government's concern at the sharp increase in United Nations budgets, and especially those of the specialised agencies. While he agreed that an attempt should be made to limit appropriations, he feared that at the General Assembly this might give rise to difficulties with the developing countries, which were anxious for the agencies' resources to be increased. In the long term, his Government did not propose to alter its policy, which had always been to grant credits where there was social and economic justification and to support a reasonable rate of growth of these budgets. However, in the short term, during the review of the Secretariat's working procedures, he felt that a period of consolidation was called for.

19. In connection with the peaceful use of the sea bed, he said that his Government approved the new limits of national jurisdiction beyond which principles of international law should be laid down so that the sea's resources could be used in the interests of humanity and for peaceful purposes.

20. The decision by the United States Congress regarding the International Labour Organization had greatly perturbed the Canadian Government and public, which attached great importance to this Organization. There was a danger that the withholding of part of the United States contribution might result in increased contributions by other countries or a cut-back in programmes. This precedent brought up the principle of collective responsibility for financing and might have adverse implications for the United Nations as a whole. He had, therefore, been interested to hear Mr. de Palma's explanations and hoped that the United States would find it possible to reverse its decision.

21. On disarmament, he suggested that the United States, in consultation with the Soviet Union, should report to the General Assembly on the progress which was being made with the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks. The members of the Alliance should likewise emphasise the importance of NATO's initiative

on Mutual Balanced Force Reductions, which represented a concrete disarmament measure. On a comprehensive nuclear test ban, he said that Canada supported the Resolution calling on the CCD to study the means of verification currently available, especially for underground tests. In this connection, he recalled that Canada had made a proposal for the exchange of data. On conventional weapons, he asked for further details of the Resolution which the Netherlands and Denmark reportedly proposed to put forward as a follow-up to an initiative which had failed to secure adequate support in 1968.

22. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE confirmed his Government's willingness to support the Canadian draft Resolutions for a review of the General Assembly's procedures and the establishment of a Committee of Wise Men, on condition that there was an adequate number of other signatories and the geographical balance was not adversely affected. As for the Resolution on conventional weapons, drafting was still at the preliminary stage although, in recent years, Denmark had made active efforts to expedite this work. He had no information on future developments. In conclusion, he asked the United Kingdom and United States Representatives for their views on the proposal by the Soviet Union, Syria and Bulgaria regarding the breadth of the territorial sea.

23. Mr. LAMBERT said that in recent weeks five countries had indicated that they proposed to ask for a new Agenda item on the breadth of the territorial sea; however, these efforts had been unsuccessful. Subsequently, the Soviet Union, backed by Syria and Bulgaria, had tabled a formal proposal which the United Kingdom had decided not to support for the moment. However, his Government would not be against a general exchange of views in the Assembly should enough countries be in favour of this.

24. Mr. de PALMA said that it was necessary to differentiate between:

- the present Agenda item, i.e. the Secretary General's Report on a Law of the Sea Conference - a proposal which was supported by the United States on condition that the Agenda for the Conference was broad enough;
- the limited Soviet proposal on the breadth of the territorial sea, which was backed by Syria and Bulgaria.

25. His Government had considered sponsoring the Soviet proposal, but had come to the conclusion that the General Assembly would probably be in favour of convening an international conference in 1971 and that it was better to deal with the problems in manageable packages.

26. Mr. TERWISSCHA van SCHELTINGA (Netherlands) drew attention to Item 29 of the General Assembly's Agenda: "Question of Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons: Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament". He felt that the General Assembly's discussions on this issue would simply be a repetition of the positions a number of countries had taken up the previous year in New York and during the CCD's discussions in Geneva. The study which was under way in Geneva on many aspects of the question - and especially the requirements for, and the possibilities of, verification in the event of a ban on the production and possession of chemical weapons - was businesslike and constructive. He hoped that the General Assembly would agree on a procedural Resolution empowering the CCD to press ahead with this study, especially as regards the possibilities of further arms control measures for biological and chemical weapons. He felt that in the present situation any further initiatives in the General Assembly with a view to specific steps might compromise the prospects of an agreement.

27. In discussing Agenda Item 28: "Question of General and Complete Disarmament: Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament", the General Assembly would probably focus its attention on the programming of activities in the field of arms control and disarmament. The previous year, the General Assembly had requested the CCD to work out a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the CCD with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and its negotiations. The Communist countries, with the exception of Rumania, had abstained from voting on the relevant Resolution. While supporting the request, the Netherlands Delegation had pointed out that too rigid a programme of work might handicap progress in this field, although it might be useful to study the inter-relationship between various disarmament measures so as to establish an order of priorities. Reporting on the work of the CCD, he said that, at Italy's suggestion, nine delegations had set up an informal working group to discuss the implementation of the General Assembly's Resolution; the countries involved were Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan, Sweden, India, Mexico, Yugoslavia and Rumania. However, owing to Soviet reluctance, the CCD's Report to the General Assembly on the possible content of a comprehensive programme had been somewhat meagre. None the less, a few days before the CCD had concluded its summer session, the Swedish, Mexican and Yugoslav Delegations had submitted an elaborate draft for a programme. While this draft had not yet been fully studied by his Authorities, it made a fairly good impression at first sight and it could not be excluded that in New York a number of delegations might be prepared to approve a Resolution establishing a programme for disarmament negotiations along the lines suggested in this document. Whatever the merits of the draft Programme, the Netherlands felt that such action by the General Assembly should be avoided. It was the CCD itself, and not the General Assembly, which should draw up a programme of work; the CCD might be able to do this in 1971 with the concurrence of all the major powers which had an interest in disarmament.

28. Answering the question by the Canadian Representative, he said that the idea of a proposal on conventional weapons had been brought up again by a number of Netherlands MPs. Following a discussion in Parliament, his Government had invited other governments to make known their views and was at present considering their reactions and the information they had made available. However, no firm decision had yet been taken on this.

29. The TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE said that his Government would welcome the submission of a general Declaration on the 25th Anniversary drawing attention to the importance of the United Nations' work. He also believed that it shared the general view that a radical review of the Charter would be inadvisable. He agreed that work on disarmament should be pursued in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), and also stressed the importance his Authorities attached to the good functioning of the International Court of Justice; the question of Namibia might be brought before that Court. In his view, it was essential to take a cautious line on all questions connected with the Middle East.

30. The ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he had appreciated Mr. de Palma's realistic approach. Although the circumstances were not very favourable, he hoped that the 25th Anniversary celebrations would provide an opportunity to strengthen confidence in the United Nations. Mr. Colombo would attend the General Assembly on 22nd October. As regards the discussions proper, his Government attached considerable importance to the general Declarations mentioned by Mr. de Palma. In particular, it hoped that the Assembly would approve the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes. It likewise shared the United States views on the advisability of giving the International Court of Justice fresh impetus. It also agreed that an attempt should be made to develop procedures which would assist the United Nations agencies to operate more efficiently without altering the present organization.

31. Drawing attention to the Agenda Item on the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council, he pointed out that two of these should be Europeans and that, of the three candidates for these seats, Belgium and Italy had secured most support. His Government hoped that its Allies would back its candidature. It was anxious that this question should be resolved without having to come before the General Assembly.

32. In his view, disarmament was the most important issue to be dealt with at this session. It would be recalled that his country had made concrete proposals for general and complete disarmament and that, on 20th August, it had submitted a working paper to the CCD calling for a series of agreements on specific points with a view to achieving general disarmament in successive stages and on the basis of a time-schedule still to be prepared.

33. In connection with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, he said that the Western Working Group, on which Italy was represented, had begun to seek support for its new draft, which would be submitted as an alternative to the Soviet proposal. He had no information on the outcome of these approaches.

34. On biological and chemical weapons, he said that in New York the Italian Delegation would confirm its support - as expressed in Geneva - for the United Kingdom's draft agreement on biological weapons. He felt that an attempt should be made to resolve this problem and that studies on chemical weapons should be pursued regardless of the outstanding difficulties, particularly as regards verification. In Geneva, the Italian Delegation had submitted a working paper suggesting the establishment of a group of experts, and had proposed that countries which had been parties to the Geneva Protocol should lift their reservations so that it could be implemented in all countries.

35. On the peaceful use of the sea bed and the proposal for a Law of the Sea Conference, he said that the Italian Delegation had informed the United Nations Secretary General that, in its view, a Conference on the overall problem would not serve any useful purpose but that it was in favour of holding a properly prepared Conference, the sole purpose of which would be to review the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf, particularly in order to establish well-defined limits. He could also agree to the United States-Soviet draft Treaty on the denuclearisation of the sea bed. As regards the proposal by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Syria on the breadth of the territorial sea, he recalled that, following the Soviet Union's initiative in 1967, a United States-Soviet draft had been tabled in 1968. During consultations in the Council, Italy had made various objections to this draft, particularly in connection with the provisions for straits, which were vital for its defence, security and economy. While there had been no change in Italy's position, it was prepared to contribute to any constructive solution and had no objection to the General Assembly instructing the Sixth Committee to consider what action should be taken on the latest Soviet proposal.

36. On the Middle East, his Government was continuing to press for restraint and goodwill with a view to negotiations. As part of these efforts, Mr. Moro had recently visited Cairo, and also Tunis, where he had been given a particularly warm welcome.

37. In conclusion, he expressed concern at the future outlook for the International Labour Organization. While he agreed that the Soviet Union's growing hold on this body was unfortunate, he felt that the United States' unilateral move might have the effect of increasing Soviet influence to the detriment of the West. It might also have adverse repercussions in other international organizations. His Government, which made a sizeable contribution to the ILO budget and had signed various treaties negotiated under ILO auspices, was prepared to take part in consultations on this problem in order to find a compromise solution. In any event, he felt that it was essential for member countries to consult together before decisions of this importance were taken.

38. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE expressed satisfaction that in the Middle East the great powers had brought their influence to bear on the two sides in an effort to achieve a political solution. The discussions were bound to be long and difficult and it was, therefore, preferable that the problem should continue to be dealt with in the context of the Jarring Mission and that it should not be brought up in the General Assembly. As it had indicated on several occasions, Norway was still prepared to participate in any peace-keeping forces that might be established for the implementation of a peace agreement, should this be desired and accepted by the parties concerned. Expressing concern at the financial situation of UNRWA, he said that, in response to an appeal for increased contributions by the Commissioner General, his Government had decided to double its contribution to this body for the coming year.

39. Referring to Item 64 - Namibia, he said that it was most important that the United Nations should discharge its responsibilities on the termination of South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa. Norway, therefore, welcomed the latest Security Council Resolution, in pursuance of which it had decided to close down its consulate in Windhoek. At their latest meeting in Oslo, the Nordic Foreign Ministers had stated that they regarded the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia as illegal and did not recognise any authority of South Africa over Namibia. They had agreed to bring this position to the knowledge of the South African Government.

40. On Item 26 - the Sea Bed - he recalled that, at the last session of the United Nations Sea Bed Committee in Geneva, Norway had submitted a draft Declaration of principles governing the activities of states with respect to the sea bed and the ocean floor, and the sub-soil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. It was important that this or a similar Declaration should be adopted at the General Assembly.

41. In connection with Item 28 - General and Complete Disarmament - he said that his Government welcomed the latest United States-Soviet draft Treaty on the denuclearisation of the sea bed and was grateful for the improvements made over previous drafts in order to meet some countries' suggestions.

42. As regards Item 29 - Biological and Chemical Weapons - although his Authorities realised the difficulties involved in reaching an agreement on this matter, they had hoped for more progress. However, they were encouraged by the unilateral declarations some states had made in this connection and on the non-use of BCW against other states. They likewise appreciated the steps the President of the United States had taken to have the Geneva Protocol ratified. Norway hoped that the discussions at the General Assembly would contribute towards a greater consensus on the prohibition of the development, production and storage of BCW, which should provide new impetus for further progress in the CCD.

43. On Item 30 - Suspension of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests - he said that his Authorities considered it important to continue the studies on the technical problems, whatever positive results were awaited from the SALT discussions. International co-operation in detection seismology might be of considerable assistance in paving the way for an extension of the Test Ban Treaty to include underground nuclear explosions. His country had accordingly made a positive reply to the Questionnaire by the United Nations Secretary General on seismic stations and data. It was hoped that the Norwegian seismic array established with the assistance of the United States would be fully operational at the turn of the year and prove its value for seismic detection. His Authorities appreciated the Canadian Government's efforts to analyse answers to the United Nations Questionnaire and evaluate the possible results of international co-operation in seismic detection.

44. On Item 37 - Peace-Keeping Operations - he noted with satisfaction that discussions in the Committee of 33 were now making some progress after many years of stalemate and might prepare the way for more substantial action later on.

45. The Norwegian Government had welcomed the constructive Canadian proposal for the improvement of United Nations procedures and hoped that it would be given broad support in the General Assembly. In conclusion, he said that his Authorities were concerned about the future of the International Labour Organization. After thanking the United States Representative for his explanations, he said that his Government proposed to raise this question in Washington.

46. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE said that the Federal Republic's position regarding the procedures and activities of the United Nations was basically the same as that described by Mr. de Palma. Referring to Item 88 of the Agenda: "Consideration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", he said that, apart from the fact that his Government shared its Allies' general interest in this project, it was anxious that in the formulation no reference should be made to Articles 52 and 107 of the United Nations Charter in connection with a ban on the use of force. He felt that the version worked out in Geneva did not

meet this wish. However, since there was little chance of altering the wording during the 25th General Assembly, and in view of the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty, his Government was prepared to accept it. In so doing, it would explain its point of view, to the effect that no provision of the Charter or of the principles of peaceful co-operation could be interpreted restrictively to the detriment of the Federal Republic. If necessary, it would ask its Allies to give appropriate interpretations before the General Assembly.

47. Commenting on Item 92: "Declaration on Universal Participation in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties", he said that the Federal Republic felt that it was most important to go on countering the Eastern bloc's efforts to secure an invitation for the German Democratic Republic. He wished to take this opportunity of expressing his Government's gratitude for the friendly co-operation it had received from its Allies in this matter. It particularly appreciated their realisation that efforts to reach a modus vivendi between the two parts of Germany would be thrown out of gear if premature and ill-prepared decisions were taken regarding the international status of the GDR. It was still the firm policy of the Federal Republic that the membership of the two parts of Germany presupposed a settlement of the intra-German relationship. His Government, therefore, asked its Allies to reject all the proposals which were likely to be made at the 25th General Assembly seeking GDR participation in the activities of the United Nations, its agencies and conferences.

48. The GREEK REPRESENTATIVE said that his Government wholeheartedly supported the attempts which were being made to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. However, Greece could not agree to any solution which tended to ratify the "fait accompli", or to any unilateral move prejudicial to its traditional interests and rights in Jerusalem. He expressed support for the Western draft on the strengthening of international security.

49. On peace-keeping operations, his Government supported the action taken by the Committee of 33 and felt that the Committee's mandate should be renewed. On the substantive issue, he considered that the Security Council and the General Assembly were jointly responsible for safeguarding peace and that a special body should be set up to supervise the activities of peace-keeping groups. As regards disarmament, Greece could support the various proposals which had been put forward, subject, however, to the proviso that an iron-clad verification system could be established and that the collective and national security of the Western nations would not be jeopardised.

50. Mr. BONIFACIO DE MIRANDA (Portugal) said that he generally concurred with the comments made by previous speakers. However, there were two points on which his country took a different position: firstly, it did not want the 25th Anniversary celebrations to be on the same footing as those commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514); this Resolution had been adopted regardless of the legitimate interests of certain countries, especially Portugal, and was still controversial. Otherwise, his country would refrain from taking part in the Anniversary ceremonies.

51. Secondly, as regards the Declarations, and especially the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, he said that if a draft Declaration was likely to give rise to polemics in the Assembly, it might unfortunately highlight differences of opinion at the very moment when attention was being drawn to the part the United Nations could play in bettering international relations; it would be preferable to consider submitting a Resolution rather than a Declaration.

52. As regards the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, he felt that this would serve no useful purpose should it merely reaffirm the provisions of the Charter. Nor would his country be able to approve any version which failed to define certain basic terms, such as the right of self-determination, aggression, etc. For this reason, the present draft was felt to be unacceptable. From a general standpoint, he was concerned at the tendency to discriminate against some countries during the Sixth Committee's discussions on the principles of international law. This attitude was not in keeping with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Portugal, for its part, was prepared to support the efforts to make the International Court of Justice a more effective organ which could take its rightful place among the international organizations responsible for safeguarding law and order.

53. In conclusion to the exchange of views, the CHAIRMAN said that he would not attempt to sum up the very exhaustive statements that had been made but that he would rather confine himself to outlining the main topics which had emerged in discussion(1).

(a) General Declarations to be made during the Session

(i) Celebration of the 25th Anniversary

- Questions of procedure:

Formal commitments by Heads of Governments should be avoided if possible. Approval by acclamation preferable if possible.

(1) Issued separately as PO/70/418

- Questions of substance:

Every effort should be made to keep the commemorative and uncontroversial character of such declarations.

Portugal opposed to the celebration of the 25th Anniversary being linked to the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of Resolution 1514(XV).

(ii) Strengthening of International Security

All speakers had expressed their support for the Western draft.

(iii) Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations between States

- The United States had expressed their preference for obtaining an approval by consensus in the appropriate Committee rather than by vote in the Assembly.

- The German Delegation had referred to its special position with regard to Articles 52 and 107 of the United Nations Charter.

(iv) Declaration on Universal Participation in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

- The German Delegation had pointed out that admission of the GDR still presupposed an intra-German settlement.

- Portugal had expressed its concern about the present draft.

(v) Modification of the United Nations Charter

There was a general consensus that no substantial revision of the Charter as a whole should be attempted, and that a Committee of Wise Men should be set up to suggest improvements in procedures, possibly leading to some amendments to the Charter.

(b) Specific Issues

(i) Peacemaking Process

The need for a revision of the present methods of the Security Council was stressed by the United States, in order to avoid sterile controversies and help genuine settlements of disputes.

(ii) The International Court of Justice

Attempts were to be made to give this institution a new impetus.

(iii) Middle East

It was generally agreed that discussions in the General Assembly should be avoided and that the Jarring Mission should be supported. Special competence of the Assembly on UNWRA should be maintained. The financial problems of UNWRA had been mentioned by one delegation.

(iv) Namibia

Although some delegations held special positions, there seemed to be no strong disagreement among NATO members.

(v) Peace-keeping Operations

The continuation of the Committee of 33 was generally supported. The US Delegation clearly explained the difference of approach between US and USSR, US opposing veto on non-substantial questions, and supporting a power of decision of the Secretary General following consultation.

(vi) Budgetary Matters

The need for a revision of the present budgetary trends of the United Nations and its specialised agencies had been mentioned by the United States and Canada, with a view to reduce or contain expenditures.

(vii) ILO

The United States position about suspension of part of its contribution in view of the dangerous trend of the ILO policies had been explained - comments and recommendations for preserving the rôle of this Organization were made by Canada, Norway and Italy.

(c) Disarmament

Several questions were raised in this connection:

- SALT; countries other than NATO members should be informed;
- MBFR; allied positions should be stressed; (on both, Canada had asked that statements be made at the General Assembly);

- Sea Bed draft Treaty;
- trade in conventional weapons;
Denmark and the Netherlands had expressed their position on a possible initiative;
- complete disarmament, comprehensive approach (mentioned by Italy);
- chemical and biological weapons;
no substantive conclusion was expected or desirable at the General Assembly. Effort would be made so that the CCD could continue its useful work.

(d) Law of the Sea

In this connection, the new project sponsored by USSR, Syria and Bulgaria on the breadth of the territorial waters had been mentioned.

(e) Election of the five non-permanent members of the Security Council

A request for support for the candidature of Italy and Belgium had been made by Italy.

54. The COUNCIL:

took note of the above statements.

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II. DATE OF THE NEXT MEETING

55. Wednesday, 16th September at 10.15 a.m.

NATO,
1110 Brussels.