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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 25

Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): The introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization provides us with an excellent basis for the discussion of the item on today's agenda: strengthening the role of the United Nations. The main theme of the Secretary-General's introduction is emphasis on the need for new ideas to deal with the increasing number of problems that are new in scope and character, or, in the words of the Secretary-General:

"If the United Nations is to become the organization which the Governments and peoples of the world require . . . we have to make a continuous effort to assess the challenge of the radical changes in the world, to make the necessary adjustments and, where needed, to develop new machinery and methods." [A/9001/Add.1, p. 2.]

2. It is this assessment that we must undertake: we must analyse the changes that have occurred; we must seek to clarify the tasks with which we are faced as a result of these changes; we must draw up guide-lines of how these tasks can best be carried out; and, finally, we must examine in what context these problems can best be solved on a global or regional basis. The United Nations and its specialized agencies will play a central role in this assessment because of the increasingly world-wide character of the new problems.

3. The main purpose of the United Nations today, as in the past, is to secure peace in the world. There are many who criticize this Organization for its performance in this respect; this criticism is unjust. The United Nations has no physical means of coercion at its disposal; the Organization cannot, as has often been pointed out, be more than what the Member States themselves want it to be.

4. The Middle East war has again brought to the fore the question of the ability of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. It is important that we try to strengthen the Organization's capacity to act effectively in its role as guardian of peace and security. The United Nations peace-keeping operations must be put on a firmer and more permanent organizational basis. In view of the well-known difficulties that the Organization has encountered in this field and that have also been demonstrated in connexion with the latest crisis in the Middle East, I believe it would be of great significance if as many countries as possible would establish stand-by forces, earmarked for the United Nations and put at the Organization's disposal in crisis situations at short notice.

5. It is also important that the Member States give careful thought to how we can ensure the most effective decision-making process in the planning and implementation of peace-keeping operations under United Nations auspices. I do not believe that we can achieve this without strengthening the role and the authority of the Secretary-General to a certain degree. We should realize, however, that it would not be realistic to assume that the United Nations can fulfil its peace-keeping responsibilities without a sufficient degree of support and agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council.

6. The view has been expressed that the abolition or modification of the veto of the permanent members of the Security Council is the key to the strengthening of the United Nations and of its ability to act. We must, however, face the fact that it would be unrealistic to expect that such a change could be achieved today or in the foreseeable future. We have a right, however, to expect the permanent members to display a sense of moderation so far as the use of the veto is concerned and also to expect them to show the necessary will to accommodate their particular interests, when this is necessary to enable the United Nations to act.

7. The Middle East war has not only raised the question of the role and the responsibility of the great Powers but has also focused attention on their future relationship with the United Nations. The United Nations Charter stipulates that the permanent members must concur before the Security Council can act in a conflict situation. At the same time the permanent members have a special responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. The war in the Middle East represented a potential danger for a great-Power confrontation; however, the Middle East crisis led to bilateral contacts and co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union to end the war.

8. The very fact that the great Powers consult among themselves, as they did during the Middle East war, to bring

about the cease-fire, is not contrary to the principles and the purposes of the Charter. On the contrary, such co-operation among the great Powers strengthens the ability of the United Nations to act, even though we all agree that the other Members of the Organization should retain the largest possible degree of influence.

9. It is important also that the great Powers should bring the United Nations into the negotiating and peace-keeping process when dealing with serious conflicts that threaten the peace and security of the world, not only as a rubber stamp on an agreement that has already been achieved but also as an active participant in the peace efforts. If that is overlooked, the long-term possibilities of the United Nations to work for peace and security may be undermined. Any tendency to exclude the United Nations from dealing with conflict situations could also have a negative influence on the behaviour of other States. We would then be faced with the possibility of a new power system in the world, based on direct co-operation among the great Powers outside the United Nations system and above the heads of other Member States.

10. The contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Middle East war demonstrate how the relationship between those two great Powers has developed during recent years. That development, which is the result of a conscious and deliberate policy, creates also a new situation for the United Nations and other States Members of the Organization. Norway, the country which I represent, has taken a positive attitude to this development. That is quite natural, taking into consideration the fact that Norway is an ally of one of the great Powers, the United States, and that it has a common border with the other great Power, the Soviet Union.

11. The events which have taken place in the Middle East in recent weeks have shown once again that confrontation between the super-Powers is more dangerous than détente and co-operation. I do not believe that it would serve any useful purpose to try to prove that the relationship between smaller and larger countries is inherently antagonistic. The super-Powers have a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace. That fact does not mean that we, the smaller countries, are interested in super-Power hegemony or in great-Power *diktat*. The danger of such a development is not avoided, however, by dissociating oneself in principle from the super-Powers or by subjecting them to constant criticism. Our task must be to link the super-Powers to the international community through agreements and various forms of co-operation or, to return to our agenda, to persuade them to use and to strengthen the United Nations.

12. I should like now to turn to another important part of the Secretary-General's report. I refer to the new and numerous tasks which face Member States. We should not underestimate the sources of international conflict which have been inherited from the past, such as the Middle East and other areas of crisis which we must continue to live with; but we should also, to a larger extent, become aware of the numerous new tasks which are so far-reaching and of such a serious nature that completely new dimensions will be given to international politics. Foreign policy is no longer merely a matter of relations between nations, it is also a matter of the relationship of nations and peoples to common problems.

13. That is the case, for example, with regard to the world's resources. Because of the ruthless exploitation of our natural resources we, nations and peoples alike, are now in the process of depleting some of the most important of those resources. In one field after another we may be faced with a shortage of available resources. The energy crisis which has developed in the wake of the Middle East crisis is but a forewarning of the problems with which we shall be confronted. We are faced with resource problems which concern us all and which necessitate global solutions within the framework of an international resources policy.

14. The question of developing an international environmental programme is also a problem which presses upon us because mankind is now in danger of self-poisoning. The total outlet of waste products is now approaching the limit of what our planet can sustain over a long period of time without seriously disrupting the ecological systems, which are of decisive importance for the maintenance of life on this earth.

15. Furthermore, we are confronted with the gap between the rich and the poor countries. That is not a new problem. What is new is the realization of how difficult it will be to solve that problem and the awareness that a solution will not be possible without changes in the international economic system or without drastic changes in both the rich and the poor countries.

16. Another question of how elementary human rights may be safeguarded will also be prominent among the tasks which we must face, not least as a result of the revolution in mass communications. An increasing number of people all over the world are becoming more conscious of their elementary human rights. Furthermore, violations of human rights in different parts of the world can no longer be so easily concealed.

17. As was pointed out by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report [*ibid.*, p. 5], the protection of human rights is a field in which the very creditability of the United Nations will be put to the test. We must accept that violations of elementary human rights concern us all. Violations of human rights are therefore of great concern to the world community as a whole, and not only to the country in which such violations occur. The United Nations is committed to working for the protection of human rights for all. In our view, the establishment of a special post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [*item 57*] would be of great assistance to the Organization in its efforts to protect and safeguard elementary human rights. Norway would support the creation of such a post.

18. I could continue in this enumeration of new tasks, or of old problems which have acquired a new urgency because of their increased seriousness. These examples are, however, meant only to illustrate or emphasize what the Secretary-General has stated in the introduction to his report [*ibid.*, p. 5] regarding the need for greater manifestation of political will on the part of Member States. The existing divisions in the world resulting from national, political, economic and ideological barriers have resulted in the past in making a more rational system of international co-operation difficult. The political will to make use of the machinery of the United Nations has been lacking.

19. What should be common to all these problems? These new dimensions of international politics are common in the sense that they all have global implications. The question is no longer whether one nation or one ideology can win over the other. What is at stake is that nothing less than the common interest of mankind in survival. For that reason, the new tasks or dimensions of international politics will transcend the traditional political, ideological and other dividing lines of the past. These new and complicated problems, therefore, represent a challenge as well as an opportunity. Because of their global nature and importance, they will force the nation States to develop the necessary political will to co-operate.

20. It is to a large degree a question of political will whether a machinery and an organization that already exist are used. However, as the Secretary-General pointed out in the introduction to his report to which I referred earlier, we also lack the necessary institutions to deal with these new problems. There is today a discrepancy between the tasks that lie ahead and the machinery which is at our disposal for their solution. Unfortunately—and this is serious—this discrepancy is constantly increasing. It is connected with the process of internationalization which the world is experiencing at the present time, a process which has been brought about by modern technology and science and reinforced by international trade, foreign investments and international economic integration. The problem is that the political authorities, the Governments, have not managed to keep abreast with this process. International machinery for control and direction have not been developed to the same degree, and for this reason we can observe that the possibilities of our own countries exerting national control are being reduced as a result of the development outside our own national borders. We can mention inflation as a problem. Inflation is no longer a national problem; it is a question of export and import. The same is the case with the interaction of national currencies. Furthermore, the fundamental problems of the developing countries are connected with the international economic structure or lack of such a structure. So the new responsibilities of the world community and the process of internationalization itself require a degree of international direction, control and machinery to which the world has not previously been accustomed. However, such international mechanisms for control and direction do not exist today or the existing instruments are not being used.

21. The United Nations has essentially two tasks to perform with regard to these new problems that I have touched upon. The first is to clarify these problems and make them known not only to those who participate directly in the United Nations organs but also potentially to the whole of the world. What is being highlighted, analysed and considered in the United Nations becomes a part of a common human view or concept of the world and might serve as a vehicle for communication between groups and individuals all over the globe that can reach each other because they have the United Nations as a common point of reference.

22. This task of articulating and analysing the problems is necessary to create the political will which will be needed to tackle the next task: to establish and to utilize the international machinery that will be necessary to enable the Member States to act jointly. An improved United Nations

and a better organized world does not automatically mean a safer or a more just world. It is, however, a decisive precondition for creating such a world.

23. What can the individual Member countries do to strengthen the United Nations? I can only answer for my own country. Norway is one of the smallest of the Members of the United Nations. The scarcity of our resources, in material as well as in human terms, sets very limited bounds to our activities and to our initiatives. We are very much conscious of this fact. On the other hand, we have the advantage of the whole-hearted support of the Norwegian people, and, furthermore, we know that smaller countries have in the past been able to play a role in the work of the United Nations. But we also know that this requires a conscious and whole-hearted effort.

24. I can assure the Assembly that it is the ambition of my Government—with the full backing of the Norwegian people—to contribute to the best of our abilities and resources to the strengthening of the United Nations.

25. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The United Nations is the embodiment of the hopes of the nations of the world for peace and justice. They consider it the centre where all States, large or small, on a basis of equality and individual sovereignty, combine their efforts to fulfil the essential task of the Organization, which is to maintain and consolidate international peace and security. There can be no doubt that this task is incumbent upon all States Members of the Organization.

26. The Romanian initiative at the twenty-seventh session and at the present session is a timely one, since it prompts us to consider the possibilities of strengthening the action of the United Nations in order to make fresh headway in the task of consolidating security and to develop co-operation among States.

27. There can be no doubt that this era is marked by profound transformations in the general deployment of the forces of the world as a result of the increase in the forces of peace, independence and progress. The international situation has been characterized by the strengthening of tendencies favourable to peace in the regions of the developed world, whereas in other regions there are still centres of tension and war, which are aggravated by a growing deterioration in economic conditions in the developing countries.

28. That is why we must regard as an appreciable success for the forces of peace in the world the present strengthening of East-West détente and the progress which has been achieved towards the settlement, in Europe, of the problems inherited from the Second World War. The fears aroused by the nuclear peril, as well as the will of peoples, tend more and more to make dialogue prevail over confrontation.

29. But while East-West détente has progressed, the direct confrontation of peoples with colonialism, discrimination and *apartheid*, foreign domination and occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism remains an irrefutable reality of our times.

30. Peace is far from being assured throughout the world, as is illustrated by the situation prevailing in Indo-China,

despite the Paris Agreements and the halting of American bombings in Cambodia, in the Middle East, where prospects are continually deteriorating, in Africa, where there is an obvious recrudescence of colonial wars of extermination and all sorts of aggression against independent States, and in Latin America, where colonial situations still exist and where imperialism is multiplying its intrigues against the sovereignty and security of States.

31. The situation of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, who are exposed to the most serious forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction by the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism with the political, economic and military support of the Governments of certain Western countries and of international capital, threatens international peace and security, defies the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and constitutes an obstacle to co-operation among all nations. Furthermore, the colonialist and racist régimes which hold sway in that region constitute a direct threat to the free development of all the countries of Africa.

32. We can be quite certain that as long as colonial wars and *apartheid*, imperialist aggression, foreign domination and occupation and the policy of violence, economic exploitation and plunder are rampant, peace will be limited in principle and in scope. In a world in which, side by side with a minority of wealthy countries, there is a majority of poor countries it is dangerous to accentuate that division by limiting peace to the prosperous areas of the planet while the rest of humanity is constantly doomed to insecurity and the law of the strongest. Peace is indivisible. It cannot simply be reduced to shifting the area of confrontation from one part of the world to another, nor can it be reconciled to the persistence of tensions which one seeks to eliminate elsewhere. Détente would be precarious indeed were it not to take account of the interests of all countries.

33. There exists in the world another case which jeopardizes international peace and security and endangers the role of the United Nations. I refer to the situation in the Middle East, which remains particularly disquieting. The persistence of Israel in its policies of aggression, expansion and annexation and its policy of oppression of the inhabitants of the territories it occupies by force have led to a new war, the war of 6 October, and constitute a challenge to the international community, the United Nations, the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a threat to international peace and security. It will be possible to find a solution in the Middle East only after the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people have been recognized and there has been a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories. Otherwise, that region will remain a trouble spot posing a dire threat to international peace and security.

34. Thus, the main role to be played by the United Nations, and one very closely linked to the strengthening of the international role of the Organization with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, is in putting an end to colonial domination, foreign occupation, racist régimes, and colonialism wherever it may still be found.

35. The strengthening of international security is an integral part of the programme of action designed to bring about peace and security for all peoples and all countries. The realization of that goal is possible only through the construction of an international security that embraces all parts of the world and is equal for all peoples and countries. The creation of zones of peace and co-operation in the various regions of the world on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter would be likely to reduce tension, to eliminate foreign military presence, to promote peaceful co-operation among the countries concerned and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security.

36. The second area in which the United Nations could and should seek to score a major success, in the interests of peace and in order to strengthen its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, is the field of economics and development, because international security can be complete only if it involves an economic dimension whereby all countries are guaranteed the right to implement their development programmes safe from economic aggression and any other form of pressure.

37. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the continuing deterioration in economic conditions in the developing countries, which see the gap separating them from the industrialized countries ceaselessly growing. The efforts that have been undertaken in the context of the first United Nations Development Decade and during the first few years of the Second Development Decade have not led to any noteworthy results.

38. We could explain the growing aggravation and deterioration of the situation of the developing countries by the ever-increasing attacks against the sovereignty of States, the neo-colonialist exploitation of developing countries, particularly by transnational corporations, the fact that their internal structures continue to be inadequate and, finally, the reservations and restrictions of certain industrialized countries regarding the implementation of the Development Strategy. In order to create conditions making for genuine development, the United Nations should take all steps to put an end to any form of foreign domination and exploitation and proclaim the right of States to recover their natural resources and to proceed to utilize them for the benefit of their peoples in the context of a freely chosen development system.

39. The present conditions under which the United Nations functions do not always correspond to new international realities, and thus do not make it possible for the Organization fully to accomplish its mission in favour of peace and development.

40. In order to ensure the effectiveness of the United Nations and to enhance its authority, my delegation would like to emphasize the need for the Organization to be improved. In that connexion, the Security Council, the organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should not be prevented from exercising all the responsibilities vested in it by the Charter. My delegation considers it essential that unambiguous and effective decisions and resolutions should be adopted by the United Nations bodies concerned and that

respect for such decisions and resolutions should be ensured.

41. That is why the most important prerequisite for strengthening the role of the Organization is the firm intention of all Member States to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the principles it lays down, foremost among which should be the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It is a well-known fact that some Member States, often in order to further their own interests, have overtly departed from the purposes and principles of the Charter they pledged themselves to defend. The General Assembly, which is the world parliament and the most representative of all United Nations bodies, has the potential and the means to stop any State which violates the principles of the Charter and the rules of law, whatever support and encouragement the offending State may receive from a powerful Member of the United Nations. The resolutions of the General Assembly, which are a reflection of the will and aspirations of the community of nations, should therefore be respected and applied with more vigour and more determination.

42. In accordance with the observations I have made and the views I have expressed, my delegation appreciates the significance of, and the ideas contained in, draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1, which has been sponsored by 37 Powers. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution, which we hope will be unanimously adopted by the members of this Assembly.

43. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Greece, a country that is strongly attached to the principles of the Charter, has always made a point of contributing constructively, on a bilateral, multilateral or regional basis, to every initiative aimed at the safeguarding of peace, the strengthening of international security, the development of co-operation among Member States, and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States.

44. In this context, my delegation was gratified at the initiative taken by Romania at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and became a co-sponsor of the Romanian draft resolution on the strengthening of the role of our Organization in international life, which, with the strong support of other Member States, was finally adopted unanimously as resolution 2925 (XXVII).

45. That resolution and the discussions on it clearly demonstrated the urgent need for Member States to endeavour to make the required improvements in the activities of United Nations organs, so that our Organization might become an international forum capable, with the active participation of all countries, great and small, of keeping pace with the problems relentlessly posed by the realities of our time. Recent events in the Middle East have illustrated that our Organization must cease to be caught unawares or be overtaken by events, and that, on the contrary, it must be in a position promptly to canalize such events towards solutions consistent with the principles of the Charter.

46. The Charter still remains the only appropriate legal framework for the achievement of the above-mentioned purposes. Its messages of peace, freedom and justice are valid not only for our generation but also for the generations

to come, and they should remain our point of departure for any readaptation or modernization of the machinery of our Organization; for our Organization's role should no longer be reduced to that of an academic observer, or of a silent and impotent witness.

47. My delegation therefore feels that our first task should be to identify the gaps and failings of our Organization, in order to render more effective the machinery provided by the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes. This involves the very essence of our aim, the realization of which presupposes on our part, first, the will to discharge our international obligations and to act on the decisions, proclamations or resolutions already adopted; secondly, a willingness to set aside every consideration of political, economic or geographic opportunism likely to interfere with the constructive criticism of any draft resolution that is either entirely or partly at odds with the rules of international law and the principles of the Charter; thirdly, the courage to nip in the bud any draft resolution aimed at the exploitation of political situations, to which a so-called technical majority attaches growing importance in order better to conceal its opposition or indignation. Such resolutions, which as a rule are lacking in the required elements of equity and consensus, remain dead letters and not only prove useless in remedying the situations involved but, on the contrary, actually contribute to their deterioration.

48. It is, moreover, imperative that identification of the ways and means of strengthening the role of our Organization be accomplished in the full knowledge of all the facts and through prior acceptance of the fundamental duties of every Member State. Our determination to preserve international peace and security would serve our purposes only to the extent that it is founded on strict respect for the principle that our rights run parallel to our obligations, both to ourselves and to others.

49. Any effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations must first of all rest on the right of every State, first, to exist in freedom, independence and sovereignty; secondly, to choose and develop freely its political, economic and social system in accordance with the needs and interests of its people; thirdly, to defend itself, with all the means provided under the Charter, against any attack on its sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity, or on its social, political or economic system; and, fourthly, to choose, with no interference from outside, its own alliances, and to participate, on a footing of equality, in the consideration of solutions to any international problem of common interest.

50. The inalienable rights I have just listed could not, however, serve our cause if they remained divorced from the corresponding obligations of all member States of the international community, which are, first, the obligation not to intervene, on any pretext whatsoever, in the internal affairs of another State; secondly, the obligation to refrain strictly from all political, economic or military interference, and from the use or threat of force against one or more other States; thirdly, to settle any international dispute by the peaceful means provided in the Charter, within the framework of the rules of international law governing relations among States; and, fourthly, to co-operate in good faith with other States in order to fulfil commitments already undertaken in connexion with the maintenance of peace, the

strengthening of security, and the promotion of economic progress and cultural exchange among peoples.

51. In conclusion, allow me to recall here that my delegation on various occasions has submitted practical proposals that are very closely linked with agenda item 25. In this connexion, I should like in particular to mention: first, our suggestions on the question of the organization and procedures of the General Assembly, included in a document of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the General Assembly;¹ secondly, our contribution to the consideration of item 51 of the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, on the question of the importance for effective guarantee of human rights of universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; thirdly, our views on efforts aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of the Security Council, the principal organ of our Organization, so that it may be able to carry out its mission—an aide-mémoire was submitted in this regard to the Secretary-General in our note Number F.6120-6/AS634, dated 10 May 1973, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2864 (XXVI) and 2991 (XXVII); fourthly, our constructive co-operation concerning a global study on the different aspects of peace-keeping operations, co-operation that is clearly reflected in a working paper of 23 January 1973 of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.²

52. My delegation represents a country that forms part of a group of States which believe that our Organization should remain the indispensable centre for the harmonization of the acts of nations and the primary instrument for peace and development.

53. It is in this spirit that Greece emphasizes the imperative need for every Member State to show political foresight by automatically fulfilling the obligations already assumed upon acceptance of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII). We hope that all States will give collective proof of their determination to strengthen the role of the United Nations through concrete acts, which henceforward would be better reflected in the consensus of opinions and aspirations of all Members of the United Nations. We trust, finally, that resolution 2925 (XXVII) will not remain a pious hope like so many other declarations, but that it will make a positive contribution to the survival of our Organization. At a time when we are faced with a syndrome of justified defeatism and frustration, when only too often we witness the spectacle of the General Assembly speaking to deaf ears, it is comforting to note that there are States which, in spite of everything, retain their optimism and their confidence in the effectiveness of the United Nations and in a better future.

54. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): It is significant that, a few weeks before the close of our work here, we are coming back, not to a second general debate, but rather to a reaffirmation of the purposes and principles which have essentially inspired the speeches made by various heads of delegations, this time provoking a genuine effort at self-searching in the face of new contingencies and the limitations which continue to be imposed upon us by the Charter.

¹ See document A/AC.149/L.5/Add.1.

² See document A/AC.121/L.18.

55. Discussion of item 25 is justified by the doubts that we feel concerning the actual extent of the role of our Organization in defending the collective interests of the international society and the state of relations among the members of that society.

56. No one can deny that the Organization is interested primarily in maintaining peace and security, those being the fundamentals on which our society rests, as we willed them to be by renouncing the use of force. Nor can anyone deny that up to now we have not been able effectively and absolutely to maintain peace and security, to avert threats to peace, to prevent acts of aggression or to bring about the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

57. The blame, if blame there be, is borne either by the Organization itself, that is, the aggregate of Member States, or by certain Member States individually. But since institutions cannot really be fundamentally questioned, the Organization obviously cannot go beyond the actual will of its Members; furthermore, we cannot agree that the Organization should in any way become the instrument of a particular State, or of some States, or of a group of States. It follows, therefore, that the responsibility is both collective and individual. It is collective because we have to envisage actions acceptable to all in the context of the Charter, and individual because no State can feel that it is not itself concerned.

58. We might survey at leisure the provisions of Chapters VI and VII of the Charter, the powers of the Security Council, the subsidiary powers of intervention which are held by the General Assembly on questions of peace and security. That might help us to circumscribe and understand the role of the Organization, but it is not enough to make this role effective or to strengthen it. From time to time, we are gratified, though perhaps our gratification is tinged with bitterness, at the fact that important agreements have been concluded or prepared outside our Organization. In cases where these agreements are really part and parcel of the promotion and defence of collective interests, the international community may rejoice, although the Charter does not recognize that any State or group of States has any special international role.

59. Despite the principle of equality of States, it must nevertheless be agreed that capabilities, contributory roles and responsibilities vary from State to State, and sometimes from region to region. This, of course, does not mean that the majority of States have to renounce the idea of participating as equal partners, much less that the Organization should be reduced to playing the role of passive onlooker.

60. Two problems, therefore, arise: first, how to democratize deliberations and decision-making processes; and secondly, to ensure that the Organization is utilized as the only appropriate forum for discussing questions relating to international peace and security. Otherwise, we might be tempted to think that the initiatives which have been taken and the results which have been obtained by one or several States, however laudable in themselves, are not directly of service to the international community, since it would be unrealistic to attempt, taking immediacy as a pretext, to transfer a solution which is valid in certain conditions to other situations where several elements depend on interests and priorities which are differently based.

61. When we refer to the process of democratization of deliberations, obviously we are claiming a right to participate in that extremely secret and silent process of diplomacy, but it must also be interpreted to mean that the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security cannot simply be reduced to ending a cold war between two previously antagonistic blocs.
62. For us in the third world, and I believe also for those who struggle at our side, it is equally important to ensure that we eliminate situations which have been engendered by imperialist intervention, colonialist adventure, neo-colonialist exploitation and aggression in general. These situations are an overt contradiction of the principles which are now familiar to us all and are supported by a large majority of States, namely, the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, reciprocal benefit, mutual respect and non-intervention.
63. I do not think that this is either the time or place to expatiate on these principles, but it must be recognized that no coexistence, no partnership, can be genuinely effective until the situations to which I have referred have been equitably solved and until the same principles which denounce them have been accepted, not individually but as a single and indivisible whole.
64. We may, of course, be told that similar principles of international law exist in the Charter, which we might well weaken, so far as its universal acceptance is concerned, by laying excessive stress on a correlation which might be questioned by minds which care about order and clarity. We in turn would argue that so far as principles are concerned there can be no order of priority and that what we have to do is not to single out possible conflicts that may exist but rather to seek and underline points of agreement. And it is precisely in that respect that the Organization has a decisive role to play. The Charter stipulates that the United Nations must be a centre where the efforts of nations are harmonized towards goals which they hold in common. Therefore, let us act in such a way that there is above all a genuine community of purpose and let us declare, without any quibbling or reservation, that all of us, whether large, small, or medium-sized nations, are prepared to combine our efforts. Two years ago we heard in a committee of this Assembly the assertion, which was advanced with all the seriousness of which a responsible Power is capable, that that committee could well take up questions which might be discussed at a subsequent world disarmament conference. At the same time, as if to substantiate that assertion, talks took place on the limitation of strategic arms and the mutual and balanced reduction of forces, outside the United Nations.
65. Furthermore, having induced the Organization to apply Chapter VII of the Charter, a chapter which certain doctrinaire minds consider to be nothing but an exhibit which should be placed in the museum of international institutions, another Power concluded arrangements which fly in the face of the principles recognized and accepted here in the United Nations, and will oppose our taking any positive action until it has been convinced of the inanity and the desperate nature of its initiatives.
66. Much is said about collective economic security. Each makes his own contribution to this in all good faith and in due form. The concept in itself is no longer challenged, but at the same time ingenious efforts are made to detract from the role which the Organization can and should assume in order effectively to implement that security and, in addition, to define impartially the economic rights and obligations of States in relation to that security.
67. Recently, in the Middle East conflict, solutions have been worked out and accepted in certain capitals, leaving the Organization with only the inglorious role of a registrar or steward.
68. We could cite endless examples without really serving our purpose, but we must admit that everything seems to indicate that there ought to be, over and above the United Nations, a system which would be favoured by all. We even have the impression that the Organization must weaken from day to day and be—this is not too strong a word—discredited in order to make it possible for that system, that new order, to prevail. And as if unfortunately to justify our apprehensions, we allow the United Nations to be deliberately kept in the strait-jacket of a Charter which some parties do not want revised at any cost, while instead we give the new order which is coming into being every opportunity, deriving from more responsible, more flexible and more thorough consultations, the very opportunity which is given to our Organization only most grudgingly and with great reservations.
69. Despite, and perhaps because of, their disillusionment, the non-aligned countries, twice in the space of a single year, have urgently appealed for joint action to improve the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for ensuring world peace and security, and in particular to seek appropriate reforms so that the Organization can be more responsive to the new international situation. It is in this context that the non-aligned countries were moved to declare at Algiers³ in their Political Declaration that “the tendency of great Powers to monopolize the Organization’s activities, to render it inactive or to divert it to their own private interests”, contradicts “the universal nature of the Organization” and reduces “its standing and prestige”. [*A/9330 and Corr. 1, para. 81.*]
70. It is not our intention to indulge further in recriminations. In the report which was prepared by the Secretary-General under resolution 2925 (XXVII), suggestions were put forward by Member States which show that our anxieties are shared regarding the need to safeguard the principles and strengthen the effectiveness of our Organization. They also show that our present and future deliberations lead us to hope that, after all, our apprehensions are unfounded. Our position is well known and we shall confine ourselves to recalling it briefly.
71. First, we must now go on to a more active and more vigorous multipolar system. Acceptance of this concept is the measure of the good faith of those who bear certain specific responsibilities. Secondly, the democratization of international relations is an appropriate but not necessarily exclusive way to stabilize the world order and to take account of new realities. Thirdly, the Security Council, the organ in which is vested primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should not be prevented from exercising all the responsibilities conferred

³ Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

upon it by the Charter. Fourthly, the Charter itself should be reformed—since the word “revision” seems to frighten some—in order to take account of the multipolar and democratic nature of international relations as they are now developing: two fundamental characteristics which should ensure better understanding and more effective co-operation among all nations. Fifthly, for our decisions to be respected, we must study the best way to make them acceptable, to ensure that they are better applied. In this connexion, we could envisage a decision which involves the principles of the Charter and other principles which we hold to be fundamental being declared mandatory, whether adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council or any other principal organ of the United Nations. Endless disputes about the nature of a decision, about whether it is actually a decision or simply a recommendation, and about what organ is competent to take a mandatory decision would lose some of their bitterness.

72. These are some measures, among others, but the essential problem still remains: so long as relations between States are not governed by the principles of equality, sovereignty, interdependence, mutual respect, non-intervention and reciprocal benefit, co-operation will not be normalized. And as long as the need for normalization is felt, the maintenance of international peace and security will remain, unfortunately, a delicate operation in which our Organization runs the risk of further discrediting itself.

73. In the final analysis, and to repeat what I said at the start, the responsibility for strengthening the role of the Organization in its prime function is borne by each and every State, particularly those which, in their past actions or even their present actions, have to a large extent contributed to creating an international society which is evolving swiftly and which requires our Organization to react in new ways. It is for the international community to ensure that the exercise of this responsibility by every State is carried out in a way which is harmonious and compatible with the interests of the United Nations.

74. This opinion is idealistic, even academic. It will encounter numerous difficulties in practice but, after all, is it not better to have a little hope and a little idealism in order not simply to fall back into organized anarchy? Our hope is that no effort will be spared, no way unexplored, to safeguard the living reality of the Organization, for that is a prerequisite, we believe, for maintaining both the principles of the Charter and other principles which we hold in common.

75. Before concluding, I should like on behalf of my delegation to pay a well-deserved tribute to the delegation of Romania, whose initiative in having item 25 included in the agenda made it possible for us, this year and last year, not only to have a very useful and fruitful exchange of views, but, particularly to give serious thought in a responsible way to what most of us think is in the general interest of the international community. My delegation, in this action which we consider to be a healthy one, can only reiterate its desire to make its contribution, which it offers in all modesty but without too many illusions about how it will be received and followed up.

76. Mr. GEHLHOFF (Federal Republic of Germany) (*interpretation from French*): The entry of the Federal

Republic of Germany into the United Nations falls squarely within my country's continued policy of working for a world system founded on the principles of the United Nations Charter. My delegation therefore welcomes the Romanian initiative, which seeks to strengthen the role of the United Nations with a view to the more effective realization of the principles of the Charter. The principles on which the Charter is based have meaning only if they are an integral part of the daily and concrete policy of nations. It is not by repeating the principles of the Charter that they will be better realized.

77. My delegation subscribes to the aims envisaged in the Romanian proposal. Those aims appear to us to be essentially the following: to maintain and strengthen the independence and sovereignty of all States and their right to self-determination, while preventing foreign interference in their internal affairs; to prevent and eliminate aggression, including any act likely to endanger international peace and security; to make full use of all the means available to the United Nations system and of the possibilities it offers us for settling international crises; to strengthen peace and security through the application of international law in relations between States; to avoid conflicts and to settle disputes by peaceful means; to enhance the effectiveness of the principal organs of the United Nations and their decisions within the framework of the Charter and to ensure the participation of all Member States in the efforts designed to strengthen the United Nations.

78. All of this presupposes that the principle of consultation and the principle of respect for opinions that differ from those of the majority shall be observed.

79. While endeavouring to achieve the purposes of the Organization's Charter, we are none the less aware of the fact that obviously the United Nations does not represent the only framework within which international policy is conducted. As a country which for many years had to conduct its foreign policy outside the United Nations, although in close contact with it, the Federal Republic of Germany knows from experience that positive actions can also be initiated and carried through outside the Organization. These may be either bilateral or multilateral initiatives, or regional or even world projects. Among the many possible examples, I shall confine myself to mentioning here the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the negotiations on the multilateral and balanced reduction of forces in Europe.

80. What appears to us to be essential is that the conduct of States should be in conformity with the principles of the Charter. As a new Member of the United Nations, we prefer not to express any views at present on how to improve the Organization. We believe that it is best for us first to live the life of the United Nations and to acquire our own experience before making comments which obviously might be too abstract.

81. However, in the light of the long experience we have acquired within the framework of all the specialized agencies and on many occasions as a voluntary collaborator with the United Nations, we believe we can say at this stage that it is the degree of effectiveness of everyday work that determines the practical usefulness of our undertakings.

82. From this standpoint, it seems to us that any effort to improve the order of things in the United Nations must in the first instance be directed precisely to those fields in which the United Nations is called upon to do useful work with a view to solving specific problems. We believe that this realistic approach to the question will enable us to embark upon the difficult undertaking of strengthening the role of the United Nations on the basis of justice and peace throughout the world.

83. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): My Government has carefully studied the views of member countries in document A/9128 and Add.1 on "Strengthening the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security..." and we find much with which we can agree. The United States is gratified that several States noted the urgent need to achieve agreement on guide-lines for United Nations peace-keeping operations. We, as other members have done, urge that greater use should be made of the existing means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including the good offices of the Secretary-General, a revitalized International Court of Justice, and the virtually limitless possibilities of quiet diplomacy practised in a spirit of goodwill and mutual compromise. Finally, we are in full agreement with all those who noted that the success of the United Nations depends primarily on the political will of its members to apply the principles laid down in its Charter.

84. Today's consideration of ways to strengthen the United Nations seems an appropriate occasion to call attention to a trend which is having just the reverse effect and which, if it continues, could seriously weaken the potential of the United Nations as an instrument for international co-operation. What I am referring to is a growing tendency on the part of this Organization to adopt unenforceable or impractical resolutions and to reject constructive, if limited, action in an effort to attain unrealistic "total" solutions.

85. The United States supports constructive international co-operation along regional, political, economic or ideological lines, inside or outside the United Nations. We realize that international co-operation must be based on the perception of mutual interest among like-minded States. We are also sufficiently familiar with parliamentary practices to know that an Assembly of this size can only function on the basis of such groupings, the composition of which will normally vary from issue to issue. We believe that group action can play a constructive role, as my Government was quick to acknowledge in the case of the contribution by the non-aligned members of the Security Council toward the setting up of a United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East. However, recent voting patterns within the United Nations lead us to consider whether or not bloc voting is now too often being used in a manner which raises serious questions for the future effectiveness of this Organization.

86. One concern is with the inclination of many United Nations Members to support one-sided or simplistic resolutions on complicated or contentious issues—resolutions which do not necessarily represent the weight of world opinion and which, worse still, have not the slightest chance of being effectively implemented. The United Nations is not an instrument for wish fulfilment; rather, it

should be a catalyst for effective action on world problems. Marshalling majorities behind unenforceable resolutions is a meaningless activity which discredits the Organization and brings ultimate frustration to those on both sides of the question who wish to see real progress on these difficult issues.

87. The case for a responsible approach to the issues facing this Assembly was most eloquently made by former Secretary-General U Thant, two years ago, in the introduction to his report of 1971 on the work of the Organization, when he said:

"It is futile to adopt recommendations which everyone knows from the start will have no effect. To adopt recommendations which are realistic, which are fair to all the interests involved, is bound to influence world opinion and to affect the course of events. The Assembly thus offers the smaller and the medium Powers not only a voice, but also a way of influencing the course of events far in excess of what was previously available to them. To really exercise this influence, however, the majority must make it plain that they will listen to both sides of a case and not only to the larger faction. The majority must prove that they will seek a realistic way out of difficulties rather than resort to condemnations or threats.

"It would be a grave pity if the smaller and medium Powers throw away their opportunity and fail to establish some collective credibility through a more realistic approach to what they can or cannot do."⁴

88. Another concern is with the willingness of some to stall or block United Nations action in areas where general, if limited, agreement may be attainable, on grounds of frustration with this Organization's inability to provide immediate solutions for more deep-rooted, sometimes more fundamental, problems which perforce require time for full and final solution. Progress on many of the great issues before us can only come about through the most patient, painstaking and thorough processes of diplomacy. Solutions of the smaller difficulties and problems we face are often stepping-stones on the road to solutions of the larger ones. We can only complete the journey if we are willing to take the necessary first steps. Each of us has a responsibility to help all of us move forward, to assist the world community in reaching a general consensus where it can, and to avoid destructive or dangerous contention where general agreement cannot be found.

89. The great power of the General Assembly lies in its ability to give expression to world opinion, to focus attention on problems, to point towards or to suggest solutions, and to help create a climate in which problems can be solved. When we adopt patently unrealistic positions, we discredit this Organization and ultimately we weaken further its capacity to face realistically the very problems we want it to solve. Each Member State, and particularly States whose security and influence are most served by the existence of a strong United Nations, must be alert lest through careless or thoughtless action we end by contributing to the whittling away of the prestige of the United Nations. And I do not omit my own delegation from this injunction.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, paras. 95-96.

90. Each nation remains responsible for its own actions, and thus for its own votes here in the United Nations. We have too often heard representatives privately admit that their delegation was voting against its own preferences and convictions on a given issue in the interests of one or another form of "solidarity". Sovereign States cannot so easily abdicate responsibility. Each of us must realize that others will judge us—and the Organization as a whole—by what we do in public, not by what we say in private. History will judge the United Nations by what it accomplishes, not by what it says it would like to accomplish.

91. The way in which the United Nations responded to last month's hostilities in the Middle East gives cause for optimism about its ability to function effectively even in the most difficult situations. I think we have all experienced a revival of spirit in recent weeks. If the Members of this Organization can agree on action, tentative and preliminary though it may be, on such long-standing problems as those of the Middle East and Korea, which are as difficult and contentious as any issues before us, then there is indeed hope that the United Nations may yet come to fulfil the dreams and expectations of its founders. It is particularly notable that in the instances I have cited all groups within the United Nations played their part in proposing and in supporting constructive United Nations actions.

92. Our present discussion on strengthening the role of the United Nations is another example of how reasonable discourse and constructive leadership can help to move this Organization forward. My Government wishes to express its appreciation for the sincere effort the Romanian delegation has made to focus attention on the central problem before us all: how to make the United Nations more effective in the real world; how to move it from rhetoric to relevancy.

93. We believe the Romanian delegation has made a genuine contribution to the evolution of thinking within the United Nations on those issues. My delegation intends to vote, despite a vagueness of language on some points, for draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1. We hope that each delegation will have time to study with care the many thoughtful statements that have been made here. Let us all profit from this useful exercise.

94. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): I should like to start my statement with a quotation from the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report of 1973 on the work of the Organization:

"The necessity for international—even global—co-operation on a wide range of human activities has never been so great or so urgent. Quite apart from the political and security-related challenges of our time, there is now a whole range of global problems which can probably only be dealt with effectively through institutionalized multi-lateral channels. This fact also fundamentally affects the future of international organizations". [A/9001/Add.1, p. 1.]

It is appropriate in this debate to quote those opening lines from the Secretary-General's lucid and thought-provoking introduction to this year's report as an illustration of the timeliness, and indeed the necessity, for our devoting again some of the Assembly's time to the role of the United

Nations in international relations. We are discussing that item against the background of momentous developments in world affairs. The improvement of relations between the great Powers, through the means of bilateral diplomacy, is of fundamental importance. My Government considers that there is every reason to welcome the desire of the great Powers to replace confrontation with dialogue. We, for our part, have supported all efforts to achieve détente, in whatever forums and fields, which might hold out promise for success, and we are anxious to continue to do so.

95. A factor of central importance to international security is, of course, the developments in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The détente in Europe, as expressed in the conclusion of the agreements with regard to Germany and the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, had as a prerequisite improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

96. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, bilateral agreements on the use of nuclear weapons and on political and economic co-operation, as well as the negotiations on balanced force reductions in Vienna are concrete manifestations of the growing understanding between those two great Powers.

97. The Swedish Government greeted that development with great satisfaction. But we have also frequently emphasized that agreements between the super-Powers should not be reached at the expense of the legitimate demands of other States to carry out an independent policy in their own interest. Not only the super-Powers but also the other States must have an influence on the international policy-making process if lasting peace is to be created.

98. The super-Powers, because of their considerable military and political potential, obviously play an extremely important role in international co-operation today; but precisely because of the influential position of the great Powers, it is in the immediate interest of other States to strengthen the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. Within and through the United Nations, Member States are able to present their legitimate interests and to exercise their influence on the creation of international co-operation. Recently, in the Middle East, the United States and the Soviet Union have exercised their political and diplomatic influence in order to help the belligerent Powers to formulate the conditions for the cessation of the armed conflict. But, when the stage of implementation and supervision of the cease-fire was reached, it became the task of the United Nations to assume the responsibility of making that cease-fire operational. It is difficult to imagine what other body or organization might have been instrumental in accomplishing that task.

99. The constructive role of the United Nations in the Middle East brings to mind the many proposals that my delegation, among others, has presented regarding United Nations peace-keeping activities. The importance of reaching agreement on forms and conditions regarding peace-keeping operations has once more been emphasized by events. If agreement could be reached on this matter, an

important step forward might be taken in the strengthening of this Organization.

100. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe demonstrates the possibility of peaceful co-operation in a regional framework. Such co-operation is in accordance with the Charter, and is to be encouraged. However, regional conferences on central security problems must be held within the context of a power balance, in order that they may not be harmful to minor Powers because of the domination of one big Power.

101. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, while having a clearly regional background, fulfils that condition. The success of the Conference would mean success for international peace and security, and for the aims of the United Nations. It is the firm position of my Government that the international détente should be manifested and confirmed in concrete action in the field of disarmament. We consider it important that the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should carry on their work on disarmament problems. The interests of all parties concerned are best taken into consideration in a broad international context. The role of the United Nations must be further strengthened in that field. Member States should provide the United Nations with adequate political and technical resources in order to provide the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with better possibilities for playing a leading role in disarmament efforts.

102. During its existence the United Nations has strengthened its role as a peace builder. The significant efforts to broaden international co-operation with regard to economic and social development are of increasing importance for the work of achieving a lasting peace. In a world of oppression and of social and political injustice the prospects for peace are poor. Governments must provide the United Nations with greater resources to support the struggle for independence and development.

103. Though they are not problems of the same magnitude or of the same far-reaching character as the ones just touched upon, I should once again like to bring to the attention of the Assembly the regrettable fact that the unsolved problems of financing the United Nations still remain and these are problems which have a harmful effect on many United Nations activities. Of course, this is something that is seriously hampering the activities of the Organization, primarily, of course, the functions of the Secretariat. It would be a very simple way to ease the heavy burden of the Secretary-General in his daily task and to strengthen the efficiency of the United Nations if we could get together and once and for all try to work out a lasting solution to the problems of financing this Organization.

104. The Romanian delegation deserves all praise for its initiative in having placed this item on the agenda. We must all stop and think. The result of the reflexion must be rooted in the Charter. It is the duty of Member Governments to respect the principles and the obligations imposed on them by the Charter. All Member States should make better use of the Organization. Together we must demand full respect for the decisions taken by the United Nations. By doing so, we shall strengthen the prestige and the capacity of the Organi-

zation, and that would be in the interest of all peace-loving nations.

105. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

106. I should like to conclude my statement by pointing out the fact that our world Organization has now come very close to the long-sought goal of universality. The accession of the two German States is of great importance in this respect and is something which we all warmly welcome. Only a truly universal United Nations will be able to make a maximum contribution to our common quest for international peace and security.

107. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1. We wish to thank its sponsors and we note with much interest that among them, together with European countries, are many new States. We wish in particular to commend the efforts of our friend, Romania, and our friend, Belgium, a member of the European Economic Community.

108. The affirmative vote of my country will restate the support we shall give to any text which stresses, in balanced and clear terms, the need to strengthen our Organization. The decision we shall take—unanimously, I hope—is not superfluous. We shall never say often enough that the United Nations is and must remain an indispensable instrument of the political work that is being done in the contemporary world.

109. Both the most powerful countries and the weaker and smaller ones, both the older countries and those which are acceding to independence and responsibility, are duty bound to accept the fact that the truths necessary in our time are embodied in the Charter of our Organization. There is no need to revise the Charter but we must definitely improve our work. Our community is and must remain the crucible in which we reconcile our interests, increase our co-operation and maintain peace and security. The French delegation is particularly satisfied to find, in operative paragraph 2, an appeal or rather a repeated appeal to all Member States inviting them to take full advantage of the means provided by the United Nations. We fully share the concern expressed in the last preambular paragraph concerning the insufficient use of the United Nations structure.

110. We must be very careful not to allow the pledges and hopes expressed by the founders of our Organization to fall into oblivion or neglect. Acts of faith are renewed yearly here by candidates whose admission helps to increase the universality of the United Nations. If only we could rejoice at seeing that expansion accompanied by a strengthening of our relations. The increase in our numbers does not entail the automatic improvement of our co-operation nor does it guarantee it. No ready-made majority can replace dialogue and, I would say, the endless flow of free and realistic discourse which is the very stuff of our Organization.

111. What I have just said about numbers applies also to power. No Power, however big, can evade the general law which compels us to engage in dialogue here, in our Assembly, in our Councils and in our Committees. We must also

beware of the insidious temptations to which the particularly big Powers may fall prey on the pretext that the multiplicity, inequality and divergencies of its Members prevent the United Nations from solving the problems of international politics. History teaches us that no durable solution of difficulties and crises can be found without the participation and consent of a representative world community inspired by a sense of justice that is not founded solely on the expedients counselled by rivalries.

112. I should like further to express my approval of one of the preambular paragraphs in the text before us. The fifth preambular paragraph reads in part:

“*Aware that the affirmation of a new course in international life, aimed at the establishment of an atmosphere of confidence . . . between States . . . requires an adequate strengthening of the role of the United Nations . . .*”

This statement appears to France to reflect faithfully our fundamental and, I believe, unanimous concern. We are all aiming at the establishment of a new atmosphere or, if you will, *détente*. We are working towards that end; France is working to achieve that purpose. We cannot say that this atmosphere already exists, that it is already established in all its novelty. It is, as so rightly put in the passage I have just quoted, our aim. The French delegation believes, as do the sponsors of the draft resolution, that the will to establish in the world an atmosphere of confidence presupposes, among other things, a strengthening of the role of the United Nations. To strengthen our Organization, to revert to and abide by all the principles of the Charter, to reaffirm all the powers and responsibilities of our Security Council, to lay the solid groundwork for our dialogues and consensuses—that is the path which our countries today must take. It was not a bad thing that the draft resolution before us should have given us an opportunity to recall such irrefutable truths.

113. Mr. PLAJA (Italy): I hardly need explain the reasons why the Italian Government attaches particular importance to the implementation of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) as they have been outlined in detail in the reply we have submitted to the Secretary-General, which is contained in document A/9128 and Add.1. All those who cherish the purposes and principles of the Charter and share the motives and objectives of the aforementioned resolution cannot but consider it of paramount importance to seek ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, to develop co-operation among nations and to promote the rule of law in relations between States.

114. The observance of the principles listed in resolution 2925 (XXVII) is undoubtedly essential for the maintenance of peace and security in full respect for the freedom of all nations and the independence of all States. Restraint from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; non-interference in the domestic affairs of States; the sovereign equality of States; the self-determination of peoples and the obligation of States to co-operate in respect of human rights—all, in the opinion of the Italian Government, represent the most rele-

vant provisions for governing mutual relations between Member States, sanctioned, as they are, in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*].

115. It is therefore important that all these principles, clearly considered as a whole, should be not only reaffirmed but also strictly applied by all Member States without exceptions or modifications arbitrarily motivated by particular political or geographical situations. The reaffirmation of these principles, whether in the framework of the United Nations or in other bilateral and multilateral instances such as those of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, is therefore only a first stage in the process of strengthening peace and security. A second phase, of no less importance, consisting of concrete efforts aimed at transforming these principles into practice so that they might eventually become legal standards of international behaviour, must follow.

116. Italy believes that in order to attain such an aim it is essential, first of all, that the obligation of all States to settle international disputes by peaceful means be put into effect. This means that Member States should strive for the development and strengthening of procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes within the framework of the provisions embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Statute of the International Court of Justice. That goal can be pursued above all by enhancing the role of the International Court of Justice and making its activities more effective. In this spirit it would, in our view, be desirable to increase to the maximum the number of Member States which accept the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court so as to establish a system based on the permanent arbitration of the Court.

117. As we have previously stated on many occasions, and as was lately reaffirmed by the chairman of the Italian delegation, Minister Lupis, in the course of the general debate [*2147th meeting*], we maintain that full respect for the Charter and the political will of States to apply it correctly represent the necessary premise for maintaining the effectiveness of United Nations action. We are also convinced of the need to keep that action, as also the United Nations system, under constant review in order to ensure that our Organization can successfully cope with all the problems of the international community, a community largely different from the one that emerged from the Second World War and one which must face completely new challenges awesome in magnitude and global in character.

118. From that point of view, draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1 falls, I may say, somewhat short of our expectations. We believe it would have been useful to indicate that the search for ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its efficiency should not be confined within too narrow limits. In this context, it is the view of the Italian Government that, since the maintenance of peace and security requires a global policy and the collective efforts of all States, we must ponder whether any change in the functioning and structures of the United Nations could better ensure the more responsible participation of small and medium-sized States in the decisions and tasks of our

Organization. In particular, they have to involve the responsibility of those countries which, irrespective of their military power, can make a substantial contribution to a global policy of international security inasmuch as they can contribute to the economic, social, humanitarian and cultural development of the international community.

119. In conclusion, I wish to express the appreciation of the Italian delegation for the constructive and commendable effort made by the Romanian delegation on a subject it believes to be of extreme importance for the very future of our Organization. The Italian delegation, sharing the motives and objectives of the draft resolution before us, will of course vote in its favour.

120. Mr. JAIN (India): Once again, and with added relevance, the item "Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States" is placed before the General Assembly for consideration.

121. In the view of my delegation, the time is indeed appropriate for the conducting of a review to consider how far, in the events of the past year, the United Nations has been successful or successfully used by Member States in the interests of co-operation and the furtherance of international peace.

122. Before going any further, I should like to congratulate the Romanian delegation on its initiative and its single-minded devotion to the furtherance of this worthy cause. Indeed, all States should with equal enthusiasm try to give practical shape to the idea of strengthening the United Nations. After all, we all recognize that the United Nations is not a world government which seeks to impose its will on Member States. It is a forum in which sovereign States, big and small, meet to consult and try to arrive at peaceful solutions to problems which otherwise, left to themselves, may cause conflagrations that would threaten world peace.

123. Looking at the world around us today, it is encouraging to see hopeful changes in great-Power relationships, and the climate of détente, however falteringly, has spread in some parts of the world. We welcome this development and hope that it will contribute to what the international community is seeking to achieve, namely, the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security and the development of just and equitable co-operation among all nations.

124. The non-aligned countries, meeting at Algiers earlier this year, welcomed the trend towards détente. In fact, détente is a goal towards which the non-aligned countries have always turned their efforts; it means the elimination of tension through negotiation and recourse of international bodies. In the Political Declaration of the non-aligned nations it was recognized that

"The present strengthening of détente between East and West and the progress towards the settlement in Europe of problems inherited from the Second World War represent important achievements by the forces of peace in the world. The fears created by the nuclear threat as well as the determination of peoples increasingly tend

to give primacy to dialogue rather than confrontation." [See A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 10.]

125. I would, however, utter a word of caution. Whereas this trend in itself is not unwelcome, and while the existence of the United Nations does not exclude bilateral discussion and the resolution of disputes directly, the tendency of the big Powers to settle matters—not merely of bilateral interest but also of vital importance to the entire world community—by direct negotiation without wider consultation, could create more difficulties and dangers than it might hope to solve through ready-made solutions. World peace is a concept in which all States, big and small, have a stake, and it is the right of all States to contribute to it in order to protect their own vital interests, instead of having solutions leading in that direction thrust upon them by the decision of a few, with the vast majority of other States being left as passive onlookers.

126. The United Nations provides the natural forum for the broadest possible participation in the adoption of decisions involving peace and security, justice and progress, and measures promoting greater co-operation, goodwill and understanding. To those sceptical of the United Nations system one could say, to use a *cliché*, if the United Nations did not exist it would have to be invented. To those who pin their hopes on the world Organization, with its growing universality, one should say that the Organization should evolve in a manner that will give it an effective and convincing role in the furtherance of the objectives of world peace and make it a genuinely representative voice of the world community. The Secretary-General, in the very interesting and thought-provoking introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, said:

"The United Nations will not develop through ritual public statements of approval and support which are not backed by inner conviction, realism and whole-hearted participation. If the United Nations is to become the organization which the Governments and peoples of the world require and which their problems demand, we have to make a continuous effort to assess the challenge of the radical changes in the world, to make the necessary adjustments and, where needed, to develop new machinery and methods." [A/9001/Add.1, pp. 3-4.]

127. In the general debate, many delegations expressed disappointment at the apparent ineffectiveness of this Organization. Indeed, there has been criticism levelled at the Organization from outside as well. It is for this very reason that a long, hard look at the Organization now, while we are discussing this item, is necessary and timely. The Organization is what Member States make it, and its strength or weakness rests on the co-operation, or lack of it, of all its Members. The Organization, formed a quarter of a century ago, has to face challenges and problems that were not envisaged at that time. The basic principles of the Charter, however, on which the Organization was founded remain valid even today: tolerance and coexistence, respect for international law, renunciation of the use of force as a method of solving disputes, and commitment to the social and economic advancement of the peoples of the world. To quote the Secretary-General again:

"It can be an agency for mediation and conciliation; it provides a recourse for the oppressed and a safety-valve

for the frustrated; it challenges even the most powerful States to account for their actions, and it permits even the weakest and poorest States to press their claims. . . . The ceaseless flow of United Nations activity in negotiation over the most difficult problems and in attempts to reconcile and adjust the differences of national policies and interests, quite apart from specific results achieved, compels Governments to turn their attention from domestic preoccupations to important and difficult international problems and to give continuous thought to one of the most important phenomena of our time—the increasing interdependence of nations.” [*Ibid.*, p. 3.]

128. I hope I may be excused, especially by the Secretary-General, for quoting so extensively from his introduction. However, I can think of no one more qualified to pronounce on the *raison d'être* of the United Nations and can think of no more succinct way in which to put forward these ideas. These statements, in fact, underline the importance of the United Nations to the big, medium-sized and small nations of the world alike—a forum in which all can and should participate on a basis of sovereign equality in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security, and in solving through co-operation common problems not only in the political and security fields, but in the economic, social and humanitarian fields as well.

129. This, however, should not mean that the door should be shut on bilateral negotiations and consultations; obviously, bilateral issues are best tackled at that level without losing sight of the fact that disputes in all the fields, political, social, economic or humanitarian, can have international repercussions. We are, all of us, aware that unless the Governments concerned desire it and actively co-operate, the United Nations by itself cannot be successful in dealing with disputes, and cannot impose any settlement on any State, however important to world peace the settlement of that dispute may be. It is the countries concerned that must actively desire peace and that should seek, where necessary, the assistance of the world body in the search for formulas to achieve that end.

130. In the past, the Security Council has played a vital role, not so much in the settlement of disputes, but in defusing and de-escalating problems brought before it. This has been amply illustrated in the recent tragic conflict in the Middle East, when all countries of the world, fearful of the spread of violence and the continuance of a wasteful war in the region, found that the Security Council was able to take certain steps to defuse and de-escalate the tensions. If possibilities of bilateral negotiation now open up for a just and equitable solution, we would welcome this as an important step towards peace in the area. The multilateral approach, therefore, does not exclude, nor does it conflict with, bilateral negotiations, but is a complementary way to peace.

131. Turning now to the draft resolution before us, which my delegation would be glad to support, we should like to make the following points. My delegation welcomes the reference in the fourth preambular paragraph to the “new steps taken towards achieving the universality of the United Nations” and the affirmation that those steps would “contribute to an increase in the capacity of the Organization to take effective action for the strengthening of international peace and security and for the development of international

co-operation”. My delegation has consistently held that only with the participation of all sovereign States, both with their voice and with their vote in the international process, can there be any significance and credibility to the decisions taken by the world body.

132. Realities, and indeed relevance to realities, must be recognized if international peace, security and co-operation are to mean anything more than mere words.

133. In their Political Declaration, the non-aligned countries affirmed that:

“ . . . the achievement of universality of membership in the United Nations is an essential ingredient for its effectiveness.” [*See A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 78.*]

We have consistently worked for and welcomed the growing universality of this Organization, and hope that the many millions who are still outside it and are capable, willing and enthusiastic to accept their rights and responsibilities under the United Nations Charter will be able to join it in order to make it a truly universal body.

134. Secondly, in the view of my delegation, the “problems” referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution should not be restricted to mean only problems relating to international peace and security, but should also include the social and economic problems which plague a large part of the world today. Indeed, political détente can have no lasting significance while large areas of the world suffer from economic deprivations, and the gap between the developing and the developed countries continues to widen. The non-aligned nations have categorically stated that :

“In a world where, besides a minority of rich countries there exists a majority of poor countries, it would be dangerous to increase such division by restricting peace to the prosperous areas of the world while the rest of mankind remained condemned to insecurity and domination by the most powerful. Peace is indivisible: it could not be reduced to a mere shifting of confrontation from one area to another, nor should it condone the continued existence of tension in some areas while endeavouring to eliminate it elsewhere. Détente would remain precarious if it did not take into consideration the interests of the other countries.” [*Ibid.*, para. 16.]

135. The developing countries have, for some time now, been negotiating not only for increased economic assistance from the prosperous countries, but also for increased participation in international trade and in the field of international economic co-operation. The entire gamut of international economic co-operation leaves much to be desired, and it is our belief that by patience and by perseverance within the United Nations, with the necessary political will and a recognition of the global interdependence of the world community, particularly in the economic field, the dangers of the increasing gap can be minimized, if not eliminated.

136. Last year, while speaking on this item, my delegation said that:

“ . . . there has been a recognition of the fact that there is a vast and growing gap between the developed and the

developing countries. This provides the rationale for multilateral programmes for economic and social co-operation carried out by the United Nations specialized agencies and organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank. The essential question, however, has been how adequate these measures are to assist the developing countries to bridge this gap within an acceptable period of time. The goals of development have been identified for long enough. What we lack is not knowledge but the necessary political will.”⁵

That, we consider, is a vital prerequisite for international economic co-operation and it is within the United Nations and its specialized agencies that this “political will” needs to be expressed.

137. My delegation feels that the concrete action envisaged in operative paragraphs 5 to 10 of the draft resolution before us is a definite step forward in the right direction. I have not touched on the many political problems which still affect the body politic today—the continuance of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, the continuing arms race in spite of détente, the fact that large territories of Africa continue to be under colonial or illegal domination in one form or another. These are well-known problems, and do not need reiteration. Yet many resolutions passed in the General Assembly are ignored. The action outlined in the draft resolution—a gradual step-by-step approach, through consultations—will, we believe, ultimately lead to constructive results and, in the process, strengthen the Organization and enable it to meet the challenges thrown up by the contemporary world.

138. Finally, I should like also to extend the support of my delegation to draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1. We look forward with interest to the report to be prepared by the Secretary-General, referred to in operative paragraph 10. We should like also to suggest that all Governments keep this subject under continuous review, as it is in our common interest that the United Nations continues to flourish as a strong, effective body, competent to deal with the problems placed before it from time to time.

139. Mr. SHARAF (Jordan): There is broad support, if not consensus, in the United Nations for the idea that the role of the United Nations should be strengthened in the organization of our international life. The vast majority of nations now believe that, despite frustrations and agonizing limitations, the philosophy and procedures of the United Nations are basically sound and practically indispensable for ensuring a certain measure of order and co-operation in international life. This realization is supported, not diminished, by a healthy realism, born of the experiences of the last quarter of a century, about the limitations and inadequacies of the machinery and political will embodied in the institution of the United Nations.

140. A starting point for any appraisal of the role and future of the United Nations must be the fact that, while the machinery of the United Nations can be improved upon in the interest of more effective and co-ordinated action, it is

not the structure of the United Nations but the character of our present international system which is basically responsible for our frustrations and failures in meeting the ideal. In other words, it has been the political will and willingness of Member States, in varying degrees, to support the principles and procedures of the Charter that have been less than adequate, if not sometimes contrary to it.

141. Having said that, I wish to outline some aspects in which the role of the United Nations must be redefined, redirected and expanded.

142. The international environment in which the United Nations now exists and operates is almost radically different from that in which the Organization was founded. This international environment, which must be deeply reflected in the structure, direction and scope of activity of the United Nations, is characterized by the following conditions.

143. First, the international Organization is no longer a small club of nations, mostly European in background and outlook. The world today consists of a vastly larger number of nations, representing different civilizations, cultural backgrounds and philosophies. The representation within the United Nations reflects a variety of concerns, preoccupations and aspirations.

144. Secondly, the concept of collective security, which is the central concept of the Charter, is overshadowed today by the overriding issue of collective survival. The realignment of international forces and the technological revolution in the weapons of destruction have introduced a dreadful urgency into the question of mutual coexistence, mutual accommodation and organized international control.

145. Thirdly, a new dimension has now been added to the philosophy and scope of international organization. The question of international development and economic co-operation has come into the centre of the work of the United Nations. A new horizon has opened up before the United Nations for the promotion and systematization of techniques, rules, institutions and ideas for international economic development and co-operation.

146. Fourthly, the world has come face to face suddenly with the serious prospect of the depletion of the resources of the earth and the problem of uncontrolled population growth. Moreover, the international community has now begun to discover new worlds, of infinite or almost infinite dimensions, beyond the earth or its undiscovered resources.

147. This international context is a deeply changed context for the United Nations. In its terms the role of the United Nations and its concerns and operations must be redefined.

148. Let me elaborate on some of the implications of this changed international environment.

149. The broadening representation in the United Nations, and with it, the introduction into the United Nations of different cultures, outlooks and aspirations, has had the effect of democratizing the world Organization. The hopes and agonies of the majority of the population of the

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2090th meeting, para. 47.

world must now acquire priority in the concerns of the United Nations. The United Nations is an Organization for peace and security. But it is also an Organization for change and human emancipation. Now more than ever the dynamic rather than the static elements of the Charter must be emphasized. The *status quo* is changing and must be changed. The process of decolonization is rapidly occurring within the framework of the interests of the United Nations. The issue of self-determination is in the foreground now and the problem of suppression of national self-determination is calling for the active attention of the United Nations. International peace and security is as much threatened today by colonial practices, *apartheid* and racial discrimination as by the conventional threats envisaged by the founding fathers. The efforts to achieve independence in form and in content by the smaller and weaker nations must be assisted and promoted. And the efforts by these nations to ensure international social justice, as much as international political justice, must be channelled and enhanced within the framework of the United Nations.

150. Closely connected with what I have just said is what I had referred to as the new dimension of international organization—international development. In the past decade the United Nations has found a new role in this area. This role has been important and rewarding. The international community feels now that assisting the developing countries to develop their resources and enter into a healthy and co-operative partnership with advanced countries is both a moral obligation and a practical requirement for a stable international order. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] is a rational definition of this goal. There is still a broad horizon open before the United Nations in this respect.

151. The area of collective security has been often defined and redefined by the accumulating experiences of our Organization. There is no doubt that specific Articles in the Charter provide the essential legal framework for peaceful coexistence of States and for the ultimate control and reduction of armaments, conventional and unconventional. The United Nations documents that are accumulating on the subject, the declarations and practical efforts in this direction are part of our international legacy which has to be broadened, deepened and translated into effective measures and concrete action. But as I said in the earlier part of my statement, our problem of collective security has been overshadowed by our problem of collective survival. The search for international peace is dominated by the fear of annihilation.

152. My delegation acknowledges the positive trend reflected in the agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons; the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [*resolution 2660 (XXV)*]. But the efforts to tame and bring under control the nuclear monster is only in its beginning. The United Nations has a long way to go and a large role to play in the process of ensuring human survival.

153. I referred earlier to the depletion of the world resources and the problem of uncontrolled population growth. These, and the discovery of new worlds beyond our own, are radical developments in the international society. Nations with super-technology and appropriate capability are better qualified to speak authoritatively and without presumption on this matter. All that my delegation wishes to register here is that the United Nations is the appropriate forum and arena for the debates and policy-decisions on these major issues that affect the future of mankind.

154. Let me stress one main point in conclusion. While the United Nations has a broad and versatile role to play in our international life, it is, in the final analysis, our only universal or semi-universal political institution. It is our world parliament and our over-all peace mechanism. We have no alternative for it and we cannot do without it. But it can and must be improved and made more adequate if it is to maintain the necessary credibility and confidence of our peoples and the ability to deal more effectively with world problems. This can be done only if a way can be found for the implementation of its resolutions and the continuing functioning of its organs, principally the Security Council, unhindered by big Power confrontations and negative votes. Legal formulas for revising the Charter procedures can be devised, but the issue is not one of law but of attitude and political will. Unless the Member States decide themselves to make the United Nations function, to implement its resolutions and impose its moral vision on world events and conflicts, no change in form or letter can strengthen the United Nations and its role.

155. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Romanian delegation in bringing this question before the Assembly. We support the purpose and aims of the draft resolution before us. We hope that other steps will follow in the effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the role of international law in relations between States.

156. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): My delegation welcomes the consideration of the item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in line with our firm conviction that the Organization should provide the essential machinery and forum to deal with problems among nations and to meet the growing needs of the international community.

157. My Government has always considered it necessary to assign a central role to the United Nations in every aspect of international affairs, and we deplore the marginal role occasionally assigned to it in relation to the all-important issue of international peace and security. Hence, with this conviction my delegation gave its support to General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations when this item was first considered by this Assembly, thanks to the constructive leadership of the Romanian delegation.

158. The growing relationships and interdependence among States have correspondingly increased the responsibilities of the United Nations. Such increased responsibilities require a clear strengthening of its role and a reassessment of the adaptability and adequacy of the frame-

work of the Organization in relation to these responsibilities. In this way, the United Nations can play a more useful and effective role in solving problems of global scope.

159. The world has undergone substantial changes since the founding of the United Nations in 1945. Along with these changes comes the inevitable need to strengthen the role of the United Nations to meet new challenges. Member States of the Organization have already made several references to the encumbrances of the United Nations which have not changed as rapidly as they should have. The distinguished and able Secretary-General of the United Nations in the introduction to his last report on the work of the Organization posed to all Member States the challenging question of whether States Members of the United Nations want an organization which is more than a conference machinery and a forum for the pursuit of national policies [*see A/9001/Add.1, p. 8*].

160. My delegation, for one, believes that the Organization should play a useful and active role in focusing international efforts on the solution of the most difficult problems facing mankind. The item under consideration mentions the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and consolidation of national security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of rules in international relations between States. In these particular aspects of the international dialogue we want to strengthen the role of the United Nations, to improve its machinery and framework so that non-use of the Organization can be overcome and increased reliance in the Organization can be achieved.

161. At the last policy debate in this Assembly the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, in alluding to the delay in improving the United Nations Charter, said:

“It is high time indeed for deliberations on the way to adapt our Organization more effectively to the increas-

ingly heavy demands that will be, and because of the inevitability of future history must be, placed on the United Nations.” [*2136th meeting, para. 103.*]

And he continued by saying:

“International peace and security, collective economic security, disarmament and universal human rights will always elude us unless the prerequisite commitments to common processes are firmly and finally made.

“It is with those considerations in mind that the Government of the Philippines has resolutely stood for the improvement of our Organization. I wish to make it absolutely clear that we have taken this approach for no ulterior motives. We have none. We have not undertaken it from ambition for a special place in the Organization. We have none. We have not undertaken it as the agent for any super-Power or for any nation other than ourselves. Our concern is simply to help bring our Organization up to the highest peak of efficiency and effectiveness achievable at this critical time.” [*Ibid., paras. 105-106.*]

162. The draft resolution before us, sponsored originally by 34 delegations and now by 37 [*A/L.713 and Add.1*], identifies some of the problem areas in the efficient functioning of the United Nations and gives the corresponding answers by which Member States should guide themselves if the Organization is to discharge its primary obligations. While it makes no reference to a well-considered review of the Charter, a position which we, together with many other delegations, have consistently supported, neither does it preclude such a review in appropriate ways and at the appropriate time. It is with these understandings that my delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.