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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

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 2090th plenary meeting, on 27 November 1972, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 2925 (XXVII) entitled "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". Paragraphs 5 and 6 of this resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

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"5. Invites Member States to communicate to the Secretary-General, not later than 30 June 1973, their views and suggestions on the ways and means of contributing to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life, including proposals for enhancing the effectiveness of the decisions and resolutions adopted by United Nations organs;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the basis of the views and suggestions received under paragraph 5 above, and of the debates on this item, and to submit that report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session."

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General on 29 January 1973 addressed a note to the Governments of all Member States, transmitting the text of the resolution and asking for their views, suggestions and proposals as requested by the General Assembly. The substantive parts of the communications received so far in reply to that note are reproduced in section II.

3. The Secretary-General hopes that the present report will be of assistance in the consideration of the item at the current session of the General Assembly.

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## II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM MEMBER STATES

### CANADA

/Original: English/  
/4 October 1973/

In 1951 the late Right Honourable L. B. Pearson stated that the United Nations provided a framework within which men of goodwill could work together for the coming of the day when the rule of law would replace the rule of force in international relations. Although that day has not yet arrived, the structure for it exists, in the form of the Charter and the United Nations family of organizations. It is a responsibility of Members to try to strengthen the role of the United Nations through maximum utilization of the structure, and the views invited under resolution 2925 (XXVII) provide a timely opportunity for examination of how it can be done.

The Permanent Representative of Canada, addressing the General Assembly on this subject on 24 November 1972, 1/ spoke of steps which might be taken to enable the United Nations to deal more effectively with the problems facing it. He referred to three different methods which have been tried. The first, of limited success, has been the hortatory exercise. The actual political usefulness and relevance of many of the declarations which comprise this method do not always contribute measurably to the objectives they profess to serve. There are certain conspicuous exceptions to this characterization, such as the Declaration on friendly relations 2/ and those on decolonization, but by and large the declaratory approach has not yielded useful results for the United Nations. Indeed, this method may well have results opposite from those intended. It has contributed to a public image of the United Nations which conceals its accomplishments under a flood of words. However necessary the hortatory exercise is for the organizations functioning by providing the opportunity to air all views, it has not always at the same time strengthened it.

A second approach has been by periodic efforts to reform and streamline the mechanical and procedural methods of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs. There have been limited successes in this area, such as the work of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly, which reported to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, and which did produce a number of concrete and useful results. But in the nature of things, this approach cannot by itself have far-reaching consequences. It quickly became clear, furthermore, in the course of the work of the Special Committee, that procedural reforms cannot be pursued very far before they encounter

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1/ See A/PV.2088.

2/ General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).

political and substantive difficulties which defy purely procedural solution. It is thus evident that "tinkering with the machinery" is not the recipe for strengthening the United Nations role.

The Canadian Government stated this view last year in its reply to resolution 2697 (XXV), entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations", as follows:

"The United Nations can be made more dynamic without rewriting the Charter; its effectiveness and vitality depend not so much upon changing the basic structure of the Organization as upon the political resolve of the Member States to fulfil the obligations and the responsibilities each has taken up in subscribing to the provisions of the Charter. In short, the effectiveness of the United Nations is directly dependent on the political will of its Members. No documentary revision in itself can be a substitute for that will; nor can it be shown that where the will exists the present form of the Charter has frustrated it." 3/

The third approach follows logically from the view that United Nations effectiveness depends on the political will of the Members. That political will, the essence of any strengthening of the United Nations, has to be translated into persistent and conscientious application to the day-to-day and year-to-year task of concentrating on the many specific issues which face the world community over many fields. In few areas have the achievements of the international community been reflected as clearly and as strongly as in the growth of the economic and technical assistance programmes which are administered by the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the specialized agencies and organizations. The sustained growth in these activities can be attributed to the wide political support for both their ultimate goals and their operation procedures. The development assistance activities of these United Nations organizations demonstrate that where consensus can be achieved on carefully defined programmes, significant progress can be made through the United Nations in forthcoming years. Other examples where the United Nations has played an effective role can readily be cited. The United Nations can be further strengthened by a new emphasis on well-designed programmes which are widely accepted in developed and developing countries in every part of the world.

The materials to apply to this task are all at hand: (a) a practically universal world membership; (b) a Charter which is sufficiently resilient to accommodate itself to most international problems; (c) an existing acceptance of the United Nations as the forum before which all the world's major problems are, or could be, brought; (d) a steadily increasing interdependence of nations ensuring that more, not less, multilateral consultation lies ahead. At each session the agenda provides a rough image of the needs and priorities of Member States in moving towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. As regards

these issues, even modest steps, providing they are rooted in the concrete needs and experience of Member States, if directed to practical and workable solutions, can lead towards the goal of a strengthened world community.

COLOMBIA

/Original: Spanish/

/20 August 1973/

Colombia considers that the general outline of this matter was set out in the reply of the Government of Colombia to the Secretary-General's inquiry regarding the review of the United Nations Charter 4/ and that, consequently, any additional suggestion or opinion would merely be a repetition of what has already been stated.

CYPRUS

/Original: English/

/6 April 1973/

The Government of Cyprus is of the opinion that the role of the United Nations shall be strengthened if:

- (a) Modalities are developed to facilitate and encourage the full implementation of the means and methods provided for under Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes;
- (b) Peace-keeping operations are put on a permanent and systematic basis in place of the present improvised arrangements;
- (c) Definition of aggression is achieved;
- (d) Agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter of the United Nations are concluded; and
- (e) Measures are taken to ensure, as a first step, the implementation of Security Council resolutions.

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4/ Ibid., p. 11.

FINLAND\*

/Original: English/

/11 September 1973/

The Finnish Government has consistently emphasized the primary importance of the United Nations as the main instrument for strengthening international peace and security and has therefore worked in the different organs of the United Nations for proposals designed to strengthen this Organization. The best guarantee for its effectiveness is, according to the Finnish Government, a universal membership strictly observing the principles of the Charter. Today when the membership is practically universal it is more than ever up to the Member States to abide by the principles of the Charter. Only thus can the effectiveness of the Organization and the collective security system, provided for by the Charter, be enhanced. In recent years it has become evident that international security must be based not only on political but also on economic and social independence and equality of Member States in order to create the right conditions for the development of a peaceful and rational world order.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security urges the Members to seek improved implementation of the means provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including negotiation, mediation, conciliation, good offices and judicial settlement. In this connexion the Finnish Government wishes to emphasize the importance of further pursuing the efforts to revitalize the role of the International Court of Justice.

FRANCE

/Original: French/

/10 September 1973/

The French Government demonstrated its interest in the study on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations by supporting General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) which was adopted unanimously on 27 November 1972.

During the discussion of the draft resolution, the representative of France pointed out that the United Nations was being sharply criticized in the world, in particular with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security,

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\* Besides the text reproduced above, the reply from Finland contained comments on General Assembly resolutions 2991 (XXVII) and 2993 (XXVII), which are reproduced in the respective reports of the Secretary-General: document A/9143 on agenda item 11 (Report of the Security Council) and document A/9129 on agenda item 39 (Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security).

which was its main task. Since that time, this criticism has steadily increased. At a time when the United Nations is nearing universality, after having once again this year increased the scope of its action in a remarkable manner, its effectiveness is, in fact, being questioned more than ever before.

Already last year a lack of goodwill seemed, in effect, to be the main cause of this weakness. It should be remembered that the United Nations is made up only of the sum of the willingness and unwillingness of its Members. It is mainly from their increased awareness of this fact that it can draw the strength which it lacks.

The first and most pressing condition for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations is therefore, above all, the firm determination of all Member States to observe the Charter and the principles set forth therein, the most important of which should be the equality of rights of people and their right to self-determination.

However, there is another condition the need for which has become equally clear this year: it is the desire to utilize United Nations organs and the possibilities that they offer to the full in international life, and principally in ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security.

Recently there has been an increasing tendency to set aside the machinery of the United Nations and, in solving international problems - especially with regard to the settlement of conflicts - to turn to bilateral or multilateral negotiations in which, moreover, the parties involved are not always the sole participants. This overlooks the fact that such methods, which in certain cases have their uses, have all too often in the past also led to solutions of force and to the destruction of the independence of the smaller countries for the benefit of the larger ones. It also overlooks the great hope which, immediately following the Second World War, led people to entrust their fate to open diplomacy, subject to international law. In a world where this law is respected, the great Powers do have special rights, but, what is more, they have special obligations, the most important being to place their forces at the service of the international community through the Security Council.

The French Government, for its part, feels that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations involves, first of all, the strengthening of the role of the Security Council, and that that can be achieved not by reforming the structures of the Council but rather by fully implementing those already established by the Charter, and by utilizing the provisions of the Charter which have not yet been applied, specifically the Articles in Chapter VII concerning the organization of peace-keeping operations, with a view to providing the United Nations with the means to ensure that its decisions are carried out.

It is on this condition that the settlement of conflicts may become the responsibility of the entire international community, of which the United Nations is currently the only valid expression.

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IRAN

/Original: English/

/1 June 1973/

1. Iran supports the contents of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) on 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. In effect the support of the United Nations and the bolstering of its peace-making potential prominently figure among the guiding principles of Iran's foreign policy.
2. It is perhaps pertinent to recall in this connexion that Iran is one of the few Member States which - in the language of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) - have taken advantage of the framework and means provided by the United Nations for the solution of international disputes, a fact which was acclaimed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. 5/
3. While firmly adhering to the purposes and principles of the Charter and continuing to exert efforts - within the range of its possibilities - to strengthen the United Nations, the Government of Iran is nevertheless of the opinion that the causes behind progressive deterioration of the Organization's potency are far more complex to be effectively coped with by attempts in introducing innovations of an institutional nature. To make the Organization effectively discharge its responsibilities, a change in attitude - primarily of the great Powers but also of the others - is required.
4. Exercises such as the one now undertaken by the General Assembly are not however without certain inherent advantages: (a) by bringing into focus the underlying cause of the Organization's inability to cope with the problems of international peace and security, (b) by occasioning some improvements in the mechanism of the work of the Organization.
5. Proceeding from this assumption, and without in any way detracting from the importance Iran attaches to the responsibilities of the General Assembly in the field of peace and security, the Government of Iran is of the opinion that the Security Council - the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and security - should be the focal point of any attempt to improve upon the peace-making potential of the Organization. As a first step, the Charter provision embodied in Article 23, paragraph 2, setting forth the criteria for the election of

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5/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1 A (A/8001/Add.1), paras. 12-14.

non-permanent members should be meticulously observed. In this connexion the General Assembly might consider formulating appropriate recommendations to the Member States or to the regional groups as it may deem fit.

6. Periodic meetings of the Security Council at the ministerial level, with adequate preparations, in order to discuss general questions related to peace and security, can generate a healthy momentum toward restoring to the United Nations its role as the centre of harmonizing the activities of nations.

7. Without prejudice to its basic position on this issue, the Government of Iran does not believe that any restriction on the right of veto accorded by the Charter to the permanent members of the Security Council is either feasible or serves the interests of the Organization at this juncture. It however is of the opinion that this right should not be exercised in any manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

8. The practice of quiet diplomacy, employing the good offices of the Secretary-General as a disinterested third party, should be encouraged. Article 99 of the Charter, broadly interpreted, should enable the Secretary-General to take the initiative to inquire into situations that in his opinion might threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

ITALY

/Original: English/  
/1 August 1973/

1. The Italian Government attaches particular importance to resolution 2925 (XXVII) and shares its motives and objectives. This resolution urges the Member States to contribute concretely to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and towards guaranteeing more effectively a system of international relations capable at the same time of consolidating the peace and security and of protecting the right of every State and every people to sovereignty and self-determination.

The Italian Government fully adheres to those principles which regulate relations between States and the observance of which is rightly considered by resolution 2925 (XXVII) as the essential condition for the maintenance of peace and security, in full respect of the freedom of nations and of the independence of States.

These principles, reaffirmed in the resolution itself, are: restraint from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; non-interference in domestic affairs of States; the sovereign equality of States; the self-determination of peoples, and the obligation of States to co-operate in the respect for human rights. These principles, which are integrated with the principle of executing in good faith the obligations of international law, represent, for the Italian Government, the most relevant provisions which govern

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mutual relations between the Member States and which are sanctioned in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Italy shares the conviction of the need expressed in the resolution that all these principles, clearly considered as a whole, be reaffirmed and applied by all the Member States, without exception and without deviations or modifications arbitrarily motivated by particular political or geographical situations. It also agrees with the concept expressed in paragraph 1 of the resolution, according to which the strengthening of the role of the United Nations should essentially be aimed at establishing an organic system of obligations and guarantees for the prevention of aggression. From this point of view the rights of States to sovereign equality and to non-interference in domestic affairs and the rights of peoples to self-determination are those which the United Nations should be able to protect in the most effective way, making effectively operative the obligation of the Member States to refrain from the use or the threat of force in all of its manifestations.

2. The reaffirmation of these principles, whether in the sphere of the United Nations or in other bilateral and multilateral instances in which the obligation of States to consultation and co-operation is manifested and, above all, through important regional political initiatives such as those of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, appears to be the first and necessary phase of a process of strengthening the security aimed at the implementation and guarantee of international juridical order. The formal assertion of these principles and the new and responsible undertaking of obligations by States for their observance do not, however, exhaust, in the opinion of the Italian Government, the problems raised by resolution 2936 (XXVII). Of no less importance, in fact, appears to be the progress which still must be achieved, in practical terms, in the application of these principles which are intended to be legal standards of behaviour. Thus, the application of these principles must be guaranteed and the obligation of all States to settle international disputes by peaceful means must be put into effect.

Italy is favourable to the development and strengthening of the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes within the framework of the provisions stated in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

This goal can be pursued, above all, by reaffirming the role of the International Court of Justice and making its functions ever more effective and clear. In particular, a more clear and direct relationship should be established between the principle that States are free to choose the method for a peaceful solution of disputes as stated in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations and the statutory principle that disputes of a legal nature should preferably be submitted to the International Court of Justice. The objective to be aimed at should be to increase to the maximum the number of Member States which accept the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court in order to establish a system based on the permanent arbitration of the Court.

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Another important course of action which could be pursued in order to guarantee the legal application of the principles on relations between States should be that of recourse - in conformity with Article 52 of the Charter - to the appropriate mechanisms responsive to characteristic needs of specific geographical areas which would be provided for by regional accords to which the Member States would be party.

3. A more secure application of the principles on the legal level should be accompanied, however, by a strengthening of the machinery provided by the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance and restoration of peace and security, also in cases where the dispute has not been peacefully resolved and, therefore, a state of conflict has arisen.

More than ever before it appears urgent, in this context, that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations may submit concrete proposals to the General Assembly of the United Nations, while, in the opinion of the Italian Government, the opportunity to study modifications to the mechanism provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, with the aim of increasing the possibility of Security Council action in cases of need, should not be excluded.

4. The Italian Government is convinced, however, that it is impossible to resolve the problem of peace with an action limited only to formally reaffirming the principles of international good behaviour and to fostering a greater application of these principles when disputes and crises arise.

Italy has, in fact, expressed many times the opinion that peace and security should not only be defended in emergency situations and with emergency methods, but should be structurally programmed by establishing a universal system based on justice, and that is to say, through the progressive overcoming of economic, social and political inequalities which keep international tension alive. And it is precisely in terms of this strategy of international security, based on a manifold action of the United Nations for developing international co-operation in all fields and removing all causes of tension, that Italy evaluates the problem of strengthening the role of the United Nations.

As rightly stated in the preamble of resolution 2925 (XXVII), this role can be strengthened only if the greatest degree of participation of the Member States in the decision-making and operative structures of the Organization can be achieved. Since the maintenance of peace is not limited to restraining and repressing conflict situations but requires a global policy, the structures of the United Nations have to be open for all Member States to participate on an equal basis. In particular, they have to involve the responsibility of those countries which, irrespective of their military power, can give a decisive 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.

An updating of the United Nations structures, fulfilling these requirements of participation and distribution of responsibility and achieved in conformity with

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the principle of sovereign equality of States and in the spirit of a policy of programmed security, represents for the Italian Government the course to be pursued, even through amendments to the relevant articles of the Charter, if one actually wishes, as paragraph 3 of resolution 2925 (XXVII) indicates, to attain the full implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations organs and, above all, as stated in paragraph 5, to reaffirm the role of the United Nations for a real consolidation of peace and co-operation among peoples.

KUWAIT

/Original: English/

/1 May 1973/

States and world public opinion have been disillusioned with the United Nations because its achievements in the field of international peace and security have not fulfilled their expectations. The image of the United Nations was tarnished by its inadequacy to deter aggression and preserve the political independence and territorial integrity of States. In the absence of an effective international machinery to take action with respect to threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, States have been compelled to rely on their own resources in order to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

For the past two decades disarmament negotiations have been mainly in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. Disarmament is a vital question that concerns all States, big or small. The United Nations is the proper forum for achieving general and complete disarmament. If the power of the United Nations to promote international security is enhanced, States will place less emphasis on armaments as a means of protecting themselves against aggression.

Peace and security are the main goal of the Charter. It is precisely in the sphere of collective security that the United Nations has proved to be least effective.

The whole fabric of international security was based on the need for the permanent members of the Security Council to act in unison. The Security Council, however, has been constantly frustrated by differences among the permanent members.

The Government of the State of Kuwait takes the view that the Security Council should hold periodic meetings to review its past resolutions which have not been implemented. The responsibility of those who do not comply with the resolutions should be clearly established. The impediments to the implementation of those resolutions should be identified. The responsibility of States which are, covertly or overtly, helping to prevent the implementation of these resolutions should also be established. The Security Council should take appropriate action under Chapter VII of the Charter to compel recalcitrant members to abide by the rule of the law.

The Security Council should examine, in its periodic meetings, the hotbeds of friction and the causes of tension and the ways and means to eliminate the roots of such conflict and tension.

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Racial discrimination, colonialism, occupation of the territory of other countries by force, threats against the political independence and territorial integrity of States, inter alia, constitute a threat to international peace and order. The Security Council should take adequate measures to eradicate these evils. It can only do so if it can rely on the unwavering support of all States, especially the permanent members.

It is essential that big Powers should discard their plans for hegemony and ascendancy. Competition among big Powers to gain spheres of influence gives rise to animosity and sows the seeds of mistrust and hatred.

The Government of the State of Kuwait believes that the permanent members of the Security Council should allow the Council to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The permanent members, which were endowed with special rights, should also realize that they are required to discharge serious obligations. The Security Council should become a bastion for the maintenance of peace instead of being an arena where political, ideological and social conflicts come into the open.

It is an established fact that disparity of standards of living and economic development is a source of friction among States. Member States should be reminded of the paramount importance of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The cause of peace and world prosperity are an indivisible whole. The provisions of the Strategy should not be viewed as mere moral obligations but should be voluntarily accepted as binding commitments by all Governments.

So long as some live in affluence and others are denied basic needs, the world cannot enjoy tranquillity and contentment. It is indispensable that those who are affluent render assistance to those who are less fortunate.

Some of the resolutions of the General Assembly are designed to give effect to fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter. They should derive their effect and force from the contractual obligations embodied in the Charter. Resolutions which pertain to human rights, the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid, and the establishment of friendly relations among States should, inter alia, have a mandatory effect.

The fundamental point in the relationship of States with the United Nations is their basic obligation to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. It is no secret that some States have rated their own national interests as being superior to the principles and injunctions of the Charter. Article 103 explicitly states that in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter shall prevail. The same should be held true of all national interests, which should never be allowed to prevail over the obligations of States under the Charter.

The Government of the State of Kuwait, which faithfully adheres to the Charter, would like to see the United Nations as the shield which protects small countries

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and enables them to preserve their independence and territorial integrity. People feel sceptical when they see the wrongdoer escape punishment while the innocent suffer and find little support.

We are not hankering after peace which is based on *fait accompli*. It is widely recognized that peace which is based on a nuclear deterrent is not real peace. Peace is not merely the absence of conflict. It is a positive quality which is based on the rule of law and sound relations among States. States should co-operate because it is in their interest and that of the international community to live in harmony and enjoy the fruits of peace. States should not co-operate merely because they are afraid of a universal holocaust.

#### NETHERLANDS

/Original: English/

/16 July 1973/

The Kingdom of the Netherlands advocates the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, in particular with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rule of law in relations between States. This is amply manifested by the positions adopted by the delegation of the Netherlands to the United Nations with regard to specific issues such as, *inter alia*, the strengthening of international security, the rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly, the strengthening of the role of the Security Council and, most recently, the rationalization of the Economic and Social Council.

The Government of the Netherlands believes that this approach, which seeks to achieve the strengthening of the United Nations through positive support of specific issues, holds greater promise for the attainment of the desired results than more general and abstract discussions.

#### NORWAY

/Original: English/

/3 August 1973/

The Norwegian Government regards it as a main task for the United Nations to act as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. Consequently, Norway is attaching great importance to the strengthening of the possibilities of the United Nations to fulfil its peace-keeping role. The Norwegian Government thus views the work to strengthen and develop the power and authority of the United Nations as one of the main lines of its foreign policy. In the view of the Norwegian Government there does not at the moment seem to be a need for a general revision of the United Nations Charter, which has shown itself a flexible instrument well suited to its purpose. Norway will,

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however, continue to advocate a forward-looking and pragmatic interpretation of the Charter's provisions.

During the current year the world has experienced continued progress towards international détente. The efforts at increased détente between East and West are of fundamental importance for securing world peace in the nuclear age. It is the policy of the Norwegian Government actively to promote such a development by supporting all realistic efforts towards arms control and disarmament.

Apart from these general remarks, the Norwegian Government would like to make the following observations:

At the time when interdependence of nations is steadily increasing, it is in the view of the Norwegian Government important that the Member countries of the United Nations consider it as an essential task to further strengthen the capacity of the Organization to act decisively for peace. The United Nations peace-keeping operations, which are at the heart of this function, need to be put on a firmer foundation if the Organization is to carry out its main role as guardian of peace and security. The Norwegian Government has taken and will continue to take active part in the efforts towards this goal.

Another main task for the United Nations is to serve as an instrument for the solution of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and thus eliminate conflicts stemming from such problems. It is essential for improving the prospects for international peace and security that sustained efforts are made to bridge the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing part of the world. Norway has accepted without reservations the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and is planning to increase its official development assistance to 1 per cent gross national product not later than 1978.

The decolonization process is another field to which the Government of Norway attaches the greatest significance. Unfortunately, there still remain some areas where the decolonization process has not yet reached its goal. Here the United Nations has an indispensable role to play. All peoples in areas under colonial domination must be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The Norwegian Government wishes once more to place on record its strong support for the peoples in colonial areas who are struggling for freedom.

In this connexion it should be mentioned that the Norwegian Government has advocated that the provisions of international law for the regulation of armed conflict be adapted to meet the needs arising from the new and complicated forms of conflicts. The claim of war victims for protection is the same regardless of political or legal classification of the conflict. Notably the Red Cross Conventions of 1949 should be applied in their entirety also in wars of national liberation. A guerrilla soldier ought to have the same humanitarian protection as a soldier belonging to a regular fighting force. On the basis of this view, the Norwegian Government has advocated the development of a more comprehensive body of laws for the protection of war victims, both in guerrilla war and in anti-guerrilla actions and in the case of technological and electronic warfare.

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The possibilities of strengthening the United Nations role with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security will depend on a permanent and satisfactory solution of the problematic financial situation of the Organization. The increasingly difficult financial problem has for more than a decade been allowed to grow to such proportions that it is now seriously impairing the work and effectiveness of the United Nations. It should be stressed that this is a collective responsibility that rests with all Members. The willingness of Member States to contribute to the solution of this problem may be taken as a test of the genuine willingness of Member States to seek an effective and able United Nations.

Finally, the Norwegian Government wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is of paramount importance for international peace and security that all Member countries fulfil their obligations under the Charter and act in accordance with its principles and purposes. Through active participation in the United Nations and through the widest possible international co-operation Norway wishes to make its contribution to international solidarity, peace and security.

OMAN

/Original: English/

/6 April 1973/

The Government of Oman does not find any other suitable suggestion to put forward than to urge the States Members of the United Nations family to observe effectively the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The role of the United Nations in international life will not be strengthened by the adoption of resolutions. It is the activities of the Member States - some of which have so far shown reluctance to the principles of the Charter - which will decide the fate of the world. It is only when nations realize and accept their full responsibilities towards cultivation of peace and security and act accordingly that international life will be improved. Mere adoption of resolutions indicates failure by Member States to work in good co-operation to the end that the world becomes a peaceful abode for mankind.

PHILIPPINES

/Original: English/

/10 October 1973/

One aspect of international life in which the Organization could make itself felt is in the realm of pocket wars the world over. The Organization could make a strong appeal to the moral conscience of those United Nations Member countries for them to strictly observe the Charter by not tolerating or encouraging the transit of weapons of warfare through their respective territories, and to stop financing, selling, lending or providing free of charge or by other means, arms

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and other destructive weapons to countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America which are not at peace with each other, or to local dissidents intent on overthrowing their Governments or to countries practising apartheid. The United Nations very well knows which countries are engaged in overtly or covertly supplying arms to belligerents or dissidents or racists, because of ethnic, political or ideological considerations or just for plain profit-making, even if said countries publicly declare their innocence of such activities. The United Nations could, if strong appeals fail, publicize these nefarious activities as well as those responsible for them in the United Nations so that there may be some kind of restraint on those involved. And if these means still prove fruitless, the Organization could put pressure on them through other means open to it.

Another aspect of international concern in which the Organization could continue to make itself felt is in the matter of population. There is a very rapid increase in population the world over, unaccompanied by a corresponding increase in food supply which has brought about problems that tend to undermine the stability of Governments in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is laudable to note that as a result of United Nations effort, the countries concerned have awakened to the dangers posed by the population explosion and, as a measure aimed at minimizing threats to international security, have vigorously embraced the United Nations family planning concept by co-operating with the latter in propagating the idea through international and regional family planning conferences and workshops, using the facilities of print and audio-visual media, giving material assistance to acceptors, etc. The United Nations could bolster and follow up this salutary trend.

Another aspect of international life where the Organization could make a dent is in the matter of aid-giving. Member nations, i.e. the big Powers and the other highly industrialized countries should be urged to reorient the scale and quality of their foreign aid, so that they may give economic aid, rather than military aid and bereft of politics. The scale and quality of economic assistance given by big Powers and other rich industrialized countries to developing countries are, most of the time, determined according to political or ideological bias or predilection on the part of the giver, instead of the need of the recipient. A reorientation of aid-giving strategy, if done under the auspices of the United Nations, would not only maximize benefits for the recipient countries; it could help remove the taint of ideology in each grant of foreign aid.

In much the same way that the United Nations could make itself instrumental in the matter of reorienting aid-giving, it could likewise make its members co-operate among themselves to bring about a situation where both "haves" and "have-nots" may have a fair share of the bounties of nature.

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ROMANIA

/Original: French/

/27 July 1973/

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian people, deeply devoted to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, attach special importance to the question of strengthening the role and increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations for the attainment of the ideals of peace, security, co-operation and progress of peoples.

This attitude was reflected in the Romanian proposal which, at the most recent session of the General Assembly, led to consideration of the item on 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.

The discussions which took place and the adoption by the General Assembly by consensus, of resolution 2925 (XXVII) bear witness to the urgency of this problem and the special importance attached to it by the international community. The Romanian Government appreciates the great significance of this resolution, in which the General Assembly "recognizes that it is imperative that the Organization should become a more effective instrument in safeguarding and strengthening the independence and sovereignty of all States, as well as the inalienable right of every people to decide its own fate without any outside interference, and that it should take firm action, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, for the prevention and suppression of acts of aggression or any other acts which may jeopardize international peace and security".

The Romanian Government believes that it is the duty of all Member States to work for the implementation of the provision of the resolution which appeals to States to contribute to the identification of ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations so that it may, as stated in the General Assembly's resolution, "bring an increased contribution to the settlement of international issues in the interest of all peoples and of general peace and security".

In this spirit, and at the present stage of the consideration of the problem, the Romanian Government submits the following opinions and suggestions:

1. In order that it may become an effective instrument for the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the United Nations should work persistently to establish new relationships between States and to ensure that relations among all States of the world are based on new, democratic foundations in accordance with the principle of complete equality of rights.

This requires, at the present time, the conclusion of a universal agreement concerning the fundamental rights and obligations of States. Such an international legal instrument, having binding force, should set forth, inter alia, the following fundamental rights and duties:

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- The sacred right of every State to a free existence, to national independence and sovereignty, to peace and to security;
- The inalienable right of every people to decide its own fate and to choose and to develop freely its political, economic and social system in accordance with its aspirations and interests, without any outside interference;
- Complete equality of rights of all States regardless of size, geographical location, level of development, social system, and whether or not they belong to military alliances;
- The obligation of States not to intervene, in any way, under any pretext or in any circumstances, in the internal or external affairs of other States;
- The right of States to respect for the inviolability of their frontiers and their territorial integrity and, consequently, the recognition that any attempt by one State to violate the national unity or territorial integrity of another State constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security;
- The obligation of States to refrain, in their international relations, from any military, political, economic or other type of coercion and from the threat or use of force, under any pretext whatever, in any circumstance and in any form, against any other State;
- The natural right of every State to defend itself by any means, including military action, against any threat to its national sovereignty and independence;
- The obligation of all States to settle their international differences, in all circumstances, solely by peaceful means;
- The right of every State to participate, in conditions of complete equality, in the consideration and solution of international problems of common interest;
- The right of States to reciprocal benefits in their co-operation, taking into account, at the same time, the need to support the efforts of the developing countries;
- The right and the obligation of States, whatever their social system, to co-operate in various areas in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote the economic and social progress of all nations, first and foremost that of the developing countries;
- The obligation of States to fulfil, in good faith, the commitments into which they have entered;

- The duty of every State to fulfil its task of respecting strictly and in their entirety the norms and principles which should govern international relations. Any attack on these norms and principles and any interference in the internal affairs of another State shall be regarded as acts directed against peace and against humanity and as attacks on the cause of international co-operation.

2. Confirmation of the new trend in international life requires strict observance, by all States and with respect to every State, of the obligation laid down in the Charter and other international instruments to refrain from the threat or use of force and to refrain in their international relations from any military, political, economic or other type of coercion in any circumstances and in any form.

It is therefore imperative that the nuclear Powers should solemnly undertake never to have recourse, under any pretext, to the use of nuclear arms or to the threat to use them.

Any act violating this obligation should be declared a crime against peace and humanity, incurring public condemnation and international liability.

3. So that the United Nations may fulfil its essential function, namely that of preventing conflict and tension and strengthening international peace and security, it is essential to strengthen its role in promoting the fulfilment by all States of their obligation to settle international problems solely by peaceful means.

Hence it is imperative for all States to undertake to bring their differences before the Organization and to use the framework of the United Nations and the peaceful means laid down in the Charter to settle them.

It appears increasingly necessary to set up a body with broad participation having continuing tasks in the sphere of the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Romanian Government therefore considers that it would be useful to set up, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 10, 14 and 22 of the Charter, a standing committee of the General Assembly - a political forum with broad participation by Member States - for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

4. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international relations calls for a firm undertaking by States to fulfil the obligations stipulated in the Charter and the resolutions adopted.

Action must be taken to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Romanian Government therefore feels it is necessary to seek and reach agreement on ways and means of implementing resolutions, including the establishment of machinery of a broadly representative character to follow up their implementation and propose measures and sanctions to be applied if the resolutions are not observed.

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5. It is essential to strengthen the United Nations capacity for action in defending the independence and sovereignty of all States and preventing and putting an end to acts of aggression and any other act endangering international peace and security.

It is therefore imperative to find an immediate solution to the problems attendant on the setting up and functioning of United Nations peace-keeping forces and their use to prevent and put an end to all acts of aggression and any threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, whatever their source and whatever the pretext under which they may be committed.

6. In full conformity with the trend of history, it is imperative, if the principle of full equality of rights of States is to be implemented, that small- and medium-sized States should have greater participation in every activity of the United Nations and be more widely represented in all United Nations bodies and agencies.

This presupposes the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly - the plenary forum of the United Nations - in examining and solving, in the interest of all peoples, the major problems of international life. It is also necessary to establish a framework within which all interested States will have the right to take part in and present their points of view to all forums, even if they are not members.

Similarly, the membership of the Security Council must be broadened and the way it functions must be improved in order that its membership and the manner in which it adopts decisions may reflect the place, the role and the weight of the small- and medium-sized States of the world.

In this same spirit, the small- and medium-sized States must be widely represented in the United Nations Secretariat, particularly at the level of director.

The Romanian Government is convinced that by joint efforts, in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, Member States will be able to formulate by common agreement a set of measures which will make the United Nations an effective forum where all countries, large and small, can take part, on the basis of equality of rights, in solving the problems facing humanity.

The Romanian Government will continue to take firm action and make its contribution to strengthening 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.

SWEDEN\*

/Original: English/  
/14 August 1973/

The Swedish Government finds it useful and necessary for the Member States to review continuously how the United Nations is able to fulfil its fundamental tasks under the Charter and to consider possible ways and means of increasing its capabilities to meet the needs of an ever-changing world. The point of departure has to be that the United Nations is, and for the foreseeable future remains, but an instrument of the Member Governments. In its Charter the Organization offers guidelines for the behaviour of States which are necessary for the maintenance of peace, justice and progress in the world. A better observance by Member States of these principles is the only realistic way of progressing towards these goals. Of fundamental importance are the Charter principles enjoining States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in domestic affairs, the sovereign equality of all States, the equal rights and self-determination of peoples and co-operation between States.

On the basis of recent developments towards an easing of tensions between States it is now possible to foresee a United Nations which represents nearly all the world's peoples. This development should be viewed as an opportunity and a challenge to further increase the effectiveness of the United Nations and to make full use of the world Organization as a forum for consultations and co-operation. Thus, the capabilities of the United Nations to serve as a vehicle for the solution of conflicts and problems should be enhanced.

The continued absence of agreement in regard to peace-keeping operations is noted with concern by the Swedish Government. It remains convinced that the use of United Nations observers or forces or other appropriate methods are indispensable instruments for the international community, in its efforts to contain situations and conflicts which endanger international peace and security. It is hoped that progress can be achieved in this field within the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

Intensified efforts should also, in the view of the Swedish Government, be expended to find improved procedures and methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The fullest possible use should be made of the instruments already offered in this respect by the Charter of the United Nations.

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\* Besides the text reproduced above, the reply from Sweden contained comments on General Assembly resolutions 2991 (XXVII) and 2993 (XXVII), which are reproduced in the respective reports of the Secretary-General: document A/9143 on agenda item 11 (Report of the Security Council) and document A/9129 on agenda item 39 (Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security).

Increased attention should be devoted to possible ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council - the organ which under the Charter carries principal responsibility for international peace and security. The fullest possible use should be made of the Council as a forum for dealing with situations and conflicts which threaten peace. In this regard the Swedish Government feels that the role assigned to the Council under Article 28, paragraph 3, deserves to be constantly kept in mind by the members and that periodic meetings should be arranged when they offer prospects for serving as a means of reducing tensions and increasing understanding between States.

The Swedish Government welcomes the developments which have taken place over recent years in regard to Security Council procedures for investigation and study of situations and conflicts. Subsidiary organs in accordance with Article 29 can in many cases offer advantages as a means for dealing with complicated situations. The special missions which the Council may dispatch to areas of tension and conflict also enable the Council to take its decisions on a more complete basis of fact.

Under the Charter, the Security Council is provided with the power to institute sanctions as an ultimate means for enforcing its decisions. The necessity of upholding effectively such decisions is of central importance to the role of the United Nations as a tool for peace. In this context the Swedish Government has noted with satisfaction the steps decided upon in Security Council resolution 333 (1973) aiming at strengthening sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Inter alia, it feels that the provision of technical experts to the Council will prove useful to this end. It is hoped that it will be possible for the Council to devise further methods and procedures in order to make its sanctions towards Southern Rhodesia fully effective, thereby also safeguarding and preserving general respect for its decisions of this kind.

#### TURKEY

/Original: French/

/16 October 1973/

Turkey, which is deeply attached to the achievement of a lasting peace throughout the world and the promotion of more effective co-operation among all States, welcomes with particular interest General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) whose main purpose is to bring about the realization of this concept.

Turkey's suggestions with regard to General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) are as follows:

1. Turkey, which will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1973, has always based both its national and its international policy on the maxim of the great Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey, "peace within the country, peace in the world" - in other words, the establishment of a peaceful climate in domestic as well as external relations - and the belief

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that all forms of foreign interference, both overt and clandestine, secret or indirect, must yield to co-operation, that hostility must give way to friendship, and that peace must prevail both in Turkey and throughout the world.

Thanks to this principle during the last 50 years Turkey's foreign policy has resulted in the establishment and maintenance of a policy of good neighbourliness and friendship with all countries of the world community.

Turkey intends to remain true to this policy and to pursue it actively within the framework of the United Nations.

2. Turkey is of the opinion that the United Nations is not only responsible for maintaining peace and security, but it was also conceived as an instrument of international co-operation and solidarity in various fields, including economic and social matters, and on a global scale.

In order to achieve these objectives we must take as a basis the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the universally recognized norms of international law and international agreements which stipulate the obligations to which all countries must subscribe.

3. Currently, international relations are characterized by a general trend towards détente. This process has opened up the possibility of examining various questions which have been left outstanding in various forums at various levels.

Seen from that angle, Turkey considers the European Conference on Security and Co-operation as an important regional starting point for finding peaceful solutions to the various European problems in accordance with Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter.

The solemn declarations of intention made during the first phase of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, together with the 10 principles established at the Conference, must also guide us in actively seeking to create conditions favourable to stability and co-operation in that region of the world.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

/Original: English/

/7 August 1973/

The United States is ready to co-operate with all Member States in seeking ways to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among nations, and the promotion of the rule of international law.

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The United States continues to believe that strengthening the United Nations depends more on the national will of its Member States than upon institutional reform. The most essential step to be taken is for Member States to resolve to conform their national policies and actions more fully, inside and outside the United Nations, to their Charter obligations. To the extent, however, that institutional reforms will assist the United Nations in meeting its responsibilities more effectively, the United States stands fully prepared to participate in bringing them about. In the United States' view, the following specific areas of reform continue to merit the Organization's attention.

The Security Council should strive to increase its effectiveness in discharging peaceful settlement and peace-keeping functions by making greater use of its existing powers of investigation and recommendation. There should be more frequent recourse, as the requirements of a given situation indicate, to fact-finding missions, good offices, mediation, conciliation and preventive diplomacy. More reliable and systematic methods of establishing and maintaining peace-keeping forces should be developed for use when the parties to a dispute so desire. The prestige of the Security Council would be enhanced, and more weight given to its decisions, were the General Assembly to pay greater attention to the Charter provision that in the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council special regard should be paid "in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization".

The recommendations of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly should be more fully implemented and further procedural reforms adopted to improve the working of Assembly sessions. In this connexion, the General Assembly might consider modifying its rules so that adoption of resolutions would require an appropriate majority of all votes cast, counting those who abstain as present and voting. If this change were made, Assembly resolutions would better express the views of a majority of the Assembly, rather than as now on occasion, of a minority whose views prevailed because of a large number of abstentions.

Efforts already under way in the Economic and Social Council to modernize its structure, consolidate its activities, and make it a more effective co-ordinating mechanism should be intensified. During its last several sessions, the Council has undertaken extensive consideration of various proposals. The recent adoption by the Council of an omnibus resolution which focuses attention on the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, is a step in the direction of consolidating Council activities. We believe there is now a need to complete the examination of the function and usefulness of the Council's subsidiary bodies, and subsequently to decide on structural modifications in order to discharge Council responsibilities more effectively under the Charter.

While the International Court of Justice has recently taken what appears to be significant steps to streamline its procedures, further efforts to encourage greater use of the Court are needed. For the past three sessions of the General Assembly, the United States and other interested States have sought unsuccessfully

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to have the General Assembly appoint an ad hoc committee to review the role of the Court and to make recommendations to the Assembly. The United States believes that it is in the interest of all States to seek to strengthen the Court.

Debates in United Nations bodies should move away from lengthy, sweeping and polemical declarations and toward concise and dispassionate statements designed to make a concrete contribution to the solution of the many problems confronting the United Nations. The resolutions of United Nations bodies should reflect full consultation, facilitative compromise and realistic calls to action. This means they must have the support of those on whom their implementation primarily depends. Wherever there are financial implications, the major contributors should have a voice in their adoption commensurate with the financial burden these contributors must assume if the resolutions are to be carried out.

The United States wishes to restate its firm conviction that the best way to strengthen the United Nations is for the Organization to act effectively on the specific issues before it: United Nations peace-keeping guidelines, terrorism, economic and social development, international drug control, human rights, decolonization, the human environment, population and family planning, the law of the sea, various international aspects of outer space, and numerous other priorities.

By moving to meet these problems Members of the United Nations can demonstrate most effectively the Organization's intention to strengthen international peace and security, and to assert its own important role in that vital task.

YEMEN

/Original: English/

/6 February 1973/

1. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic reiterates its conviction that the elimination of colonialism and all forms of human subjugation represents a major step towards achieving international peace and security.
2. The Government of Yemen believes that strict observance by all Member States of the Charter principles and the United Nations resolutions would contribute greatly toward that end.
3. The Yemen Arab Republic is convinced that solemn declaration by the big Powers to support the efforts of the United Nations is paramount. In other words, the big Powers bear great responsibility in regard to the effectiveness of the United Nations. The big Powers should constantly be reminded that it is in the interest of peace and security to renounce the policy of double-standards which permits the Member States to utilize the United Nations for their own selfish interests. Only then can the United Nations be viewed with hope for the consolidation of international peace and security and the rules of international law in relations between States.
4. The United Nations Charter should guide our quest for a better way to strengthen the role of the United Nations.