

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**



SIXTH COMMITTEE
47th meeting
held on
Thursday, 18 November 1976
at 10.30 a.m.,
New York

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records*

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 47th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MENDOZA (Philippines)

later: Mr. GAVIRIA (Colombia)

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AND ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.6/31/SR.47
24 November 1976
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 110: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION (A/31/33, A/31/51 and Add.1; A/C.6/31/L.6) (continued)

1. Miss AGUTA (Nigeria) noted with appreciation that the Special Committee had considered, in first reading, paragraphs 4 to 42 of the analytical study prepared by the Secretary-General (A/AC.182/L.2 and Corr.1) and said that she believed that the observations made by the Committee on those paragraphs would make it clear which areas of the Charter needed revision and would indicate ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations.

2. Nigeria was a member of the Special Committee, and its views on the revision of the Charter and on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations had been expressed on various occasions in the past. She would therefore confine herself to stressing the need to revise those areas of the Charter which were obsolete or inadequate, for the benefit of the international community. The Special Committee should continue its work, so that the role of the United Nations could be strengthened in all its aspects, whether social, economic, political or legal.

3. The drafters of the Charter of the United Nations had envisaged the possibility of its review and possible revision. However, revision did not mean the drafting of a new Charter which was entirely different from the previous one, but rather the up-dating of the old Charter. Justice, rather than peace and security, must be the keynote to such a revision. Justice did not proceed from peace and security; on the contrary, peace and security achieved could be fully developed only under the rule of justice.

4. Her delegation had studied the commentaries and observations for and against the revision of the United Nations Charter with utmost interest, and it urged the Special Committee to continue gathering materials that would make possible the revision of the Charter in a way that was acceptable to all. The fact that the work of the Special Committee had been somewhat slow was perhaps due to the rather delicate nature of the subject, which required a gradual and cautious approach.

5. In conclusion, she recalled that Nigeria was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6 extending the mandate of the Special Committee.

6. Mrs. HO Li-Liang (China) said that the review and amendment of the United Nations Charter was a just demand upheld by the great majority of small and medium-sized countries, particularly the third world countries. They had expressed that strong desire on various occasions, both outside the United Nations system - for instance at the Summit Conference of OAU and at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries - and within the United Nations, during the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. In both the General

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Assembly and the Special Committee, the representatives of many small and medium-sized countries had rightly pointed out, time and again, that the Charter had been formulated 30 years earlier and no longer reflected the changes which had taken place in international relations nor met the needs of the contemporary world situation. Some provisions of the Charter were unreasonable, while others had obviously become outdated. Furthermore, it was intolerable for the super-Powers to invoke certain provisions of the Charter in order to push power politics in the United Nations and to abuse their veto power.

7. The two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had always rejected the just demand of the numerous Member States and were opposed to the review and amendment of the Charter. In particular, that super-Power which flaunted the banner of socialism had resorted to every possible means to obstruct and sabotage the work of revising the Charter. Soviet social-imperialism had spread a host of fallacious arguments against the review and amendment of the Charter, alleging that there was no need to review it and vilifying as reactionary those countries which favoured its amendment. Such slanders and fallacies had been repeatedly and sternly repudiated by numerous small and medium-sized countries.

8. In complete disregard of the facts, that super-Power asserted that the Charter was flawless and that what was required was not its amendment but its strict observance. It was ludicrous for such remarks to emanate precisely from a super-Power which was engaged in frenzied rivalry for world hegemony and was deliberately trampling on the purposes and principles of the Charter. That same super-Power had been abusing its privileges in the United Nations and spared no effort to contend with the other super-Power for control over the United Nations. It was that super-Power which had occupied the territory of one of its allies by force, which had openly instigated the dismemberment of a sovereign State in southern Asia, which still refused to return the island territories of a neighbouring Asian State and which was reaching out its tentacles to various countries in southern Africa in an attempt to fish in troubled waters.

9. However, not only that super-Power but in fact both super-Powers wilfully misused their privileges in the United Nations in order to block the passage of certain resolutions which upheld justice. That had been the case in 1968 with the question of Czechoslovakia and in 1971 with the cease-fire in the southern Asian subcontinent, and also with the draft resolution recommending the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations and the draft resolution condemning the South African racist régime for its crimes against the African people.

10. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the super-Power which flaunted the banner of socialism was saying that amendment of the Charter would lead to a world war, and it was falsely charging those countries which favoured such amendment with the intention to provoke war. However, it was only common sense to realize that present-day tensions were caused by imperialism and that the rivalry for world hegemony between the two super-Powers was bound to lead to war. That super-Power's allegation that Charter amendment would lead to war was baseless and was

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designed solely to thwart by intimidation the campaign in favour of amending the Charter and to divert the attention of the world's peoples from that super-Power's practice of power politics and its war preparations.

11. Support for the review and amendment of the Charter was becoming more and more pronounced, and many small and medium-sized countries were persistently demanding that the Charter be amended, so that the United Nations could become an organization which fully reflected the present international situation. Many countries had suggested amendments to certain provisions of the Charter, such as expanding the power of the General Assembly, restricting the power of the Security Council, changing the composition of the Security Council and limiting or abolishing the veto rights of the permanent members of the Security Council. Her delegation believed that those views deserved serious consideration. It also felt that the principle of equality among all countries should be practised in the United Nations and that United Nations affairs should be managed by all the Member States, not controlled by the super-Powers.

12. Lastly, in view of the fact that the Special Committee was still far from accomplishing the task assigned to it by General Assembly resolution 3499 (XXX), her delegation fully supported the view that the Special Committee must continue its mission.

13. Mr. PANCARCI (Turkey) congratulated the Chairman and members of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization on their work, as described in the report of that Committee (A/31/33), and commended the Secretariat for the analytical study published as document A/AC.182/L.2 and Corr.1. The position of his Government on the item under consideration had already been described in document A/10113/Add.1 and had been explained at the preceding session of the Sixth Committee and also in the Special Committee, of which Turkey was a member.

14. His delegation wished to support actively all attempts to strengthen the United Nations, so that the Organization could put its principles and aims into effect. If such attempts were to achieve the desired result, they must be realistic and meet the needs of the current international situation. At the present stage of the Sixth Committee's work, discussions should be limited to the extension of the Special Committee's mandate, so that it could fulfil the tasks assigned to it by General Assembly resolution 3499 (XXX). For that reason, as a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6, his delegation hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus. It also favoured adopting the report now before the Committee.

15. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria) said that the esoteric appearance of the report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization was due to the fact that there were divergent interpretations of the terms of reference of the Committee itself and that its creation was somewhat premature. His delegation wished to observe, first of all, that under General Assembly resolution 3499 (XXX) the Special Committee had been

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entrusted with the task of examining in detail the observations received from Governments concerning suggestions and proposals regarding the Charter of the United Nations and concerning the 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 rules of international law in relations between States. While the first part of the task could lead to an over-ambitious exercise, the second seemed more practical under present circumstances. That apparent dichotomy could not be resolved in the final outcome, which was why his delegation had reached the conclusions that the members of the Special Committee had a fundamental difference of opinion on almost everything. The records of the Sixth Committee and the General Assembly showed that the work of the Special Committee had not begun on the basis of a general agreement among Member States, which was a very important requirement for the success of such an important task.

16. Without commenting on the views and proposals made in connexion with paragraphs 4-42 of the analytical study submitted by the Secretary-General, he wished to reiterate Bulgaria's position of principle concerning the work of the Special Committee. With respect to revision of the Charter, his country was firmly convinced that the Charter had stood the test of time and had proved itself to be a balanced and flexible multilateral treaty which had enabled the United Nations to keep abreast of the needs of the times and to influence the development of international relations. His delegation continued to believe that revision of the Charter was not and could not be a panacea for the short-comings and weaknesses of the United Nations. The United Nations had not been and could not be conceived of as a supranational institution. It was an intergovernmental organization which depended upon the concerted will of its Members. Hence, its efficiency and effectiveness depended on the determination of its Members to co-operate on an equal footing and their willingness to comply with the recommendations and decisions of its organs.

17. His delegation failed to understand the assertion that there was a need to revise the Charter in order that the United Nations might cope with the new challenges of the evolving world. The United Nations was a living and dynamic institution which reflected the ongoing process of change in international relations and contributed to the evolution of the international order. It would, however, be misleading and counter-productive to consider the problem of strengthening the role of the United Nations solely in terms of a simplistic dilemma of conservatism versus revisionism, as far as the interpretation, application and amendment of the fundamental provisions of the Charter were concerned. Those had, perhaps, been the erroneous premises of the approach taken in the Special Committee. The adaptation of the United Nations to change international realities did not necessarily require Charter revision or amendment. The Charter had proved to be a universal code of basic principles and rules of contemporary international law, as well as a set of general guidelines for action of the members of the international community. The process of adaptation could take place through the strict fulfilment of its provisions and their dynamic and flexible interpretation or through the introduction of justified amendments. Since it had come into existence, all those

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options of adaptation and readaptation had been exercised. The Charter had not been an obstacle to the active role of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism, the strengthening of international security and the promotion of disarmament and an equitable economic order, it had not prevented the adoption of documents important for the progressive development of political concepts and legal principles responding to the evolving world, and it had not prevented the dynamic expansion of the United Nations institutional system. The Charter had not been conceived as a set of rigid rules which had to be amended repeatedly in order to be operative.

18. The caution, prudence and realism which his delegation recommended were not due to conservatism or the fear of change but rather to the danger of upsetting the very foundations of the Organization. It was one thing to adapt the procedures of the institutional machinery to changing international realities, but quite another to try to change its fundamental principles, its character or its mission. There was no need at the present stage to proceed to changes of the latter character, which not only would be premature but in the long run might be detrimental to the very existence of the Organization itself.

19. It had been said that the United Nations should be modified in order to take more fully into account the role of small and middle-sized countries, developing countries and non-aligned countries. That should not lead to erroneous assessments with respect to the nature of the United Nations as an international organization in which all countries - large and small, developed and developing, regardless of socio-political system or political alliances - could play their proper roles. In that connexion, speaking as a genuine representative of a small country and not as the self-appointed spokesman of small and medium-sized countries, he said that, the Committee had heard the delegation of a large country - large in ambition as well as in size and potential - make a statement rejecting hegemonism while that country itself was striving for world domination. That statement had been a voice of discord in the search for solutions leading to a strengthening of the role of the United Nations and represented the substitution of vicious propaganda, slander, primitive rhetoric and lack of logic for common sense and a constructive approach. The Committee could ignore that statement, since it was accustomed to hearing statements of that kind whatever the item under discussion might be. However, he wished to ask the representative of that country to respect his audience and the representatives of the real small and medium-sized countries and not try to lecture them on what constituted their proper interests.

20. There had also been talk of changing the basic principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different socio-economic systems, on which the United Nations had been founded in 1945. The application of those principles in the United Nations system was the basic prerequisite for the effectiveness of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation and had found expression in the rule of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council. Premature assessments and unrealistic schemes about revision of that crucial aspect of the Charter were not justified. An attempt to analyse the weak points of any intergovernmental institution would reveal that although other institutions, unlike the United Nations, had no veto

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principle, the same arguments about the need for increased efficiency could be heard at their meetings. The evil was not in the veto, and it would be wrong to focus attention on that point. The veto had recently been abused by a permanent member of the Security Council, but what was needed was to call the representative of that permanent member to order rather than to question the rule itself.

21. It was necessary to strengthen the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in accordance with the Charter. The General Assembly had quite rightly requested the Special Committee to examine the proposals which had been or would be made with a view to according priority to the consideration of those areas on which general agreement was possible.

22. The Special Committee's report reinforced the feeling that that Committee should focus its attention on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. In his delegation's view, the United Nations had not exhausted all available possibilities in the strengthening of détente, the maintenance of international peace and security, general and complete disarmament, decolonization, the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination and the economic development of peoples. The members of the Special Committee should endeavour to meet those challenges as well as the need to improve the procedures of the Organization. The entire membership of the United Nations should contribute to that task.

23. Mr. KOLESNIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said his delegation felt that the results of the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization had to be gauged in terms of how they could help to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international relations or how they might, on the contrary, harm the work of the Organization. In order to achieve positive results and to find methods for strengthening the role of the United Nations, which appeared to be the purpose of those who recommended revision of the Charter, it was necessary to take due account of the positions of all Member States and to keep in mind the various factors which could influence the activities of the United Nations. Among those factors, political factors were of primary importance. As his Government had stated (A/10102, p. 2), it was not because of the Charter that some useful decisions of the United Nations remained a dead letter and that the shameful evils of colonial-racist domination and hotbeds of military danger still existed. That was rather the result of the fact that some Member States acted in violation of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter.

24. It was obvious that the short-comings of the United Nations derived from the fact that certain States did not display a political will to fulfil the international obligations they had assumed. The main point was to guarantee the political will of all States to strengthen international peace and to improve the political environment. Naturally, neither the Special Committee nor any other individual body could solve those problems, least of all through amendments to the Charter. Political problems had to be solved by political means.

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25. Some delegations had attempted to use the Special Committee to launch attacks against the Charter. Such an attitude confirmed that the revisionist activities of that Committee even had the inherent danger of lessening the ability of the United Nations to preserve international peace and security, the very purpose for which it had been created. He wished to stress that the opposition of his delegation and other delegations to the establishment of the Special Committee during the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions of the General Assembly now appeared to him even more justified. It was true that the United Nations had not fully performed the role assigned to it by the Charter with regard to the political affairs of nations in accordance with the desires of its Members as expressed when they had been admitted to the Organization. Nevertheless, it was not enough to merely note that fact; rather, the reasons for that unsatisfactory situation should be specified and a method proposed to remedy it. Some delegations not agreeing with that opinion had asked that their reasons should be understood. He hoped that they, too, would try to understand the position of the USSR, since mutual understanding was a prerequisite if the current debate was to be fruitful. In an effort to obtain such understanding his delegation declared in all sincerity that the USSR could not agree with the argument of those who maintained that the Charter must be revised and left aside any attempt to revise its terminology.

26. Both in the Special Committee and at the current session of the General Assembly the representatives of some Member States had maintained that the United Nations Charter and the authority it conferred on the principal organs were out-of-date, on the ground that the current world political situation was essentially different from that prevailing when the Charter was drafted. It was said that the number of Members had tripled since 1945, and that argument was considered to be so convincing that any proposal for revision of the Charter was based on it alone, ignoring other evident facts. If that argument was studied in depth, however, it would be seen that it was not so solid as it appeared to be.

27. It was true that the world and the composition of the United Nations had changed a great deal. The USSR itself had fostered those changes by disinterestedly supporting national liberation movements, whose victory had led to the establishment of new States. Nevertheless, that alone was no justification for believing the time had come to amend the United Nations Charter. Today, just as at the time the United Nations had been established, two fundamental socio-economic systems existed in the world: socialism and capitalism. The existence of those two systems and the way in which they reacted to each other and jointly had determined the general outlines of the United Nations Charter. Today that reality could not be ignored. The numerical composition of the United Nations could not influence its fundamental principles or its structure. There was no indication in the Charter that it was addressed to a determined number of States; rather, from the beginning the United Nations had been established as a world organization. The ability of the Charter to serve as a basis for a world organization had led to almost all new States joining the United Nations. That demonstrated that the Charter had made it possible to reflect opportunely the far-reaching changes occurring in the world.

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28. Based on generally recognized principles of contemporary international law, the new States participated in the process of international co-operation on an equal footing with the older nations. The Charter had defined those principles of international law, but that was not its only role. It was a unique and fundamental international document with a very special function in the process of building the international juridical system, which was its very basis. Evidently, those who were attempting to make incidental amendments to the Charter had forgotten that fact and regarded the Charter solely as the constituent instrument of one of a number of international organizations. The different parts of the Charter were so closely linked that any amendment made to one part would have a self-defeating effect and would destroy the entire structure of international law.

29. The foregoing considerations demonstrated that there was no legal justification for insisting on revision of the Charter, as if it were an inevitable consequence of the enlargement of the membership of the United Nations. The analytical study (A/AC.182/L.2 and Corr.1) prepared by the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3499 (XXX), which contained the opinions of Governments on different aspects of the functioning of the United Nations, the proposals submitted by Governments for consideration by the Special Committee, and the discussions on those proposals at the two sessions of that Committee showed that countries had made individual proposals that, if approved, would mean radical revision of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

30. Concerning the proposal to give General Assembly resolutions mandatory force, he said that the States in favour of such a modification believed that the lack of such force was a weakness of the Organization that prevented the United Nations from being effective. He stressed that the recommendatory nature of General Assembly decisions was a necessary consequence of the sovereignty of Member States, which was one of the fundamental principles of international law and the very basis of the Organization and the Charter. Enforcement measures could be taken against a State only if it committed an act of aggression, or breach of the peace or posed a threat to peace, as set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter. The decision to give General Assembly resolutions mandatory force would imply the possibility of using threatening action against Members of the United Nations for any reason whatsoever. The advocates of mandatory force were presumably inspired by an idealistic thesis, but in that case consideration would have to be given to the idea of setting up a new organization to govern the entire world - a Utopian idea, since international peace could not be built on fantasies.

31. The idea of creating a world government was not only Utopian but also dangerous, since it would imply the possibility of subjecting States to a single social system. On the contrary, present-day international co-operation was based precisely on unconditional recognition of the equality of the two existing socio-economic systems. The proposal under consideration was also incompatible with one of the principal trends of contemporary development, the struggle of States to consolidate their independence, freedom and sovereignty. There was no basis for maintaining that the developing countries could renounce their sovereignty, which they had often gained only after a struggle against the colonial Powers. It would be absurd to suppose that the socialist countries were willing to follow that path.

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32. Another proposal made by many countries was to eliminate the so-called right of veto. The rule that the Security Council had to have affirmative votes by all its permanent members in order to take decisions on matters relating to the maintenance of peace was one of the bases of the Charter. The founding States of the United Nations had been very clear-sighted in stipulating that principle of unanimity in the Security Council. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR had said on 4 July 1972, without that principle the United Nations would not be viable as long as there were States in the world with different socio-economic systems, since it constituted a guarantee that the Council would not become the weapon of a group of States. That principle had often served to avoid hasty decisions that would have had very serious consequences for the cause of peace. The USSR had used it not only to protect itself and the other States of the socialist community, but also for the benefit of national liberation movements and colonial peoples and to defend the rights of small States.

33. It was true that some permanent members of the Security Council abused the principle of unanimity. Such abuse must be prevented, but far worse would happen if the principle of unanimity were dispensed with, thus undermining the very foundations of the United Nations. The principle of unanimity was realistic, and it alone enabled the Security Council to take viable decisions. Any revision of that principle would be disastrous for the United Nations. Those countries which maintained that the principle of unanimity was not in keeping with the current situation in the world should remember that, given the conditions attendant on the nuclear age, attempts by any permanent members of the Security Council to use force against other permanent members in the name of the United Nations would be equivalent to war, with all the consequences which current circumstances entailed. The principle of unanimity ensured that the permanent members of the Security Council acted with a certain minimum of agreement when that organ performed its peace-keeping functions. It thus ensured that the United Nations could not be made use of in a conflict between some permanent members and other States.

34. Regarding the proposal to delete the provisions relating to enemy States from the Charter, which the delegation of the Philippines, among others, had submitted, on the grounds that such provisions were obsolete and tended to perpetuate old antagonisms and hatreds, he wished to point out that the delegations concerned were forgetting that such provisions referred to the militarist and fascist States against which the founders of the United Nations had had to struggle, and that the Charter was not only a legal but also a political instrument. The United Nations had been born of the victory against militarist Japan and Nazi Germany. If Member States were seeking to strip the Charter of its political content, they would have to eliminate many parts of it, including the first paragraph of the preamble. The provisions in question had not prevented States born from the ashes of fascism from becoming Members of the United Nations. He was surprised at the ease with which that proposal had been made, thereby overlooking the historical basis of the United Nations.

35. In defending the sacrosanct nature of the Charter and its provisions, his country demanded that they be scrupulously and equally observed by all Member States. Although it was optimistic as to the future of the United Nations, it was not blind

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to the Organization's obvious defects and weaknesses. There was a tendency to over-estimate the role of the United Nations and those countries which spoke of a crisis were mistaken if they believed that such a crisis could be avoided simply by revising the Charter. International détente continued to have a beneficial effect on the United Nations.

36. As his delegation had stated in the Sixth Committee on 19 November 1975, it was clear that the effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security would have to be increased, thus avoiding a confrontation between the major Powers, if the United Nations and the world as a whole were to be able to exploit their full potential peacefully. Restructuring, based on the principles of the Charter, was only a beginning. The past 30 years were almost United Nations prehistory, since only now were the conditions being created for strengthening its role and improving the structure of international relations. Attention must be focused not on proposals to revise the Charter but on proposals designed to ensure that all States strictly adhered to its provisions. His delegation would view draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6 from that standpoint.

37. The assertion by the representative of China that the super-Powers feared a revision of the Charter and were trying to remove that item from the agenda by sabotage and obstructionism could be taken seriously by no one. He was sure that even the Chinese delegation did not believe what it said, using as it did somewhat unfortunate phraseology. He rejected the insinuations directed against his country by those who lied and defamed other countries when they could bring no concrete accusation against them. The Chinese delegation had attacked the right of veto but a three years previously, when the representative of the USSR had asked the Chinese delegation whether it was going to forgo the rights it enjoyed as a member of the Security Council, it had received no answer. The Chinese delegation was using that issue for demagogic ends, in order to seek prestige in the eyes of the third world countries. However, those countries were perfectly aware of the true nature of Maoism. He did not intend to engage in a contest of slander with the Chinese representative, since she was a woman.

38. Mr. BUSSE (Federal Republic of Germany) said that the Special Committee had based its work on the analytical study submitted by the Secretary-General (A/AC.182/L.2 and Corr.1), which had enabled the Special Committee to address itself immediately to the substance of its task without the need to engage in any preliminary work. The review of the first 42 paragraphs of that study had given rise to a host of suggestions, reflections and comments but, as his delegation had already participated in the deliberations of the Special Committee, he felt that an opportunity should be given to those delegations which had not yet had a chance to comment on the report to do so during the current debate.

39. His Government continued to believe that the basic structure of the United Nations had proved its worth and stood the test of time. It should be possible to make whatever adjustments were needed to the Charter without jeopardizing that basic structure.

40. His delegation considered it desirable for the Special Committee to continue its work and to complete its review of the Secretary-General's analytical study, and it would therefore support draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6.

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41. Mr. KUMI (Ghana) said that his delegation had always believed sincerely that the United Nations was one of the major instruments fashioned by mankind in order to achieve international understanding and co-operation. His country's active participation in all the deliberations of the United Nations and in the work of its various organs served as eloquent testimony of Ghana's commitment to the ideals and aspirations of the United Nations. However, it could not be denied that with the passage of time certain weaknesses and short-comings in the United Nations had become manifest. Those short-comings could be traced directly or indirectly to the actual machinery of the United Nations and so if they were to be eliminated, that machinery would have to be re-examined in the light of the experience gained over the years.

42. His delegation was not calling for a comprehensive review of the Charter as a whole but it did believe that, in order to preserve the Organization as a forum for international understanding and co-operation, certain specific provisions needed to be re-examined in the light of present-day realities. He had in mind, for example, Articles 53 and 109, certain parts of Chapter XII dealing with the international trusteeship system which were no longer applicable and the two Articles of Chapter XVII on transitional security arrangements. The right of veto of the permanent members of the Security Council should likewise be reconsidered; the permanent seats on the Security Council should be equitably distributed among the regional groupings in the United Nations; and the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security should be divided between the General Assembly and the Security Council, so that it was not vested exclusively in the Council.

43. His delegation also considered that the Secretary-General should make more frequent use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter, which provided that he could bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion might threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation regretted that many questions affecting international peace were excluded from United Nations forums because the super-Powers so desired it. The United Nations should ensure that all such crises were brought before the Security Council before they became virtually insoluble.

44. Mr. SIAGE (Syrian Arab Republic) said that his country, which was a founder Member of the United Nations and a signatory of the Charter of San Francisco, was firmly persuaded of the validity of the purposes and principles that had formed the basis for formulating the Charter; it had always acted in accordance with those purposes and principles and would continue to do so. The task of the United Nations consisted, in particular, of building a world based on peace and justice, where aggression would be prevented and the aggressor punished and where the right of peoples to sovereignty in conditions of freedom and equality was guaranteed. In determining, on that basis, the reasons which had stood in the way of attainment of those aims, it would be seen that they consisted mainly of an erroneous interpretation of purposes and principles in question and an abuse of certain rights on the part of some countries.

45. He would not enter into detail regarding the constitutional changes required,

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since his delegation had expressed its point of view when the matter was under consideration at the previous session. Recent events had strengthened his conviction that rules should be evolved to prevent the abuse of rights by certain States which disregarded the wishes of the majority of Member States.

46. The Special Committee's task, as defined in General Assembly resolution 3499 (XXX), was to examine proposals from Governments concerning the Charter, to list the proposals made in the Special Committee and to identify those which awakened special interest. If the report were considered in terms of the Special Committee's mandate, it would be seen that the latter had only partially fulfilled its task, since it had not given an opinion in the light of the last part of its mandate, on the proposals made in the Secretary-General's analytical study, nor had it formulated the consequent comments. The proposals of Romania, Colombia, Mexico, Cyprus and the Philippines contained useful and constructive ideas on the Charter and also on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, which could serve as the basis for modifying the former and attaining the latter.

47. In conclusion, he said that his delegation attached great importance to the Special Committee's work which, it believed, would provide the basis for the Organization's future and its capacity to find a solution to international relations. As a mark of that conviction, the Syrian Arab Republic wished its name to be added to the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6.

48. Mr. BAKO (Niger) said that 30 years had elapsed since the peoples of the United Nations had resolved to combine their efforts to accomplish the aims set forth in the preamble to the Charter, during which time the needs that had led to the foundation of the United Nations had grown ever more acute. Quite apart from any ideological consideration, the serious events that had aroused universal awareness had made it abundantly clear that economic relations determined the history of peoples. For that reason, his delegation considered that, in order to strengthen the role of the Organization, the current international division of labour should be revised as a matter of priority and replaced by a more consistent new economic order. The economies of the developing countries, already seriously disrupted by long centuries of colonization, could no longer withstand an inflationist world economy while their terms of trade continued to deteriorate. For example, the balance-of-payments deficit of the third world countries which had no oil resources had risen to \$45,200 million in 1976 and, if nothing were done to halt that trend, by 1980 most of those countries would have ceased to take part in international trade.

49. For those reasons, the strengthening of the role of the Organization depended on the establishment of a more just and equitable new international economic order. Only in that way could the United Nations play a more important part in solving the major problems of the present-day world and in introducing a true climate of détente and co-operation, in peace and security.

50. With regard to the Charter, he considered, like several other representatives, that it should be brought up to date in line with the significant and fundamental

(Mr. Bako, Niger)

developments affecting the international community. That was no easy task but the role of the Organization depended on it. It was necessary to proceed with tact and caution, bearing in mind the need for pragmatism and efficiency, justice and equity, and close co-operation, in peace and respect for the sovereignty of each State.

51. In conclusion, he said that his delegation endorsed the provisions of draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6 and wished to be included among its sponsors.

52. The CHAIRMAN announced that Barbados, the Syrian Arab Republic and Togo had been added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.6/31/L.6.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.