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**President: Mr. Gaston THORN**  
(Luxembourg).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 98**

**Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/10493)**

**AGENDA ITEM 100**

**Pattern of conferences:**  
(a) Report of the Committee on Conferences;  
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE**  
(PART I) (A/10480)

**AGENDA ITEM 103**

**Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly:**  
(b) Committee on Contributions;  
(d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General

**REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE**  
(A/10312/ADD.1 AND A/10314)

**AGENDA ITEM 104**

**Personnel questions (concluded):\***  
(a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;  
(b) Other personnel questions: report of the Secretary-General

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE**  
(A/10450/ADD.1)

\* Resumed from the 2430th meeting.

## AGENDA ITEM 107

**Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General (concluded)\*\***

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE**  
(A/10324/ADD.3)

1. Mr. ABOUL GHEIT (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to submit six reports to the General Assembly on agenda items 98, 100, 103 (b), 103 (d), 104 and 107.

2. With reference to agenda item 98, the recommendations of the Fifth Committee are contained in paragraphs 13 and 14 of its report [A/10493]. Paragraph 12 of the report on agenda item 100 [A/10480] contains a draft resolution which the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption. I wish to call to the Assembly's attention that part II of this report will be issued shortly and will reflect the Fifth Committee's recommendation with respect to the question of the inclusion of Vienna in the pattern of conferences.

3. Under agenda item 103 (b), the recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of its report [A/10312/Add.1].

4. Regarding agenda item 103 (d), the recommendations of the Fifth Committee appear in paragraphs 7 and 8 of its report [A/10314].

5. With reference to agenda item 104, the draft resolution and the draft decision which the Fifth Committee recommends to the Assembly for adoption are contained in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Committee's report [A/10450/Add.1].

6. Finally, regarding agenda item 107, you will note that the report of the Fifth Committee [A/10324/Add.3] constitutes Part IV of the Committee's report dealing with the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. This part of the report reflects the debate which took place in the Fifth Committee and which culminated in three draft resolutions which appeared in the first three parts of this report and which the General Assembly has already adopted [resolutions 3374 A to C (XXX)]. Paragraph 40 of the report contains the Fifth Committee recommendations to the General Assembly on the subject of the reimbursement of the usage factor to those countries supplying troops to the forces to the Middle East.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

7. The PRESIDENT: We shall first consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 98 [A/10493]. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee to the General Assembly are contained in paragraphs 13 and 14 of that report. May I consider that the Assembly decides to adopt the recommendation contained in paragraph 13?

*The draft recommendation was adopted.*

8. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the recommendation contained in paragraph 14. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that recommendation?

*The draft recommendation was adopted.*

9. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 100 [A/10480] and take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 12 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3491 (XXX)).*

10. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Brazil who wishes to explain his position.

11. Mr. VALLE (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation has participated in the consensus whereby the report of the Fifth Committee pertaining to the pattern of conferences [A/10480] was approved. The Brazilian delegation wishes, however, to refer to the reservations it made on the subject in the Fifth Committee [see 1763rd meeting].

12. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the reports of the Fifth Committee on subitems (b) and (d) of agenda item 103.

13. We turn first to the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (b) [A/10312/Add.1]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of its report. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3393 B (XXX)).*

14. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on sub-item (d) [A/10314]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 7 of its report. I put that draft resolution to the vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 92 votes to 12, with 6 abstentions (resolution 3492 (XXX)).*

15. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft decision in paragraph 8. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft decision was adopted.*

16. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 104 [A/10450/Add.1]. We shall take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 6 of its report. The draft resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee without objection. May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts it without objection?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3493 (XXX)).*

17. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft decision recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/10450/Add.1]. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft decision was adopted.*

\*\* Resumed from the 2423rd meeting.

18. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider part IV of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 107 [A/10324/Add.3]. The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked to explain his vote before the vote and I now call on him.

19. Mr. SIBAH (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like to explain its position on this item, which it has already explained in the meetings of the Fifth Committee. The Syrian Arab Republic voted against the draft decisions under consideration not only because of the amounts involved but also as a matter of principle because they do not differentiate between the aggressor and the victims of aggression and because the aggressor should bear the full cost of maintaining the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, including expenditure on clothing and other such things.

20. Therefore, when the draft decisions on this item on our agenda are put to the vote, my delegation will vote against them.

21. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take a decision on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 40 of part IV of its report [A/10324/Add.3]. We turn first to the recommendation contained in paragraph 40 (a). I put that draft decision to the vote.

*The draft decision was adopted by 101 votes to 3, with 13 abstentions.*

22. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft decision recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 40 (b) of part IV of its report.

*The draft decision was adopted by 115 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions.*

#### AGENDA ITEM 110

**Report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its eighth session**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10420)

#### AGENDA ITEM 108

**Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its twenty-seventh session**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10393)

#### AGENDA ITEM 109

**Succession of States in respect of treaties: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10462)

#### AGENDA ITEM 111

**Question of diplomatic asylum: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10384)

#### AGENDA ITEM 112

**Report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10429)

#### AGENDA ITEMS 113 AND 29

**Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations**

**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: reports of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/10459)

23. Mr. BRACKLO (Federal Republic of Germany), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee: I have the privilege to report to the General Assembly the outcome of the Sixth Committee's deliberations on agenda items 110, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113 and 29, 114 and 70, 115, 116, 117 and 118.

24. The report on agenda item 110 appears in document A/10420. The main trends that emerged during the consideration of the item in the Sixth Committee are summarized in paragraphs 6 to 40 of that document. Specific topics relating to the Commission's programme of work were discussed under the headings "International sale of goods", "International payments", "International legislation on shipping", "International commercial arbitration", "Multi-national enterprises", "Liability for damage caused by products intended for or involved in international trade", "Training and assistance in the field of international trade law" and "Future work". At the conclusion of its deliberations on the report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its eighth session, the Sixth Committee decided, at its 1575th meeting, on 26 November, to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution set out in paragraph 44 of the Committee's report.

25. The report on agenda item 108 appears in document A/10393. The main trends of opinion expressed in the Sixth Committee on the item are summarized in chapter III—paragraphs 7 to 212—of the report where they are to be found under headings referring to specific topics such as "General comments on the work of the International Law Commission and the codification process", "State responsibility", "Succession of States in respect of matters other than treaties", "The most-favoured-nation clause", "Question of treaties concluded between States and international organizations or between two or more international organizations", and "Other decisions and conclusions of the International Law Commission". A draft resolution was submitted, and the Committee adopted it by consensus. Under the recommended draft resolution the Assembly would, *inter alia*, recommend that the International Law Commission complete at its twenty-eighth session the first reading of draft articles on the most-favoured-nation clause; continue on a high priority basis with work on State responsibility; and proceed with the preparation, on a priority basis, of draft articles on succession of States in respect of matters other than treaties.

26. With respect to agenda item 109, the report of the Sixth Committee is in document A/10462. A proposal and several amendments were submitted and voted

upon as indicated in the report of the Committee. In paragraph 10 of the report, the recommendation of the Sixth Committee is set out. By the recommended draft resolution, the General Assembly would decide, *inter alia*, to request comments and observations from Member States that have not yet been able to submit them on the draft articles on succession of States in respect of treaties adopted by the International Law Commission in 1974. Also, the General Assembly would decide to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries in 1977 to consider those draft articles and to embody the results of its work in an international convention and such other instruments as it might deem appropriate.

27. The report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 111 has been circulated in document A/10384. The Committee discussed the item and adopted by consensus the draft resolution reproduced in paragraph 8 of the report. Under its terms, Member States would be invited further to express or supplement their views on this question, which, in addition, would be given further consideration at a future session of the General Assembly.

28. The report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 112 is in document A/10429. The item was debated at four meetings of the Sixth Committee. The draft resolution in paragraph 5 was adopted by the Committee without a vote.

29. Agenda items 113 and 29 are the subject of a report by the Sixth Committee in document A/10459. The two items were considered together. Under the terms of the draft resolution, adopted by consensus and recommended to the General Assembly in paragraph 7, the *Ad Hoc* Committee would be reconvened as a Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. It would continue its work in pursuance of the following tasks with which it would be entrusted: first, to examine observations received from Governments concerning suggestions and proposals regarding the Charter of the United Nations, as well as observations concerning the strengthening of the role of the Organization; secondly, to consider additional proposals which Governments may make with a view to enhancing the ability of the United Nations to achieve its purposes; and thirdly, to list proposals made in the Committee and to identify those which have awakened special interest. In operative paragraph 2, the Special Committee would be requested to examine the proposals with a view to according priority to the consideration of those areas on which general agreement is possible. I should like also to draw the Assembly's attention to operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which provides for the enlargement of the *Ad Hoc* Committee by five additional Member States. As pointed out in paragraph 6 of the report of the Sixth Committee, the Committee agreed at its 1582nd meeting, on 5 December, that the Chairmen of the regional groups should inform the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee of the members of their respective groups which should be included as additional members of the Special Committee. As I have received that information in the meantime, I am now in a position to announce the names of the five States to be inserted in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. The

five additional members would be Barbados, Belgium, Egypt, Iraq and Romania.

30. The report of the Sixth Committee on agenda items 114 and 70 [A/10463] deals, respectively, with respect for human rights in armed conflicts and protection of journalists in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict. The two items were considered together, taking into account several documents described in paragraphs 3 to 7 of the report. A proposal was submitted and later revised, and was adopted by consensus. The text of the draft resolution dealing with both items is reproduced in paragraph 11 of the report. I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to the fact that in paragraph 6 of the report a minor error has occurred: the words "Decisions taken by the Diplomatic Conference" should be replaced by the words "Decisions taken at the Diplomatic Conference", the Conference not having made final decisions at that last session.

31. The report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 115 has been circulated in document A/10464. A proposal and an amendment were submitted, as explained in paragraphs 3 to 5 of the report. In paragraph 7 thereof, the draft resolution adopted by consensus is set out. By the recommended draft resolution, the General Assembly would decide, *inter alia*, to invite Member States to submit to the Secretary-General their comments and observations on ways and means to ensure the implementation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, as well as on the desirability of elaborating provisions concerning the status of the diplomatic courier.

32. With reference to agenda item 116, the report of the Sixth Committee is in document A/10465. The Committee had before it the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism concerning the session which it held in 1973. After a debate held at its 1580th and 1581st meetings, in which different views were expressed on the causes, effects and measures to prevent terrorism, the Committee agreed that, because of lack of time, consideration of the question should be deferred until the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

33. Agenda item 117 is dealt with in document A/10421, which contains the report of the Sixth Committee thereon. The Legal Counsel introduced the report of the Secretary-General containing an account of the steps taken in 1974 and 1975 and those planned for 1976 and 1977 by the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, in furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law established by the General Assembly. At the conclusion of its deliberations on the report and a proposal, the Sixth Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution reproduced in paragraph 6 of its report.

34. The report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 118 has been circulated in document A/10466. At its 1581st meeting, on 4 December, the Committee agreed that, because of lack of time, consideration of the item should be deferred until the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

35. As may be observed from the above presentation of each of the items, the Sixth Committee very frequently had recourse to consensus, adopting most of its recommendations without a vote. It is my hope that, when considering those reports, the General Assembly also will make use of that procedure in as many instances as possible.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the 11 reports of the Sixth Committee.*

36. The PRESIDENT: We shall take up first the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 110 [A/10420]. I now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 44 of that report.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 121 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3494 (XXX)).*

37. The PRESIDENT: We will now turn to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 108 [A/10393]. We shall take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 214 of its report. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3495 (XXX)).*

38. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 109 [A/10462]. I call upon the representative of Cyprus who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

39. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In explanation of our vote on agenda item 109, I wish to express my delegation's gratification at the decision of the Sixth Committee, which we originally promoted, not to refer the above item back to the International Law Commission for further elaboration.

40. The reason for our gratification is that valuable time is thereby saved for the International Law Commission to use constructively on the important item on its agenda concerning State responsibility, a subject which is directly related to the progressive development and codification of international law under the Charter. The International Law Commission will thus be doing work which will contribute to international legal order, on which largely depends the direly needed international security and peace in the world, through the United Nations by the true application of its Charter, a matter which has been for 30 years now lamentably neglected. This subject of international security is central to the functioning of the United Nations in the discharge of its primary responsibility as clearly stipulated in the Charter to maintain international security and peace in the world.

41. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report on agenda item 109 [A/10462]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/10494.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 95 votes to none, with 28 abstentions (resolution 3496 (XXX)).*

42. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 111 [A/10384].

We shall take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3497 (XXX)).*

43. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 112 [A/10429]. We shall take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 5 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3498 (XXX)).*

44. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Sixth Committee deals with agenda items 113 and 29 [A/10459]. The recommendation of the Sixth Committee appears in paragraph 7 of the report. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

45. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The adoption of the draft resolution before us, providing for a Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, would, in the view of my delegation, in many respects constitute one of the most important decisions of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

46. That may sound like an exaggeration, but when, in the history of nations, has an organization representing the near totality of mankind ever voluntarily, and even eagerly, subjected itself to a continued course of self-criticism? Is not the built-in self-righteousness of narrow nationalism one of the major obstacles to peace and international co-operation? What Government in the world—and the United Nations is in some respects a quasi-government—has the courage deliberately to stand up before its people and say *mea culpa*, even now when every headline blares out the despair of peoples at the shortcomings of their Governments?

47. This motion for self-improvement, for strengthening the United Nations, is itself as much an act of strength as an expression of moral obligation to the world community and its people. Confession of weakness is itself a gesture of strength, as we are taught by all the religions and philosophies of our one world.

48. To be candid, we cannot say that in our general debate in the Sixth Committee we are mandating the New Special Committee with a clear set of guidelines on what is needed. Indeed, the draft resolution as recommended makes it clear that we are sending them on a safari to find their own way in the still unexplored lands of international co-operation. We must be confident that at least we have set them on the right course, and we hope that they will find their way to the goals that we seek.

49. Of course, learned and distinguished representatives and colleagues have made some tentative observations which might help to solve at least some problems if they enjoyed a degree of consensus. But we know that some delegations are wary of this self-improvement exercise, especially the powerful ones, which derive particular privileges from the Charter and see this whole enterprise on the part of the smaller



nations as a move for more power. These small Powers are told that they wield a degree of power in their voting strength in the General Assembly, that in fact the numerical-geographical composition of the Security Council is such that no resolution can bypass their strength, and that consequently they should rest content with their blessings.

50. There is some truth in this argument—but, subtly, it is only a half-truth. While we, the small Powers, have accumulated this inventory of power, it is the minority that has the power to negate it. The resolutions we adopt by overwhelming majority in the Assembly remain unimplemented by the minority which—while we have the votes—has the power. In the Council only one of these Powers has to use the big veto stick to strike down the intent and the will of Member States who represent the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. So it is not surprising that we do not feel flattered by the fact that mighty power is attributed to us.

51. Mr. Moynihan, the representative of one of the big Powers, will pardon me if I say that we have been chided, castigated, for merely having the determination to exercise our prerogatives of vote under the Charter of the United Nations. I assume that this pattern of “democracy” also prevails in the United States Congress in Washington. I am not trying to interfere in the domestic affairs of his country, although he has made some sweeping observations about the alleged undemocratic systems of the third-world countries, but as a university “guru”, he will, I am sure, allow me the privilege of a relevant analogy—if that analogy serves to convert a half-truth into a whole one.

52. The thrust of the draft resolution does not grow out of a struggle for power, but out of a genuine consensus to strengthen the United Nations in the fulfilment of its historic assignment to build a new and better world for all the peoples of the world—for all, not only for those who already enjoy that better world, chiefly at the expense of the less fortunate and mostly the exploited.

53. This, of course, raises the question of equality. Equality is the word from which there must develop a new philosophy to govern the thinking of the Organization and the starting point from which the new Special Committee may move into the general field of mobilizing new strength for the Organization.

54. In this effort, I would suggest that perhaps there is a tyranny we ought to divest ourselves of, not a tyranny of the majority or minority but one more oppressive, the tyranny of the looking glass. I refer to the over-worked cliché that the United Nations only mirrors the condition of the world and, by implication, that if the world is imperfect the United Nations inevitably reflects that unhappy condition. But this is why the United Nations was created, conceived out of despair at the condition of a world-war-shattered legacy and with the hope that this great collective enterprise might lead us to a better world for all.

55. It is time for the United Nations to make its own looking-glass, so that the world will reflect our great actions and our hopes in a blueprint for the better world our peoples expect from us.

56. There is still another correction that is pertinent: a correction of the concept of the veto. Its apologists point out that it is applied only in the Security Council, that in the General Assembly the nations of the world enjoy the conventional parliamentary freedom. If this were true, our problems would have been less formidable, but we all know that there are invisible vetoes, namely the concept of the consensus and its sister concept of adoption without vote, which in the most crucial issues are erased by the reservations of the few who have the power to nullify the decisions by non-implementation.

57. There is the veto of the bypass, of the refusal to work within the framework of our Organization. Bypassing the United Nations on major issues of which it is seized constitutes a dangerous snub which undermines the very foundation of the Organization and which, incidentally, gets the bypassers into nothing but trouble. Here we should like to refer to the conflict in Viet Nam and ask where the bilateral treatment of that problem led the United States. Many Americans hold that it was the beginning of the United States' troubles abroad and economic difficulties at home, while they could have realized that without the United Nations it was obvious that the United States could not even extricate itself from war. The same is true of the question of disarmament. Having committed themselves to bilateral negotiations, the two major nuclear Powers now discover the idea that disarmament can never be achieved in the context of a struggle for power and that disarmament, like peace, is indivisible.

58. We are faced with the same reality in the field of foreign aid. For the better part of two decades affluent Powers have hoarded their bilateral power in order to escape the United Nations dictum of aid without political or military conditions. The first victims of the bypassing of the United Nations are the bypassers. Naturally it also weakens the United Nations.

59. We talk of strengthening the United Nations and we are, I am sure, on the right track. But there is another side to this problem: how not to weaken the world Organization.

60. For the past two years, especially in recent months, we have been confronted with what amounts to a kind of psychological warfare against the Organization. A great campaign is afoot, drumming out the charge that there is something fatally wrong with the Organization, that it does not work, that it has failed to fulfil its assigned mission, that it has even betrayed the confidence and the hopes the peoples of the world have invested in it. Taking advantage of the self-criticism the United Nations has imposed on itself and of those critics with good intentions, they have subverted these noble efforts at improvement by a condemnation which is purely destructive while its calculated aim is the complete dismantling of the United Nations. This campaign, the product of a coalition of a few nations defiant of United Nations decisions, supported by heavily financed propaganda machines, has poisoned the press and the non-governmental organizations, and in this country virtually blacked out the work of the United Nations from the eyes of the American people. It is a calculated campaign not unlike a similar campaign launched against

the League of Nations by the Axis Powers, weakening that noble experiment and thus leaving the world wide open to the Second World War.

61. Let us not be complacent, keeping in mind the lesson from the pages of that tragic chapter. It can happen again. I dare say it to the major nuclear Powers concerned, and I am not alone in saying it: destroy the United Nations and you will plunge the planet into the Third World War as surely as the same campaign against the League was followed by the Second World War holocaust.

62. We all recall how that campaign was branded the "Big Lie" and so is the same campaign now unleashed against the United Nations a big lie. It is simply not true to say that the United Nations has not scored important achievements, that the United Nations does not work, that it is not fulfilling its mission.

63. A powerful attack always has the advantage. Placed on the defensive, United Nations supporters rush into a fallacy which plays into the hands of the enemies of the Organization. They draw up a balance-sheet of its pluses and minuses as if the work of a political organization of the complexity of a world organization could be balanced out with the balance-sheet techniques of commercial accounting.

64. This whole approach to the problem of building an international community is all wrong. It is inappropriate. The United Nations was not organized in San Francisco with a 30-year deadline for converting the mangled human condition into a Utopia overnight. There was no contractor's deadline, as with the new United Nations building across the street, that the house the United Nations built must be ready and finished by Christmas Day 1975—all wars abolished, final peace made, all human rights achieved, all selfish nationalism liquidated, all economic ills cured, and the United Nations, like the plumber who fixes our leaks, can pick up its tools and go home.

65. The United Nations was established to guide, direct and manage the future of mankind for generations to come, perhaps for centuries. The United Nations is a creed, a hope, an institution—like the great religious institutions, like the nations which make it up. They are not *ad hoc* enterprises with a limited task and a limited lifetime. The United Nations concept was placed side by side with the concept of an ongoing human race. Even if the United Nations were to score a great achievement tomorrow it does not follow that there might not be a setback a year from now. Its alleged failures, its obvious achievements, are never final, never ending, unless and until the human race itself disappears from the Earth.

66. This is where the big lie is taking over. It is a lie that must be scotched as the greatest enemy of all mankind, now and in the future.

67. The Philistines shout: show us a miracle—blind to the fact that a United Nations collectively labouring for order in a bewildered world is itself a miracle.

68. And yet, if challenged, the United Nations can cite some important achievements, looking back at the dark ages right up to the Second World War; they might even be called miracles. I will not mention its great goals, defined in the Charter, which it and it alone can hope to achieve: to abolish war, to foster peace,

to guard the rights of nations and the rights of man, to sanctify justice, to build a world order from the chaos it inherited. No other institution in the world has or can have such a sacred agenda. These are well known.

69. But is not the end of the era of colonialism, achieved in 30 years, something of a miracle?

70. Is not the attainment of universal co-operation, now between 144 nations, for the first time in man's history, a miracle?

71. Is not the concept of the mutual obligations of nations to help each other in development a miracle, when only as recently as 1945 the big nations were eating up the little ones, the strong swallowing the weaker ones, and that was the law of international life?

72. Is not machinery, however inadequate, for peace-keeping by which so many small wars were prevented from developing into world wars something of a miracle?

73. After the lawless history of mankind, are not an International Law Commission and an International Court of Justice a miracle, even in the very concept of such a common effort of nations, even in the very effort of such an exercise?

74. Are not the specialized agencies, for the first time in the history of mankind, working for the health, the education, the development of all mankind, for all everywhere, a miracle?

75. Seemingly, overnight, one half of the human race, the women, are being received as equal partners. Ask them if this would be possible without the United Nations.

76. Much is made by the critics of the United Nations of its weakness in the human rights sector. Perhaps the protection of the human rights of the individual was something too big to swallow and evidently unfeasible. Even so, the United Nations exerts enormous pressure on Governments which really have the power to give satisfaction. I am sure the men in Santiago and Pretoria do not enjoy the sound sleep they would want. And it is forgotten that the liberation of hundreds of millions from colonial domination is perhaps the biggest wholesale victory in human rights ever scored in a brief space of time.

77. Only a few weeks ago the United Nations, this very General Assembly, laid down a doctrine for human economic rights, calling for nothing less than a new economic order, with a promising Programme of Action. When one considers that the history of man is streaked with the economic causes of war, is not this a miracle? And what, I ask the United Nations critics, should be the deadline for this multidecade project—the coming Fourth of July?

78. Outer space, the universe, the South Pole, keys to our safety, all these have been denuclearized by the United Nations. Is that not a miracle?

79. And what are we to say regarding the food crisis, the strangely frequent natural disasters, the new challenge to peace of the riches of the seas, the redemption of a dying environment, and various other fields which cannot be organized by any one nation or group of nations, but only by the totality of a United Nations?

80. Finally, there are the invisible achievements. How many conflicts has the United Nations stopped that might have exploded into world wars, including that much feared nuclear war. Here the cunning critics somewhat corner us. It is difficult to prove that a great achievement has been scored because something has not happened. Here the tongue is quicker than the eye, and there are none so blind as those who will not see. And even the blind can see that the greatest truths of life are invisible.

81. In recalling the many achievements of the United Nations, we should see to it that a proper tribute is paid to our distinguished Secretary-General for his endeavours in the search of peace in the world.

82. Whenever we have asked him to use his good offices he has carried out the tasks entrusted to him with devotion and competence. We have recently had the opportunity to witness his quiet and skilful ways during the talks and consultations that brought about the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights. We also have to rely on the Secretary-General to bring about peace in Cyprus. We have no doubt that he will pursue his efforts in this regard in spite of the present frustrating stalemate. We extend to him our good wishes for success in the forthcoming negotiations scheduled for January 1976.

83. The Secretary-General's efforts at mediation in the disputes over Western Sahara also deserve our praise. The Organization will benefit greatly from availing itself as often as possible of his readiness to help us all.

84. Now I should like to say a few words regarding the siting of the United Nations Headquarters, which is at present in New York. The question is often asked: can New Yorkers afford the United Nations? And the assertion is made: no other city could sustain or afford the United Nations.

85. Bearing in mind, first, that some 35,000 people are directly involved in the work of the United Nations at its Headquarters here in New York, which occupies a mere 18 acres of land; secondly, that these people pour over \$200 million into the New York City community each year, while the diplomatic community gets back a mere \$10 million in tax privileges; thirdly, that these figures do not include the high cost of labour, material and equipment consumed by the United Nations and supplied by United States industrial and commercial firms; fourthly, that the above-mentioned figure of \$200 million a year exceeds the annual budget of my country, I would be prepared, should it become necessary, to recommend to my Government and people that Mauritius be declared an international territory with a view to accommodating not only United Nations Headquarters but perhaps also some, if not all, of its organs and specialized agencies.

86. The cost of running the United Nations if it were sited in Mauritius would be a fraction of what it is costing in New York. Representatives and the international Secretariat would certainly be working in a much better atmosphere. Such a siting might even secure peace in the Indian Ocean. It would certainly solve all of the social, economic and political problems of Mauritius.

87. Would the United States withdraw from the United Nations in such an event? I do not believe so. Anyway, let us not forget that one quarter of the world's population were ostracized and prevented from occupying their seat at the United Nations for a quarter of a century. Yet the United Nations survived. This leads me to believe that the United Nations will survive a walk-out, but I am not so sure about the corollary.

88. Permit me to quote an observation on the United Nations:

"Thirty years after the founding of the United Nations, its achievements have been substantial and its promise great. It has prevented many wars and big Power intervention in them . . . in operations which represent the most advanced manifestations of international co-operation for security yet achieved; and, unheralded, it is a symbol of our interdependence, and our most universal instrument for common progress."

Who said that? The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, on 14 July at the University of Wisconsin. I wonder if the representative of the United States is listening.

89. On 26 June, celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, my colleague and friend Mr. Shizuo Saito of Japan stated: "The signing of the Charter has changed the shape of the world." That indeed, is a maximum appraisal honest historians will be bound to note.

90. As the Sixth Committee engaged in the difficult task of probing for ways to strengthen the Organization, I was rather intrigued by the suggestion of the representative of Romania calling for the establishment of what he called a "code of conduct" for the behaviour of States in the United Nations.

91. I take the liberty of suggesting some provisions of such a code: that representatives of Member States adhere to the usages of both bilateral and parliamentary diplomacy, including mutual respect for other nations and their representatives, and abstain from the diplomacy of the threat and the open insult—which, incidentally, from my personal observation of the wonderful American people, is surely not representative of their abundant courtesy and inherent goodwill.

92. Nor is it a true reflection of the spirit of sportsmanship of the American people for its representatives to use the threat of reprisal, of a walk-out from the United Nations or its agencies, every time a vote does not go its way. Americans, as I observe them, do not pick up their marbles in a sulk every time the game does not go their way. Such threats are incautious when everybody knows that the minute the United States walks out of the United Nations its people are more likely to be exposed to a nuclear strike, because, bearing in mind that the Charter of the United Nations is probably the most important treaty that any Member State has ever signed, the adversary might see in that rash act only a repudiation of all international commitments, which now, with the new nuclear missile systems, are virtually the only deterrent left.

93. We do not think a Member State should permit its representatives to use the United Nations as a forum for developing their personality cult, for publicity or for dramatic performances.



94. Finally, sooner or later the United Nations must come to grips with the problem of a defiant State declaring open warfare against this Organization. Apart from the fact that this would be an obvious violation of its obligations under the United Nations Charter, it would be a new kind of aggression, perhaps the worst of all aggressions, because it would strike at the very topmost guarantee against war and world chaos, and at the very fate of mankind. Instead of a code of conduct, perhaps there should be a code of commandments, the most important being: thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother of world peace.

95. Now, this does not apply to the United States as it is represented by Mr. Moynihan, since the United States is one of the parents which begat the United Nations child. And how did Mr. Moynihan talk about that child in his speech in the plenary meeting on 11 December? Patient representatives sat there listening to a spasm of abuse with fulminating sarcasm about "the elevated state of this Assembly" and "the world's increasing contempt" for it, giving it the "lie", which has become his favourite word.

96. But when Mr. Moynihan speaks of alleged public contempt, I would point out two interesting points: first, that members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], in whose defence he so emotionally exploded, did not go along with him in voting against the resolution, they abstained. Furthermore, Mr. Moynihan made an interesting confession: he is having difficulties carrying out his diplomatic assignment on behalf of his Government. He confessed, in so many words, that delegations were shy about contacting him for consultation in the formulation of draft resolutions. Of course they are. They live in positive dread of his manners, his language and his abuse. Indeed, they treat him like a pariah. "Pariah", incidentally, was the Hindi word used by Ambassador Scali, the predecessor of Mr. Moynihan, in the Security Council to describe the minority white racist régime of Pretoria.

97. If this isolationist and arrogant trend continues, there may come a time when delegations representing the honour of their Governments and their peoples will have to recall Cicero's famous reply to a Moynihan counterpart in the Roman Senate: "How long, O Catiline, will you abuse our patience . . .?"

98. So, the projected code of conduct might contain one or two more provisions: first, "Thou shalt honour thine own child, the United Nations"; secondly, that just as it is said of an officer in the American Army that he is an officer and a gentleman, so should it be said: "At the United Nations, one must be a diplomat and a gentleman."

99. My delegation, as from now, extends to the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization the best wishes for its success and expresses the hope that in its report to the Assembly at its thirty-first session, it will make concrete proposals along the lines I have just outlined, as well as in accordance with the suggestions I made in the Sixth Committee.

100. Mr. FUENTES IBÁÑEZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia is very pleased to be given this chance to explain its position

on the draft resolution regarding the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations on the strengthening of the role of the Organization 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 report was adopted in the Sixth Committee and is contained in document A/10459.

101. This is a very well-balanced draft resolution. The sponsors have combined in one draft resolution the opinions which were expressed on the Charter and on the legitimate desire to strengthen the role of the United Nations, both by those Governments which sent comments to the Secretary-General and by those delegations which participated in the debates on the aforementioned topics which the Sixth Committee, with admirably good judgement, decided should be considered together.

102. We feel that this arrangement was just, prudent and suitable to the situation. For that reason, we give it our firmest support.

103. The Government of Bolivia, in the communication which it sent to the Secretary-General on 16 April 1975, stated its view that the Charter: "notwithstanding its many merits as far as intentions and purposes are concerned, must always be open to improvement with respect to its organs, the relations between them and the powers and procedures pertaining to each one." [See A/10113.]

104. To try forthwith to bring about a substantial reform of the Charter would be a bold task which might upset the balance among States and, consequently, might upset the stability of international relations and world peace.

105. It is true that the international community has grown, that the number of Member States in the United Nations has been strikingly increased. The impression now is that while universality may not yet have been achieved, we are very close to it. That universality, however, as should be pointed out, has been achieved in accordance with the principles established by the founders of the Organization, by those countries which signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco and made it dynamic and flexible enough to allow for the growth and expansion of the international community. That has made it possible for the Organization to put an end to the myth of exclusive privileges and benefits which allowed some countries to lead in a world divided between a minority with decision-making power and a subjugated majority.

106. The San Francisco Charter had that merit, and that merit deserves our respect. The reason was that it was born of the holocaust, at a time when mankind was doing penance at the tombs of the millions of human beings sacrificed in the Second World War. It is also due to the fact that the present state of the world today and the agony of anxiety in which man is struggling for security in the face of the growing danger of total destruction are the product of that war.

107. The resolution before us is based on an awareness of that reality. Its recommendations are well balanced and prudent, and here I refer to the fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs, which with exemplary moderation recommend a more thorough consider-

ation of the matter which the *Ad Hoc* Committee had before it, while at the same time reaffirming support for the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

108. In consistency with that position, in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, we read that the *Ad Hoc* Committee should be reconvened as a Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. Then the tasks assigned to the Committee are listed. Inevitably, one task set forth is the examination in detail of the observations received from Governments concerning proposals regarding the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in order to achieve the lofty purposes for which the Organization was set up.

109. Special reference should be made to operative paragraph 2 which:

*“Requests the Committee to examine the proposals which have been made or will be made with a view to according priority to the consideration of those areas on which general agreement is possible.”*

The words “general agreement”, at the end of that sentence, deserve a special mention. They show the healthy spirit underlying the efforts of those who wish to improve the Charter. The review of the Charter for the sake of review was never the goal of those of us who supported this undertaking. Our goal was to strengthen the Organization and, consequently, its organs and principal instruments, primarily the Charter. The Charter should not be considered as an instrument which can be used by one side alone or temporarily by those who wish to influence the decisions of the General Assembly, or by the Powers which occupy permanent seats in the Security Council.

*Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.*

110. In both cases the consequences of such efforts might be very harmful for the international community. The only way to prevent that from happening is to ensure that the Charter will continue to guide the conduct of all Member States. It should never be in the service of secondary causes; it should be in the service of the permanent causes of mankind, viewed as a whole, one and indivisible.

111. It is obvious that certain aspects of the Charter need to be improved. A number of resolutions adopted by a large majority advocate and authorize the use of force, and not by the competent authority of the Security Council but by the will of the parties. This gives rise to the thought that something is wrong. The Charter has been overtaken by the dynamics of growth, which has led to a situation in which violence has become an efficient way of achieving freedom, justice and peace. Growth itself, by creating new pressures, has also resulted in new ways and means which urgently require a change in the very structure of international relations, as is being done now in the economic field. But the review of the Charter must be carried out cautiously, wisely and with prudence. Denial of that would only exacerbate passion.

112. Thirty regular and seven special sessions of the General Assembly have resulted in a large body of decisions, some of them very wise and effective, such as those which reflect the positive side of the creative

process of the Organization. But there are many decisions which are openly contradictory, and the result of passing agreements rather than of respect for the spirit of the Charter. Some conflicts which have arisen over these 30 years were not submitted to the competence of the United Nations. Matters of the greatest importance are considered academically in the realization that substantive decisions are beyond our competence.

113. The Powers which have decision-making authority have found ways and means of contravening the Charter, always in a subtle and ingenious way, leaving no trace of the violation. It is said in Spanish, and in many other languages as well, that as soon as a law is established, a way is found of getting around that law.

114. What is so strange about the fact that the Charter, which has been created, interpreted and applied by human beings, has lost its eminence and has become a flexible instrument in the hands of its most conspicuous manipulators? It is a logical consequence of the passing of time. Many of us advocate not review for the sake of review, but review because there is a constant need to strengthen the role of the United Nations in connexion with the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among nations and the promotion of the rules of international law governing relations among States, which is a separate matter and an aspiration which cannot be challenged.

115. In reality, this is what we have been advocating for many years. I refer to the delegations of Colombia, Philippines, Brazil, Peru and other Latin American States as well as delegations from other countries. They have constantly reasserted their confidence in the relevance of this item, which goes back to the question of the very strength of the Organization. The desire is not for reform simply for innovation or for the sake of change and revolution. There is a desire to help the United Nations grow, to bring it into line with the new realities, which make an evolution necessary. This does not mean the acceptance of risky innovations which might undermine essential purposes. What is really at issue, what we must all work for, is the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace, the respect for rights inherent in the sovereignty of States, the constant improvement of the main bodies of the United Nations. We must do what we can to help the Organization to achieve its purposes in a climate of co-operation, not confrontation.

116. The Charter of the United Nations has given us 30 years of peace, peace which has been undermined in varying circumstances, almost always precarious, but with the possibility of avoiding a conflagration by negotiations—which is the only possibility when the alternative is the universal destruction represented by war in its current context.

117. In spite of these advantages, undoubtedly of great benefit to the international community, it would be contrary to the very nature of change and development to close our minds to new ideas. New States, which were not present at San Francisco but which are nevertheless closely related to the process to which the Charter has given rise and to the very fate of the United Nations, have an excellent opportunity to make

their ideas and their new or old approaches to the world and to peace felt.

118. Mr. PEDAUYÉ (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connexion with the item before us on the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations, my delegation notes that in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution which is now before the Assembly [see A/10459] reference is made to another meeting of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations, which until now has been called the *Ad Hoc* Committee. In operative paragraph 6 we read that the Committee will submit a report on its work to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

119. In considering the report on the administrative and financial implications of this [A/10495], we note that no express reference is made to the date of that meeting of the Committee. This lack of reference to dates which are very important to delegations—especially to delegations which, like mine, will be taking part in the meetings of the Special Committee—means, in the view of my delegation, that at an appropriate time in the future and before a decision is reached the Secretariat will consult all delegations which are especially interested in the meeting of the Special Committee and will ensure that the date will be suitable to all delegations.

120. On that understanding, my delegation will participate in the consensus which we hope will lead to the adoption of this draft resolution.

121. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The draft resolution before us directly links international peace and security with the Charter of the United Nations. That means that we cannot have international peace and security without strengthening the role of the United Nations; that is, there cannot be international peace and security through the balance of power, to which every State seems to be turning more and more, and because of which we have an escalation of the armaments race to the point of \$300 billion a year.

122. Therefore this draft resolution points directly to the necessity of not seeking international security and the security of States through the balance of power because, as we have seen in recent cases, when there is an absence of balance of power we experience a complete collapse of any sense of international security in a manner which is most disappointing with respect to the progress of the world towards a legal order. Hence the strengthening of the role of the United Nations is directly linked with the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, and this, in turn, is linked with the Charter.

123. What we consider to be necessary for world peace and security is the implementation of the Charter as regards the primary responsibilities of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The way to maintain international peace and security through the United Nations is provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter—by peaceful means under Article 41 and by enforcement measures under Article 42. Unless enforcement measures exist in practice, the Security Council decisions, although mandatory, will remain without effect in the same way as there cannot be national and internal security

within a State if there is no court of justice or enforcement of its decisions.

124. For 30 years the United Nations has failed in this primary task. I have just heard the representative of Mauritius praising the achievements of the United Nations. We do not doubt those achievements, but all of them are on the periphery, while the main thrust of the United Nations function should be towards international security, by properly applying the Charter. That is what is sought for the *Ad Hoc* Committee by this draft resolution. The *Ad Hoc* Committee should turn towards the implementation of the Charter provisions through the implementation of Security Council decisions.

125. It may be said that it has proved difficult, or perhaps cumbersome, for the United Nations to apply Chapter VII of the Charter. It may also be said that the experience of years has shown that Chapter VII cannot be implemented. I beg to disagree with that view, and the General Assembly no doubt disagreed also when in 1970 it adopted—unanimously but for one vote—the resolution on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], and, after the experience of 25 years, recommended in operative paragraph 9 that:

“the Security Council take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order fully to develop its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter”.

Article 43 of the Charter reads as follows:

“All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.”

126. So we have here in the Charter every provision that is necessary to ensure international peace and security, every measure that is necessary for strengthening the role of the United Nations in this respect. We only have to apply them. Therefore the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee should turn towards the due implementation of the Charter and its cardinal provisions concerning the maintenance of peace as reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted only five years ago.

127. It would be futile to waste time on discussions of other ways and means. We must proceed in accordance with the Charter. We cannot now draft a different Charter. However, if it is thought that something could be added to facilitate the work of the United Nations under Article 43 of the Charter, that might be constructively proposed as long as the implementation of Security Council resolutions is the target. It can be achieved, and it can be achieved as the Charter now stands and without any change. It might be found necessary to help in some other way, such as by the establishment of a United Nations permanent force, or in any other way deemed likely to facilitate the task. But the way of achieving the task is already in the Charter, and that is the thrust of my statement today. I hope that I have not taken too much time, but

in my view, whatever time is taken in trying to save the United Nations wasting its efforts on the periphery instead of directing them to the main issue of the maintenance of peace and security—which would also solve the problem of disarmament and thus the problem of development, through the diversion to it of what was saved by the cessation of the great arms race—is not time wasted.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/10459]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appears in document A/10495. With regard to operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee has provided us with the names of the five additional Member States to enlarge the *Ad Hoc* Committee: Barbados, Belgium, Egypt, Iraq and Romania. The draft resolution was adopted in the Sixth Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3499 (XXX)).*

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

130. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): On the recommendation of the Sixth Committee, the General Assembly has just adopted without a vote—in other words, by consensus—a draft resolution on two agenda items: item 29, “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”; and item 113, “Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations”. The USSR delegation raised no objection to the adoption of that draft resolution by consensus. Nevertheless, we feel it necessary to state that if the draft resolution had been put to the vote the delegation of the Soviet Union would have abstained.

131. During the Sixth Committee’s consideration of these two items, the delegation of the Soviet Union had an opportunity to set forth its position on the question of the Charter of the United Nations. We stated quite clearly that the Soviet Union’s position regarding the admissibility of reviewing the Charter at the present time remained unchanged.

132. The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to emphasize once again that it is only through strict and unswerving observance by all States of the provisions of the Charter, rather than through reviewing that Charter or violating it, that we can attempt to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations in its present form reflects the reality in the world: the existence of two social and political systems, socialism and capitalism, and their equal status in the United Nations.

133. The Charter, furthermore, fully responds to the desire to strengthen and consolidate peace. That, as members know, is the main task of the United Nations.

It was the main task when the Organization was founded; it is the main task at present; it will be the main task for the foreseeable future. The principle of the equality of these two social and political systems, socialism and capitalism, is not a privilege but a historic necessity. Neither system wishes to be dependent on the other. Unless there is equality between the two systems, it is impossible, indeed unthinkable, for the United Nations to exist. We have already made statements to that effect, and we shall continue to do so. That should be borne in mind by those who are opponents of the present Charter and who are demanding its review, which would inevitably lead to the destruction of the Charter and hence of the United Nations. Unless there is equality between socialism and capitalism in the United Nations, the Organization will, as we see it, become virtually non-existent.

134. At the same time, the Soviet Union would like to express its complete readiness to co-operate actively, as in the past, with all other States within the new Special Committee in drawing up and establishing specific steps to strengthen the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security and the development of mutual understanding and co-operation and friendship among all peoples and countries, on the basis of the unswerving observance of the Charter.

135. During the discussions in the Sixth Committee the Soviet delegation had an opportunity to point out the areas on which it believes the main activities of the new Special Committee should be focused. Of course, that Committee’s work should promote the implementation of the historic task of the United Nations—that is to guarantee peace on earth, to complete the process of decolonization and to ensure non-discriminatory and mutually beneficial co-operation among all countries for the purpose of their economic development.

136. It can easily be seen that throughout the 30-year history of the United Nations the entire policy of the Soviet Union and the other genuinely socialist countries has been—as it will continue to be—aimed at the achievement of those ends. We need only recall some of the major initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries: the proposals on the strengthening of international security, the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the definition of aggression, the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council, the convening of a world disarmament conference, the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons, the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the fifteenth anniversary of which we celebrated on 12 December in the General Assembly [2438th meeting] and many others.

137. The resolution on the two items in question adopted today by the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee, will give the Special Committee an opportunity to concentrate precisely on those areas where the views of States belonging to various social, economic and regional groups and



systems correspond. We must talk about that which unites the United Nations rather than that which divides it. I say that because I believe in a better future for the United Nations. If the Special Committee proceeds in that way, it will avoid fruitless discussions about whether the Charter should be left intact, as it is now, or whether it should be destroyed without the creation of anything better in present conditions.

138. Hence, in the present specific historic circumstances, there will be more benefit to the United Nations and its Members, and to peace and security for all peoples, if the Special Committee concerns itself with drawing up a positive programme of activities designed to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. It was precisely because of our understanding that that was the main point of the resolution just adopted by the Assembly that we did not object to its being adopted by consensus.

139. We cannot, however, fail to draw attention to the fact that among the States Members of the United Nations there are certain Members—as has become obvious during the debates both in the Sixth Committee and in the plenary Assembly—that attach another meaning to this resolution, a meaning under which they believe they can continue to attempt to channel the Special Committee's work into paths that would undermine and destroy the Charter. Of course, such an interpretation is binding on no one, including the Soviet delegation, but we cannot fail to draw attention to this. It is precisely because of that that the Soviet Union, as I have already said, while not objecting to the adoption of the resolution by consensus, would have abstained if the text had been put to the vote.

140. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the adoption of this resolution will make it possible for the members of the Special Committee to carry out a fruitful study of the views of Governments on strengthening the role of the United Nations and increasing its effectiveness within the system of present international relations and in strict accordance with the Charter.

141. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Our representative in the Sixth Committee has already stated the well-known position of the French Government on the review of the Charter and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. My delegation wishes to confirm, at this meeting of the Assembly, that our participation in the consensus that has just been manifested with regard to the draft resolution in paragraph 7 of document A/10459 implies no change in the position of France on the subject. The strengthening of the United Nations and the enhancement of its effectiveness cannot, we wish to reaffirm, be achieved unless we improve our working methods and unless we make full use of the possibilities offered by the Charter, and not through any changes in the provisions of the Charter on which our Organization was founded. Over the years, the Charter has proved its worth and its wisdom.

142. It is in that spirit that our delegation will participate in the work of the Special Committee in the coming year.

143. Miss WILMSHURST (United Kingdom): My delegation expressed, in the Sixth Committee, our

appreciation to all those who, in lengthy and painstaking negotiations, worked towards the text of the resolution we have just been able to adopt by consensus [*resolution 3499 (XXX)*]. Our participation in the consensus does not mean that we have modified our views on the question of Charter review. We remain of the opinion that a review of the Charter is unlikely to produce results that will be fruitful, and we remain of the view that the exercise is essentially and inherently dangerous and stultifying. The results of last year's meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee did not give us any cause to change this opinion. Nevertheless, the process of negotiation by which we arrived at the resolution that has just been adopted gives us cause for hope that a new and less confrontational attitude will be in evidence at the forthcoming meetings of the Special Committee. The resolution itself, in its operative paragraph 2, requires this spirit of agreement. My delegation has been able to go along with the consensus on the basis of the terms of the resolution as they stand, and not of any interpretation that has been put upon them.

144. Mr. MITCHELL (United States of America): On behalf of my Government, I wish to acknowledge the presence of the representative who addressed us a short time ago and extended a very generous invitation to us to consider his country as a place for relocating the United Nations. I have one apprehension, however: I understand that his country is a very pleasant place, with white, sandy beaches and many other attractive aspects. It might be difficult to convince the world that we were not on vacation, if we were to accept that invitation.

145. I would say that we are mindful of the fact that he addressed many remarks to the distinguished, able and greatly beloved senior member of our delegation, Mr. Moynihan. That gentleman is not here at the time, but I want to assure the gentleman who made the assertion that when any member of the United States delegation is present in this chamber, the United States is here, and that whenever remarks are addressed to a representative of the United States, we who are present listen and record them dutifully in order to take proper note of them.

146. I would like to say too that I had assumed, after having been in this body for several months beginning in the month of September when we had the seventh special session, that some, perhaps, of the rather caustic rhetoric that I heard coming from other persons was more or less the order of the day, and I assumed that it was something that people just used as a matter of course and not necessarily because they meant to be offensive. Therefore, I was a little bit surprised that the representative in question took exception to some of the things that were said by the representative of the Government of the United States, because they did not begin to be as colourful or as imaginative as some of the things I had heard. So I trust that, if there is to be a revision downward of the decibels and we are, in the future, to have the kind of elegant civility which all of us would like to see, this pattern will be followed by all, and not expected simply of the United States.

147. I would also like to say that it is our earnest hope that those who write resolutions and use expressions will also make sure that these are not used as



vehicles for inappropriate, misleading or sometimes diversionary projects.

148. Having said that, I want to compliment the representative of Mauritius, who is, as all of us know, a very handsome man, an elegantly attired man, and I hope that if any of our citizens were looking at him on television, they did not have the sound turned on, because his appearance would have misled them into thinking that he was saying something good about the United States.

149. In any event, however, we shall not address ourselves to arguments *ad hominem* and will point out that this is a civil body in which people, fortunately, are able to enjoy complete freedom of speech.

150. My delegation has placed on record its position on this item at the 1565th and 1578th meetings of the Sixth Committee, and there has been no change in that position. We remain, for example, convinced that tinkering with the Charter is not a prudent means of strengthening the role and the functioning of the Organization. We have gone along with the consensus on this resolution out of respect for, and in response to, the spirit in which it was proffered. That spirit was particularly well summarized by the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, when he said in the Committee: "No Member objects to improving the United Nations. No Member feels that the United Nations is beyond improvement".

151. I would also like to note, in passing, that there was some question about the resolution being imprecise as to location. I would note, in response to that, that the resolution is not imprecise on the question of the place of meeting.

152. We are prepared to join others in approaching the tasks of the Special Committee in a similar spirit of co-operation. We are firmly committed to strengthening the institution of the United Nations, though we do not favour the Charter-amendment route to that goal. We are now all joining together to launch an exercise from a firm basis of consensus. If we continue in this spirit and on that basis, we are likely to benefit. If we deviate from them, all will be losers.

153. Mr. LAI (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation agrees with the resolution which has just been adopted.

154. The discussion of this question in the Sixth Committee eloquently shows that more and more third-world countries are in favour of the review of the Charter of the United Nations. Quite a few representatives have made it abundantly clear that today, 30 years after the signing of the Charter, it is neces-

sary and timely to review it and make the required amendments to it so as to suit the tremendous changes in the international situation and the composition of the United Nations. They have put forward specific proposals and opinions on the revision of the Charter. Meanwhile, they have forcefully refuted the fallacious arguments disseminated by the super-Powers in opposing the review and revision of the Charter. This once again shows that the trend for demanding the review of the Charter is growing independently of the will of those who are opposed to it.

155. It is necessary to point out here in particular that since the present resolution has been approved by the great majority of the Member States which stand for the review of the Charter and have adopted resolutions to this effect, the main task of the Special Committee in the future naturally remains to be the consideration of matters concerning the review of the Charter. This allows of no distortion.

156. As we may recall, last year the super-Powers did their utmost to oppose the review of the Charter and obstruct the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. but they did not succeed in their attempts. This year they have clung to their obdurate position and are now attempting to obstruct the work of the review of the Charter by distorting the present resolution. Evidently they are standing in opposition to the numerous small and medium countries and are against the implementation of the principle of equality among all States, big or small, within the United Nations in an attempt to preserve their privileged status.

157. The proceedings of the debate show that the numerous small and medium countries, particularly the third-world countries, are opposed to big-Power hegemonism and demand the implementation of the principle of equality among all States, big or small, within the United Nations. Like the establishment of the new international economic order and a new law of the sea, the review and revision of the Charter will inevitably be replete with the struggle against the super-Powers. Those countries which stand for the review of the Charter have expressed their readiness to enter into patient consultations and careful study of the questions related to the revision of the Charter, but they are resolutely opposed to the obstruction and sabotage by the super-Powers. We are convinced that so long as the numerous third-world countries get closely united and persevere in struggle, they will be able to carry forward this just cause steadily.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*