



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 89: Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its twenty-fifth session Report of the Sixth Committee	1
Agenda item 91: International conference of plenipotentiaries on the representation of States in their relations with international organizations Report of the Sixth Committee	1
Agenda item 25: Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States: report of the Secretary-General (<i>concluded</i>)	3

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Martínez Ordóñez (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 89

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

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/9334)

AGENDA ITEM 91

International conference of plenipotentiaries on the representation of States in their relations with international organizations

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/9335)

1. Mr. BOZANGA (Central African Republic), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the reports of the Sixth Committee on agenda items 89 and 91.

2. The first of these reports has been circulated in document A/9334. It relates to the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its twenty-fifth session. Like the previous reports, this report has been thoroughly studied by the Sixth Committee, which devoted 14 meetings to it. The highly important work of the codification and progressive development of law being done by the International Law Commission calls for close co-operation

between the eminent jurists of which it is composed and the States Members of the United Nations acting, in particular, through their representatives in the Sixth Committee. It is this co-operation that has made it possible for the Commission to draw up the draft articles which link two qualities indispensable to all codification work—namely, great scientific value and the happy amalgamation between the principal juridical systems and the interests of the various members of the international community. It is that which will make it possible for the Commission, I am sure, to bring to a successful conclusion the work on the three sets of draft articles contained in the report submitted to the General Assembly this year. But co-operation between the International Law Commission and Member States is reflected not only in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, but also in the debates in the Sixth Committee. Accordingly, and in conformity with a well-established tradition, the report on item 89 contains a summary of these debates.

3. The second report—in document A/9335—that I have the honour to present deals with agenda item 91. It relates to the final phase of the work of codification and progressive development undertaken by the International Law Commission with regard to the question of the representation of States in their relations with international organizations. The draft resolution contained in that report recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a decision to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries on this question in Vienna in 1975 for the purpose of elaborating a draft convention on the basis of a series of draft articles drawn up by the International Law Commission. The Sixth Committee approved this draft resolution unanimously and accepted with gratitude the invitation of the Austrian Government to hold the conference in Vienna. I hope that this draft resolution will likewise be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Jorge Castañeda of Mexico, Chairman of the International Law Commission, has asked to be allowed to speak at this time. As I hear no objection, I now call on him in his capacity as Chairman of the International Law Commission.

5. Mr. CASTAÑEDA (Mexico), Chairman of the International Law Commission (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to make some very brief remarks with regard to the report of the International Law Commission and, more specifically, the report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee. I am referring to the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/9353, paragraph 8, in which the Committee makes a statement concerning the possibility of the International Law Commission's introducing a tighter schedule of meetings. This

view of the Fifth Committee is based on the fifteenth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/9008/Add.14], wherein the view is expressed that if the International Law Commission were to meet more often—to be specific, seven times a week, which is the usual pattern of meetings for the Main Committees of the General Assembly—the duration of its sessions could be reduced, and hence some savings made in the expenses connected with its work.

6. In this connexion, on behalf of the International Law Commission I should like to make the following remarks.

7. The International Law Commission holds one plenary meeting each day. This is its usual practice. In other words, it holds five plenary meetings a week. However, its Drafting Committee, which is composed of about half of its membership, also meets two or three times a week.

8. Moreover, very often *ad hoc* working groups are set up to deal with specific subjects. If we add to this the meetings of the expanded Bureau of the Commission, which includes both the Special Rapporteurs and very often former Chairmen of the Commission, it will be seen that on an average there are between seven and eight meetings a week which are attended by all or most of the members. This is not a lower average than that of any of the Main Committees of the General Assembly and in particular of the Sixth Committee.

9. However, the number of meetings is not the most important thing. It must also be borne in mind that the members of the Commission attend those meetings in a personal capacity and cannot be replaced by alternates or advisers. They must give their personal attention to the work done in the Commission. Apart from this and above all, it seems to me that the suggestion that the number of official meetings of the Commission be increased simply disregards the special nature of the work performed by the Commission and its members.

10. The work of the Commission consists essentially in elaborating drafts of international juridical rules. Apart from the great care and thoroughness that this work demands because of its importance, the task of elaborating norms is by definition a process of abstraction and synthesis, that is to say, the kind of work that calls for the highest degree of concentration. I am convinced that I am not mistaken when I say that no other task within the United Nations demands a greater degree of reflection and careful study of problems than the drafting of legal rules. I must add that apart from this need for reflection, the search for doctrinal and juridical antecedents represents a very specific aspect of particular importance in the work of the Commission.

11. An increase in the number of meetings would therefore mean no more and no less than a lowering of the quality of the work of the Commission's members. I would add that all the members of the Commission are well aware of this and their opinion on this point is unanimous. Proof of the high value of the work of the Commission is the almost complete acceptance of its drafts by the various conferences on codification that have been held to date.

12. In the course of my introduction of the report of the Commission I refrained from touching on another matter. However, the views just expressed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to which I have referred, offer me an opportunity to do so, though briefly.

13. Ever since the International Law Commission was set up, there has been a misunderstanding about the nature of its membership, the kind of work it does and, to some extent, the nature of its functions. From the very outset, the members were assimilated to the usual United Nations experts and they were subjected to identical financial treatment. This was a mistake that has been recognized very often, but has not yet been remedied. The members of the International Law Commission quite simply cannot be assimilated with other experts working in the United Nations, not only because of the importance of their work, which I have already mentioned, but also because of the very high intellectual and professional level of many of them. That assimilation was, therefore, not only unfair but becomes increasingly prejudicial in practice to the work of the Commission. Representatives must all know and be fully aware of the fact that the presence in Geneva of the members of the Commission during its sessions represents, not for all but for almost all its members, an appreciable financial sacrifice. The amounts they receive do not enable them to live with even acceptable decorum, apart from the fact that they work hard and receive no emoluments whatever. This is one of the reasons why some of the members of the Commission—all of whom have other occupations—cannot attend its meetings and contribute to its work for the duration of its session.

14. Moreover, the preparation of the special reports on which the work of the Commission so highly depends, many of which have been the object of unanimous praise in the Sixth Committee, is running up against more and more difficulties because of the small remuneration, that at times does not even cover the expenses of the Special Rapporteur.

15. All of this that I am now saying was unknown at the beginning when the International Law Commission was established, or perhaps did not appear to be so serious. But now, as we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Commission, and especially in the light of the work this body has performed, the time has certainly come to consider the possibility of seriously changing its conditions of work.

16. I shall venture to recommend to the International Law Commission that it consider this question and submit its recommendations to the General Assembly. It would not be too much to ask of the Assembly, moreover, that in due course it should study this whole question with interest and objectivity.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Sixth Committee.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, we shall consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 89 [A/9334]. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in

paragraph 128 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appears in document A/9353.

The draft resolution was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 12 abstentions (resolution 3071 (XXVIII)).

18. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to explain his vote.

19. Mr. KOLESNIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I wish once again to draw attention to document A/9353, which contains the report of the Fifth Committee concerning the resolution that we have just adopted. In paragraphs 7 and 8 of that document we find the following:

“The Fifth Committee decided . . . to inform the General Assembly that, should it adopt the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee, an additional appropriation of \$61,000 would be required under section 25 of the budget for the biennium 1974-1975. . . .

“The Fifth Committee further decided, without objection, to draw to the attention of the General Assembly the savings that would accrue were the International Law Commission to introduce a tighter schedule of meetings.”

20. We have just heard a statement by the Chairman of the International Law Commission, Mr. Castañeda, concerning the complexity of the work of the Commission and the creative process involved in elaborating the various drafts entrusted to that body—and, of course, we cannot but agree with that. On the other hand, from the point of view of the Soviet delegation, the complexity of this work does not exclude—but, I would say, rather requires—the most expeditious way of working; and the views which are set forth in the Fifth Committee’s report really deserve the most serious attention on our part. If we have not taken them into account this year, I think that all delegations, and especially the members of the International Law Commission, will have to take them into account when they plan their work for the next session.

21. As is known, the Soviet delegation in the Sixth Committee objected to the prolongation of the Commission’s sessions—guided first of all by precisely the considerations that I have just outlined, namely, the need to effect savings in United Nations expenditures and to organize the Commission’s work in the most effective and economical way.

22. For those reasons the Soviet delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote on the resolution as a whole, and I request that this statement be reflected in the records of the General Assembly.

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 91 [A/9335]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 11 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/9354. Since the

Sixth Committee adopted that draft resolution unanimously, may I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do that?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3072 (XXVIII)).

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to draw the attention of representatives to the draft resolution in document A/L.713 and Add.1.

25. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia): No one can deny the considerable results that our Organization has achieved so far in many fields of international co-operation. We have particularly in mind the ceaseless efforts that have been exerted—sometimes under difficult and unfavourable conditions—with a view to preserving peace in the world and promoting détente and solving outstanding issues by peaceful means. The United Nations has played a particularly prominent role in the process of decolonization and support of the struggle of national liberation movements against colonial domination.

26. Of no lesser importance have been the efforts of an ever wider circle of countries to ensure respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter—which are actually defined in such a manner as to apply to relations among all States without exception—and, what is more, to secure the application of these principles in practice. We all know that we have gone through many trials and have experienced failures, and there have also been moments when we asked ourselves the question whether the United Nations would be in a position to survive the numerous threats and onslaughts of the policy of force on the international scene and the various attempts at imposing foreign domination and subjugating other peoples.

27. We think that the role played by the United Nations in connexion with the crisis in the Middle East deserves particular attention. The United Nations has been involved in this crisis in various forms all along. In other words, it was within its competence to lay down principles for a lasting and just solution. This time, too, it proved to be necessary for our Organization to become involved both in the achievement of a cease-fire and in making it operational, the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force being an indispensable element of it. However, the involvement of the United Nations cannot be limited to this aspect; the United Nations should play a more active role in achieving an over-all settlement in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Any attempt to eliminate or reduce the role of our Organization to that of a passive observer of conflicts would seriously undermine the

* Resumed from the 2184th meeting.

basic role of the United Nations and would harmfully affect international relations in general.

28. Although significant progress has been achieved within the general context of the international situation, as well as in certain vital areas, we are still far from being able to feel safe and calm. Acts of aggression and various forms of foreign interference practised by colonialism and imperialism are still present in international relations. The process of a relative bypassing of the role and framework of the United Nations with regard to some important political problems runs almost parallel with considerable achievements within the broader range of international co-operation, achievements that confirm the growing interdependence of the present-day world. My delegation has, together with many other delegations, particularly with those of non-aligned countries, constantly drawn attention to this disquieting tendency. Precisely within the context of general interdependence, relations between the great Powers affect the position and interests of a large number of other countries. Therefore, it is not possible to accept the tendencies expressed in some circles to single out these relations and place them into a special category that would be outside or even above the United Nations. On the contrary, bilateralism and regionalism, which are necessary in some fields, should constantly fit into the broader endeavours of the international community to solve all problems of a general interest, in the solution of which all countries should participate. These problems are undoubtedly those that are concerned with international peace, security, disarmament, development and others. We believe that the time has come for all of us to try to ensure, especially through the United Nations, the acceleration of the democratization of international relations, so that they may be in harmony with the actual aspirations of peoples to decide their own fate themselves and to co-operate on a footing of equality.

29. The full universality of the United Nations is an essential element for its effective action. Important steps forward have been achieved, including the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the world Organization and the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations. The People's Republic of Bangladesh rightly demands to become a Member of the United Nations. Yugoslavia whole-heartedly supports the earliest possible realization of the full universality of the United Nations, convinced that this, as well as other measures, would contribute towards our Organization's exercising greater influence in international relations.

30. In order to function successfully, the United Nations must always insist in relations between States—without any exception and regardless of their size and socio-political systems—on full respect for the principles of not having recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the solution of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in internal affairs, the sovereign equality of all States, the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and friendly co-operation among States. Only on such a basis can the United Nations face the new realities of international life and secure the participation of all States in the solving of the most important problems of today's world.

31. My delegation firmly believes that the main responsibility for effective action in the spirit of the Charter depends primarily on the policies of Member States. There can, of course, be no question of an international order provided for in the Charter, nor can the United Nations fully carry out its responsibilities, as long as certain Member States undertake actions from a position of force; as long as acts of aggression are committed against the independence and integrity of other States; as long as foreign territories are held under occupation; as long as the right of self-determination is denied and colonial and neo-colonial dependence are maintained; as long as economic coercion is used in order to impede or check economic emancipation; and as long as the principles of sovereign equality and equal rights are violated under various excuses.

32. It is a known fact that in a number of cases the United Nations has adopted numerous decisions and resolutions which were fully in accordance with the Charter and which, therefore, cannot be called in question but were not implemented. Let us take, as an example, the resolutions dealing with decolonization and with the crisis in the Middle East. In this case, too, the main responsibility rests with those who reject or offer resistance to their implementation. However, responsibility is also borne by those who encourage and tolerate such a situation and who assert, among other things, that the United Nations cannot and should not apply sanctions against the violator of its principles.

33. In this context, we wish to emphasize, without advocating any revision of the Charter, that in our view every country should exercise its rights, and especially its prerogatives, in accordance with the responsibilities that every one of us and all of us together have under the Charter. We feel that there is enough room for the improvement of the machinery of the United Nations and, in this connexion, we wish to welcome the conclusion of the Secretary-General concerning the need for our Organization to make the necessary adjustments and, where needed, to develop new machinery and methods.

34. The non-aligned countries are attaching particular attention to the proper functioning of our Organization and are exerting efforts towards that end. They confirmed this once again at the Fourth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September. This has been clearly emphasized in the Political Declaration adopted at Algiers. I wish to lay stress on some of the most important passages of this Declaration, where it states:

“The Conference recalls the Declaration on the United Nations adopted by the Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and reaffirms its devotion to the principles and objectives of the Charter. It considers that the United Nations could be an effective instrument for fostering international peace and security, increasing co-operation and safeguarding fundamental rights and freedoms.” [A/9330, para.77.]

“With a view to ensuring the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries stress the need to improve the Organization. To this end, the Security Council, the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security,

should not be prevented from exercising all the responsibilities conferred on it by the Charter. In this connexion, the Heads of State or Government invite all those upon whom the Charter has conferred a special responsibility to show wisdom and moral integrity in the exercise of their functions." [*Ibid.*, para. 82.]

"They consider it necessary that adequate, unequivocal decisions and resolutions . . . should be adopted by the United Nations bodies concerned and the respect for them assured." [*Ibid.*, para. 83.]

35. I should like to draw attention particularly to an idea that found expression at the Algiers Conference, concerning periodical special sessions of the General Assembly on the highest possible level. As a first initiative in this sense, the Conference recommends the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to problems of development. The use of such and other appropriate initiatives of co-operation among Member States can, in our opinion, contribute to the effectiveness of the United Nations, ensuring the adoption of common solutions on questions of general interest which would also secure their implementation in practice.

36. My delegation has always attached great significance to the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. In this sense, we welcomed and supported the initiative of Romania proposing the inclusion in the agenda of last year's session the item we are now discussing.¹ We think that it is not necessary to insist, as far as we the Member States are concerned, on the topical interest of this item. It is clear that we cannot attain the aim we have set ourselves by some *ad hoc* action or short-term undertaking. What is involved here is a long-term approach to a complex consideration of conditions in which the United Nations operates so as to be able to identify all the possibilities for enabling and adapting our Organization to function in the spirit of the time in which we live.

37. For those reasons, my delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1, and we hope that, as was the case with a similar draft resolution last year, it will be adopted by acclamation.

38. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan): The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan attaches great importance to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations as the essential instrument for peace and co-operation among nations. We firmly believe that if all the opportunities provided by the Charter are fully used and its provisions abided by, this Organization will become an effective instrument for the preservation of international peace and security and the promotion of co-operation among all nations based on the rule of law.

39. In order to achieve this aim, it is particularly necessary not to bypass the United Nations in seeking solutions to the urgent problems confronting the world. If bringing issues of world-wide importance to the United Nations is avoided, great harm will be done to its effectiveness and we shall soon discover that it has in fact been reduced to a mere debating

forum where Member countries air their views and acquiesce in arrangements often arrived at elsewhere.

40. One of the results of the present détente should be a stronger and more effective United Nations as an instrument for promoting world peace and co-operation among nations and safeguarding fundamental human rights and freedoms.

41. The survival of the United Nations and its strengthening are of vital necessity to the smaller States. For those countries, especially the non-aligned ones among them, there exists no way of ensuring their safety other than to rely on the system of collective security as envisaged in the Charter and there is no means of translating their joint decisions and aspirations into action other than to resort to the machinery of the United Nations and its family of organizations.

42. The effectiveness and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations depend on the actions of Member States and their attitude towards it. The lack of effectiveness of the Organization is primarily the result of the non-compliance of certain Member States with the resolutions of the United Nations and the provisions of the Charter and of the policies pursued by some Member countries which are contrary to the purposes and principles enshrined therein.

43. There is no doubt that the United Nations is increasingly faced with new challenges brought about by the rising expectations of its Members, by the emergence of new problems of development, the environment, the exploitation of the resources of the sea, the population explosion and scores of others. It is necessary for this world Organization to be afforded the possibility to deal with these challenges effectively in the interest of the entire membership—challenges that were unforeseen by the framers of the Charter.

44. We are of the opinion that seeking practical means of strengthening the United Nations is a duty incumbent upon all of us. It was because of this consideration that we welcomed the timely initiative of the delegation of Romania last year in presenting this important item to the General Assembly and that we sponsored during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly the draft resolution pertaining to it.²

45. Similarly, we welcome this year draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1, put forward by the delegation of Romania and other sponsors, which provides an opportunity for the entire membership to try to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations and its effectiveness in all fields. We are particularly appreciative of the fact that to that end the draft resolution, in operative paragraph 7,

"Urges all Member States . . . to fulfil their obligations under the Charter and . . . to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council".

46. We also note with satisfaction that in operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of the draft resolution a procedure has been envisaged enabling the Member States to communicate

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 24, document A/8792.

² *Ibid.*, document A/L.684 and Add.1-4.

their views and proposals concerning this important matter to the Secretary-General, who will present them in a systematized report to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We think that from that report concrete and detailed proposals could be evolved with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations and preparing it to cope with the ever-increasing problems and challenges.

47. We have one further observation to make with regard to the draft resolution and that is in relation to operative paragraph 1. In the English text of that paragraph, the General Assembly reaffirms, *inter alia*, that the United Nations should take firm action in accordance with the Charter to oppose "foreign domination". The term that should have been used is "alien domination". It is owing to this discrepancy that, regrettably, we were not able to sponsor the draft resolution this year. It should be pointed out that "alien domination" is an internationally accepted term which figures in numerous United Nations resolutions, including in paragraph 1 of resolution 1514 (XV). I do not want to enumerate all these resolutions because it would be an exhausting exercise. The term "alien domination" appears also in paragraph 14 and other relevant paragraphs of the Political Declaration of the Algiers Conference. The existence of situations characterized by "alien domination" is thus recognized by the United Nations and by other international instances as impeding the cause of peace and the freedom of peoples.

48. While in French the term "alien domination" is translated into "*domination étrangère*" because there is no equivalent word in French for "alien" and therefore there is no difference between the words "alien" and "foreign" in that language, in English there is a nuance between "alien domination" and "foreign domination" which has to be underlined.

49. During the consultations the sponsors of the draft resolution told us that in their view there was no difference between "alien" and "foreign" and that the word "foreign" in their text adequately covered our position with regard to this matter. As the words "foreign domination" do not satisfy us entirely in the context of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution under discussion, the delegation of Afghanistan, while in agreement with the aims and purposes of the draft, wishes to reserve its position on it. We request that the verbatim records of the Assembly properly reflect this reservation.

50. Having made its position clear with regard to this matter, the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1.

51. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I shall not attempt in the course of this statement to analyse the importance of the United Nations, to emphasize its governing role in international relations, to demonstrate the dire need to strengthen the United Nations system or to analyse its message of peace and co-operation between nations on the basis of the Charter of San Francisco. The speakers who preceded me have done so with so much competence and eloquence. In our opinion, it is important for the future of the United Nations to go beyond declarations of principles and to come forward with practical and

concrete proposals for giving the United Nations the possibility of recharging its batteries at a time of doubt and exhaustion.

52. It is in that spirit that the Tunisian delegation would wish to participate in the debate on the item of the General Assembly's agenda entitled "Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of rules of international law in relations between States".

53. The proposal made to us as far back as the twenty-seventh session, on the initiative of the Romanian delegation, to deal with the problem of strengthening the role of the United Nations has an unquestionable merit: that of making it possible for the United Nations to engage in an exercise of self-criticism after more than a quarter of a century of existence. May I therefore be permitted to state now, after having heard last year and in the debate this year several statements, that such self-criticism is not an easy matter, because the speakers who have come to the rostrum have had to take into account the positions of their governments and their regional groups. And frequently the rules of courtesy impose limits.

54. However, the Tunisian delegation does see that an appreciable effort has been made. Interesting observations and problems have been raised in the answers of governments and in the statements of representatives. Unfortunately, delegations frequently have confined themselves to general principles, or repeated theses defended in the course of political debates.

55. In order to identify the weaknesses of the system and prescribe appropriate solutions, an intensive effort of reflection is required. The ideal solution would be for the question to be submitted to a group of independent experts, chosen for their competence and their attachment to the United Nations, who would establish a diagnosis and present proposals to us. On the basis of that preparatory work, the General Assembly could resume discussion of the problem at an appropriate time and adopt decisions as warranted.

56. However, such a procedure is not possible for the time being, and it seems to us appropriate to continue consideration of the question.

57. Draft resolution A/L.713 and Add.1 makes that possible, fortunately.

58. The Tunisian delegation considers that, in view of the complexity of the problem before us, the action that we are undertaking must encompass the whole of the United Nations system. The attempt to identify the weaknesses and the possibilities of the Organization must involve not only governments but also all the components of the system that we intend to examine. We must not undertake limited action, confined to principal organs such as the General Assembly and the Security Council, but must include also the economic, social and cultural ramifications of the Organization; moreover—and I emphasize this—we must also include the specialized agencies and must not forget the

regional groupings, which are playing an increasingly important role in the system. In order to be effective, our action must constitute a group of homogeneous measures which would take into account the following three elements, which I propose for the consideration of the Assembly.

59. First, the United Nations organs and the specialized agencies must not engage in a sectarian analysis of the obstacles to the improvement of their own systems and methods but should consider their problems from the overall point of view. Those organs are part of the system and they have a duty to reflect upon its consolidation, as well as its future, and to propose in their reports to the General Assembly appropriate measures for strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations.

60. It should be noted that the Economic and Social Council has already started to take action designed to streamline its methods and simplify its organization, which is based on a dizzying multiplicity of organs that are hampering its action and stifling its efforts. Tunisia is encouraging this streamlining and hopes that this effort will be continued. In our opinion, it is thanks to the economic and technical organs of which the Economic and Social Council is the co-ordinating pivot that a system of collective economic security is on the way to being established, a system that could contribute to the strengthening of international peace in accordance with the Charter.

61. Secondly, regional groups tend to play an increasingly determining role within the United Nations system. Those groups should not be strengthened to the detriment of the system as a whole, but should act in harmony with it. They also must engage in an analysis of their role in the system and consider ways and means of making it possible to strengthen the United Nations. An appeal could also be addressed to those groups to consider this problem at meetings convened for the purpose. They could present their views, through the appropriate channels, either to the General Assembly or the Secretary-General, who would reproduce their opinions in the report which he is invited under the terms of the draft resolution to present to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

62. Thirdly, the permanent representatives are living with the United Nations system on a daily basis. They are generally well acquainted with its weaknesses and they can have ideas on ways of strengthening it. It would be appropriate for them to hold informal meetings between sessions for the purpose of bringing out by consensus certain measures which could be presented either to the Secretary-General or to the General Assembly. As for who should take the initiative of convening such meetings, consultations should make it possible to find some adequate formula for the purpose. First and foremost, it is a question of encouraging extensive consultation between delegations on the strengthening of the United Nations—a point on which there is unanimous agreement—with the idea that such a process of consultation outside the official context of confrontation might facilitate the search for solutions to political and other questions which must be progressively solved if the United Nations is to live and survive.

63. It seems clear to us that the task that awaits us must not be of an academic nature but should take into account the political realities of today.

64. The world we are living in is different from that of 1945. We must recognize that the founding fathers of the United Nations did pioneer work. The Charter contains guidelines which, despite our differences of concept, remain valid. However, the Charter could be improved upon and it warrants being revised from time to time in order that it may be adapted to the realities of the moment. We hope that the present détente will make it possible to effect such revisions, which would take into account realities and the emergence of new forces which constitute the third world. As a matter of fact, the founding fathers of the United Nations provided for such a possibility in Article 109 of the Charter.

65. My delegation considers that to respect the Charter is also to comply with the spirit in which it was conceived. We consider that Article 109, as drafted, provides for such revisions to be taken into account.

66. My delegation wishes to make it clear that we would have wished the draft resolution before us to have contained more concrete proposals. Nevertheless, it constitutes a new landmark in a long process which we hope will ultimately result in the strengthening of the role of our Organization.

67. It goes without saying that the solution of the major problems facing our Organization—namely, the elimination of the remnants of colonialism and *apartheid*, the withdrawal of aggressive troops from occupied Arab territories, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of effective co-operation between developed and developing countries—is certainly a necessary condition for imparting to the United Nations a new impetus that will make it possible for it to achieve the goals we all have in mind.

68. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The present item comes before us this year in a more meaningful and, to that extent, a more hopeful context. The need for an essential role of the United Nations in world affairs has become more obvious with recent international events. We are thus grateful for the Romanian initiative in having brought this item to the United Nations last year.

69. The maintenance of international peace and security being the primary purpose of the Charter, it is obviously the subject in which the role of the United Nations should be paramount and central. We are constantly reminded by new lessons in history that there is no substitute for a concerted, collective approach through the United Nations, if peace and security are to be achieved and maintained in the world. The most recent reminder has been the situation in the Middle East. When the two major Powers, acting with wisdom in a commendable approach to the problem, came to an accord on the achievement of an immediate cease-fire, it was only through the active involvement of the international community—through the non-permanent members, the non-aligned members, of the Security Council—proceeding to the necessary means for the reinstatement of the United Nations Emergency Force, that the cease-fire was realized. We are happy that available forces

at the United Nations Command could be taken immediately from their duties in my country to the cease-fire lines in the Middle East, where they were most urgently needed. This provided a breathing-space to allow the modalities for the full Force to be negotiated and implemented.

70. The implications of this recent experience for the maintenance of international peace and security are clearly that the United Nations cannot be allowed to become merely a last-minute, *ad hoc* instrumentality to which problems go only as a last resort when all else fails and the situation gets out of control. The United Nations should, instead, gradually assume the centrality in the assurance of international security, as was intended by its founders and as is provided in the Charter.

71. Obviously, peace cannot be maintained without the concurrence of the major Powers; but, equally, it cannot be preserved without the active participation of the world community as a whole. The maintenance of international peace and security should be seen as a continuous process requiring ongoing attention and planned response. The United Nations must become the *locus* for that process if it is to be effectively implemented in an orderly way. The indispensability of the United Nations and the need for its centrality, not only on global problems but also on all international issues, is beyond dispute. It depends, however, on the political will of Member nations to comply with their commitments under the Charter in a co-operative spirit that is the outcome of recognition and acceptance by them of the present-day reality that their true and long-term interest is inseparable from that of the world community, and that they must decide to act on the basis of that acceptance. Such acceptance will depend upon a timely awareness of the implications of present-day realities in our changed world.

72. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations has therefore to be examined within the context of the radical changes that have occurred in the world since the establishment of the Organization. Those changes are tremendous. One particular significance of this item lies in the fact that it opens up the wider question of a needed reappraisal of the role of the United Nations, more especially in relation to the new and global problems that constantly emerge, with threatening dimensions, as a result of the basic change brought about by the technological break-through. These changes have given to man the unprecedented power to destroy his physical environment and hence the very source of his continuing life on this planet. More significant still, it so happens that that power of environmental destruction is linked, on the one hand, with the development and perfection of nuclear armaments in the traditional and antagonistic policies of nations, and, on the other, with the peaceful processes of economic growth in the field of ever-increasing industrial and chemical development. By reason of this changed situation, the problems that traditionally have confronted nations in the conflict of interests and ideologies have been compounded, through their impact on global aspects, with implications extending far beyond their original issues. The world situation has, therefore, gradually become infinitely more complex and more dangerous than it was at the time of the establishment of the United Nations, or ever before. As these changes, however, have not been dramatized by war but have come about quietly, in an insidious way, they have not aroused the

natural and necessary reaction of nations. Thus the international community, although theoretically aware of these changes, has let itself drift over the years into the present situation in which our fragile environment and the continuance of life on this planet is under a continuing threat from the possibility of a nuclear conflagration, deliberate or accidental, and under actual attack from nuclear-test explosions, as well as in conditions of constant deterioration of the environment from an increasing flood of pollution as a result of exaggerated and careless industrial and chemical exploitation. For too long little regard has been given to environmental limits and to the consequences and the limits of growth. The significance and magnitude of these changes and the resultant global problems—which are common to all nations—merit special study as problems in which the need for a world authority is paramount. These new common problems could be the starting-point, at the same time, for closer co-operation, in better understanding among nations, and more particularly on other international problems.

73. We agree with the Foreign Minister of Norway, who said that foreign policy is no longer merely a question of relations among nations, but of the relations of nations and peoples to our common problems. For what is at stake transcends the limits of national interests or ideological concerns. It is nothing other than the common interest of mankind in its survival.

74. The time, therefore, has come when we have to redefine our values and reorder our priorities in the light of fundamentally new conditions of social and international life created in the wake of technological advance. Nations may have to make a radical reassessment of their basic policies on global issues in this changed world. They may come to realize that, when faced with contemporary world problems, they can no longer continue with outmoded clichés of the past; nor can their policies be guided always by the concept of predominance of narrowly conceived national interests or overemphasis on differences in social systems, in disregard of the need for closer and more trustful co-operation in the dangerous global problems facing us.

75. We do not overlook such differences of national or ideological concerns, which in a continuing and uninterrupted momentum turn the attention of States to defence purposes, armaments, antagonism and escalating unnecessary war preparations. But all such considerations, whatever the importance that it is sought to place on them, can only come second to the grave and all-engulfing dangers from global problems.

76. Notwithstanding the eventual requirements for improvements in the Charter of the United Nations in the sense of adjusting the Organization to the needs of a fast evolving and changing world, it is still our belief that there is ample scope in the Charter itself as it now is for making the United Nations more effective through a dedicated adherence by Member States to their commitments under the Charter, and by following its guidelines towards a direly needed international order.

77. For there can be peace in the world only if based on world order with justice, respect for Charter principles, for the self-determination of peoples, for non-intervention by

force, for respect for human rights and human dignity and—now added, the most vital—respect for the physical environment.

78. In the present stage of growing international anarchy, of which we have so many manifestations with far-reaching implications to the point of disturbing the existing order even within the nations themselves, the need of strengthening the United Nations in its role of bringing a modicum of world order is of paramount importance and urgency. But how is it to be strengthened? Well, there are certain procedural ways which may bring more effectiveness to the United Nations.

79. First may come the completion of the guidelines for future peace-keeping operations which have been under negotiation in the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations for a considerable time now and have, regrettably, not shown sufficient advance as yet. As a result, last-minute peace-keeping improvisations are still rendered necessary, as in the case of the Middle East. It is hoped that in the light of this experience a new sense of urgency will attend the work of the relevant Committee this year with a view to the earliest possible completion of its task. It has been our view all along, from the very start of our membership of the United Nations, that a small but permanent international force, recruited by and for the United Nations, with direct allegiance to the Organization, would be of immeasurable value as a stand-by force which could be stationed in two or three critical parts of the world.

80. Another procedural measure which is needed, from the point of view of United Nations procedures, is the development of modalities and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes on the basis of the means of such settlement contained in Article 33 of the Charter. The Charter provides the means but not the modalities for the employment of the means. No action has so far been taken towards the development of such necessary procedures and modalities in respect of negotiation, mediation and arbitration, for which there are and should be procedures; yet no committee or other body of experts has been entrusted with the task of developing these modalities. If developed, they would greatly facilitate the employment of the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, none of which are now employed, except the very often abortive negotiations.

81. Thus we have many frozen situations, as we have seen in the Middle East, in respect of fighting or hostilities, but with no systematic effort and follow-through by the United Nations, or under its umbrella, for a solution based on the principles of the Charter and in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations on the relevant subjects. We could therefore improve the work of the United Nations if we facilitated the peaceful settlement of disputes by providing the necessary procedures and modalities in time.

82. A further method of strengthening the Organization—and, importantly, even under its existing Charter—is to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolutions through some form of sanctions, as provided in the Charter; for the non-implementation of such resolutions of the Security Council necessarily reflects adversely on the relevance of Security Council decisions and on the United Nations.

83. These are but a few of the procedural and other methods for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations. However, as already stated and as generally recognized, the whole question of strengthening the role of the United Nations turns upon the concurrent political will of Member States, and more especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, which, we trust, will be forthcoming in the present improved climate of détente.

84. There is, therefore, still room for hope. We must, however, disengage ourselves from any idea that the hopes for continuance of human life in peace and progress on this planet can be realized by default in an ever-drifting world. Any such hope is bound to fail unless there is enlightened planetary planning and implementation in a world order to replace the lawlessness now prevalent in the community of nations. The construction of a viable edifice of international order cannot, however, occur spontaneously or by any prescription of conduct; it can only be gradually and carefully structured, step by step, in a continuous process of institution-building to deal with mankind's common problems as necessity makes such collective action appear necessary and unavoidable.

85. The first requirement is for a clear recognition that nations are now participants in a highly interactive process in which the interest of each nation can be understood or secured only in terms of the interests of the whole world organism of which it is a part. Unilateralism in the sense of the exaggerated separatism of interests has to find a diminishing place in the international sphere and be replaced by co-operative approaches dedicated to the interests of the whole, of which each nation is a part.

86. Secondly, we have to supplement and eventually supplant the outdated concepts of peace based on balance of power, which ordinarily and eventually lead to war, by world order politics, which form the essential foundation for peace as demanded by the realities of our present-day world.

87. It is against this framework that my delegation believes that continuing consideration of the strengthening of the role of the United Nations would effectively proceed towards fulfilling the main purposes of the United Nations and the expectations of the world's peoples in the quest for peace and survival.

88. Mr. GÜVEN (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): This year as last, we shall support the draft resolution on item 25, whose inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly was requested by Romania.

89. On this occasion the Turkish delegation wishes to make some remarks concerning this item, with a view to contributing to the achievement of the goals we all pursue. Turkey has always attached special importance to the attainment of peace, security and co-operation among all States, large and small, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as with the universally recognized rules of international law, and thus far has spared no effort in promoting this objective.

90. These purposes and principles reaffirmed in the Charter of the United Nations and in resolution 2925 (XXVII)

are as follows: the sovereign equality of all States; non-recourse to the threat or use of force; settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; the necessity of fulfilling in good faith the obligations stemming from international law; non-interference, foreign or clandestine, direct or indirect, in the domestic affairs of States; the right of peoples to self-determination; and respect for human rights.

91. It seems to us that these principles, which constitute a whole, should be applied by all Member States without exception and without giving preponderance to any, if we want genuine peace to reign throughout the world.

92. Turkey, which has made these principles its own, will continue to apply them in that perspective. Turkey, moreover, is of the opinion that the United Nations is not only an organization entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security, but also an instrument of co-operation and international solidarity in many fields, especially in the economic and social areas and in the global perspective. We must, therefore, seek concrete and effective measures to achieve collective economic security, one of the major bases of international political security. In other words, Member States must find without delay the means and methods capable of bridging the economic and social gap that exists

and is growing wider each day between the developed and the developing countries.

93. In the course of this year the world has achieved true progress towards détente, especially in Europe. Turkey, which participates actively in the promotion of détente, encourages this process and supports all realistic initiatives in this field. From that point of view, Turkey considers the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe as important regional starting-points towards finding a peaceful settlement of European problems in accordance with Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter. That is why my country applauds the Romanian initiative, which we wholly support.

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution in document A/L.713 and Add.1. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3073 (XXVIII)).

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.