

and voting system of the Security Council were unsatisfactory to his delegation. He urged the *Ad Hoc* Committee to undertake the very delicate task of making recommendations to the Sixth Committee at a subsequent session on a revised version acceptable to all parties concerned of that Article and any other Articles which the *Ad Hoc* Committee felt needed revision. His delegation felt, furthermore, that the International Court of Justice should be made to play a more significant role, particularly in the process of peace-keeping and détente.

43. Mr. AL-OTHMAN (Kuwait), affirmed his delegation's adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter and said that it was incumbent on the United Nations to take into account, without interfering with the basic features of United Nations work, the changes that had occurred in international society during the past 30 years.

44. A review of the Charter should be undertaken with great caution so as not to be detrimental to States. There was, however, no reason not to consider limited and clear modifications of the Charter and his delegation would agree to any which promoted the interests of the international community and world peace.

45. His delegation supported modifications intended to increase the effectiveness of recommendations and resolutions of the General Assembly and other principal United Nations organs, particularly the Security Council, and it therefore also supported study of the question of the application of sanctions to States which refused to bend to the will of the overwhelming majority of States.

46. It was prepared to consider any other concrete and limited suggestion concerning the Charter, bearing in mind the interests of the international community.

47. His delegation favoured changes which facilitated the work of the International Court of Justice, encouraged States to resort to it for the solution of world problems, or reduced the formalities involved in bringing cases before the Court.

48. His delegation favoured amendment of Article 111 to include Arabic as a sixth official language, since an Arabic Translation Service had been established and the decision had been taken to use Arabic as a working language in a number of specialized agencies.

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*

## 1565th meeting

Friday, 14 November 1975, at 10.50 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Frank X. J. C. NJENGA (Kenya).

A/C.6/SR.1565 and Corr.1

### AGENDA ITEMS 113 AND 29

Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations (*continued*) (A/10033; A/10102, A/10108, A/10113 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3, A/C.6/467)

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 (*continued*) (A/10218, A/10219, A/10255, A/10289, A/C.6/467)

1. Miss RANA (Nepal) said that three decades had rolled by since the last world conflict, of unprecedented magnitude in human history, had made it imperative to create the United Nations, with justified hopes of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Since its inception, the United Nations had made significant contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security, although regrettably it had not always lived up to the expectations in that field. However, the weakness on the part of the United Nations was not due solely to short-comings inherent in its Charter—which was certainly not perfect—but to the attitude of certain Member States which refused to abide by it and showed utter disregard for the decisions of the United Nations.

2. Another disconcerting development in the United Nations had been the emergence of group interests which conflicted with the common interest. It was regrettable to note that, after 30 years of existence, the United Nations, instead of becoming a harmonious whole, had become a forum in which nations felt obliged to divide themselves into groups and to confront one another in order to secure their group interests rather than to attain the common purposes of the Charter.

3. In its current form, the Charter possessed the requisite qualities for a viable and effective United Nations. If at times it had been unable to cope with a given situation, that was due not to the inherent weakness of the Charter, but to the lack of political will on the part of the Member States of the United Nations to abide by its provisions. In that regard, a special responsibility lay on the permanent members of the Security Council.

4. Since 1945, many far-reaching changes had taken place in the world which needed to be correctly reflected in the Charter. However, the review of the Charter was the most delicate question facing the United Nations and called for an extremely careful and cautious approach in making the necessary changes.

5. Nepal's position had been reflected clearly in the statement made by her delegation in the Sixth Committee

at the twenty-seventh session (1380th meeting), in which it had asserted that, while it had always maintained strong support for the Charter and its underlying principles, it considered that its adaptation could only enhance the effective role of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security.

6. Guided by those considerations, her delegation would be willing to consider the merits of any specific proposals designed to strengthen and enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations so that it might be capable of discharging its onerous responsibilities far more effectively and with greater speed.

7. Mr. LEIGH (United States of America) said that the items currently before the Committee were the most important with which it had to deal at the current session.

8. His delegation continued to view the question of Charter review with scepticism and concern. That scepticism was not based on any belief that the United Nations was functioning perfectly. Far from it, the United Nations could and must do a better job. However, to attain that goal, it was necessary to avoid hasty and ill-considered actions. Impediments to the greater effectiveness of the United Nations were found in the political will of the States which interpreted and applied the Charter's provisions. His delegation's doubts about the advisability of reviewing the Charter were based on the concern that the United Nations might lose even that degree of consensus which currently existed. The reopening of questions on matters on which all had freely agreed on various occasions in the past was hardly likely to widen areas of agreement. On the contrary, it was far more likely to lead to a hardening of positions and thus become the enemy of that evolutionary development which had been one of the strengths of the institution.

9. Attempts to meet particular problems of the current moment in history by Charter amendment were likely to restrict its ability to continue flexibly to meet the needs of the future. Tinkering with the constitutional structure of the United Nations involved the great risk of diverting attention and concern from the urgent problems with which the Organization could and must deal.

10. The United States had repeatedly expressed its willingness to consider measures for the improvement of the functioning of the United Nations and of its ability to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. However, that exercise could be usefully undertaken only with the broad agreement of all concerned, principally because any improvements, by definition, would require that broad agreement if they were to be effective. The complete lack of success of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations during the past summer demonstrated that circumstances had not been ripe at that time for serious work. No useful purpose could be served by repeating that experience. Consequently, his delegation was not convinced that it was the appropriate time for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to meet again, particularly in the light of the very busy schedule in the international legal field.

11. It could be of some use to establish a committee to examine the wealth of governmental comments already

submitted in the context of strengthening the role of the United Nations. In that context, a major area of concern to all Members of the United Nations was the strengthening and development of measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes. There was no doubt that that could be done wholly within the existing language of the Charter and the Statute of the Court. It would be necessary to look very closely at the many and varied opportunities which the Court machinery provided for the peaceful settlement of disputes and to ensure that all States in the international community were fully aware of those possibilities. At the same time, it should also be recognized that there were some disputes which could best be settled, or at least initially ameliorated, by other means. Consequently, the many other existing possibilities for the settlement of disputes, including negotiation between the parties, good offices, mediation and conciliation, must also be fully examined. Consideration must be given to means of perfecting that machinery in order to make the United Nations system more effective. Efforts must be made to do everything humanly possible in that direction, within the framework of the Charter, rather than endeavouring to undertake more ambitious and less likely schemes involving the revision of the Charter.

12. Mr. LAUTERPACHT (Australia) said that, at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, his delegation had sponsored resolution 3283 (XXIX) on the peaceful settlement of international disputes, pursuant to which the Secretary-General had submitted a report (A/10289) which was a model of conciseness. The Secretary-General had interpreted the request made to him as excluding any review of the machinery for the settlement of disputes provided in the Charter itself. He had also excluded the various types of machinery of an *ad hoc* nature established by United Nations bodies to perform functions of dispute settlement in relation to particular situations. To some extent the work of the Secretary-General had been supplemented by studies recently published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. Nevertheless, the report of the Secretary-General was a salutary reminder of the limitations which the General Assembly had encountered in 30 years of general concern with peaceful settlement of disputes. However, those limitations must not be reviewed in isolation, but in conjunction with the existence and achievement of other machinery. Thus, within the Charter framework, it was necessary to recall the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. Also to be remembered was the functioning of specific mediators, conciliators, good offices commissions and special representatives appointed by the Security Council or by the Secretary-General at the request of the Council. Nor should the functioning of the International Court of Justice be overlooked.

13. Yet that was not all. The peaceful settlement of disputes could not be looked at exclusively through the optic of the United Nations. Many of those activities took place in other international bodies like the International Labour Organisation, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, international fishery commissions.

14. The real question before the Committee was whether it was prepared to leave the problem of disputes in the

international community at the stage at which it currently stood, or whether it should consider also the associated question of preventing or avoiding disputes; whether it should view matters only in terms of machinery, or whether it should be thinking in terms of using new methods within existing machinery. There was perhaps too much attachment to certain traditional notions relating to the compulsory settlement of disputes or the binding quality of decisions handed down by third parties. One should ask whether every effective device was being used in the negotiating process to procure a reconciliation of differing views or, in short, whether it could be said that collectively or individually, those concerned were well enough informed to be able to deploy, in rapidly developing situations, enough knowledge to reduce or eliminate the prospect of true dispute and to apply to the settlement of a dispute the type of approach best suited to its special characteristics.

15. Those were the questions the Committee must answer and consequently the fundamental problem before it was whether the subject of avoidance and settlement of disputes should be taken separately or as part of the work on the Charter. There were a number of advantages in separating those questions and perhaps the most important was that if the subject of the settlement of disputes was left as part of the study on the operation of the Charter, there was a real danger that each element might come to obscure the other, to the disadvantage of both. In addition, there seemed to be merit in a clear and separate identification of the subject of settlement of disputes as a distinct General Assembly agenda item. If, however, that view was not generally shared in the Committee, his delegation would not press it to take a decision which could be reached only by a divisive vote. If the Committee as a whole was in favour of making the avoidance and settlement of disputes a separate item, his delegation would be glad to propose or to join in sponsoring a draft resolution to that effect. However, unless a clear consensus developed in that direction, it would respect the opinion that avoidance and settlement of disputes should be dealt with as part of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's work.

16. Miss AGUTA (Nigeria) felt that the proposal for revision of the Charter did not spring from the fact that there was something wrong with that instrument, but was designed merely to keep it abreast of the times. The Charter, which was the Constitution of the United Nations, was open to revision and amendment, and the founding Members had already envisaged the possible need to make changes, hence Articles 108 and 109.

17. She considered that a distinction should be made between a review and a revision of the Charter. While the first was merely the process of appraising a situation with a view to making the necessary changes and need not be justified by cogent reasons, a revision, on the other hand, implied a new edition, required a painstaking consideration of the implicit questions and had to be based on very strong reasons.

18. Her delegation, which had been a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 3349 (XXIX) as well as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, while supporting the view that the purposes and principles laid down 30 years before remained valid, recommended that a review of the Charter should be

undertaken, in view of the lapse of time since its adoption, the universal character of the Organization, manifested in the increase in its membership, and the likelihood of any tilt in the balance of powers. As far as the revision of the Charter was concerned, she felt, first, that the *Ad Hoc* Committee should continue its work of collecting information in order to recommend to the Committee whether it should or should not undertake a review of the Charter. If the answer was in the affirmative, there would be a need to constitute a review panel which, in turn, would collect information with a view to recommending whether a revision was necessary, in whole or in part. Only then would positive proposals for revision be made. Her delegation felt that such revision should consist of an expansion of the existing structure in order to accommodate Member States equitably and to guarantee the proper functioning of the Organization.

19. She wished to stress the need for review. Only in that way would it be possible to determine the extent to which the ideals of the Charter had been attained and the goal of the Organization achieved, namely to maintain international peace and security and to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Similarly, only a review would make it possible to determine how to achieve a new balance between the Powers, since so many new independent States had emerged. Consequently, her delegation wished the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its work in order to find solutions to problems which constituted an obstacle to international peace and security.

20. She felt that the question of strengthening the role of the United Nations was closely related to that concerning the *Ad Hoc* Committee and considered that the two items should be discussed together and that, apart from the specific provisions of the Charter, other provisions should be laid down for the strengthening of the role and activities of the Organization.

21. Mr. MONTENEGRO (Nicaragua) reiterated his country's support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations proclaimed in the Charter. Nicaragua, which had been present at the San Francisco Conference, had welcomed the successes achieved by the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. He recalled that some years previously there had been a violent and intemperate reaction to the revision of the Charter on the part of a number of Powers which had affirmed that it would mean the end of the United Nations. He therefore noted with satisfaction that the opposition had diminished and a dialogue had been opened and that the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the report of which (A/10033) was before the Committee, had been established by an overwhelming majority.

22. His delegation believed that, while the purposes and principles of the United Nations were immutable, its organs should be revitalized. If that was not done, certain situations would continue to recur in the international sphere which would be in violation of the Organization's legal status. He pointed out that those responsible for such situations were precisely those who were most strongly opposed to a revision. The report indicated that there were three attitudes with regard to the revision of the Charter. Some States were openly opposed to it, others favoured the

strengthening of the role of the United Nations without amending the Charter, while, finally, others including Nicaragua, were in favour of a revision.

23. Nicaragua believed that it would be advisable to revise a number of Articles of the Charter, but did not reject a frank and open dialogue. In any case, it felt that it would be necessary for the General Assembly to extend the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee so that it could continue to collect information from Governments and submit its findings the following year.

24. Mr. PI CHI-LUNG (China) referred to the tremendous changes which had taken place in the international situation and in the United Nations in the past three decades. The revolutionary struggle by the oppressed peoples to achieve independence and liberation had formed a powerful current in contemporary history. The third world had grown in strength to become the main force in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. On the other hand, social-imperialism had emerged and, together with the other super-Power, was pursuing a policy of aggression and expansion and sought to control the United Nations and utilize it for its purposes. The Charter, formulated 30 years previously, contained a number of provisions which greatly restricted the role of the countries of the third world and neither reflected their aspirations, nor met contemporary needs. The small and medium countries considered a revision of the Charter to be necessary so that the United Nations could meet the needs of the objective situation and play its due role.

25. He then referred to the attacks and slanders by both super-Powers against the countries which favoured a revision of the Charter. One of them had described some of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in recent years as the tyranny of the majority. That attack was in essence directed against the principle of the equality of all countries, big and small. The other super-Power asserted that those who advocated the revision of the Charter were undermining the United Nations and were reactionary forces. He cited a number of instances which, in his view, were the result of the obstruction and opposition by the super-Powers protected by the privileges granted to them by the Charter. It was necessary to review the Charter and make the requisite changes precisely to rectify the situation and to safeguard the United Nations. With regard to the argument that the revision of the Charter would lead to world war, the real danger of war came from the acts of the super-Powers and in particular the ambition of the social-imperialists. In the interests of world peace and security, the small and medium countries must strengthen their own defensive capabilities and unite in order to expose and combat resolutely the policy of aggression, expansion and hegemonism of the super-Powers. It was, accordingly, absolutely vital to undertake a serious review and timely revision of the Charter so that the United Nations could meet needs as the current situation developed.

26. It was entirely lawful to review and amend the Charter. That was the right and duty of every Member State, recognized by the Charter itself. Furthermore, since the increase in the membership of the United Nations meant that most of the Members had not participated in the San Francisco Conference, the time had come to enable

them to make their contribution. Refusal to permit a review and revision of the Charter would be tantamount to depriving the great majority of Members of a right which they possessed. The strong opposition to any alteration of the Charter being displayed by the super-Power which claimed to be concerned about the interests of small countries was counter to a just demand of those countries and violated the relevant provisions of the Charter.

27. The arguments of the super-Powers for opposing the review of the Charter were mere excuses. They were afraid of losing their privileges. It could not be denied that the Charter had short-comings. The super-Powers knew that any review was bound to lead to amendment of the Charter. In order to avoid such a review, since truth was not on their side, they resorted to slander and adamant opposition. Yet the revision of the Charter represented a general trend that could not be checked.

28. His delegation reiterated its support for a review of the Charter and for the incorporation of the necessary amendments. All views regarding Charter revision could be put forward. Many countries had advanced views in principle on the revision of certain Charter provisions, such as expanding the power of the General Assembly, restricting the power of the Security Council, changing the composition of the Security Council, limiting or abolishing the veto rights of the States which were permanent members of the Council. Those views deserved serious consideration. He was convinced that, if consultations and discussions were held on the basis of the principle of equality of all countries, it would be possible to find a rational solution acceptable to all.

29. He said that the General Assembly should extend the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

30. Mr. DE CEGLIE (Italy) said that the task of the Sixth Committee was to make an assessment of the report submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and to decide whether to extend its mandate. In that connexion, it should bear in mind the formidable task entrusted to the *Ad Hoc* Committee and should not consider only the results obtained so far.

31. As had been stated by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement to the General Assembly at the 2357th plenary meeting, the Italian Government was following with the keenest interest the efforts being made to rationalize and make more efficient the activities and machinery of the United Nations. There were numerous questions which deserved attentive consideration. With respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the basic separation of powers established by the Charter was still a wise one, although that did not mean that the Organization could not become more effective in that field. On the contrary, it was desirable to examine all possible ways of improving the system, without removing it from the authority of the Security Council. In that connexion, he reiterated the view that the International Court of Justice should play a leading role and that efforts should therefore be made to enhance the functions of the Court. With regard to economic development, international economic co-operation and, in particular, assistance to the developing countries, Italy considered it necessary to adopt

measures to enhance the role of the United Nations. It had therefore advocated that careful attention be given to all proposals aimed at the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the Organization.

32. Another aspect requiring urgent attention was the area of social affairs and human rights. That aspect had been mentioned by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement, when he had said that the civilized conscience of mankind required a more decisive effort by the United Nations in defence of human rights. In that spirit, Italy had suggested that the Commission on Human Rights be given the status of a principal organ of the United Nations within the meaning of Article 7 of the Charter. That new organ, which might be called the "Council for Human Rights", would relieve the Economic and Social Council of the functions which it currently performed in that area.

33. It was true that not all the desired improvements could be achieved through amendments to the Charter. On the contrary, the alternative method was preferable, whenever proper results could be achieved without amending the Charter. Much could be done by improving the rules of procedure of the various organs and by reassessing the general practice of the Organization. That naturally did not imply that any possibility of amending the Charter should be excluded *a priori*. With regard to the evaluation of the work done by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the decision about the extension of its mandate, he was not surprised that the *Ad Hoc* Committee's first session had not produced more results, in view of the comments made, the importance of the delicate task entrusted to that Committee and the time available to it. He therefore felt that those results should not be considered as a ground for not extending the Committee's mandate; on the contrary, they indicated a need for an extension.

34. It was to be hoped that the Sixth Committee would decide by consensus or by a vast majority to renew the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and also to provide as clear guidelines as possible for its future work. In that connexion, he suggested that the *Ad Hoc* Committee should concentrate on each of the functions or competences assigned to the United Nations and that it should then single out the most appropriate measures to ensure their correct and complete implementation. Those measures might consist of amendments to the Charter or simply of modifications to the rules of procedure or practice of the United Nations organs.

35. In addition, he believed that any innovations should be worked out gradually and studied with the greatest care and prudence, in order to ensure that they were the subject of a generalized consensus. Otherwise, the exercise would be useless, if not dangerous. Lastly, in order to ensure the full success of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the Secretariat should be requested to provide it with the maximum assistance and to prepare a supplementary study giving an analytical presentation of the views expressed by Governments concerning the various spheres of competence of the United Nations as well as the various provisions of the Charter.

36. Mr. BOOH BOOH (United Republic of Cameroon) said that his delegation believed that the purposes and

principles embodied in the Charter were still valid and was convinced that a simple technical and legal review of the Charter would be of no benefit to the United Nations.

37. The Cameroonian Head of State had noted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly (1845th plenary meeting) that the ineffectiveness of the United Nations was due primarily to the national egotism of its Members when their individual interests were at stake. It was necessary to combat the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions, the failure by many States to fulfil their obligations as Member States, the persistence of the policy of force and intrigue in international relations and the unfair economic relations between nations. In that connexion, his delegation recalled the proposal, made in three draft resolutions submitted at the previous session,<sup>1</sup> that the General Assembly should urge all States strictly to observe the spirit and letter of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The Cameroonian delegation would support any proposal designed to create suitable machinery for finding solutions to the serious problem of the failure to implement the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

38. Despite the caution with which it approached a review of the Charter, his delegation was aware of the radical changes which had occurred in the world and had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3349 (XXIX) concerning the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations.

39. It was impossible to ignore the legitimate indignation of the newer countries at the abuse by certain Powers of the veto and of other privileges conferred upon them by the Charter. While such privileges were justified by the need to enable capitalism and socialism to coexist, it had to be admitted that the dignity and interests of other non-capitalist and non-socialist countries, which rejected that classification, were being slighted.

40. General Assembly resolution 3349 (XXIX) was flexible and was not detrimental to any Member State. Moreover, the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was not to review the Charter but to collect information and make appropriate proposals. Its conclusions did not prejudice the final decision to be taken by the Sixth Committee.

41. In the view of his delegation, the *Ad Hoc* Committee would therefore simply submit proposals designed to strengthen the activities of the United Nations, without it being necessary to alter the Charter, since it offered broad scope for adaptation. Proposals involving amendment of the Charter could also be made, since the preliminary exchange of views indicated that there was broad agreement on the elimination of certain terms contained in the Charter and on the reorientation of the activities of certain organs.

42. His delegation hoped that, if it were given a little more time, the *Ad Hoc* Committee would be able to clarify the scope of its task and to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it. In any case, the dialogue which the General Assembly had

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 95, document A/9950, paras. 4, 6 and 7.

commenced with the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee would not be interrupted at a time when it was attracting growing interest. Motivated by that spirit of dialogue and aware of the delicate mission of the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, his delegation was prepared to

support any draft resolution proposing the extension of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's mandate and urging Member States fully to respect the Charter of the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*

## 1566th meeting

Tuesday, 18 November 1975, at 10.55 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Frank X. J. C. NJENGA (Kenya).

A/C.6/SR.1566

### AGENDA ITEMS 113 AND 29

Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations (*continued*) (A/10033, A/10102, A/10108, A/10113 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3, A/C.6/437)

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 (*continued*) (A/10218, A/10219, A/10255, A/10289, A/C.6/437)

1. Mr. SHARAF (Jordan) thanked the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations for its enlightening report (A/10033) and the Romanian Government for its dedicated effort in pursuing its initiative regarding the strengthening of the role of the United Nations (A/C.6/437). The contemporary international environment, which was radically different from that in which the United Nations had been established, must be reflected in the spirit, direction and scope of the Organization's activity. The modern world was no longer a small club of nations which were predominantly European in background and outlook but was made up of a much larger number of nations representing different civilizations, cultural backgrounds and philosophies. The work of the United Nations had come to focus on questions of international development and economic co-operation with a view toward restructuring economic relations among nations on the basis of their changed political relations. The United Nations, and indeed the whole world, had to deal with the acute problems of mass poverty, the widening international economic gap, the depletion of the earth's resources, the erosion of the environment, outer space and nuclear technology.

2. The broadening representation in the United Nations had led to the increasing democratization of the Organization. The hopes and agonies of the majority of the population of the world must now acquire priority in the concerns of the United Nations, which was not only an organization for peace and security but also an organization for change and human emancipation. Now more than ever the dynamic, rather than the static, elements of the Charter must be emphasized. Currently, international peace and

security were threatened as much by colonial practices, *apartheid*, racial discrimination and the suppression of national self-determination as by the conventional threats envisioned by the founders of the Organization. The efforts of the smaller and weaker nations to ensure international social justice as well as international political justice must be channelled through the United Nations. The survival of the Organization would depend on its ability to assimilate the changes which had taken place.

3. International development had now become a new dimension of the Organization and in the past decade the United Nations had found a new important and rewarding role in that area. The international community now felt that it was necessary, in fact inevitable, that the developing and developed nations enter into a healthy and co-operative partnership based on equity and mutual benefit. New machinery and organizational structures must be set up in order to cope with the vastly increased number of complex problems facing the world.

4. Like any modern constitution, the Charter was a basic document which allowed reasonable evolution and was open to reasonable *ad hoc* revisions without the need for a fundamental reconsideration which might threaten stability and progress. The purposes and principles of the Charter were universal and timeless and its procedures were relatively flexible. It was therefore too early and unnecessary to initiate a radical reconsideration of its fundamental structure.

5. The Charter was not an obstacle to the necessary evolution of the United Nations so as to better reflect the changed world and deal with its changing responsibilities. The many grave problems facing the United Nations would be solved by changing the relationships of power among States and the attitudes of States rather than by changing texts.

6. His delegation felt that limited changes should be made in the Charter itself, to reflect the process of international democratization. The General Assembly must be endowed with a certain measure of authority which would help to balance the power of the veto in the Security Council. Certain other amendments should be introduced to make the Charter more up to date and freer from the bias of the mental climate of the war in which it had been conceived.