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Agenda item 24:

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 (*continued*) 1

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AGENDA ITEM 24

**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 (*continued*)**

1. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): No one can challenge the fact that the initiative of the Romanian delegation responds to the profound concern of all Members of the United Nations. Suffice it to recall and reread the sometimes deeply moving appeals made from this rostrum by heads of State and Government two years ago when the Organization was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. Those appeals reflected the faith that statesmen continue to place in a world Organization which no one doubts meets both the aspirations of all peoples and the imperatives of present-day international relations.

2. Furthermore, each year the general debate offers an opportunity for foreign ministers to formulate their criticisms of the functioning of our Organization and stress the deficiencies in the methods of work of the Assembly. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General has drawn our attention to the "obvious shortcomings" of the United Nations and the "tendency in some parts of the world to downgrade" it [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2]. Mr. Waldheim even speculates as to the position the United Nations occupies in the political sphere. However, despite these reservations he concludes with the firm statement that "In the long run there is no substitute for such an instrumentality" [*ibid.*]. That same conviction was shared, and continues to be shared, by Mr. Harmel, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, who said two years ago in this very Assembly:

"For our part, we shall not extol the successes of the United Nations, nor shall we allow ourselves to be discouraged by its failures. A world-wide order of peace and justice cannot be built in 25 years.

"...

"In 1970, no one doubts that the United Nations is necessary. On the contrary, people want it to be effective." [1856th meeting, paras. 176 and 178.]

3. We must possess the political courage to criticize our Organization. That is at the same time a tribute and a service to the Organization: a service because we encourage it to do better and a tribute because we reiterate our conviction that it can do better. I would go even further and say that constructive criticism can strengthen the authority of the Organization. In our criticism we are supported by public opinion in our countries, which, even more than in 1945, supports the principles of the Charter.

4. The proposal we are now considering gives us an opportunity, not only to stress the need to make our Organization an instrument of peace and security, but also to indicate the means by which its role in international life may be strengthened. Those means are political and relate to the advisability of more frequent, and certainly more judicious, resort to all the possibilities offered by the Charter. That is why the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.684, of which Belgium is one, have tried to put matters in perspective. The strengthening of the authority of the Organization is, after all, a complex problem that requires a political will on the part of all Member States to contribute, on the one hand, to the safeguarding and world-wide implementation of the principles and obligations to which we have freely consented, and, on the other hand, to increasing the Organization's effectiveness in achieving the ideals of peace, freedom and progress for all peoples.

5. At a time when the political outlook of every continent is becoming world-wide, the international community has a duty to heed this appeal. Moreover, in the course of the general debate this year we expressed our gratification at the positive results achieved since the last session of the General Assembly in matters of foreign policy. 1972 has been a positive and fruitful year so far as East-West relations are concerned.

6. Furthermore, we welcomed the signing by the United States and the Soviet Union of an agreement on the limitation of their anti-ballistic weapons system<sup>1</sup> and an interim agreement on the limitation of their offensive strategic weapons.<sup>2</sup> The Moscow summit confirmed the intention of the two parties to continue active negotiations and gave us the first indication of a possible thaw in the question of mutual reductions of armed forces and arma-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

ments in Europe. Nor can we overlook another event of particular importance to my country, that is, the expansion of the European Communities.

7. With the same satisfaction we welcomed the resumption of dialogue between the United States and the People's Republic of China, and the normalization of diplomatic relations between the latter and Japan. In Indo-China we also see encouraging signs of the possibility of a negotiated peace. It is true that hotbeds of tension and various disturbances persist in the Middle East and in Africa, but we have not given up hope that, thanks to the joint efforts of the parties concerned and of all the Members of this Organization, just and lasting solutions can be found and applied so that peace will no longer be a privilege enjoyed by a few areas only but will finally spread over the entire world.

8. So far as we Europeans are concerned, today's date—22 November 1972—will have particular importance in the annals of our history. This morning 34 nations began meeting in Helsinki for multilateral talks to prepare for a conference on European security and co-operation. Since the time the appeal was made in 1968, Belgium has been taking an active part in ensuring success for this unprecedented event. Our action is based essentially on safeguarding in respect of inter-European relations the great principles of the United Nations Charter: namely, the sovereign equality of States, including the right of each State to choose, freely and without foreign interference, its own political, economic and social system; the independence of States and non-interference by them in the domestic affairs of others, regardless of the ideological group or alliance to which they belong; the renunciation of the resort to force or the threat of the resort to force; the inviolability of frontiers; the implementation in good faith of commitments flowing from international agreements; the peaceful settlement of disputes; and respect for human rights.

9. We also believe that States participating in the conference should subscribe to the general principle of improvement in the situation of persons, ideas and information. In other words, the participants in the preparatory multilateral European talks in Helsinki will try to ensure that the very principles on which our Organization is based will be reflected in relations among States.

10. But political will alone cannot suffice to strengthen the role of the United Nations. We have the duty also of strengthening the main organs of the United Nations. And in drawing the Assembly's attention to this problem we in no way advocate an adaptation or a revision of the Charter.

11. My country, which has been a member of the Security Council for almost two years now, has often noted, with regret, that that body has not been able to fulfil the task entrusted to it, namely, bearing "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". This inability was particularly noticeable a year ago when the Council, confronted by an exceptionally grave crisis, could not reach a decision and had to recommend to the General Assembly that it take up the question. By replacing confrontation with consultation, the international community will surely arrive at a better understanding of the

respective spheres of competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly. This implies also a need to avoid jurisdictional conflicts between those two organs by stricter compliance with the terms of Article 12 of the Charter.

12. Furthermore, the five permanent members of the Security Council should also bend every effort to ensure that the rule of unanimity is observed. One of the bases on which our Organization was established in 1945 was specifically the obligation of the great Powers to act jointly and as one in order to eliminate any threat to peace and security and to avoid any breach of the peace or resort to force.

13. I certainly do not wish to dwell now on the means which the Charter makes available to us—and which we do not think have been adequately used—in the area of diplomatic methods and techniques for the prevention or settlement of conflicts. This calls for a much more comprehensive study based on the comments and suggestions that Member States would, under operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, communicate to the Secretary-General by 30 June 1973.

14. I should like to cite as an example the action of the delegation of Romania ever since it succeeded in having this item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations included in the agenda. We congratulate that delegation. Contrary to the practice adopted all too often in this Assembly, the Permanent Mission of Romania went out of its way to consult delegations belonging to different regional or political groups. It exchanged views with them and submitted working papers to them; thereafter it brought together the representatives of countries that might be ready to join in sponsoring its draft resolution; and, finally, it arrived at a positive and constructive result. We hope that this precedent of mutual consultations will serve as an example of a means of increasing co-operation among States within the Organization, thereby strengthening its authority.

15. The great challenge of relations among States demands of us not only political will and magnanimity but also a spirit of accommodation and creativity. We have reached a moment in history when the human race is capable of destroying itself.

16. As I said a few moments ago, we must act with determination so that the Organization may be seen to live up to its promises. Draft resolution A/L.684 invites us to devise ways and means to strengthen the role of our Organization. But the value of a remedy lies not in its taste but in its effects.

17. We are now at the cross-roads of our history. In the last part of his statement in the general debate, the Foreign Minister of Belgium mentioned the agonizingly topical problem of the balance of growth. In answer to the question how to secure a new balance of growth, in which ecological, economic and social policies are interdependent, Mr. Harmel stated forcefully that:

“... there is only one organization in the world which can ask that question with authority and recommend the gradual formulation of a policy in which each component

will have to be linked with several others. That is our own Organization.” [2054th meeting, para. 116.]

18. Great changes in all fields of human endeavour daily acquire more vast dimensions through the pace of technological progress and call for new efforts. Because of its universality, our Organization alone can ensure this. But to respond to this appeal, this challenge from mankind itself, the Organization must rest on much more stable foundations and be able to rely on the will of all Members to adhere to the principles of the Charter and fully to respect their own obligations.

19. The United Nations of the Charter was born in the illusion that peace had been acquired and ensured. That illusion was quickly dispelled after the emergence and persistence of the cold war. But some time ago we resolutely entered the era of peaceful co-operation and we are convinced that the United Nations of today will finally be able to create that peace which in 1945 it believed already existed. But to undertake this task we need a revitalized Organization whose moral and political authority can no longer be challenged.

20. It is that ambitious but indispensable objective that we try to achieve in the draft resolution which the sponsors have submitted to the Assembly. We trust that our appeal will receive a unanimously favourable welcome.

21. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia): My delegation attaches great significance to the efforts aimed at constantly strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. In this spirit, we welcome and support the initiative of the Romanian Government concerning the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the item under discussion.

22. There is no need to lay stress on the urgency of this task for us, the Member States. There is no doubt that the objective we wish to attain cannot be achieved by means of *ad hoc* action or a short-term undertaking, after which we could content ourselves with letting matters evolve in a routine manner. We are aware that what is involved is a long-term approach to undertaking a complex examination of the conditions under which the United Nations operates, in order to get a better over-all view of all the possibilities for adapting the world Organization to the spirit of our time and enabling it to meet the actual needs of the international community.

23. No one can deny the great results that our Organization has achieved in the little more than a quarter of a century of its existence. I have primarily in mind the ceaseless efforts that have been exerted, often in very unfavourable circumstances, to safeguard peace in the world, to promote *détente* and to solve outstanding problems by peaceful means. Of no less significance are the great contribution and involvement of the United Nations in the continuous expansion of international co-operation, through the inclusion of new areas which could barely be visualized at the time of the birth of the world Organization. I have in mind such fields as nuclear energy, outer space, the sea-bed, the human environment, and others which are a natural result of the process of rapid scientific and technological progress and call for multilateral co-operation and multilateral institutions.

24. Of no less significance have been, throughout the past period, the endeavours of an ever-larger number of countries, especially small and medium-sized ones, to preserve the fundamental principles of the Charter, which are so defined as to be applicable to relations among all States; and, even more, their efforts to secure the application of those principles in the actual practice of international relations. We all know that there have been great trials, failures and moments when we asked ourselves whether the United Nations could actually survive the numerous threats and constant onslaughts of the policy of force on the international scene as well as the various attempts at imposing foreign domination and subjugating other peoples that have been made.

25. In spite of the fact that certain improvements have been achieved on various vital points of international relations, we are still far from being able to feel secure and calm. The security of a number of States is being constantly undermined, while conditions for the independent existence of many countries, particularly the developing ones, are being persistently hampered or obstructed by insistence on maintaining relations based on inequality and on acquired privileges of an economic and political nature.

26. Almost concurrently with certain achievements in the broader spectrum of international co-operation which constantly confirm the growing interdependence of the present-day world, there is also evolving a process of relative bypassing and devaluation of the role and possibilities of the United Nations with regard to some very important political issues. Much was said about this in the general debate and my delegation was one of the many that drew attention to this disquieting tendency.

27. Precisely within the context of general interdependence, relations among the great Powers affect the position of a large number of countries, so that one cannot subscribe to these relations being singled out in a separate category which would be independent of and even contrary to the responsibilities that we bear as States Members of the United Nations. On the contrary, bilateralism, which is indispensable in many domains, should actually fit into the over-all efforts made by the international community and its members to resolve all problems of general interest; and these are undoubtedly the questions concerned with peace, security and the free development of every country.

28. We have become accustomed to the thesis that the United Nations is more or less a mirror reflecting the relations prevailing in the world. However, we feel that the time has come when we should endeavour to enable the world Organization to exert greater influence, with a view to changing these relations in such a sense that they will be in greater harmony with the genuine aspirations of the peoples to decide their own fate and to co-operate on a footing of equality.

29. Without attempting to present a detailed analysis of the international relations within which the activity of the United Nations is evolving, we should nevertheless like to draw attention to some essential factors.

30. First, the primary responsibility for effective action in the spirit of the Charter depends, in the first place, on the

behaviour and policies of the Member States. As long as, in the practice of international relations, actions from a position of strength are undertaken by some Member States, as long as acts of aggression are committed against the independence and integrity of other States, as long as foreign territories are kept under occupation, as long as the right to self-determination is denied and efforts are made to preserve colonial and neo-colonial dependence, as long as economic coercion is applied in order to check or to impede economic emancipation, and as long as the principles of sovereign equality and equal rights are violated under various pretexts, there cannot, of course, exist such an international system as the one envisaged by the Charter; nor is it possible to speak of a full discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to the United Nations. The examples and lessons of Indo-China, the Middle East and the situation in Africa are well known.

31. Secondly, the United Nations has in a number of cases adopted decisions and resolutions which were essentially in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Charter and as such cannot be disputed, but which have not been implemented. Let us recall, for instance, the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in the field of decolonization or in connexion with the Middle East. But there have been, of course, other cases as well. Here, too, the primary responsibility rests with those who reject or resist implementation; however, those who encourage and tolerate such a state of affairs, asserting, among other things, that the United Nations cannot or should not apply sanctions against the violators, are also responsible.

32. Thirdly, many important problems of long-term interest to all countries are on the agenda of our Organization, such as economic and social development, disarmament, international security, human rights, legal questions and so on. Certain progress has been achieved with regard to some of them. It is a fact, however, that vital problems are being solved with difficulty and slowly, owing to the existence of contradictory interests, but often also because of a lack of readiness to accept indispensable changes and to adopt more up-to-date approaches that would be in the broader interest of international co-operation. In our view, an essential imperative is the equal participation of all States, on the basis of the principles of universal coexistence and joint responsibility, in decision-taking and in the implementation of decisions. Only under such conditions can the world Organization avail itself of its opportunities and fulfil its obligations.

33. Without underestimating in any way the possibilities for eliminating various shortcomings due to inadequacies in its methods of work, unnecessary expenditure of resources not connected with the fulfilment of the tasks of the Organization, and procedures which are too complicated and slow, we think that we can nevertheless note that if the United Nations has not always been successful in its various endeavours it is not because of any inherent defect in the Charter but rather because of the unwillingness of some Member States to observe fully the principles and decisions of the Organization.

34. In this connexion, let me point out that that was also the conclusion of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held in Georgetown,

Guyana, last August. The non-aligned countries, which make up more than half of the membership of the United Nations, have always devoted particular attention to the best possible functioning of the world Organization and are endeavouring to contribute to this by their actions. In the Georgetown Declaration, adopted by the Conference, it is stressed, in particular, that the United Nations provides the most effective means to maintain and promote international peace and security, to strengthen freedom and to harmonize relations between States. Attention is further drawn to the great-power tendency to monopolize or influence important global decisions. In order that the United Nations may become a more representative instrument, it is urgent that action must be initiated with a view to securing the widest possible participation of Member States, on the principle of equitable and more broad-based geographical representation, in the principal organs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as in the secretariats of these organizations.

35. It is an irrefutable fact that the full universality of the United Nations is an essential ingredient for its effectiveness. In this connexion, important steps have been taken during the past years, including, particularly, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the Organization. We are about to take further steps in that direction. The new State of Bangladesh is rightly applying for membership in the United Nations, while in the near future the two German States are also expected to apply for membership in the world Organization.

36. Yugoslavia whole-heartedly supports the realization, as a matter of urgency, of the full universality of the United Nations, convinced that this, as well as other measures, is liable to contribute to the democratization of international relations.

37. In order to function successfully, the United Nations must first of all persist in its action to secure the full observance, in relations between all States without exception and irrespective of their size and their social and political systems, of the principles of refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in domestic affairs, the sovereign equality of all States, the equal rights and self-determination of peoples and co-operation between States. Only on such a basis can the United Nations face the new realities of international life and ensure the participation of all States in the solution of the most important problems.

38. My delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.684 and will vote in favour of it, convinced that this draft reflects a common denominator of all that has to be undertaken at the present stage so that we may combine our joint efforts with a view to further strengthening the United Nations.

39. Mr. RIAD (Egypt): Since the dawn of history down to our present day the peoples of the world have yearned for peace, tranquillity and safety. Unnumbered are the wars that have been fought, staggering is the loss in human life they have caused, and endless the destruction left in their wake.

40. Today, when the tremendous advances in science and technology are used to put into the hands of men weapons that reap a deadlier harvest than ever before, the peoples of the world have become even more apprehensive and more suspicious concerning the real prospects for peace. Too many wars have been fought to end all wars; too many peace treaties have been signed to usher in at last an era of peace; and too many deceptions and deceits have been inflicted on mankind, for there always seemed to be just another war to fight. After seeing all this happen within a lifetime, can the peoples of the world believe that man has at last achieved the ability to live in peace with his fellowmen? Has not man, vindictive, rancorous and ruthless, destroyed the League of Nations? One should also ask whether the United Nations, born in the most total of wars waged between the nations on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, has succeeded in saving its Members from the scourge of war and in uniting them in order to maintain international peace and security.

41. The Charter was conceived during the most devastating war mankind has ever witnessed. It was drafted at a time when millions throughout the world were being killed and millions more rendered homeless and destitute. It was considered that the new world order under the United Nations Charter would, at last, ensure that past sufferings and miseries would never be repeated. Therefore it was natural that great expectations would be attached to the proper functioning of the newly introduced United Nations system for maintaining world peace. The United Nations thus became the focal point of mankind's aspirations for a world order based on justice and stability. The new security system set up by the Charter was devised after the reasons which turned the League of Nations into an ineffective organization had been fully taken into consideration.

42. In fact, the whole system for the maintenance of world peace hinged on the efficacy of the Security Council of the United Nations, the organ vested with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. This executive organ of the United Nations was empowered to have recourse to the enforcement machinery provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter and was considered to be the real guarantor of a peaceful future of mankind. However, to the dismay of the medium-sized and small States, the post-Second-World-War rivalry between the super-Powers rendered the collective security system of the Charter impotent. The provisions of Chapter VII were hardly ever used, even when world peace was gravely threatened and when the use of armed force occurred. The predilection to operate exclusively under the provisions of Chapter VI has transformed the Security Council from an action-oriented Council as the Charter had envisaged to a mere debating organ incapable of shouldering its Charter responsibilities. As a corollary, the Council has not been able to follow up and enforce its decisions.

43. It is of great relevance in this context to refer to the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations. The Charter not only provides for United Nations action when international peace is endangered but, in fact, contains an elaborate system for settling international disputes. On the one hand, this system encompasses a wide variety of methods listed in an inexhaustive manner. On the other hand, these provisions stipulate varying degrees of obliga-

tions for the relevant United Nations organs. In exercising these functions with respect to peaceful settlement, both the General Assembly and the Security Council are under a clear obligation to bear in mind that the first purpose stated in Article 1, paragraph 1, of the United Nations Charter, is, *inter alia*:

“... to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”,

and that Article 36 provides that:

“... the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court”.

44. Thus it is not permissible for Security Council or General Assembly resolutions and decisions to disregard basic tenets of the Charter when it recommends methods or terms of settlement. Basic principles such as the prohibition of the use of force, full respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force should always be clearly reflected in all United Nations resolutions. In fact, it is the duty of the Security Council to see to it that these resolutions are not only adopted but indeed and above all scrupulously implemented.

45. Egypt, a founding Member of the United Nations, has always firmly believed in the paramount role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace. Egypt fully realizes that, along with the overwhelming majority of States, it needs the protection which the United Nations Charter provides.

46. Egypt seriously considers that it is high time that the basic purposes and principles of the Charter were adhered to in an effective manner.

47. In the course of the general debate, the Foreign Minister of Egypt urged the Member States to follow a more responsible foreign policy and to honour their Charter obligations. He stated:

“This annual general debate in our Assembly is, or should be, a time for a serious survey of the international actions of all Member States during the preceding year. As sovereign States, we have committed ourselves to the United Nations Charter and in doing so have willingly agreed to yield a portion of our sovereignty in order to set up this community of nations. We believe that, while each one of the Foreign Ministers is responsible before the proper organs of his country for the conduct of its foreign policy, he is also answerable to this Organization. This annual general debate should show that all Member countries have seriously tried to live by the Charter and have not violated its principles and purposes.” [2062nd meeting, para. 98.]

My Foreign Minister went on to state that:

“... Important resolutions in this Assembly and other United Nations bodies are ignored. The effectiveness of

the Organization itself is scoffed at and doubted. Our Organization seems at certain times to be surrendering to the rule of force in relations between nations. Indeed the principles and purposes of the Charter, the *raison d'être* of our Organization, unfortunately, now, need to be reasserted. The Organization must seriously and urgently consider how to regain its authority and its effectiveness." [*Ibid.*, para. 100.]

48. The delegation of Egypt welcomes all attempts to strengthen the United Nations. That could best be achieved by reverting to the original concepts enshrined in the Charter. That has been Egypt's position with respect to all previous initiatives put before the relevant United Nations organs. However, our Organization has on many occasions departed from the purposes and principles of the Charter; and this, indeed, has been a matter of great concern to my country. We realize, of course, that the responsibility for this permissive trend rests with the Member States. The Member States should seek to bring about a rectification of that attitude.

49. The Charter as a dynamic, constitutional instrument capable of potential evolution and encompassing man's activities was meant to regulate economic and social, as well as political, matters.

50. Egypt is of the opinion that respect for human rights is an indispensable element the realization of which is necessary to world peace. The Charter, in Article 55, stipulates that respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms is required for the creation of the condition of stability, which is a prerequisite for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

51. The United Nations, being constantly seized of many problems involving the protection and restoration of human rights in many parts of the world, in particular during times of armed conflict, has an important role to play in this respect. This role in fact requires the United Nations to shoulder its obligations to observe directly the application of the provisions of international humanitarian instruments.

52. The establishment of a permanent machinery in this respect would respond to the need for a greater and more vigorous involvement of the United Nations in situations affecting the basic rights of man. The machinery called for would strengthen the role of the United Nations in this field and would be fully compatible with the principles and purposes of the Charter, as well as those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the relevant United Nations resolutions on the aforementioned situations.

53. There is also an urgent need for more vigorous and continued investigation into the situations arising from colonialism, foreign domination and occupation. It is worth noting that the question of investigation of such situations has not been seriously dealt with by many international humanitarian organizations for political or other reasons. This leaves the United Nations with no other choice but to assume responsibility in this field and to uphold the basic rights of peoples as enshrined in the Charter, with a view to protecting them and achieving universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all circumstances and at all times.

54. Moreover, it is essential that Member States strive to achieve the economic and social ideals enshrined in the Charter. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations requires that States combine their efforts and increase co-operation between them on the basis of equality and full respect for sovereignty.

55. The challenges which the developing countries face are increasing with the passage of time. This constitutes an impediment to co-operation between the developed and the developing countries. One of the basic purposes of the United Nations is to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, and it is to be stressed that in the realm of economic development the United Nations should pursue a more active and effective role in narrowing the increasing gap between the developed and the developing countries.

56. The delegation of Egypt would like to pay a tribute to the Government of Romania for its timely initiative in proposing the inclusion in the agenda of this session of this item [A/8792].

57. The general nature of the item does not attempt to prejudge any issue and leaves the door open for the proposed study and compilation of effective ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations. The study will, of course, take due account of the opinions and suggestions made during this debate.

58. In point of fact, my delegation would like to underline the importance of many proposals and comments previously put forward by Member States in their replies to the Secretary-General on subjects related to the item before us. Our objective should be to study the feasibility of some of the salient proposals with a view to taking appropriate action to put them into effect. In the course of the deliberations of the First Committee on the strengthening of international security, at its twenty-fifth session,<sup>3</sup> the representative of Egypt suggested that the Security Council should establish a subcommittee to look into all previous decisions and resolutions pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security which had not been implemented. That subcommittee should, furthermore, prepare a report on the difficulties confronting their implementation and how best to surmount these hurdles. Unfortunately, this suggestion has not so far been taken up.

59. Belief in the necessity of introducing reforms in the United Nations system has been gaining widespread support. In fact, during the last decade almost all Member States have, on a variety of occasions, expressed their genuine interest in revitalizing the United Nations by scrupulously adhering to the original Charter concepts.

60. Of considerable importance in this connexion is the solving of the United Nations financial difficulties. As an organization shouldering universal responsibilities in various fields, the United Nations cannot continue to be hindered, due to lack of financial resources, from undertaking necessary projects. The unpleasant image of this problem still continues to cause us acute concern, especially since we, the Member States, have high hopes and aspirations

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, First Committee, 1734th meeting, para. 24.*

concerning the proper and smooth functioning of this Organization in accordance with its Charter. We earnestly hope that this problem may be solved promptly in a manner which does not prejudice the principles embraced by Member States. The persistence of this deficit makes it all the more urgent to introduce improvements so far as the budget level, the discharging of new programmes and the effectiveness of the Secretariat are concerned.

61. The experience of the past quarter-century clearly indicates that merely adopting resolutions and calling upon States to respect and implement their provisions has not restored peace. Non-compliance with United Nations resolutions pertaining to international peace and security has gravely undermined the efficacy, credibility and relevance of the whole Organization. It is the considered opinion of Egypt that an urgent endeavour should be made to secure full and prompt implementation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that under the Charter it is incumbent upon the Security Council to play a more active role in this field.

62. In Egypt's reply to the Secretary-General on the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security" contained in document A/8431/Add.3, it was stated that:

"The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt is of the opinion that the present ineffectiveness of the Security Council is due, mainly, to two factors:

"1. The inability of the Council to reach the appropriate decision whenever international peace and security are threatened;

"2. The non-implementation by many States of Security Council resolutions which has eroded confidence in the Council and contributed to diminishing the Council's authority."<sup>4</sup>

63. We were indeed gratified to hear the representative of Romania say that "... the failure to put into effect the decisions and recommendations adopted is one of the major causes of the diminution of the role of the United Nations in the world. If we want to strengthen our Organization and to restore its authority and prestige, it is imperative to do away with the inconsistency between words and deeds so that our resolutions do not remain mere declarations of intent, devoid of concrete results." [2086th meeting, para. 43.] Consequently, we believe that it has become indispensable that concerted follow-up action be put in motion by the relevant United Nations organs to secure full compliance with the stated will of the international community.

64. It was considered by many that the twenty-fifth-anniversary session would offer a propitious opportunity to all Member States to rededicate themselves to the Charter of our Organization.

65. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations was thus marked by the adoption of three historic declarations which have direct bearing on the item under discussion [resolutions 2625, 2627 and 2734 (XXV)]. The three declarations called upon Member States to rededicate themselves to the original concepts of the Charter and to renew confidence and faith in and adherence to the United Nations. Two years have elapsed since the adoption of these declarations, and we still note that respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations has not been forthcoming due to the behaviour of certain States.

66. In Africa, Asia and the Middle East today, there exist flagrant examples of lawlessness and complete defiance of the United Nations and its resolutions. Restoring peace and justice in these areas should serve, no doubt, as a test case for the United Nations. A renewed effort must urgently be undertaken to rectify these situations and restore the efficacy and prestige of our Organization.

67. Romania grasped the initiative and this should be commended by all of us. The draft resolution introduced by the representative of Romania and now sponsored by 17 other delegations [A/L.684 and Add.1] takes into full consideration the necessity of strengthening the United Nations. My delegation is happy to express our support for it, and we shall cast our vote in its favour. We hope that this draft will receive overwhelming support in the General Assembly.

68. The path before us is laid out. We must insist on the supremacy of the role of the Charter. We should endeavour to make the United Nations more effective when dealing with matters pertaining to peace and security. Mere expressions of good intentions do not suffice any more. Concrete deeds have become necessary. This, I submit, we should try to achieve earnestly and with a sense of purpose. Otherwise, all the sacrifices incurred by the peoples of the world will have been in vain.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will continue its consideration of agenda item 24. In order to plan our programme of work, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed on Friday, 24 November, at 6 p.m. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.*

<sup>4</sup> See document A/8431/Add.3 (offset), p. 2.