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*President:* Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

**AGENDA ITEM 79**

**Joint Inspection Unit:**  
**(a) Reports of the Joint Inspection Unit;**  
**(b) Question of the continuation of the Joint Inspection Unit: report of the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8895)**

1. Mr. PASHKEVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*translation from Russian*): On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the results of the Committee's consideration of agenda item 79. The report is contained in document A/8895.

2. In paragraph 33 of that document, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions: one on the report of the Joint Inspection Unit on its activities covering the period from 1 July 1971 to 30 June 1972, and the other on the continuation of the Unit's activities for a period of four years beyond 31 December 1973.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I now invite members to turn their attention to the decision taken by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 2 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that decision?

*It was so decided.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the views expressed by the Fifth Committee in

paragraphs 13, 18 and 20 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses those views?

*It was so decided.*

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We come now to the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 33 of its report.

6. Draft resolution A is entitled "Report of the Joint Inspection Unit". In the absence of any objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A.

*Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 2924 A (XXVII)).*

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Finally, we turn to draft resolution B entitled "Continuation of the Joint Inspection Unit". In the absence of any comments or objections, I shall consider that the General Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution B.

*Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 2924 B (XXVII)).*

**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*)**

8. Mr. RAE (Canada): We are discussing the strengthening of the role of the United Nations at a time when momentous developments in international relations are under way, and when we can fairly believe others, no less momentous, are impending. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization for 1972, the Secretary-General noted that:

"The improvement of great Power relations through bilateral diplomacy is certainly of fundamental importance to this process, but past experience indicates that it needs to be complemented and balanced by the multi-lateral diplomacy of the global Organization . . . as a safety valve in critical times and as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes." [A/8701/Add.1, p. 2.]

9. Addressing the same point, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, said in his statement in the general debate on 28 September:

“Caution says . . . that all these developments are only beginnings. But they could mark the greatest change in the international order since the United Nations was founded. If we are right to say that the United Nations reflects the international order on which it is based, can we be wrong to hope that these beginnings will sooner or later transform the United Nations as well?” [2044th meeting, para. 31.]

10. My delegation, therefore, looks upon the draft resolution before us [A/L.684 and Add.1-3] essentially as a first step towards bringing our Organization into tune with the evolving demands upon it, a step away from the politics of sterile confrontation and towards those of active and effective co-operation.

11. For this reason, we are prepared to support the draft resolution, even though it may be wanting in precision in some respects, and may perhaps address itself too generally to too wide a range of issues to meet the criteria we would normally apply. We can readily recognize and endorse the objectives which the sponsors have in mind, and we understand and sympathize with the difficulties they may have had in reducing so extensive a subject to a manageable compass. Moreover, we appreciate their readiness to consult widely and their receptiveness to the views of others, which indeed reflects precisely that spirit of accommodation and co-operation to whose further growth we look forward in the United Nations.

12. It should go without saying that, when we seek to strengthen the role of the United Nations, we do so because the United Nations can be a useful instrument for obtaining the objectives to which all our Governments have subscribed. There have been, and will be again, situations with which the United Nations is not necessarily the best adapted instrument to deal. In such situations, the purposes and principles to which we have all subscribed in the Charter may well be better served by the use of instrumentalities other than the United Nations itself. It clearly matters more that those purposes and principles should be served than that we insist the United Nations should always be directly involved.

13. There are, however, other situations—and they are many—when the United Nations is not only the most useful, but also the essential, instrument by means of which the international community can act in concert. Clearly, the more effective its institutions and its mechanisms, the better it will be able to respond to the needs of Member States. It does not necessarily follow that Member States will always, therefore, resort to it more readily, since they may continue to have good and valid reasons to prefer other legitimate mechanisms. But this can never be a reason either to underestimate or to neglect the potentialities of this Organization.

14. Broadly speaking, in the past, three different methods have been tried in order to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations. All have been perennial, but only one has had more than limited success. The first has been the method of hortatory declarations which are frequently ambiguous, in that they contain purely verbal reconciliations of essentially irreconcilable propositions, and rarely contribute measurably to the objectives they profess

to serve. There are certain conspicuous exceptions to this characterization, such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)], but by and large the declaratory approach has not yielded useful results for the United Nations.

15. A second approach has been the making of periodic efforts to reform and streamline the mechanical and procedural methods of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. There have been limited successes in this area, such as the work of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly, which reported to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> and which did produce a number of concrete and useful results. But in the nature of things, this approach cannot by itself have far-reaching consequences. In the course of the work of the rationalization Committee, therefore, it quickly became clear that procedural reforms cannot be pursued very far before they encounter political and substantive difficulties which defy purely procedural solution.

16. The third approach and, we believe, the most rewarding, is the path of persistent and conscientious application to the day-to-day and year-to-year task of concentrating on the many specific issues which face the world community over many fields. At each session our agenda provides a rough image of the needs and priorities of Member States in moving towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We all know what these issues are, even though there may be no consensus as to which should be given priority at any particular time. Even modest steps, provided they are rooted in the concrete needs and experience of Member States, and are directed to practical and workable solutions, can lead us towards the goal of the strengthened world community, based on peace and justice, which mankind seeks.

17. In fact, beyond a certain point one cannot separate procedure from substance. What we seek to do can sometimes be frustrated by the way we seek to do it. Conversely, the process by which international friction is reduced or eliminated may in itself produce a degree of harmonization of action which has results going far beyond the immediate purpose which gave rise to it.

18. The draft resolution is realistic in its modest proposal that Member States should begin by identifying ways and means of bringing about the strengthening of the Organization's capacity for action and an increase in its effectiveness in the attainment of the ideas of peace, freedom and the progress of peoples. In giving its support to this beginning, the Canadian delegation notes that the broader formulations of principle in the draft are not intended to be, and cannot be, taken as exhaustive. That is not the purpose of the draft resolution. In particular, the draft does not seek to interpret the Charter, nor can it in any way affect such basic documents as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 26.

19. The delegation of Romania is to be congratulated for its willingness to embark on a project which has long been recognized by most Member States—now all the more so—but whose difficulties have hitherto deterred even the boldest among us. The spirit in which this initiative has been conceived and will now, we believe, be pursued, is an encouraging sign that the United Nations, which has successfully survived a quarter of a century, may look forward at last to coming into its own as the principal organ of international co-operation.

20. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico was particularly pleased when item 24 was included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. It seems to us that the title of the item we are considering was well chosen, since it emphasizes the need to increase the contribution and the effectiveness of the United Nations for three fundamental purposes: first, for the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security; secondly, for the development of co-operation among all nations—a subject which is closely linked to the preceding one and the importance of which we must emphasize so that just and equitable economic conditions can be internationally guaranteed for all peoples, since it is our firm conviction that international economic co-operation, if understood in this manner, will constitute one of the most effective means of consolidating peace—and, thirdly, for the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States.

21. In regard to this last point, we find it very appropriate that in the second preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/L.684 and Add.1-3, which was introduced in the General Assembly on 20 November by the representative of Romania, Ambassador Datcu [*2086th meeting*], and of which my delegation is a sponsor, emphasis is placed on faithful observance of the principles of the Charter. At the San Francisco Conference there was insistence that this should be the corner-stone of the effectiveness of the Organization.

22. Furthermore, it seems to us to be appropriate to point out that the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States constituted a not insignificant step forward in defining the meaning and scope of those principles. Naturally, anything that explains them in greater detail is welcome, but, remembering how difficult it was to draft that Declaration, perhaps it would be better to channel the activities which will flow from the present draft resolution towards other areas, such as, for example, making maximum use of the organs and machinery established under the Charter and the procedures developed in practice in the United Nations.

23. More frequent recourse to these should be supplemented by the firm will to endeavour to implement the decisions of the United Nations organs, particularly the decisions of principal organs, such as the Security Council, to which the Charter assigns primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and the General Assembly, which, because it is the most fully representative organ of the international community, most accurately reflects the voice of the conscience of mankind.

24. We trust that draft resolution will win general support and that States Members, in accordance with the request in operative paragraph 5, will transmit their constructive views and suggestions “on the ways and means of contributing to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life, including proposals for enhancing the effectiveness of the decisions and resolutions adopted by United Nations organs”. In this way the report which will be submitted to us on this subject by the Secretary-General, as provided for in operative paragraph 6, will constitute an excellent working document which will serve as a basis for a thorough study of this important question at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

25. Mr. ARNAUD (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have studied very carefully draft resolution A/L.684 and Add.1-3, noting with particular interest the explanatory memorandum on the inclusion of the item in the agenda [*see A/8792*], and, having listened to the very clear introduction of the draft resolution by the representative of Romania, we welcome it very warmly and wish to announce at once that the delegation of Argentina supports this text and, if it is voted on, will vote in its favour.

26. My delegation cannot fail to support this draft resolution, whose basic idea is the examination, with the participation of all States Members of the Organization, of the question of the reaffirmation and strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

27. As a founding Member of the United Nations, Argentina has followed its progress and participated in its work, believing in the need for its existence, the usefulness of its purposes and principles and the effectiveness of its functions. Furthermore, my country has witnessed and taken part in the evolution of and the changes in international relations which have occurred in the past 27 years and in the logical broadening of the field of activities of the United Nations. We recognize the need for greater international co-operation between States and for a dialogue leading to a compromise between opposing points of view and ideologies, thus facilitating agreements on implementing measures which will lead to the solution of problems, which is the merit of the negotiating function of diplomacy.

28. We have always felt that the purposes and principles set forth in Chapter I of United Nations Charter can be achieved in this Organization when it is used as a centre for harmonizing the sincere efforts of States to attain those common goals, as is stated in paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Charter.

29. We agree with the idea of strengthening the role and authority of the United Nations so that States, overcoming hesitations and misgivings, will use it increasingly as an effective forum for the attainment of the common objectives laid down in the Charter and, through that effectiveness, for consolidating it as a powerful means of achievement.

30. The great progress in science and technology of the last 30 years, which holds out bright prospects for the future thanks to its accelerated dynamism, has meant that we are living in a world of ever greater interdependence, a

world that conquers distances, that recognizes no frontiers, that makes no distinction among races, colours, creeds, ideologies or systems and overcomes all resistance. In that world, which has already begun to penetrate the secrets of the space that surrounds it, adaptation to change is a reality and the necessary political decisions are made easier, even compulsory, by the obvious necessity of adjusting to new circumstances and to the changes forced on us by the progress of science and technology.

31. But the progress of science and technology and the need to adjust to change should not be feared, nor should they be confused with a renunciation of the values of the human personality, of age-old cultures, of philosophies developed through the centuries, of the individuality of States and of regional characteristics that have their roots in the peoples. Respect for the sacred principle of the inalienable and enduring sovereignty of all States must be reaffirmed and put into practice with even greater emphasis, with States respecting the sovereignty of other countries by practising tolerance and peaceful coexistence as good neighbours, as laid down in the preamble of the Charter.

32. The course of Argentina's international policy has at all times been in accord with the objectives sought by the draft resolution now before us.

33. In all spheres of activity we have always practised and sought international co-operation and the practice of the principle of good-neighbourliness of which the Charter speaks, through co-operation among States. This will make possible, also, a rational exploitation of natural resources, a harmonious development of States, progress for peoples and the elimination of under-development. We have also always been in favour of, and taken a stand for, the principle of universality in the representation of States in the world Organization. This has been and remains our view in the United Nations, where we hope it will soon be possible to admit new States so that they, too, will be able to make their contributions to the strengthening of the United Nations role in the full realization of its purposes and principles.

34. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of States is another permanent principle of Argentine international policy which we have practised, which we have defended in cases affecting third parties, and which we have sought to institutionalize through international and multilateral agreements. That principle is in accord with the inalienable right of all peoples to choose their own destiny without outside interference, a right reaffirmed in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution we are now considering.

35. We have been and we remain opposed to the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, and we strongly advocate the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, through resort to the methods set forth in Article 33 of the Charter, even using them on a broader basis.

36. We also want the Organization, in accordance with the Charter, to act firmly to prevent and repress acts of aggression, of whatever kind, that may endanger the

security and development of States, and thus endanger international peace.

37. We want the United Nations to bring into being some form of machinery that will render it effective in preventing conflicts and maintaining international peace, so that, through the United Nations, it will be possible finally to eliminate all forms of colonialism.

38. We cannot but agree once again to affirm and reaffirm the necessity of advocating the rules of international law in relations among States. The United Nations should emphasize the value of law as an appropriate instrument for improving international relations. The right of a State is limited only by the equal right of other countries, in accordance with the principles of the sovereign equality of all States and the equality of rights. In order in an effective and practical way to implement the rules of international law, we have supported and continue to support the task of codifying and progressively developing international law, which has been entrusted to the Organization in an effort to encourage the consideration of items the need for which is in direct relationship with the progress of science and technology, the rational exploitation of natural resources, the urge for development of States, and international peace.

39. We hope that, replying to the invitation in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, the largest possible number of States will transmit to the Secretary-General their views and suggestions on ways and means of contributing to reinforcement of the United Nations role in international life, together with their proposals for increasing the effectiveness of the decisions and resolutions adopted by United Nations bodies, all of which are to be considered by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

40. It is in recognition of the constructive significance and the practical scope of this draft resolution that my delegation supports it.

41. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): In line with my Government's long-standing and well-documented desire to work for a peaceful and rational world order anchored in the United Nations Charter, it is but natural for us to take an active interest in proposals designed to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and in developing co-operation among all nations. In this spirit my delegation welcomes the initiative taken by the Government of Romania to include the present item on our agenda [A/8792].

42. It is useful and necessary to review periodically how the United Nations fulfils this fundamental task and to consider continuously what can be done to increase its capabilities to meet the needs of an ever-changing world. When we undertake an exercise of this kind our point of departure should, however, always be our full realization that the United Nations always has been and, for the foreseeable future, will remain an instrument of the national wills. Inherited from past history, the legislative, executive and judicial powers to manage world affairs lie firmly in national hands. From this point of view the United Nations is a tool, with all the potential and all the limitations of a tool.



43. Our first and foremost objective must therefore be to rededicate ourselves to a better utilization of this tool and to a better observance of the principles and obligations concerning our conduct which are laid down in the Charter. All too often these principles are more honoured in the breach than in the observance; all too often Governments take a narrow view in furthering what they see as their immediate national interests. Largely, therefore, the problem we face is a matter of political will and we must not delude ourselves into thinking that it is possible to find a magic solution to the world's basic problems through institutional reforms alone. What is required is for Governments to take an enlightened view of our common interests and for world public opinion to act as a prime mover in that direction. There must be a basic change in attitudes towards the problems which concern mankind as a whole.

44. During recent years the world has witnessed an acceleration of efforts at reaching a *détente*, particularly among the great Powers, but also as a more general phenomenon. In several areas of conflict we can now discern hopeful signs. The development of relations between the major Powers is clearly leading in a direction away from post-war rigidities. At the same time, this general trend towards *détente* has not yet become adequately reflected in a common determination to make effective use of the United Nations to the same end. We must not allow ourselves, however, to become too sceptical or over-cautious on account of the setbacks and disappointments that the United Nations has undeniably known. Full advantage should be taken of the framework and the means that this Organization offers. In the words used by our Secretary-General in his introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

“The United Nations provides, or should provide, the means by which all nations, great and small, participate on a basis of sovereign equality in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security, in facing common problems through co-operation, and in planning and organizing for a better future. The improvement of great Power relations through bilateral diplomacy is certainly of fundamental importance to this process, but past experience indicates that it needs to be complemented and balanced by the multilateral diplomacy of the global Organization as a safeguard against misunderstandings, as a safety valve in critical times and as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.”

45. In earlier years we have been able, perhaps as something of an excuse, to point to the Organization's lack of universality. Last year's decision to restore at long last the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China [resolution 2758 (XXVI)] represented a historic step forward in that respect. For the first time we can now, on the basis of further developments, look forward with reasonable certainty to a situation in which we can hope that all the peoples of the world will be able fully to take part in the work of the United Nations. That day, which we hope will come very soon, will not only offer a host of fresh opportunities but will also present us with a fresh obligation to make the fullest possible use of the new situation.

46. In the United Nations we have a standing forum for consultations and contacts between Governments. Many times the difficulties in the way of constructive international action have been compounded by the lack of contacts between the parties and the political problems involved in establishing such contacts. A universal United Nations would provide the necessary procedures and institutional arrangements for such contacts. As was pointed out by one of our colleagues here a few years ago, consultations within the Security Council, for example, can be held at any time without preliminary argument about such problems as the shape of the conference table. Within the various United Nations organs all Powers willing to utilize the Organization have unique machinery both for considering and acting upon problems threatening international peace and security and for establishing the necessary co-operation within various fields without which the peace-keeping and peace-making efforts cannot succeed.

47. A general debate of this kind is not the occasion for a detailed discussion of the many fields in which United Nations activities ought to be intensified. It may be said with some justification that over the longer term all the major spheres of United Nations activity are of equal importance when it comes to building a more peaceful and just world. The problems of economic and social development as well as the future effects of mismanagement of our common environment may, for example, prove to be as explosive and as fateful to mankind as even nuclear war would be. Under the draft resolution put forward by Romania and 25 other States, our Governments would have an opportunity to offer their comments over a whole range of subjects and to suggest ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations in international life. On this occasion my delegation will limit itself to making a couple of points of more direct relevance to the effectiveness of our Organization as the guardian of international peace and security.

48. The subject of peace-keeping holds a special interest for my country. It is therefore with deep concern that we note the continued absence of an agreement on this point. We remain convinced that the use of United Nations observers or forces, or other similar methods, is indispensable to the international community in its efforts to contain situations and conflicts which endanger the general peace. It is our hope that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations will be able to achieve progress during the forthcoming year as a result of further consideration of the various positions taken. As for Sweden, we are willing to do our share in the future also in trying to make the United Nations an effective instrument in this field. As before, we maintain our preparedness in the form of a permanent stand-by force, as do other countries, among them our Nordic friends. In 1968 we addressed to the Secretary-General an official notification regarding this force,<sup>2</sup> and we intend shortly, together with the other Nordic countries, to provide him with further and more detailed material on this subject.

49. Another field in which, in our view, further efforts could usefully be made in order to probe all avenues towards progress is that of procedures and methods for the

<sup>2</sup> See document A/AC.121/11 and Corr.1 (mimeographed).

peaceful settlement of international disputes. As we stated at the time of the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, Sweden would have preferred a more comprehensive consensus text on this point, with fuller reference to the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter.<sup>3</sup> This is an area in which my country takes a traditional interest, and it is our hope that the report foreseen in operative paragraphs of the 26-Power draft resolution will enrich the debate on this subject with fresh ideas.

50. Finally, no discussion of the possibilities of strengthening the United Nations would be complete without a plea on the subject of its financial situation. In a sense the willingness of the Member States to contribute to a solution of this problem may, with justification, be taken as a test of the support that the United Nations idea enjoys in actual fact. It is clearly unacceptable that the effectiveness of the United Nations should be put in jeopardy by persistent financial difficulties, particularly if we take into account the relative size of the United Nations budget. On this point we give our fullest support to the efforts carried out within the Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations, the report of which was presented to the Fifth Committee the other day [A/8729], as well as to the measures initiated by the Secretary-General in this regard. It would augur very well for the future role of the United Nations if a solution to these persistent problems could now be found in the matter of voluntary contributions. A line must be drawn through past disagreements on procedure and precedence so as to enable the United Nations to make a fresh start from a basis of financial soundness and security. Only on such a foundation will it be possible to build a more viable and more effective world Organization.

51. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): A fundamental question confronts our Organization in the 1970s. Can the United Nations more effectively protect man from his own destructive power and from the overwhelming consequences of his technological successes? We believe the United Nations can and must be perfected to these ends; we believe this Organization has the potential to rise to the challenges and opportunities of the 1970s. I noted with interest the comments of the representative of Sweden when he said we must not allow ourselves to become over-cautious. With this we would agree and simply add that we must continue to find practical ways of improving things. This is why my delegation strongly supports the initiative of our Romanian colleagues in putting forward an item on strengthening the role of the United Nations in international affairs. This is why my delegation looks forward to co-operating with all of our colleagues in seeking ways to ensure a healthy and increasingly vigorous United Nations.

52. Our Organization has reached a point where it is no service to the idea of the United Nations, and no contribution to its future, to shield it from criticism or to blink at its limitations. A scepticism concerning the United Nations is widespread. Our obligation to the future requires that we face this fact squarely and approach the task of

strengthening the role of the United Nations with a large dose of realism and candour. We must be frank in assessing the weaknesses of the current United Nations structure and performance and in asserting the need for improvements.

53. As we seek ways to perfect our Organization we should bear in mind that it is not the purpose of the United Nations to award victories or to register defeats. It is, rather, the business of the United Nations to serve as a forum for moderating disputes, for asserting the larger world interest in the pacific resolution of conflict, and for providing the leadership and expertise so necessary for economic development throughout the entire world. I believe it is fair to say that our work continues to be impaired by excessive recourse to the politics of confrontation. Too often our debates are long on rhetoric and short on concrete accomplishment. Too often our resolutions fail to reflect full consultations, sincere compromise and realistic calls for action. We believe that the draft resolution currently under consideration reflects these qualities. We have noted with satisfaction the way in which its authors consulted in a very constructive manner with various elements of the membership to achieve a draft resolution worthy of broad support. Our delegation particularly appreciated the way in which the representatives of Romania consulted with us. I should like to associate myself with appropriate comments made by the Canadian delegation, which commended and paid a tribute to the Romanian delegation for its receptivity to the views of others on its draft resolution.

54. Our Organization sorely needs to move away from sweeping declarations and verbose resolutions that merely restate the purposes and principles of the Charter. What is needed is more effective United Nations action on some of the concrete items that are before us—on United Nations peace-keeping procedures, on means of the pacific settlement of international disputes, on human rights, the human environment, the law of the sea, decolonization, development and many others. Until we demonstrate our willingness to take such effective action, world opinion is understandably going to be sceptical—no matter what ringing declarations we may make—that the Members of the United Nations are really serious about strengthening international peace and security and improving the life of the common man throughout the world.

55. A broad area in which the United Nations requires improvement is its general relevancy to the urgent problems of our times. We are deeply convinced that one such problem—currently under consideration in the Sixth Committee—is international terrorism [item 92]. We believe that the United Nations must leave no doubt of the international community's disapproval of the unwarranted and unnecessary loss of innocent lives occasioned by acts of international terrorism. We have got to prove our determination to take action to prevent such tragedies. I am not suggesting that we should not be cognizant of the political overtones of the question of terrorism as we discuss it but we must find a way to lay these aside and take action on the things that each of us, as individuals, can sit down and agree on with one another in relation to the question of international terrorism. Another case in point is the question—a rather controversial question in the eyes of some—which is now being discussed in the Fifth Committee

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Sixth Committee*, 1179th meeting, para. 16.

[item 77] and which is of vital interest to my country—of the establishment of a 25 per cent ceiling as the rate of assessment of the major contributor to the regular budget. The principle that the United Nations should not be over-dependent financially on any one nation has a long history. We are therefore urging that this Assembly instruct the expert Committee on Contributions to compute a new triennial scale of assessments which, if adopted by the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, would become effective for the period 1974 to 1976. There is only one question that ought to be asked with regard to this matter: if this proposal is adopted, will the United Nations itself be stronger, better able to act, and more realistic as a result of it, or will it be weaker? It is in that spirit that we think this question should be assessed. If this proposal is successful, what will the position be, not from the standpoint of one's own country or of any other country, but from the standpoint of the United Nations, and will the United Nations be stronger or weaker as a result of it? We are convinced that the adoption of this proposal will do much to strengthen the role of the United Nations as a viable international organization.

56. We are all aware that the Charter does not intend that the United Nations should be the only centre of diplomacy. We must recall activities that are conducted outside the United Nations but still within the Charter of the United Nations. We also recognize that the problem of improving our Organization depends not so much upon institutional reforms as upon national wills. Yet to the extent that better working methods and more realistic institutional arrangements will help, my delegation is certainly prepared to help bring these things about. Let me give you some suggestions for strengthening the Security Council. We continue to believe that these suggestions should be explored. As another example, we favour greater use of fact-finding missions, more use of the good offices procedure, quiet preventive diplomacy and greater use of third-party settlement of disputes through the International Court of Justice, arbitration and conciliation. We think that ways and means of strengthening the role of impartial settlement procedures must be studied by Governments and by the United Nations.

57. One of the most important steps that can be taken to strengthen the United Nations would be to encourage Member States that have special technological knowledge and experience to bring this knowledge to the United Nations in an open-minded way for the mutual benefit of the international community. This is what our country, the United States, has undertaken in the exciting new field of satellites for the remote sensing of the earth's resources and environment. With the launching of the first remote sensing satellite by the United States on 23 July of this year we shall carry forward President Nixon's determination to make this new technology an example of our plans to share with other countries the adventures and benefits of our own outer-space experience. Our country is blessed—if I may say so—by this kind of technology, and we think that the United Nations would be better off if we shared it in full with the Organization itself.

58. As another example, a contribution of tremendous significance to the United Nations could be made by holding a prompt and successful United Nations conference

on the law of the sea. We are seeking to co-operate through the United Nations to find acceptable solutions to the many outstanding problems of the law of the sea. We believe the United Nations would be greatly strengthened by the establishment of appropriate machinery within its framework to deal with the many opportunities and problems that will arise in relation to the exploitation of the resources of the deep sea-bed beyond the economic jurisdiction of the coastal State. We believe also that the efforts towards restructuring the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary organs which commenced this summer at its fifty-second session should be vigorously continued and expanded.

59. Further, the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] has gone a long way towards completing its reorganization, and we appreciate the vitality of its new leadership and its willingness to take a new look at some of its old customs. We feel that a massive review of the role of resident representatives is essential to the improved functioning of that Organization. We have noted with interest the improved field services of UNDP, and we are pleased at indications that more care is being taken in methods of auditing and financing these services in the least developed countries.

60. As another example, we believe that the recommendations of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly should be more fully implemented and that further procedural reform is required to improve the work of sessions of the General Assembly. I would make only this personal comment: if I were naming a committee to improve things, I am not sure I would call it the "Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly". "Rationalization" is too confusing a word; there ought to be a simpler name for that august body. The principle, however, is tremendously important.

61. My delegation wishes to point out once again that the work now being done by the United Nations in the field of international drug control must be reinforced and extended. We cannot solve this extremely grave and continuing problem without increased international co-operation under auspices such as those of the United Nations. In this connexion I would simply say that this is not a United States problem; this is not a problem of developed countries which is germane to only a few of them. It is a problem which, even though you may not have it in your lap today, you are going to have in your lap tomorrow unless effective international action is taken. And it is a real challenge for the United Nations.

62. The United States will give its full support to the United Nations World Population Conference and to the World Population Year, and we applaud the work that has already been done in this field.

63. It seems safe to say, based on the report of its Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez-Guerrero, that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its third session has made considerable strides in addressing the priorities of the developing world, and we hope that further progress can be made in the deliberations of the Committee

on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues and in further commodity agreements, to which the developing world attaches great importance.

64. That the United Nations system can be made to work more effectively was demonstrated recently in one area, and I refer to the brilliant leadership of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who undertook a dramatic new task in India and the Sudan at the request of the Secretary-General. The High Commissioner has made an outstanding personal contribution to that noble humanitarian endeavour, and we wish to express our gratitude to him for his excellent performance. I cite this as but one example of what effective United Nations action is all about.

65. Our delegation offers these thoughts about strengthening the role of the United Nations in a spirit of sober determination to make the Organization more effective. In the same spirit, other delegations have already offered their proposals and others will do so, and I think it is only natural that every representative speaking from this podium should put forward the issues that are of paramount importance to his own country. But the question now is, can we find the collective wisdom to act to strengthen our Organization realistically and decisively? Surely we can, if we proceed on the basis of that which unites us—our shared commitment to the United Nations and its Charter and our shared obligation to promote peace, justice and progress for all of our peoples.

*The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.*