
Report of the Secretary-General

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ANNEX

INDEX OF THE STATEMENTS AND PROPOSALS MADE BY MEMBER STATES ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 2186th plenary meeting, on 30 November 1973, the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 3073 (XXVIII) entitled "Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States". Paragraphs 8 and 10 of the resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

..."8. Invites all Member States to communicate and further elaborate on their views, suggestions and proposals concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, not later than 30 April 1974;

..."10. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare a report presenting, in a systematized manner, those views suggestions and proposals formulated at the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, as well as in the relevant communications received from Member States, and to submit that report to the Assembly at its twenty-ninth session;"

2. Pursuant to that resolution, the Secretary-General, on 23 January 1974, addressed a note to all Member States transmitting the text of the resolution and asking for their views, suggestions and proposals as requested by the General Assembly.

3. As at 9 October, replies have been received from the following Member States: Bahrain, Cyprus, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Kenya, Kuwait, Netherlands, Qatar, Romania, Spain, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Yemen. The substantive parts of these communications are reproduced in section II below.

4. Paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"9. Believes that the efforts aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations will be greatly assisted by grouping the views, suggestions and proposals made on this subject by Member States, so as to facilitate their consideration by the appropriate existing organs of the United Nations."

In keeping with this provision, as well as with paragraph 10 of the resolution, the present report contains, in section III below, a summary of views, suggestions and proposals formulated by Member States on this subject at the twenty-seventh
and twenty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly and in the communication addressed by them to the Secretary-General. The grouping of these views, suggestions and proposals was made according to the relevant provisions of Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII).

5. An index of the statements and communications of Member States on this item is given in the annex.
II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM MEMBER STATES

BAHRAIN

[Original: English]
[17 May 1974]

The Government of Bahrain wishes to express its conviction that it is necessary to strengthen the role of the United Nations in order to play an ever greater role in international life, so that it may bring an increasing contribution to the settlement of international disputes and solve the immensity of the problems confronting mankind.

In view of the growing interdependence of nations, the Government of Bahrain believes that it is desirable to enhance the role and responsibility of the United Nations as a framework in which all nations can work together towards achieving the rule of law that would replace the rule of force. It is owing to this fact that the Government of Bahrain considers that the United Nations is an indispensable central instrument in search for peace, security and development for all nations. Hence, the role of the United Nations in maintaining and consolidating peace and security is so important, for it is through this Organization that the voices of all Member States can be heard. In this respect, the Government of Bahrain believes that the Charter must remain the basis for peaceful co-operation in good faith among Member States. In order to achieve this goal, it is the duty of all Member States to respect the principles and obligations imposed on them by the Charter. For its part, the Government of Bahrain, in its foreign policy, has endorsed and observed the principles listed in General Assembly resolutions 2925 (XXVII) of 28 November 1972 and 3013 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973, namely, restraint from the use of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, sovereignty equality of all States and self-determination of peoples.

The following proposals, in view of the Government of Bahrain, would contribute to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations:

1. Observance by all Member States of the principles and provisions of the Charter: they should be induced to respect and implement resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, Security Council and other organs of the United Nations, in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter, particularly resolutions on the issues and conditions that threaten international peace and security.

2. Full account should be taken of the tremendous progress and changes in international relations taking place in today's world and consideration should be given to the feasibility of convening an international conference to review, rationalize and modify the outdated provisions of the Charter with a view to strengthening the United Nations and its ability to act;

3. Since the main purpose of the United Nations is to secure peace in the world,
it is thus imperative to strengthen the role of the United Nations peace-keeping machinery by examining thoroughly its mandate in all its aspects; it is also necessary that the United Nations peace-keeping operation be put on a firmer and more permanent organizational basis, in order to ensure a more effective role in dealing with serious conflicts that threaten or may threaten the world peace and security.

4. The views of Member States should be solicited on the feasibility of establishing a permanent competent organ, which would be entrusted with implementation of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly and would be asked to keep under constant review issues and problems relating to peace and security of the world and to report to both the Security Council and the General Assembly as appropriate. This organ should have a close link with the Secretary-General and the United Nations peace-keeping machinery.

5. The need to find ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of economic co-operation and development by the active involvement of the organs and organizations within the United Nations system to achieve a solution of fundamental international economic problems; in this respect, efforts should be made to narrow the increasing economic gap between developed and developing countries.

It is the belief of the Government of Bahrain that the full implementation by Member States of General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), adopted at the sixth special session, will undoubtedly achieve this goal.

With regard to the role of the Security Council, the Government of Bahrain maintains the same views of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter, as expressed in its letter dated 2 July 1973 (see A/9143, annex II, p. 2).

CYPRUS

[Original: English]
[25 February 1974]

The Government of Cyprus is of the opinion that the role of the United Nations shall be strengthened if:

(a) Peace-keeping operations are put on a permanent and systematic basis in place of the still continuing improvised arrangements;

(b) Procedures and modalities are developed to facilitate and encourage the full implementation of the means and methods provided for under Article 33 of the United Nations Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes;

(c) The definition of aggression is more effectively pursued so that it can be achieved without further delays;
(d) Military agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter are concluded to facilitate collective security;

(e) Effective measures are adopted to ensure the due implementation of Security Council resolutions; and

(f) The new and vitally important aspect of environmental security is attained through global and effective measures as an institutionalized part of an international security system alongside with political and economic security.

FINLAND

[Original: English]
[11 June 1974]

Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, Finland has on many occasions stressed the importance it gives to the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Declaration. She wishes to state once more that the Declaration should be seen as an expression of the will of Member States to work together for a peaceful world order and to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is the opinion of the Government of Finland that in a genuine détente the principles of the Charter should be the natural guidance for Member States when dealing with each other and thereby strengthening the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations. In its view, the détente has already led to a positive reassessment of the function of the organization in international politics. This has been largely due to the role which the United Nations and its peace-keeping force have recently played.

Finland has consistently taken a strong and active interest in the United Nations peace-keeping operations. She considers the establishment and operation of the United Nations forces as a joint collective undertaking of Member States for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is to be regretted that the world Organization has not so far been able to reach an agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations. It was unfortunate that, in the latest phase of the Middle East crisis, the United Nations was compelled once again to resort to hasty improvisations in providing the peace-keeping services required by the situation. It is to be hoped that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations could, in the new atmosphere now prevailing, proceed in its work so that general guidelines for peace-keeping operations could be speedily agreed upon. The experience which can be drawn from UNMEE provides a good basis for the Special Committee's deliberations.

The efforts made by all the participating States in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and, in particular, in defining the principles guiding their mutual relations, is of great importance not only to these States themselves,
but also to the international community as a whole. Finland shares the conviction that the Conference, being a part of and an important contribution to the process of détente, will complement beneficially the work of the United Nations. She hopes that the Conference will soon be brought to a successful end thus responding to the great expectation bestowed upon it by the peoples of Europe.

The Government of Finland has noted with satisfaction the two major steps achieved last year in the field of disarmament, namely, the Agreement between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Nuclear War and the "Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms". 1/ Both of them are of far reaching significance not only to the parties concerned but to the international community as a whole. At the same time, it is to be regretted that there has been no decisive development concerning the treaty prohibiting chemical weapons or a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The Government of Finland expresses the hope that the States primarily concerned would spare no effort to finalize the treaties in question in the near future. For her part, Finland has shown her willingness to contribute concretely towards progress in disarmament and has taken a particularly close interest in finding solutions to the problems connected with the verification and control of chemical weapons. She has for that end, worked on a concrete project for creation, on a national basis, of a chemical-weapons-control capacity for possible future international use.

Finland has in all circumstances demonstrated her interest in the development of a more rational and peaceful international order. She feels that the success of the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression has greatly contributed towards this end. It is her firm belief that the recently agreed text of the definition will further strengthen the spirit of co-operation in the international field. Finland hopes that the General Assembly will, at its next regular session, be able to approve the text which the Committee has prepared for its deliberation. 2/

In recent years, it has become evident that international security must be based not only on political, but also on economic and social independence and equality of Member States. Finland, for her part, has recognized the urgent need of the world community to work in common towards the creation of a more just and equitable world economic order. It should be accepted that prosperity of the international community as a whole depends on the prosperity of its constituent parts and that international development is a shared and common responsibility of all countries. The international economic and social problems confronting the world today are of a global character and so must also be their solution. Finland's

1/ See A/9293, annexes I and II.
active participation in the sixth special session of the General Assembly was based on the consideration that it is, indeed, within the United Nations system that the efforts towards a more just economic order can best succeed. Furthermore, Finland believes that world peace could be strengthened by endeavouring to lessen widely-felt economic and social tensions.

**FRANCE**

*Original: French*

*20 August 1974*

In the communication which it sent to the Secretary-General last year on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations (A/8128, p. 7) the French Government emphasized the need "to utilize United Nations organs and the possibilities that they offer to the full in international life, and principally in ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security"; it denounced the tendency to set aside the machinery of the United Nations and - especially with regard to the settlement of conflicts - to turn to bilateral or multilateral negotiations.

Admittedly, such methods of traditional diplomacy have achieved unquestionably good results, which must be welcomed since they have contributed to the restoration of peace. The United Nations has, moreover, been called upon to validate the results achieved and to consolidate them, using the means which have been given to it under the Charter and whose effectiveness has been demonstrated. The French Government believes, however, that it is essential not to lose sight of the eminent role which the international Organization should play in the maintenance of peace through the Security Council, whose action in this area must be strengthened.

No doubt the Council has successfully improved some of its procedures, in particular those relating to consultations, the establishment of consensus and the sending of missions to investigate matters on the spot. It is essential to continue to pursue this course and, in particular, to continue the effort undertaken some time ago to determine the general rules to which the undertaking and conduct of peace-keeping operations should be subject.

As far as the General Assembly is concerned, the French Government notes that the effectiveness of its action depends on the volume of support which its resolutions receive. In order to ensure that this support is as broad as possible, it is obviously important that draft resolutions should reflect with all the necessary nuances the fundamental preoccupations of the States concerned and that, consequently, the texts of draft resolutions should be elaborated in an atmosphere of close co-operation and at the cost, if necessary, of mutual concessions. It is therefore through more systematic consultations, particularly among countries or groups of countries, that it should be possible to improve the methods of work of the General Assembly.

While the support of a very large majority of Member States is essential, consensus is nevertheless the highest expression of international co-operation, and

/.../
certainly the most ambitious. The sine qua non, however, is that the consensus should embrace a genuine agreement of all the States concerned, not only on the general tenor of the text, but also on its detailed content. Otherwise, the consensus would represent only an illusory success, with no practical scope if reservations paralysed its implementation; that would mislead public opinion and in the end damage the United Nations.

The French Government, which remains ready to study carefully all proposals which may be formulated in this area, expresses the hope that due account will be taken of its reflections, as set out above, on matters which appear to it to be of fundamental importance with regard to the functioning of both the Security Council and the General Assembly in order to strengthen the role of the United Nations with a view to ensuring better co-operation among peoples and the consolidation of peace.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

[Original: English]
[15 July 1974]

The Federal Republic of Germany is convinced that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations will serve to enhance the peaceful coexistence of nations and the development of fruitful co-operation among them. It is in the interest of the community of nations to enable the world Organization they support to pursue the principles of its Charter, to maintain peace and security, to promote respect for human rights and to increase prosperity everywhere.

The Federal Republic of Germany therefore welcomes General Assembly resolutions 2925 (XXVII) and 3073 (XXVIII), inviting Member States to communicate their views and suggestions on ways and means of strengthening the role of the United Nations. The Federal Republic of Germany is guided by the conviction that it is the task of all Member States to contribute towards strengthening that role which could best be done within the framework and on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Member States are called upon to make an active contribution towards that end within the framework of the United Nations. This applies in equal measure to the consolidation of peace, the implementation of the right of all peoples to self-determination, the protection of human rights for all and the solution of all economic and social problems.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany therefore shares the view expressed by many other Member States that, in any effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations, first and foremost full use should be made of the ways and means provided for in the Charter and the rules of procedure. What is important is that every single Member State be prepared to employ the ways and means for international co-operation which the United Nations offer. This should not exclude the possibility of abolishing such provisions as have been outdated by political developments.

The Federal Republic of Germany shares the hope already expressed by other
States that the effectiveness of resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations will increase whenever such recommendations and resolutions are the result of genuine co-operation. This means that the opinion of States whose co-operation is needed for the implementation of a resolution must be taken into account even if those States are a numerical minority. It also means that, where important questions are concerned, the achievement of a consensus will be of particular value whenever it reflects a genuine compromise of conflicting opinions. The Federal Government feels that co-operation in this spirit within the framework of the United Nations will serve to enhance the Organization's effectiveness.

Full implementation of the rules of procedure can also help to achieve this purpose. Only on this basis can decisions be taken within the framework of the United Nations which truly reflect the intentions of all Members of the world Organization. Any application of the rules of procedure with a view to bringing about political decisions in other ways than those provided therein would be detrimental to international co-operation within the framework of the Organization and thus to its effectiveness.

In view of the fact that it is of paramount importance that disputes among States be settled by peaceful means and that international relations be regulated by the principles of international law governing the peaceful coexistence of nations, the Federal Government wishes to underline the important role of the International Court of Justice in the pursuance of these aims. The Federal Government is convinced that the role of the United Nations would be further strengthened if States were ready to make more use of the services of the International Court of Justice when settling their differences of opinion.

The Federal Government shares the view expressed in paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) that the suggestions and proposals received on the subject of strengthening the role of the United Nations should be considered by the appropriate existing organs of the United Nations.

The Federal Government for its part is prepared to take part in the respective activities.
KENYA

[Original: English]
[3 May 1974]

The Government of the Republic of Kenya wishes to make the following observations, which in its view would tend to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security.

1. Review of the Charter

The United Nations Charter was formulated under conditions existing soon after the conclusion of the Second World War, in which the Allied Powers, and particularly the major super-Powers of those days, had acquired a position of dominance subsequent to their victory. Consequently, the position of the role of the smaller and weaker States in the maintenance of international peace and security, was not adequately taken into consideration. Conversely, the major Powers assumed for themselves a preponderant role in this sphere.

In view of the change of the international spectrum since the days when the Charter was formulated, particularly with the admission of numerous new States, most of which were formerly colonies of the major Powers, there is an imperative need to review the Charter to make it more effective. Successful attempts have already been made in that direction in certain areas, particularly in the enlargement of the Security Council from the original 11 members to the present 15 members. Similarly, the Economic and Social Council has been enlarged from 27 to 54 members. It is the view of the Government of Kenya that the membership of certain other agencies of the United Nations could also be enlarged to strengthen them by making them more representative.

While the Government of Kenya supports the provision of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which provides for non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States, it has serious reservations with respect to the misuse of the provision by certain States which have taken shelter behind it while perpetuating atrocities, racial injustice and political persecution. The misuse of the non-interference clause has been particularly blatant in the case of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which have developed chronic contempt for the resolutions passed by the United Nations, while continuing their crimes against the African peoples in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The Charter provisions should be reviewed so that the international community does not continue to remain impotent to enforce its resolutions in the protection of human dignity and human rights.

2. Security Council

The structure and membership of the Security Council have become anomalous, given the present composition of the international community. Two of the
veto-wielding Powers, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, are today not what they used to be in the immediate post-war period, either financially, industrially, or militarily. It is an anachronism to have these two States as permanent members of the Security Council exercising veto power, while Africa, a continent which commands the largest numerical strength in the General Assembly, does not even have a single permanent seat in the Security Council.

The exercise of the veto power is the most complex and perplexing constitutional problem of the United Nations. The veto power was made a prerequisite condition for two of the super-Powers to join the United Nations and it is understandable that any changes in the veto would have very serious repercussions. Nevertheless, no one can deny that very important resolutions in the Security Council, supported by the overwhelming majority, have been rendered ineffective by the use of the veto or a threat of the veto by one of the permanent members. If the Security Council is to discharge its mandate as the primary organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the use of the veto must be regulated to avoid its abuse.

3. Membership of the General Assembly

It is of paramount importance that, if the General Assembly is to become an effective organ for strengthening international peace and security, its membership has to be of a universal character. It is therefore imperative that all States that qualify for membership should be admitted and the permanent members of the Security Council should desist from blocking the membership of any country otherwise qualified - for political or ideological reasons. Conversely, some of the Member States at present which, owing to their policies, do not fulfil their qualifications for membership, should only be entitled to observer status until such time as they shall be willing to shoulder their responsibility of the membership of the United Nations.

4. Peace-keeping Operations

Instead of the present peace-keeping efforts, which have so far been organized on an ad hoc basis, the United Nations should maintain a permanent peace-keeping force, as envisaged in the relevant Articles of the Charter, which would be available to the United Nations for peace-keeping when the situation so demands.

Such a force should be deployed wherever and whenever necessary, regardless of the conflicting political ideologies of the major Powers, so long as the General Assembly, by the necessary substantial majority, has decided on a positive action.

5. Finances of the United Nations

At present, the contributions to the United Nations are based on out-dated and obsolete criteria. Some very rich nations still pay what they used to pay
when the United Nations was formed, despite the fact that, since then, their wealth has increased manyfold. In the meantime, the United Nations is more or less bankrupt and its operations have been rendered ineffective through the financial constraint which has become endemic. A new formula, based on the gross national product as well as on the increased wealth from new sources, such as minerals and oil, should be devised.

On the other hand, nations which, during the course of any financial year, have had some natural disaster, such as famine, drought, and disease, affecting the economy and the gross national product, should be assessed to pay less than their normal assessment or to pay what they can afford. Such a formula would ensure that the richer nations pay more and the poorer less (proportionately), which would be both effective and equitable.

6. Specialized agencies

To make the work of the United Nations of more relevance to the international community as a whole, there should be greater regional distribution of the headquarters of specialized agencies. The siting of UNEP in Nairobi, the capital of a developing country, is the first such step, which should be emulated by other agencies. At the same time, concrete measures should be worked out to increase the full participation of nationals from all countries in the administrative machinery of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Conclusion

On the whole, the General Assembly is today more representative of world opinion. Therefore, it should play a correspondingly greater role than the Security Council. Its resolutions should be more effective, for example, the sanctions against Rhodesia should be strictly enforced. Member States who violate the resolution on sanctions should be blacklisted in the General Assembly and might even be suspended from participating in the activities of the body.

The United Nations can be strengthened only with the co-operation of Member States, particularly the big Powers. The weaknesses and failure of the United Nations in many fields can be attributed to the big-Power rivalry and selfishness. Member States must realize that the United Nations is the only organization which can command the respect of all States and should be further strengthened and made more effective in order to achieve a new world order and safeguard international peace and security.

KUWAIT

Original: English
1 April 1974

The image of the United Nations was tarnished by its inadequacy to deter aggression and preserve the political independence and territorial integrity
of States. There is an urgent need for an effective United Nations machinery to take action with respect to threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

The whole fabric of international security was based on the need for the permanent members of the Security Council to act in unison. As is well known, the Security Council has been constantly frustrated by differences among the permanent members.

The Government of the State of Kuwait takes the view that the Security Council should hold periodic meetings to review its past resolutions which have not been implemented. The responsibility of those who do not comply with the resolutions should be clearly established. The impediments to the implementation of those resolutions should be identified. The responsibility of States which are covertly or overtly contributing to the prevention of the implementation of these resolutions should also be established. The Security Council has been inactive for too long. It is high time that the Security Council should take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to compel recalcitrant States to abide by the rule of law.

The Security Council should also examine, during its periodic meetings, the centres of friction, the causes of tension and the ways and means which are conducive to eliminating the roots of such conflict and tension.

Racial discrimination, colonialism, occupation of the Territories of other countries by force, threats against the territorial integrity and political independence of States, inter alia, constitute a threat to international peace and order. The Security Council should earnestly advert to these serious questions, which have bedevilled the United Nations from the days of its foundation. Once again, responsibility for wavering and inaction should fall primarily on the shoulders of the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Government of Kuwait supported the call for holding a world disarmament conference because it believes that disarmament is a matter of vital concern to all States big and small. The major disarmament negotiations have so far been conducted outside the framework of the United Nations in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. Kuwait believes that all disarmament negotiations should be conducted within the United Nations, which is the proper forum for achieving general and complete disarmament.

Co-operation among nations can best be served by the convergent measures provided for in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The provisions of the Strategy should not be viewed as mere moral obligations, but should be voluntarily accepted as binding commitments by all Governments.

The Government of Kuwait attaches special importance to resolutions of the General Assembly and other members of the United Nations system of organizations which seek to give effect to fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter. It
believes that these resolutions should derive their effect and force from the contractual obligations embodied in the Charter and that all States should strictly comply with their provisions. Such resolutions, inter alia, pertain to international peace and security, the establishment of friendly relations among States, the promotion of economic and social development, the elimination of racial discrimination and the upholding of human rights.

NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

5 June 1974

The Netherlands Government will, whenever and wherever possible, strive for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, because it is convinced that, as a result of the rapidly increasing interdependence of peoples, more and more problems can only be effectively dealt with in the context of world-wide co-operation.

The Netherlands Government shares the opinion expressed by other Member States that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations is not primarily dependent on institutional changes, but rather on the will of the Members to make use of the United Nations as an instrument for international co-operation.

The role of the United Nations has already been strengthened through the willingness, increasing during the last few years, to devote - within the framework of the United Nations - special attention to fundamental problems confronting the world at present. Examples of this are, inter alia, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972, the World Population Conference, 1974 and the World Food Conference, to be held in 1974 at Bucharest and Rome, respectively, and the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on development and economic co-operation, which is to take place in 1975. Special mention moreover, should be made of the recently held sixth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the problems of raw materials and development, which adopted a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, including a specific section on "Strengthening the role of the United Nations system in the field of international economic co-operation". The Netherlands Government notes with satisfaction that, according to one of the provisions of this section, all the activities of the United Nations system to be undertaken under the Programme of Action as well as those already planned, such as the World Population Conference, 1974, the World Food Conference, the Second General Conference of UNIDO and the mid-term review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade should be so directed as to converge in the special session of the General Assembly on development and international economic co-operation, to be held in September 1975.

In general, it is of great importance for the effectiveness of the United Nations system that the activities of the different parts of the United Nations system are co-ordinated as a balanced programme for co-operative action. In
the opinion of the Netherlands, as far as the economic and social activities of the system are concerned, the central co-ordinative function rests with the Economic and Social Council, assisted by the Administrative Committee for Co-ordination.

As part of the efforts to promote the effective functioning of the United Nations, attention should constantly be given to rationalizing the procedures of the various organs, in particular the General Assembly.

Constructive co-operation within the United Nations can only be achieved when the individual Member States are prepared to respect and take account of each others opinions and interests. Accordingly, the Netherlands Government wishes to underline the importance of efforts towards decision-making by consensus for important questions. Experience has shown that it is possible to achieve fruitful results through this method. A recent example is the agreement arrived at in the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression. 3/

Finally, the Netherlands Government believes that it would be to the benefit of the international community if the Member States, more than hitherto, would avail themselves, for the settlement of their disputes, of the International Court of Justice, one of the main organs of the United Nations. The Netherlands Government also wishes to draw attention to the possibility which exists for the United Nations and the specialized agencies to request the Court to render an advisory opinion.

QATAR

[Original: English]
[11 July 1974]

The Permanent Mission of Qatar transmits herewith the suggestions and proposals of its Government.

1. All States should respect and adhere to the Charter of the United Nations. Its resolutions should be implemented and a system should be developed to oversee their implementation.

2. There should be an end to all acts and measures that increase global tension, such as the arms race, imperialism, racist and zionist policies.

3. The efforts of the United Nations and its specialized agencies should be directed towards providing social and economic developmental assistance to the developing countries, as well as towards aiding in the solution of their indigenous problems.

4. The process of the transfer of technology from the developed to the developing countries should be accelerated and they should be provided with effective training assistance.

3/ Ibid.
ROMANIA

10 June 1974

During the three decades which have elapsed since the United Nations was founded at the end of the Second World War, the world has undergone profound political, economic and social transformations which have direct repercussions on contemporary international relations.

Changes of unprecedented scope are taking place in human society, affecting not only individual lives, but also mankind as a whole. Peoples are proclaiming with ever-increasing determination their will to be the masters of their own destinies and to participate directly in the solution of the major problems confronting humanity. They are resolutely advocating the establishment of new international relations based on complete equality of rights, the respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, the renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between States and the upholding of the right of each people to decide its own destiny and the path of its development without any external interference.

The tasks of consolidating new relations between States, making international life more democratic, promoting a policy of peace and co-operation, establishing a new international economic order and building a better and more just world all require, both now and in the future, co-ordinated and unrelenting efforts on the part of all peoples.

Also, in the fulfilment of these goals, the United Nations must play a more important role and make a more effective contribution to the task of bringing States closer together and promoting a policy of peace, détente and co-operation. It must also act resolutely to prevent wars, to check any aggression, to help settle disputes between States through political channels, and to defend the principles underlying the new relations between States.

In order to tackle the enormous responsibilities conferred upon it by Member States, the United Nations is duty-bound to reflect accurately existing international realities, to serve as a genuine forum for the whole international community and to ensure that all States, large and small, acting jointly and on the basis of complete equality, can take decisions on matters concerning the destinies of the Organization and peace and co-operation throughout the world.

It therefore seems necessary to renounce certain stipulations which still reflect international relations which are more than a quarter of a century out of date.

This will require, at the same time, a substantial improvement in the activities of the United Nations and, above all, the achievement of the principle of universality. This means not only that all States must belong to the Organization, but also and above all that international problems must be brought before the United Nations and must be examined and solved with the participation of all the States concerned. This also means that the same principles and the same standards must be applied to all members of the international community, at all times and in all places.
In view of the profound changes which have taken place in the world since the founding of the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Romania urges that, following joint discussion by Member States, practical action should be initiated with a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations so that it will become a powerful and really effective organization and so that the ideals of peace and security, co-operation and progress for all peoples will become a reality.

The process begun two years ago, the discussions held and the international documents adopted with this aim in view, as well as the sixth special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of raw materials and development, have fully confirmed the urgency of the desire to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international life.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania considers that it is more than ever necessary for all States to seek to strengthen the role and the effectiveness of the United Nations so as to facilitate the solution of the problems facing mankind, encourage a new trend in international relations and build a more just and a better world.

Desirous of playing an active part, both now and in the future, in the efforts to discuss and solve the problems related to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, the Romanian Government reiterates the views contained in its reply of 27 July 1973 (A/9128, p. 18), while adding the opinions, suggestions and proposals set forth below.

1. Action to establish new relations between States based on the principles of international law

The process of reaffirming, strengthening and upholding these principles in United Nations documents should be continued and their incorporation and elaboration in international documents adopted by Member States (treaties, solemn joint declarations etc.) should be encouraged.

An international legal instrument of universal scope concerning the basic rights and obligations of States should be prepared.

At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly should study the implementation of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970, and should agree on the measures necessary to ensure that in practice the provisions of the Declaration form an integral part of relations between States.

Negotiations should be started without delay with a view to adopting an international agreement of universal scope instituting the obligation for all States not to use or threaten to use force, to refrain in their international relations from all coercion of a political, military, economic or other nature, in any circumstances and in any form, at the same time making provision for practical measures to ensure the fulfilment of this obligation.

/...
The nuclear-weapons Powers should enter into a solemn undertaking never under any pretext to use or to threaten to use nuclear weapons.

The first step should be a solemn undertaking by the nuclear-weapons States never in any circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States or to threaten their use; any action to the contrary should be condemned as a crime against peace and humanity, with all the consequences deriving from such a public condemnation from the point of view of international responsibility.

The efforts of the United Nations and all disarmament bodies, including a reactivated Disarmament Commission, should be directed towards the elaboration and implementation of concrete programmes for halting the arms race, reducing and destroying all categories of weapons - primarily nuclear weapons - and other means of mass extermination. Specific measures should be taken to bring about genuine disarmament - especially nuclear disarmament - as well as the reduction of troops, the dismantling of foreign military bases and military blocs and the cutting down of arms budgets, so that the savings achieved may be used for the economic and social development of States, the improvement of the well-being of peoples and the liberation of mankind from the danger of a new devastating war.

2. More active utilization of United Nations machinery to avoid disputes between States and encourage their peaceful settlement

All Member States should undertake to use the United Nations and the peaceful means recommended by the Charter in order to settle any possible disputes.

Member States should elaborate and set forth in detail in an international treaty the stipulations of the Charter concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes and should devise improved procedures for handling such disputes.

In pursuance of the pertinent provisions of the Charter, a standing General Assembly committee should be set up for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. Such a committee, as a political forum with extensive participation by Member States, could, with the help of flexible procedures, fulfill the functions of prevention, good offices, mediation and conciliation, without prejudicing the competence in that field of other United Nations organs.

3. Increased utilization of the United Nations to discuss and settle, in the interest of all peoples and through the joint efforts of Member States, international problems of general interest

The practice should be established of opening up all United Nations organs to States which do not belong to them, so that such States can put forward their views and promote their interests with regard to the problems under discussion.

The United Nations organs and specialized agencies should take more resolute action to tackle the priority problems of international economic relations, particularly those related to the elimination of underdevelopment. We feel that it
is necessary to strengthen the organs of the United Nations, and particularly the Economic and Social Council, and to implement specific programmes of action in this field.

The sixth special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of raw materials and development and the special session scheduled for 1975 are particularly significant in this respect.

Romania favours the convening of similar sessions of the principal organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies and also the convening of general conferences under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to discussing and solving the basic problems of economic development and international co-operation.

Efforts should be intensified, through the activation and development of existing structures and the elaboration of appropriate international instruments, to initiate coherent and concerted action by the United Nations in the field of social development (problems of youth, role of women in modern society etc.).

New action, including the concerted measures provided for in the Charter, should be undertaken to discuss these problems at separate sessions of the different United Nations organs, in order to put an immediate end to colonial domination, to liquidate the policy and practices of racial discrimination and apartheid, to consolidate and enlarge international recognition of the national liberation movements of peoples in dependent territories, and to ensure their proper representation in the United Nations. United Nations bodies should adopt concrete programmes designed to provide multilateral support for these movements.

4. Constant improvement of the operation and effectiveness of the main United Nations organs

A. The role of the General Assembly within the United Nations system should be strengthened, in particular by:

(i) Ensuring the effective participation, on a basis of complete equality, of all States in all the activities of the General Assembly;

(ii) Considering the most important and most urgent problems and continuing efforts within the Assembly - by keeping the relevant items on the agenda - until the adoption of measures designed to solve these problems;

(iii) Periodically reviewing the implementation of the documents adopted and undertaking, if necessary, new measures for this purpose;

(iv) Creating the necessary conditions to allow States which are not members of the United Nations and also national liberation movements to present their views on problems before the General Assembly;

(v) Analysing effectively the annual reports of the Security Council and other organs and formulating conclusions.

/...
B. The work of the Security Council should be improved by measures designed to:

(i) Enlarge the membership of the Security Council, improve its operation and make the elaboration and adoption of its decisions more democratic, so as to reflect the role and weight of the small and medium-sized countries in the United Nations and in the world;

(ii) Establish within the Security Council a procedure whereby the views expressed by interested States which are not members of the Security Council may constitute an essential part of the process of elucidating and solving the problem under discussion;

(iii) Hold meetings of the Council away from Headquarters, preferably in the areas where disputes brought before the Council have arisen and in areas of potential tension and conflict, with a view to settling these disputes with the help of the countries concerned;

(iv) Initiate a procedure whereby, whenever it makes recommendations, the Council indicates in the respective resolution the machinery designed to implement the resolution;

(v) Increase the promptness and efficiency of the Council's work.

C. The effectiveness of United Nations resolutions should be enhanced through:

(i) The widespread use of the method of direct consultations in all phases of their elaboration;

(ii) The promotion, in the interests of follow-up, of the principle of consensus during the adoption of the United Nations documents;

(iii) The elaboration of a procedure and of broadly representative machinery for following up the implementation of United Nations resolutions and the formulation of measures to ensure that they are carried out in practice.

D. Other measures to strengthen the role of the United Nations:

(i) The network of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly should be re-evaluated and rationalized so that any duplication in their activities is eliminated, so that their efforts are concentrated on the search for solutions with the active participation of Member States, and so that the time devoted to their meetings is used as efficiently as possible; the terms of reference laid down for them in United Nations documents should be complied with within the time-limits prescribed.

(ii) The representation of small and medium-sized States within the Secretariat - and primarily the upper echelons - should be improved so as to reflect the role and weight of those States within the United Nations.
SPAIN

Original: Spanish
30 April 1974

The Government of Spain continues to believe in the importance of strengthening the role of the United Nations in promoting international peace and security, co-operation among the nations and the development of international law.

Various States Member of the United Nations, in replying to the Secretary-General in connexion with this item, have mentioned the need for an effective political will on the part of the Member States as a prerequisite for the strengthening of the United Nations. Spain shares this conviction and considers that such political will should be demonstrated concretely in the public statements of government officials and also through practical actions.

International politics is conducted today on three levels: the bilateral level - particularly between the major Powers; the regional level - particularly the various military alliances and economic groupings; and the level of the world community, the main forum for which is the United Nations. Spain believes that the best way to strengthen the role of the United Nations would be to establish a smoother and more detailed system to co-ordinate activities at these three levels.

In order to achieve such co-ordination, certain obstacles - which consist partly of old prejudices and an unreasonable reluctance to accept the new realities of international life - must be removed. For instance, the view that the United Nations is mainly a forum in which to make oral statements and engage in rhetorical discussions of problems based on the unilateral viewpoints of each Member State is too widespread. So long as this image continues to be promoted by, inter alia, the mass media, it will be hard to convince people that the United Nations is the expression - imperfect, as yet, but there is no foreseeable alternative - of an international community whose interests are not diverse and unilateral for each of its Members, but intimately linked in a common destiny.

The political leaders of Member States can contribute effectively, through public statements and specific initiatives, to creating a general climate of opinion favourable to the United Nations.

His Excellency the Spanish Head of State, in a message to the Spanish people on 30 December 1973, stated the following:

"The conviction that the various nations form an interdependent world community is more necessary today than ever. Spain will continue to lend its full support to the defence of peace and the promotion of closer relations among peoples."

For his part, the Premier, Mr. Arias Navarro, in his speech to the Spanish Parliament on 12 February 1974, stated that we are living in an interdependent, globalized world in which the traditional concept of sovereignty has been...
superseded and that consequently Spain's historic mission is now reflected in a policy of universality and a desire to co-operate in the universal concert of peoples.

The mass media can be an effective instrument in so far as they freely and responsibly reflect the positive aspects of United Nations work - not only the most visible results of that work, but also the constant efforts of its various bodies which have eliminated many difficulties and dangers, about which public opinion is not sufficiently informed.

With regard to the institutional aspects, the Government of Spain believes that prudent and careful consideration of a possible revision of the Charter to ensure that the Organization may be more fully representative and may more faithfully reflect the needs, opinions and possibilities for action by the international society should not be rejected. Along these lines, a detailed study should be made of the composition and attributes of the various United Nations organs and also the possibility of adopting agreements in future in order to bring them into line with the Organization's needs and to avoid the possible abuse of certain privileges which would be contrary to the Organization's democratic nature. Without minimizing the difficulties of successfully carrying out a structural reform, the Government of Spain is convinced of the need for a continued systematic study of the possibilities of reform offered under Chapter XVIII of the Charter.

The activities of the Secretary-General and his immediate collaborators, set forth under Chapter XV of the Charter, could be used more broadly and encouraged in order that the principal organs might prepare their programmes and calendars of work in a more effective and realistic manner.

In the formulation and development of such programmes, priority and preferential attention should be given to the major items that most directly influence international problems, such as, above all, the questions of disarmament and security, including the World Disarmament Conference, the organization of peace-keeping operations, assistance to countries suffering from the food shortage and other calamities, and the regulation of the production and trade in raw materials. Concentration of efforts and selective consideration of items should also receive continued vigilant attention in order to avoid ineffectual and costly proliferation of activities.
The following are the views of the Government of Uganda concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security:

1. Recognition by all Members of the United Nations of the right to self-determination of all peoples;

2. Settlement of international security questions within the framework of the United Nations, in order to ensure that the wishes of the people whose fate is being determined remain paramount and that the views of the world community are taken into consideration;

3. Attainment of general and complete disarmament and hence removal of the threat posed by the presence of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the super-Power countries and their allies (or protégés);

4. Continued militarization of the racist minority régimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal is a constant threat to international security;

5. Economic co-operation accorded to the said régimes by the Western Powers is a constant threat to international security, since it enhances their ability to militarize and to withstand any economic sanctions;

6. Presence of military bases and military alliances does not enhance settlement of disputes by peaceful means;

7. A lasting peaceful solution to the Middle East situation and a settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem is essential to international security;

8. Recognition of the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources of the developing countries and the right of developing countries to exploit their resources for the benefit of their people;

9. Need to wipe out poverty, disease and ignorance in the developing countries;

10. Whole-hearted support to the Second United Nations Development Decade, particularly by the developed countries;

11. Eradication of colonialism and apartheid;

12. Furthering of the role of small nations in the pursuit of international security: the small nations are the "unarmed" conscience of all peoples of the world;

13. Strengthening of the role of the Security Council and hence the need for regular sessions at the ministerial level.
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN 
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]
[29 April 1971]

The Government of the United Kingdom has studied with interest the replies received from States Members of the United Nations to the note addressed to them transmitting the text of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) and asking for their views, suggestions and proposals on ways and means of contributing to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. It has noted in particular that a majority attach particular importance to effective utilization of existing United Nations machinery. The Government of the United Kingdom shares the view that the effectiveness of the United Nations depends more on the collective will of its Member States than upon institutional changes. It believes that the interests of the international community would be better served by fuller exploitation than there has been in the past of the opportunities provided by the Charter than by changes to the existing United Nations structure.

Among other spheres in which, for the reason described, the machinery established by the United Nations Charter has not fulfilled its potential, the Government of the United Kingdom wishes to draw attention to two areas which it believes are particularly relevant to the Secretary-General's report. The first of these is the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Government of the United Kingdom believe that more active use should be made of the machinery and possibilities provided in the Charter for preventing conflicts and for encouraging peaceful settlements. In 1965, the United Kingdom delegation asked that there be included in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Peaceful settlement of disputes", 1/ because it felt that the resources of the international community as a whole should be exploited in order to solve the underlying issues which give rise to tension and conflict. The United Kingdom delegation suggested that this subject merited separate study not only to deliberate general principles, but also to consider how methods could be improved. In the view of the United Kingdom Government, careful study of the use of fact-finding missions, good offices, mediation, conciliation and preventive diplomacy could render an important contribution to the effective solution of underlying disputes which give rise to, or which threaten to give rise to, a state of conflict. For various reasons, discussion of this item was adjourned. 2/ But the United Kingdom Government remains convinced that progress in this field is important.

1/ Agenda item 99. For the request for inclusion, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 99, document A/5964.

2/ At the 1403rd plenary meeting, the General Assembly decided to adjourn the discussion and to defer consideration of the item to the twenty-first session.
The second area on which the United Kingdom Government believes attention might be concentrated is the drafting and adoption of resolutions of the Assembly and other United Nations organs. Although resolutions of the General Assembly and, similarly, resolutions of the Security Council other than decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, are recommendatory rather than mandatory, there must be doubt about whether there is any value in those resolutions for which, as frequently occurs, support owes more to appeals to extraneous considerations than to the merits of the issue in question. Other resolutions are passed without any effort being made to take into account the views of delegations, which may well be in a numerical minority, but whose consent and co-operation are essential if any practical result is to follow. The United Kingdom Government believes that this short-coming can best be remedied by means of more active and effective consultations among Member States in the preparation of draft resolutions. It is only by assiduous use of the consensus approach that resolutions of the United Nations can have practical value.

In drawing attention to these two areas in which it believes the role of the United Nations could be strengthened, the United Kingdom Government does not wish to imply that there are no other aspects of the problem which merit study. However, since the United Kingdom Government holds the view that the opportunities provided by the Charter have yet to be fully utilized, it does not regard the establishment of new bodies to examine possible remedies for existing defects in the Organization's fulfilment of its role as either necessary or appropriate. It concurs with the view expressed in paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) to the effect that suggestions and proposals on the specific issues which face the world community should be studied by the appropriate existing organs of the United Nations.
Yemen

[Original: English]
[12 February 1974]

The Permanent Mission of Yemen Arab Republic to the United Nations has the honour to state the following, which reflects the views of its Government and has direct bearing on the issue under consideration on the ways and means of contributing to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life:

First, resolute respect and implementation of the United Nations resolutions relating to colonialism, foreign occupation and alien domination.

Second, withdrawal of forces of aggression from occupied territories in Africa and the Middle East.

Third, respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and the just solution of their problem in accordance with the principle of self-determination as laid down by the Charter of the United Nations.

Fourth, ending the unjust exploitation of the natural resources of the developing countries and striving to promote co-operation between the developed and developing countries in an effort to bridge the gap between them.


And finally, sincere willingness of the membership and, in particular, the major Powers to make the United Nations a living reality dedicated to the promotion of understanding among nations based on peace, justice and progress.
III. SUMMARY OF VIEWS, SUGGESTIONS AND PROPOSALS BY MEMBER STATES ON STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1. Views related to paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (need for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations)

Argentina: The United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, should 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. The Organization should achieve a form of machinery that will render it effective in preventing conflict and maintaining international peace (A/PV.2088).

Belgium: The strengthening of the authority of the Organization is a complex problem that calls for the political will of all Member States to contribute, on the one hand, to the safeguarding and world-wide implementation of the principles and obligations to which they have freely consented and, on the other hand, to increasing the Organization's effectiveness in realizing the ideals of peace, freedom and the progress of the peoples (A/PV.2087).

Canada: In the present world an increasing number of problems can be solved only on a global basis and, consequently, the need for an effective global organization grows and becomes more apparent every year. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that Members of the United Nations do all in their power to make the United Nations and its various organs and agencies as effective as possible in the performance of its functions and the achievement of the objectives set forth in the Charter (A/PV.2183).

Colombia: The general outline of its views on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations was set out in its reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry regarding the review of the United Nations Charter (A/8746).

Denmark: The United Nations should be the indispensable focal point for harmonizing actions of nations aimed at the attainment of our common goal, and become a steadily more effective instrument for peace and development (A/PV.2186).

Egypt: In an increasingly interdependent world, where many issues affect lasting and long-term global interests, all countries have the right, indeed the obligation, to participate within the framework of the United Nations in efforts towards solving conflicts the perpetuation of which endangers international peace and security (A/9128/Add.1).

Finland: Genuine international security can be built only upon universal respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter, enjoining States to refrain from the use or the threat of force and from intervention in the internal affairs of others and to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of each other. The best guarantee for the United Nations effectiveness is a universal membership strictly observing the principles of the Charter (A/PV.2089, A/9128).
France: The will to establish in the world a climate of confidence presupposes, among other things, the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. This means to revert to and abide by all the principles of the Charter, to reaffirm all the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council, to lay the solid groundwork for our dialogues and consensuses (A/PV.2184).

India: The United Nations must be a forum in which all States - big, medium-sized and small - can and should participate, on a basis of sovereign equality, in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security, and in facing common problems through co-operation not only in the political and security fields, but in the economic, social and humanitarian fields as well (A/PV.2184).

Italy: In order for the United Nations to become a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the economic and social progress of all peoples, the fundamental principles of international law regarding relations among States must be reaffirmed and translated into practice. The strengthening of the role of the Organization should essentially be aimed at establishing an organic system of obligations and guarantees for the prevention of aggression. From this point of view the rights of States to sovereign equality and to non-interference in domestic affairs and the rights of peoples to self-determination are those which the United Nations should be able to protect in the most effective way, making effectively operative the obligation of the Member States to refrain from the use or the threat of force in all of its manifestations. The application of these principles must be guaranteed and the obligation of all States to settle international disputes by peaceful means must be put into effect (A/PV.2089, A/9128).

Kuwait: There is an urgent need for an effective United Nations machinery to take action with respect to threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression (A/9695).

Netherlands: Will, whenever and wherever possible, strive for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations because it is convinced that, as a result of the rapidly increasing interdependence of peoples, more and more problems can only be effectively dealt with in the context of world-wide co-operation (A/9695).

Norway: The great Powers should bring the United Nations into the negotiating and peace-keeping process when dealing with serious conflicts that threaten the peace and security of the world, not only as a rubber stamp on an agreement that has already been achieved but also as an active participant in the peace efforts. Any tendency to exclude the United Nations from dealing with conflict situations could have a negative influence on the behaviour of other States and could lead to a new power system in the world, based on direct co-operation among the great Powers outside the United Nations system and above the heads of other Member States (A/PV.2184).

Perú: At the present historical moment a great effort must be made to adapt the United Nations machinery to its new and immense responsibilities (A/PV.2089).
Philippines: The Organization should provide the essential machinery and forum to deal with problems among nations and to meet the growing needs of the international community. The growing relationships and interdependence among States have correspondingly increased the responsibilities of the United Nations. Such increased responsibilities require a clear strengthening of its role and a reassessment of the adaptability and adequacy of the framework of the Organization in relation to these responsibilities (A/PV.2184).

Romania: Today, more than ever, the great problems affecting mankind cannot be settled solely by a few countries; their lasting and durable solution demands the participation of all the countries concerned. The United Nations must become a true forum of the whole of the international community, offering the necessary framework for active participation by all States in the solution of international problems in the interest of all peoples, of co-operation and of peace.

The achievement of the principle of universality means not only that all States must belong to the Organization but also and, above all, that international problems must be brought before the United Nations and must be examined and solved with the participation of all the States concerned. This also means that the same principles and the same standards must be applied to all members of the international community, at all times and in all places (A/PV.2180, A/9695).

Spain: International politics is conducted today on three levels: the bilateral level, the regional level, and the level of the world community, the main forum for which is the United Nations. Spain believes that the best way to strengthen the role of the United Nations would be to establish a smoother and more detailed system to co-ordinate activities at these three levels (A/9695).

Sweden: The super-Powers, because of their considerable military and political potential, obviously play an extremely important role in international co-operation today, but precisely because of the influential position of the great Powers, it is in the immediate interest of other States to strengthen the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security (A/PV.2184).

Turkey: The question of the strengthening of the United Nations role has two different facets which are of a complementary nature. One is to strengthen the United Nations in order to enable it to assume a more effective role within the present order of international relations. The second is to provide a new and more important role for the United Nations within the future order of international relations (A/PV.2089).

United States of America: The United Nations needs to move away from sweeping declarations and verbose resolutions that merely restate the purposes and principles of the Charter. What is needed is a much more effective United Nations action on some of the concrete items that are before it -- on United Nations peace-keeping procedures, on means of pacific settlement of international disputes, on human rights, the human environment, the law of the sea, decolonization, development, and many others (A/PV.2088).
Uruguay: There is a pressing need for a legal order in force for all which will offer the climate of security necessary for effective political independence and economic and social development, that will offer essential guarantees to small nations and will remove the shadows of arbitrariness (A/IV.2182).

Yugoslavia: The time has come when the Member States should endeavour to enable the world Organization to exert greater influence, with a view to changing the relations prevailing in the world 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. Any attempt to eliminate or reduce the role of the Organization to that of a passive observer of conflicts would seriously undermine the basic role of the United Nations and would harmfully affect international relations in general (A/FV.2087, A/FV.2186).
2. Views related to paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (using more fully the framework and means provided by the Charter to prevent tension, crisis and conflict)

Afghanistan: In order to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization, it is particularly necessary not to by-pass the United Nations in seeking solutions to the urgent problems confronting the world (A/PV.2186).

Argentina: In order to achieve an effective and practical form of application of the rules of international law, Argentina is prepared to contribute to the work of codifying and progressively developing international law (A/PV.2085).

Bahrain: It is imperative to strengthen the role of the United Nations peace-keeping machinery and to put the peace-keeping operation on a firmer and more permanent organizational basis, in order to ensure a more effective role in dealing with serious conflicts that threaten world peace and security. Bahrain also suggests that full account should be taken of the progress and changes in present international relations and consideration should be given to the feasibility of convening an international conference to review, rationalize and modify the outdated provisions of the Charter, with a view to strengthening the United Nations and its ability to act (A/9695).

Cyprus: The role of the United Nations shall be strengthened if peace-keeping operations are put on a permanent and systematic basis instead of the still continuing improvised arrangements. A small but permanent international force, recruited by and for the United Nations, with direct allegiance to the Organization, would be of immeasurable value as a stand-by force which could be stationed in two or three critical parts of the world. Military agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter should be concluded to facilitate collective security (A/PV.2186, A/9695).

Finland: The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations could, in the new atmosphere now prevailing, proceed in its work so that general guidelines for peace-keeping operations could speedily be agreed upon. The experience which can be drawn from UNEF provides a good basis for the Special Committee's deliberations. It firmly believes that the recently agreed text of the definition of aggression will further strengthen the spirit of co-operation in the international field (A/9695).

France: Recently there has been an increasing tendency to set aside the machinery of the United Nations and, in solving international problems - especially with regard to the settlement of conflicts - to turn to bilateral or multilateral negotiations in which, moreover, the parties involved are not always the sole participants. In a world where international law is respected, the great Powers do have special rights, but, what is more, they have special obligations, the most important being to place their forces at the service of the international community through the Security Council. No durable solution of difficulties and crises can be found without the participation and consent of a representative world community inspired by a sense of justice (A/9128, A/PV.2184).

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Germany, Federal Republic of: In any effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations, first and foremost, full use should be made of the ways and means provided for in the Charter and the rules of procedure. This should not exclude the possibility of abolishing such provisions as have been outdated by political developments (A/9695).

Greece: In the declarations adopted on the twenty-fifth anniversary, Member States are urged to seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the exclusively peaceful settlement of any dispute or situation. Members are also urged to respond to the immediate need to agree on guidelines for more effective peace-keeping operations and to progress along the road toward preparation of an all-embracing contractual statute, regulating all aspects of peace-keeping, whose financing cannot depend exclusively on voluntary contributions. The Security Council, on the other hand, is asked to take steps to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter in order to develop fully its capacity for enforcement action as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter (A/PV.2089).

Iran: A number of steps could be taken, including a correct and rational interpretation of the important concepts and provisions of the Charter by means which the Charter itself provides, such as clarification of the competence and power of the Security Council and the General Assembly and their relationship, and the close connexion between peace, security and justice. Another step is the fuller exploration of the possibilities open in certain Chapters of the Charter, such as Chapters VI or VII.

Another avenue which should be probed is the consideration of the system of jurisprudence which has grown up within the United Nations itself. Some valuable experience has been gained in the field of containing and preventing conflicts. Continuing attention should be given to the practice and feasibility of peace-keeping operations, whose effectiveness has been proven on a number of occasions.

International law must also evolve if we are to strengthen the role of the United Nations, for it provides the framework for orderly and peaceful relations among nations (A/PV.2089).

Italy: A more secure application of the principles on the legal level should be accompanied by a strengthening of the machinery provided by the Charter for the maintenance and restoration of peace and security, also in cases where the dispute has not been peacefully resolved and a state of conflict has arisen. Therefore, it appears urgent that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations may submit concrete proposals to the General Assembly of the United Nations while the opportunity to study modifications to the mechanism provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, with the aim of increasing the possibility of Security Council action in cases of need, should not be excluded.

Another important course of action which could be pursued in order to guarantee the legal application of the principles on relations between States should be that of recourse - in conformity with Article 52 of the Charter - to the appropriate...
mechanisms responsive to characteristic needs of specific geographical areas which would be provided for by regional accords to which the Member States would be party.

Since the maintenance of peace is not limited to restraining and repressing conflict situations but requires a global policy, the structures of the United Nations have to be open for all Member States to participate on an equal basis. In particular, they have to involve the responsibility of those countries which, irrespective of their military power, can give a decisive contribution to a global policy of international security inasmuch as they can contribute to the economic, social, humanitarian, and cultural development of the international community (A/9128).

**Japan:** If there are potential possibilities in the present mechanism of the Organization which have not been fully utilized, of which Japan believes there are many, Member States should make every effort to make full use of them. A study in this direction will be a most welcome undertaking. At the same time, in view of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world community in the last quarter of a century, Member States should not be reluctant to face the possibility of reviewing the Charter, if need be, in order to effect such adjustments in the Organization as are both necessary and inevitable if the United Nations is to cope effectively with present and future problems (A/PV.2183).

**Jordan:** The United Nations must be improved and made more adequate by finding a way for the implementation of its resolutions and the continuing functioning of its organs, principally the Security Council, unhindered by big Power confrontations and negative votes. Legal formulas for revising the Charter procedures can be devised, but the issue is not one of law but of attitude and political will. Unless the Member States decide themselves to make the United Nations function, to implement its resolutions and impose its moral vision on world events and conflicts, no change in form or letter can strengthen the United Nations and its role (A/PV.2184).

**Kenya:** In view of the change of the international spectrum since the days when the Charter was formulated, particularly with the admission of numerous new States, there is an imperative need to review the Charter to make it more effective. Successful attempts have already been made in that direction in certain areas, particularly in the enlargement of the Security Council from the original 11 members to the present 15 members and of the Economic and Social Council from 27 to 54 members. The membership of certain other agencies of the United Nations could also be enlarged to strengthen them by making them more representative (A/9695).

**Kuwait:** The major disarmament negotiations have so far been conducted outside the framework of the United Nations in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. All disarmament negotiations should be conducted within the United Nations which is the proper forum for achieving general and complete disarmament. If the power of the United Nations to promote international security is enhanced, States will place less emphasis on armaments as a means of protecting themselves against aggression (A/9695, A/9128).

**Madagascar:** The Security Council should not be prevented from exercising all of those responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter. The Charter itself should be reformed in order to take account of the multipolar and democratic nature of international relations as they are now developing (A/PV.2184).
Mexico: Activities which would flow from resolution 2925 (XXVII) should be channelled towards aspects such as, for example, making maximum use of the organs and mechanisms established under the Charter and the procedures developed in practice in the United Nations. 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 the Security Council and the General Assembly (A/9695).

Netherlands: The strengthening of the role of the United Nations is not primarily dependent on institutional changes but rather on the will of the Members to make use of the United Nations as an instrument for international co-operation. The role of the United Nations has already been enhanced through the willingness, increasing during the last few years, to devote - within the framework of the United Nations - special attention to fundamental problems confronting the world at present, such as human environment, population, development, and economic co-operation (A/9695).

Norway: At the time when interdependence of nations is steadily increasing, the Member countries of the United Nations should further strengthen the capacity of the Organization to act decisively for peace. The United Nations peace-keeping operations need to be put on a firmer foundation if the Organization is to carry out its main role as a guardian of peace and security. It would be of great significance if as many countries as possible would establish standby forces, earmarked for the United Nations and put at the Organization's disposal in crisis situations at short notice.

Another main role for the Organization is to serve as the instrument for the solution of economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems. Norway would like to see the international instruments of the United Nations for the protection of human rights still further advanced and developed and, in this regard, it suggested the establishment of a special post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. It also advocated the development of a more comprehensive body of laws for the protection of war victims, both in guerrilla war and in anti-guerrilla actions and in the case of technological and electronic warfare.

At the moment there does not seem to be a need for a general revision of the United Nations Charter, which has shown itself a flexible instrument well suited to its purpose. Norway will, however, continue to advocate a forward-looking and pragmatic interpretation of the Charter's provisions (A/9128, A/PV.2184, A/PV.2090, A/PV.2184).

Peru: It is necessary to readjust the working methods of the Organization and strengthen the functions of the Secretary-General, and even make some cautious modifications of the Charter. But basically it is essential to change the political will of Governments so that they will firmly support the Organization and capture the interest of public opinion among the Member States by intense publicity on the work already done (A/PV.2089).

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Philippines: The United Nations could make a strong appeal to the Member States concerned to strictly observe the Charter by not tolerating or encouraging the transit of weapons of warfare through their respective territories, and to stop financing, selling, lending or providing free of charge or by other means, arms and other destructive weapons to countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America which are not at peace with each other, or to local dissidents who seek to overthrow their Governments, or to countries practising apartheid. The United Nations could, if strong appeals fail, publicize these activities as well as those responsible for them in the United Nations so that there may be some kind of restraint on those involved (A/9128).

Romania: The United Nations should work persistently to establish new relationships between States and to ensure that relations among all States of the world are based on new, democratic foundations in accordance with the principles of complete equality of rights. An international legal instrument of universal scope concerning the basic rights and obligations of States should be prepared.

At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly should study the implementation of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and should agree on the measures necessary to ensure that in practice the provisions of the Declaration form an integral part of relations between States.

Negotiations should be started without delay with a view to adopting an international agreement of universal scope instituting the obligation for all States not to use or threaten to use force, to refrain in their international relations from all coercion of a political, military, economic, or other nature, in any circumstances and in any form, at the same time making provision for practical measures to ensure the fulfilment of this obligation.

It is therefore imperative to find an immediate solution to the problems regarding the setting up and functioning of United Nations peace-keeping forces and their use to prevent and put an end to all acts of aggression and any threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States (A/9128, A/9695).

Somalia: Progress should be made in finding solutions to the problems of peace-keeping operations and of improving the techniques for the pacific settlement of disputes. Peace-keeping operations must be thought of not as an end in themselves but as interim measures to allow for the application of procedures for final settlements (A/PV.2183).

Spain: The political leaders of Member States can contribute effectively, through public statements and specific initiatives, to creating a general climate of opinion favourable to the United Nations.

The mass media also can be an effective instrument in so far as they freely and responsibly reflect the positive aspects of United Nations work (A/9695).
Sweden: The development towards détente should be viewed as an opportunity and a challenge to further increase the effectiveness of the United Nations and to make full use of the world Organization as a forum for consultations and co-operation. The capabilities of the United Nations to serve as a vehicle for the solution of conflicts and problems should be enhanced. The use of United Nations observers or forces or other appropriate methods are indispensable instruments for the international community in its efforts to contain situations and conflicts which endanger international peace and security. It is hoped that progress can be achieved in this field within the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Sweden maintains its preparedness in the form of a permanent standby force.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe demonstrates the possibility of peaceful co-operation in a regional framework. Such co-operation is in accordance with the Charter, and is to be encouraged (A/9128, A/PV.2088, A/PV.2184).

Syrian Arab Republic: The creation of zones of peace and co-operation in various parts of the world on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter would be likely to reduce tension, to eliminate foreign military presence, to promote peaceful co-operation among the countries concerned and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of maintaining and consolidating international peace and security.

The second area in which the United Nations could and should seek to score a major success is the field of economics and development (A/PV.2184).

Turkey: The role of the United Nations can be strengthened within the present system of the Charter, as the provisions of the Charter provide ample flexibility for taking action to that end (A/PV.2089).

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: The effectiveness of the United Nations depends more on the collective will of its Member States than upon institutional changes. The interests of the international community would be better served by fuller exploitation of the opportunities provided by the Charter than by changes to the existing United Nations structure (A/9695).

United States of America: Strengthening the United Nations depends more on the national will of its Member States than upon institutional reform. The most essential step to be taken is for Member States to resolve to conform their national policies and actions more fully, inside and outside the United Nations, to their Charter obligations. To the extent, however, that institutional reforms will assist the United Nations in meeting its responsibilities more effectively, the United States stands fully prepared to participate in bringing them about (A/9128).

Yemen: Solemn declaration by the big Powers to support the efforts of the United Nations is paramount since they bear great responsibility in regard to the effectiveness of the United Nations (A/9128).
Yugoslavia: There is enough room for the improvement of the machinery of the United Nations and, in this connexion, Yugoslavia welcomes the conclusion of the Secretary-General concerning the need for the Organization to make the necessary adjustments and, where needed, to develop new machinery and methods (A/PV.2186).

3. Views related to paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (more active use of the machinery and possibilities of the Charter for preventing conflicts and encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes)

Argentina: Argentina most strongly advocates 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 (A/PV.2088).

Belgium: An important means of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations is to be found in the area of diplomatic methods and techniques for the prevention or settlement of conflicts (A/PV.2087).

Costa Rica: The inter-American system could serve as an example for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts by the use of legal mechanisms (A/PV.2090).

Cyprus: Another measure which is needed is the development of modalities and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes on the basis of the means of such settlement contained in Article 33 of the Charter. Since the Charter provides the means but not the modalities for the employment of the means, a development of these modalities would greatly facilitate the employment of the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes (A/PV.2186).

Finland: The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security urges the Members to seek improved implementation of the means provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including negotiation, mediation, conciliation, good offices and judicial settlement. Finland wishes to emphasize the importance of further pursuing the efforts to revitalize the role of the International Court of Justice (A/9128).

Germany, Federal Republic of: The Federal Republic of Germany underlined the important role of the International Court of Justice in the pursuance of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, and expressed its conviction that the role of the United Nations would be further strengthened if States were ready to make more use of the services of the International Court of Justice (A/9695).

Greece: The first task should be to identify the gaps and failings of the Organization, in order to render more effective the machinery provided by the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Security Council has done much to safeguard peace, but the Charter allows it to do even more. It can, for example, exercise the rights conferred upon it in Article 34 and grapple with disputes before they degenerate into crises that might threaten peace, and, once seized of a problem, the Security Council should not merely content itself with doing what is most urgent. It must go further than
provisional pacification, which being provisional is inevitably precarious (A/PV.2184, A/PV.2089).

Italy: Italy is favourable to the development and strengthening of the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes within the framework of the provisions stated in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. This goal can be pursued, above all, by reaffirming the role of the International Court of Justice and making its functions ever more effective and clear. In particular, a more clear and direct relationship should be established between the principle that States are free to choose the method for a peaceful solution of disputes as stated in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations and the statutory principle that disputes of a legal nature should preferably be submitted to the International Court of Justice. The objective to be aimed at should be to increase to the maximum the number of Member States which accept the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court in order to establish a system based on the permanent arbitration of the Court (A/9128).

Netherlands: It would be to the benefit of the international community if the Member States, more than hitherto, would avail themselves for the settlement of their disputes of the International Court of Justice, one of the main organs of the United Nations. The Netherlands also wishes to draw attention to the possibility which exists for the United Nations and the specialized agencies to request the Court to render an advisory opinion (A/9695).

Romania: All Member States should undertake to use the United Nations and the peaceful means recommended by the Charter in order to settle any possible disputes. They should elaborate and set forth in detail in an international treaty the stipulations of the Charter concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes and should devise improved procedures for handling such disputes.

In pursuance of the pertinent provisions of the Charter, a standing General Assembly committee should be set up for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. Such a committee could fulfil the functions of prevention, good offices, mediation and conciliation, without prejudicing the competence in that field of other United Nations organs (A/9695).

Sweden: Intensified efforts should be expended to find improved procedures and methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The fullest possible use should be made of the instruments already offered in this respect by the Charter of the United Nations (A/9128).

Turkey: The European Conference on Security and Co-operation is an important regional starting point for finding peaceful solutions to the various European problems in accordance with Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter (A/9128).

Uganda: Settlement of disputes by peaceful means is hampered by the presence of military bases and military alliances (A/9695).
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: More active use should be made of the machinery and possibilities provided in the Charter for preventing conflicts and for encouraging peaceful settlements. Careful study of the use of fact-finding missions, good offices, mediation, conciliation and preventive diplomacy could render an important contribution to the effective solution of underlying disputes which give rise to, or which threaten to give rise to, a state of conflict (A/9695).

Yugoslavia: In order to function successfully, the United Nations must always insist in relations between States - without any exception and regardless of their size and socio-political systems - on full respect for the principles of not having recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the solution of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality of all States, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and friendly co-operation among States (A/PV.2186).

4. Views related to paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (improvement of the functioning and effectiveness of the principal organs of the United Nations)

Bahrain: The views of Bahrain on ways of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter were expressed in its letter dated 2 July 1973 (A/9143).

Belgium: 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. Furthermore, the five permanent members of the Security Council should also bend every effort to ensure that the rule of unanimity is observed (A/PV.2087).

Canada: There are clear signs that the United Nations is strengthening itself to deal more authoritatively through the Security Council with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. The establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East under the authority of the Security Council is further tangible evidence of this (A/PV.2183).

Egypt: The Security Council should not be prevented from shoudering its full Charter responsibilities. It has become necessary that appropriate and unequivocal decisions, firmly anchored in the principles of the Charter, be adopted by the Security Council and that compliance with such decisions be ensured.

The General Assembly, as the most representative among all the organs of the United Nations, is able, if it so wishes, to take necessary and swift action to check any State violating the rule of law. Therefore, resolutions of the General Assembly reflecting the will and aspirations of the community of nations, should be taken account of and acted upon with more vigour and determination. The
strengthening of the role of the United Nations necessitates increasing co-operation between its Members, which should be done on the basis of equality and full respect for sovereignty, as well as in a sincere attempt at a better understanding of mutual problems and their underlying causes and in a sincere spirit of assisting in their effective solution (A/9128/Add.1).

Finland: Enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations requires full consideration of proposals such as the strengthening of the role of the Security Council, including the holding of periodic meetings and appropriate use of subsidiary organs; improvement of the peace-making and peace-keeping mechanism of the Organization; revitalization of the role of the International Court of Justice, and urgent resolution of the financial crisis (A/PV.2089).

France: The strengthening of the role of the United Nations involves, first of all, the strengthening of the role of the Security Council. This can be achieved not by reforming the structures of the Council but rather by fully implementing those already established by the Charter, and by utilizing the provisions of the Charter which have not yet been applied, specifically the Articles in Chapter VII concerning the organization of peace-keeping operations, with a view to providing the United Nations with the means to ensure that its decisions are carried out. It is on this condition that the settlement of conflicts may become the responsibility of the entire international community, of which the United Nations is currently the only valid expression. The Council has successfully improved some of its procedures, in particular those relating to consultations, the establishment of consensus, and the sending of missions to investigate matters on the spot. It is essential to continue to pursue this course and, in particular, to continue the effort undertaken some time ago to determine the general rules to which the undertaking and conduct of peace-keeping operations should be subject.

The effectiveness of the action of the General Assembly depends on the volume of support which its resolutions receive. In order to ensure that this support is as broad as possible, it is obviously important that draft resolutions should reflect with all the necessary nuances the fundamental preoccupations of the States concerned and that, consequently, the texts of draft resolutions should be elaborated in an atmosphere of close co-operation and mutual concessions. It is therefore, through more systematic consultations, particularly among countries or groups of countries, that it should be possible to improve the methods of work of the General Assembly (A/9128, A/9695).

Ghana: Experience has demonstrated that the operation of the veto by the permanent members of the Security Council often renders the Council, and the entire Organization, powerless to act in time of crisis. To eliminate this difficulty, Ghana proposes a revision on the lines of the following alternatives: (a) where a veto is exercised by a permanent member of the Security Council, two thirds of the votes of the membership of the Security Council, including affirmative votes of at least two permanent members of the Council, shall overrule the veto so exercised; or (b) when a veto is exercised by a permanent member of the Security Council, the Secretary-General shall convene an emergency meeting of the General
Assembly at which the issue giving rise to the exercise of veto shall be debated. If at the conclusion of the debate there is a two-thirds majority vote in favour of the proposal which was the occasion for the exercise of veto, the veto shall stand overruled (A/PV.2182).

**Greece:** The views of Greece on efforts aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of the Security Council so that it may be able to carry out its mission, were submitted to the Secretary-General in a note dated 10 May 1973 (A/9143).

**India:** The efficacy of multilateral economic co-operation within the United Nations system can be increased by a more appropriate representation of all Member States in United Nations bodies so that the new realities of the present-day world are better reflected in the actual structure of the Organization and in order that those bodies can perform the tasks under the right conditions (A/PV.2090).

**Iran:** Without in any way detracting from the importance it attaches to the responsibilities of the General Assembly in the field of peace and security, Iran is of the opinion that the Security Council should be the focal point of any attempt to improve upon the peace-making potential of the Organization. As a first step, the Charter provision embodied in Article 23, paragraph 2, should be meticulously observed, and the General Assembly might consider formulating appropriate recommendations in this regard.

The convening of periodic meetings of the Security Council at the ministerial level, with a view to discussing general questions related to peace and security, can generate a healthy momentum toward restoring to the United Nations its role as the centre of harmonizing the activities of nations. Iran does not believe that any restriction on the right of veto accorded by the Charter to the permanent members of the Security Council is either feasible or serves the interests of the Organization at this juncture. However, this right should not be exercised in any manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The practice of quiet diplomacy, employing the good offices of the Secretary-General as a disinterested third party, should be encouraged. Article 99 of the Charter, broadly interpreted, should enable the Secretary-General to take the initiative to inquire into situations that in his opinion might threaten the maintenance of international peace and security (A/9128).

**Italy:** It would be useful to adjust the structures and functioning of the Security Council in order to ensure the more systematic participation of States which are in a better position to assume responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

The structures and the functioning of the Economic and Social Council also should be adjusted. Although its enlargement, approved at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, was a significant improvement towards the effectiveness of that body, further action is now necessary in order to strengthen the authority
and prestige of this Council and give it the greater efficiency required by new circumstances, and to encourage the rationalization of this system so that the Economic and Social Council could, for economic and social questions, become the equivalent of the Security Council (A/PV.2089).

Kenya: If the Security Council is to discharge its mandate as the primary organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the use of the veto must be regulated to avoid its abuse.

There should be greater regional distribution of the headquarters of specialized agencies. The siting of UNEP in Nairobi is the first such step which should be emulated for other agencies. At the same time, concrete measures should be worked out to increase the full participation of nationals from all countries in the administrative machinery of the United Nations and its specialized agencies (A/9695).

Kuwait: The permanent members of the Security Council, which were endowed with special rights, and which, therefore, are required to discharge serious obligations, should allow the Council to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Security Council should examine, during its periodic meetings, the centres of friction, the causes of tension and the ways and means which are conducive to eliminating the roots of such conflict and tension (A/9128, A/9695).

Netherlands: It is of great importance for the effectiveness of the United Nations system that the activities of its various parts are co-ordinated as a balanced programme for co-operative action. As far as the economic and social activities of the system are concerned, the central co-ordinative function rests with the Economic and Social Council, assisted by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination.

As part of the efforts to promote the effective functioning of the United Nations, attention should constantly be given to rationalizing the procedures of the various organs, in particular the General Assembly (A/9695).

Norway: It would be unrealistic to expect that the abolition or modification of the veto of the permanent members of the Security Council could be achieved today or in the foreseeable future. However, the permanent members are expected to display a sense of moderation so far as the use of the veto is concerned and to show the necessary will to accommodate their particular interests, when this is necessary to enable the United Nations to act (A/PV.2184).

Romania: An important contribution to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations can be made by the constant improvement of the functioning of its main organs while at the same time enhancing their effectiveness.

This presupposes the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly - the plenary forum of the United Nations - in examining and solving the major problems of international life.
The membership of the Security Council must be broadened and the way it functions must be improved in order that its membership and the manner in which it adopts decisions may reflect the place, the role and the weight of the small and medium-sized States of the world.

The activities of the Economic and Social Council must be further rationalized and improved so that it may make a more substantial contribution to the establishment of a more equitable international division of labour and effectively support the economic development and social progress of the developing countries.

The representation of small and medium-sized States within the Secretariat, and primarily at the upper echelons, should be improved so as to reflect the role and weight of those States within the United Nations (A/PV.2180, A/9128, A/9695).

Somalia: The General Assembly should secure for itself some kind of authority in order to formulate peace-keeping methods whenever the Security Council is unable to act because of the veto deadlock and international peace and security are threatened (A/PV.2183).

Spain: With regard to the institutional aspects, Spain believes that prudent and careful consideration of a possible revision of the Charter to ensure that the Organization may be more fully representative and may more faithfully reflect the needs, opinions and possibilities for action by the international society, should not be rejected. Along these lines, a detailed study should be made of the composition and attributes of the various United Nations organs.

The activities of the Secretary-General and his immediate collaborators, set forth under Chapter XV of the Charter, could be used more broadly and encouraged in order that the principal organs might prepare their programmes and calendars of work in a more effective and realistic manner (A/9695).

Sweden: The fullest possible use should be made of the Security Council as a forum for dealing with situations and conflicts which threaten peace. In this regard, the role assigned to the Council under Article 28, paragraph 3, deserves to be constantly kept in mind by the members, and periodic meetings should be arranged when they offer prospects for serving as a means of reducing tensions and increasing understanding between States.

The developments which have taken place over recent years in regard to Security Council procedures for investigation and study of situations and conflicts are to be welcomed. Subsidiary organs in accordance with Article 29 can in many cases offer advantages as a means for dealing with complicated situations. The special missions which the Council may dispatch to areas of tension and conflict also enable the Council to take its decisions on a more complete basis of fact.

Under the Charter, the Security Council is provided with the power to institute sanctions as an ultimate means for enforcing its decisions. The necessity of upholding effectively such decisions is of central importance to the role of the United Nations as a tool for peace (A/9128).
Syrian Arab Republic: The Security Council should not be prevented from fulfilling all those responsibilities incumbent upon it under the Charter (A/PV.2184).

Tunisia: The United Nations organs and the specialized agencies, which are part of the United Nations system, should propose in their reports to the General Assembly appropriate measures for strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council has already started to take action designed to streamline its methods and simplify its organization (A/PV.2186).

Uganda: The role of the Security Council can be strengthened by regular meetings at the ministerial level (A/9695).

United States of America: The Security Council should strive to increase its effectiveness in discharging peaceful settlement and peace-keeping functions by making greater use of its existing powers of investigation and recommendation. There should be more frequent recourse, as the requirements of a given situation indicate, to fact-finding missions, good offices, mediation, conciliation and preventive diplomacy. More reliable and systematic methods of establishing and maintaining peace-keeping forces should be developed for use when the parties to a dispute so desire.

The recommendations of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly should be more fully implemented and further procedural reforms adopted to improve the working of Assembly sessions. The General Assembly might consider modifying its rules so that adoption of resolutions would require an appropriate majority of all votes cast, counting those who abstain as present and voting.

Efforts already under way in the Economic and Social Council to modernize its structure, consolidate its activities, and make it a more effective co-ordinating mechanism should be intensified.

While the International Court of Justice has recently taken what appears to be significant steps to streamline its procedures, further efforts to encourage greater use of the Court are needed (A/9128).

Yugoslavia: The convening of periodical special sessions of the General Assembly on the highest possible level can contribute to the effectiveness of the United Nations, ensuring the adoption of common solutions on questions of general interest and securing their implementation in practice (A/PV.2186).
5. Views related to paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (effectiveness of the resolutions of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs)

Bahrain: The views of Member States should be sought on the feasibility of establishing a permanent organ, which would be entrusted with implementation of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly and would be asked to keep under constant review issues and problems relating to peace and security of the world and to report to both the Security Council and the General Assembly as appropriate; this organ should have a close link with the Secretary-General and the United Nations peace-keeping machinery (A/9695).

Belgium: The practice of mutual consultations is a means of increasing co-operation among States within the Organization, thereby strengthening its authority (A/PV.2087).

France: Consensus, as the highest expression of international co-operation, should embrace a genuine agreement of all the States concerned, not only on the general tenor of the text, but also on its detailed content (A/9695).

Germany, Federal Republic of: The effectiveness of resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations will increase whenever such recommendations and resolutions are the result of genuine co-operation. This means that the opinion of States whose co-operation is needed for the implementation of a resolution must be taken into account, even if those States are a numerical minority, and that where important questions are concerned the achievement of a consensus will be of particular value whenever it reflects a genuine compromise of conflicting opinions (A/9695).

Laos: If dialogue is to be accepted in today's world, it must be practised at all levels. Laos would welcome any initiative which might be taken with the Assembly's agreement, either by the Secretary-General or by a Member State, to carry further the dialogue as a basic method of contemporary human relations (A/PV.2089).

Netherlands: Constructive co-operation within the United Nations can only be achieved when the individual Member States are prepared to respect and take account of each other's opinions and interests. Accordingly, the Netherlands underlines the importance of efforts towards decision-making by consensus for important questions. It is possible to achieve fruitful results through this method, as shown by the agreement arrived at in the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression (A/9695).

Romania: The constant use of the method of consultation between countries concerned is one of the best ways of harmonizing positions while taking account of the interests of all Member States. That is also one of the means of enhancing the effectiveness of resolutions adopted within the United Nations (A/PV.2180).

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Although resolutions of the General Assembly and, similarly, resolutions of the Security Council other than
decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, are recommendatory rather than mandatory, their effectiveness can be enhanced by means of more active and effective consultations among Member States in the preparation of draft resolutions. It is only by assiduous use of the consensus approach that resolutions of the United Nations can have practical value (A/9695).

United States of America: Debates in United Nations bodies should move away from lengthy, sweeping and polemical declarations and toward concise and dispassionate statements designed to make a concrete contribution to the solution of the many problems confronting the United Nations. The resolutions of United Nations bodies should reflect full consultation, facilitative compromise and realistic calls to action (A/9128).

6. Views related to paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (fulfilment by all Member States of their obligations under the Charter and implementation by them of the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council)

Afghanistan: If all the opportunities provided by the Charter are fully used and its provisions abided by, the United Nations will become an effective instrument for the preservation of international peace and security and the promotion of co-operation among all nations based on the rule of law (A/PV.2186).

Bahrein: It is the duty of all Member States to respect the principles and obligations imposed on them by the Charter. They should be induced to respect and implement resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, Security Council and other organs of the United Nations, in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter; in particular, resolutions on the issues and conditions that threaten international peace and security (A/9695).

Canada: The United Nations can be made more dynamic without rewriting of the Charter; its effectiveness and vitality depend not so much upon changing the basic structure of the Organization as upon the political resolve of the Member States to fulfil the obligations and the responsibilities each has taken up in subscribing to the provisions of the Charter (A/9128).

Cyprus: Another method of strengthening the Organization, under its existing Charter, is to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolutions through some form of sanctions, as provided in the Charter (A/PV.2186).

Egypt: An urgent endeavour should be undertaken to secure full and prompt implementation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council should establish a sub-committee to look into all previous decisions and resolutions pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security which had not been implemented, and to prepare a report on the difficulties confronting their implementation and how best to surmount them (A/PV.2087).
France: The first and most pressing condition for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations is the firm determination of all Member States to observe the Charter and the principles set forth therein, the most important of which should be the equality of rights of peoples and their right to self-determination (A/9128).

Ghana: The obligation of the Member States under Article 2, paragraph 5, of the Charter is not confined to action taken under Chapter VII but extends to cover action indicated by the resolutions passed in accordance with the Charter by this Organization (A/PV.2182).

Iran: The strengthening of the role of the United Nations first and foremost depends on the strict and effective observance by all countries of the purposes and principles of the Charter, particularly by those countries that enjoy a special status within the Organization and have a correspondingly special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Governments of all Member States should confirm their full and unconditional allegiance, in particular to such basic principles of the Charter as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, renunciation of the threat or use of force, non-intervention, sovereign equality of States, self-determination of peoples and peaceful settlement of disputes (A/PV.2089).

Kuwait: The Security Council should hold periodic meetings to review its past resolutions which have not been implemented and take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to compel recalcitrant States to abide by the rule of law.

Kuwait believes that the resolutions of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations system, which seek to give effect to fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter, should derive their effect and force from the contractual obligations embodied in the Charter and that all States should strictly comply with their provisions (A/9695).

Liberia: The existence of the United Nations has ripened into a period which demands stronger and determined action to make it capable of ensuring implementation of the obligations enshrined in the Charter (A/PV.2089).

Norway: It is of paramount importance for international peace and security that all Member countries fulfil their obligations under the Charter and act in accordance with its principles and purposes (A/9128).

Oman: The States Members of the United Nations family are urged to observe effectively the principles of the United Nations Charter (A/9128).

Peru: The key to the effectiveness of the Organization is the implementation of the decisions, recommendations, good ideas and excellent purposes which are proclaimed daily in the various forums of the United Nations (A/PV.2089).

Qatar: All States should respect and adhere to the Charter of the United Nations. Its resolutions should be implemented and a system should be developed to oversee their implementation (A/9695).
Romania: The strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international relations calls for a firm undertaking by States to fulfil the obligations stipulated in the Charter and the resolutions adopted. It is necessary to seek and reach agreement on ways and means of implementing resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, including the establishment of machinery of a broadly representative character to follow up their implementation and propose measures and sanctions to be applied if the resolutions are not observed (A/9128).

Syrian Arab Republic: The most important prerequisite to strengthen the role of the Organization is the firm intention of all Member States to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the principles it stipulates. The General Assembly has an opportunity and ways and means of stopping any State which violates the principles of the Charter and the rules of law, whatever support and encouragement the offending State may receive from a powerful Member of the United Nations. The resolutions of the General Assembly, which are a reflection of the will and aspirations of the community of nations, should therefore be respected and applied with more vigour and more determination (A/PV.2184).

Turkey: In order to achieve the objectives of maintaining peace and security and promoting international co-operation in various fields, the Member States must take as a basis the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the universally recognized norms of international law and international agreements which stipulate the obligations to which all countries must subscribe (A/9128).


Yugoslavia: If the United Nations has not always been successful in its various endeavours it is not because of any inherent defect of the Charter but rather because of the unwillingness of some Member States to observe fully the principles and decisions of the Organization. The main responsibility rests with those who reject or offer resistance to their implementation, but also with those who encourage and tolerate such a situation (A/PV.2087, A/PV.2186).
7. Views related to paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) (further consideration of the views, suggestions and proposals regarding the strengthening of the United Nations role)

Germany, Federal Republic of: The suggestions and proposals received on the subject of strengthening the role of the United Nations should be considered by the appropriate existing organs of the United Nations (A/9695).

India: All Governments should keep the question of strengthening the role of the United Nations under continuous review (A/PV.2184).

Romania: In view of the profound changes which have taken place in the world since the founding of the United Nations, Romania urges that, following joint discussion by Member States, practical action should be initiated with a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations so that it will become a powerful and really effective organization and so that the ideals of peace and security, co-operation and progress for all peoples will become a reality (A/9695).

Tunisia: To identify the weaknesses of the system and prescribe appropriate solutions, an intensive effort of reflection is called for. The ideal solution would be for the question to be submitted to a group of independent experts, chosen for their competence and their attachment to the United Nations, who would establish a diagnosis and present proposals to the Assembly. On the basis of that preparatory work, the General Assembly could resume discussion of the problem at an appropriate time and adopt decisions as warranted. It would also be appropriate for the permanent representatives to hold informal meetings between sessions for strengthening of the United Nations which could be presented either to the Secretary-General or the General Assembly (A/PV.2184).

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Since the United Kingdom Government holds the view that the opportunities provided by the Charter have yet to be fully utilized, it does not regard the establishment of new bodies to examine possible remedies for existing defects in the Organization's fulfilment of its role as either necessary or appropriate. It concurs with the view expressed in paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 3073 (XXVIII) to the effect that suggestions and proposals on the specific issues which face the world community should be studied by the appropriate existing organs of the United Nations (A/9695).

Yugoslavia: The aim of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations cannot be attained by some ad hoc action or short-term undertaking. What is involved here is a long-term approach to the complex consideration of conditions in which the United Nations operates so as to be able to identify all the possibilities for enabling and adapting the Organization to function in the spirit of the present time (A/PV.2186).
ANNEX

Index of the statements and proposals made by Member States on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations

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\(a/\) Formulated by Member States on this subject at the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly and in communications addressed by them to the Secretary-General.

\(b/\) See section II above.
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