While more than thirty years of continuous efforts have revealed obvious limitations, there are, in fact, many sound achievements which the United Nations has to its credit. The danger of a total and nuclear war has been reduced, but peace remains precarious. Most colonial peoples have achieved independence, but colonialism has not been completely eliminated. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights casts a new light over the globe, but racism exists. International cooperation for development has progressed, but the gap between the wealthy countries and the less developed has widened. The scientific and technological revolution opened up the unexpected vistas for progress, but disease, hunger, and illiteracy continue to plague humanity.

The United Nations Organisation needs, therefore, more efforts from all the Member States especially the "Big Five Powers" in the Security Council in order to enable it to perform its duties for establishing peace, security and progress efficiently and satisfactorily. Too often, the Security Council appears to ignore major threats or use of force and to be content with temporary ceasefire. The Security Council must assume its full responsibilities. While attempts by the Big Powers to settle regional conflicts are welcome, they should supplement and not supplant the role of the Council. Negotiations can be successful only if the nations concerned are allowed to decide their destiny.

...207
Compulsion, if promoted by a desire to share influence and prestige in an area, cannot lead to lasting peace.

What is really needed is genuine rededication, not so much in words as in deeds, to the Charter. While there is need for political will, such will sometimes cannot express itself because of deficiencies either in the Charter, the Organisation or the procedure within the United Nations system. The Charter contains provisions which are not only useless but could give unintended justification to gross violations of international peace and security, particularly Article 107 and also Article 53, both of which should be deleted at the earliest opportunity. The use of 'veto' has been dictated by clashing national interests and has unduly crippled the Organisation. Much as one should like to have the 'veto' abolished, it cannot be easily wished away; it represents the hard realities of a divided world in which the United Nations Organisation has to function. To amend the Charter is certainly essential for a better and effective United Nations, but this aim cannot be reached unless all the Big Powers agree to cooperate with the majority in the General Assembly, which is in favour of revision of the Charter.

For a better and safer world in which every nation, large or small, developed or developing would be master of its destiny, it is imperative to have a strong and effective United Nations. The United Nations is now helpless to
take adequate action against an aggressor, the International Court of Justice also finds itself in a similar condition. So long as such conditions exist, there will be no effective United Nations, and the attainment of real peace in the world would remain a remote aspiration.

The world community has witnessed several deliberate violations of the Charter such as aggressions in Middle East, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Southern Rhodesia, Cyprus and South Africa, and yet the United Nations has been unable or unwilling to act with speed and responsibility in these cases. The failure of the United Nations is due to the unwillingness of certain powers to cooperate with it when their own interests are not immediately affected, and the existence of double standards within the Organisation, resulting in individual national interests over-ruling the collective interest.

The problem of Palestine could cause a holocaust. The principle of self-determination was not applied in Palestine after the Second World War. Not only does the United Nations refrain from deploiring the expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine, it accepts the establishment of a Zionist State in complete denial of the rights of the majority, and in violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter. The United Nations General Assembly in 1974 corrected its error when it allowed by majority vote the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to attend all United Nations sessions and conferences as an observer.
But this is not enough because the Security Council is still reluctant to admit the fact that the Arabs of Palestine are the core of the conflict in the Middle East. The veto, which is used by the United States against any resolution which recognises the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, or condemns Israel for its high-handedness, American refusal to endorse the participation of the Palestinians in the Geneva Peace Conference on equal footing with other parties in the conflict, are certainly more than an obstacle. They reflect the incapacity of the Organisation to 'deliver the goods' on its own.

Before and after his tour to West Asian countries, the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, stated that the presence of the Palestinians at a resumed Geneva Peace Conference was crucial. The Israeli disregard for the United Nations is a known matter. The Carter administration is pledged to reactivate the Geneva Peace Conference and the Secretary Vance recent visit to the Middle East countries was only a good gesture for providing a healthy atmosphere, though, to say the truth, he achieved nothing.

It is difficult to visualize peace in West Asia without complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the securing of the rights of the Palestinian people. Peace then follows as the logical outcome of these two matters and not vice-versa, where peace would be as it were standing on its head.
The United States is capable of imposing a just peace and it has the various means to fulfil it whenever it wishes. Israel in its turn cannot withstand the seriousness and the determination of the United States' desire for reaching an overall settlement of the problem. The formula presented by the United States Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance on the eve of his visit to the region, namely, the sequence peace, then withdrawal, and then the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, coincides with the Israeli viewpoint on peace. As a matter of fact, this is the reverse of the sequence of just peace which the Arabs are calling for in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. The United States has to change its attitude and approach to the problem if it really wants its mediating efforts to be successful. The Carter administration showed recently more understanding when it announced that the Palestinians must have a home, though the later announcement which stated that the United States is not in favour of a separate entity for Palestinians is unrealistic. The United States wishes a link with Jordan in this respect, it is unacceptable to the Palestinians and all the Arabs. One can expect that the Carter administration may sooner or later come to admit that Palestine remains the core of the whole problem in West Asia. For the recognition of PLO by the United States as a party to the proposed settlement is essential if the United States wants stability and durable peace exist in the region. Israel has also to recognise this fact which it has been denying for a long time. However, it will be too
early for anyone to predict such a change in the attitude of the United States towards the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole representative of the Palestinians, but the new apparent attitude shows good signs for concrete realisation of the situation in the region; if such a situation arises in the near future, then, one can say, the task of the United Nations would become easier and it would be able to play a constructive role for a satisfactory settlement in accordance with its resolutions and the spirit of the Charter.

The United Nations, as a World Body is the only organisation which can deal with the problems of peace and disarmament. The changing international climate gives the United Nations renewed chances to become more effective in these fields. However, the need for action is so great that negotiations necessarily must take place at many levels, bilateral, multilateral and regional within and without the United Nations. Now-a-days, there is an urgent need to make the United Nations more effective, and this objective should be one of the highest priority of each nation’s policy and of international negotiation. It is time for reappraisal and rededication. The following measures should be included:

1. More effective use of all available means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, including the procedures of Chapter VI of the Charter and the International Court of Justice.
2. Prompt agreement on effective peacekeeping methods and guidelines.


4. New proposals for disarmament and arms control, which should include both limitation and reduction of armaments, leading towards general and complete disarmament with effective international control.

5. Accelerated progress towards the complete elimination of colonialism.

6. Simultaneous action on other problems which affect world peace, such as development, sea-beds, human rights, population, the environment, ocean management and natural resources.

7. Major strengthening of the structure and procedures of the United Nations in order to deal effectively with these changes.

The changing world situation encourages the hope that settlement of many international disputes may now become possible. Greater use of preventive diplomacy by and through the United Nations is needed; conflicts in the Middle East, South Africa, Korea, Southern Rhodesia, Cyprus require prompt settlement in accordance with the Charter. Chapter VI of the Charter provides several methods for pacific settlement of disputes: negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration.
judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, other peaceful means of the parties' choice, investigation and recommendation of the Security Council. All members should make greater use of these methods and seek to make them more effective.

The United Nations in this respect should expand the number of variety of skilled persons, whose services can be offered in conflicts. These should include the services of individuals of outstanding status and experience. In various situations the United Nations may need to provide professional fact-finders, mediators, or arbitrators, small groups of careful selected statesmen to help the parties reach agreement through conference diplomacy. It is also suggested that for more effectiveness, the United Nations should study the following measures:

1. A panel of outstanding specialists in conflict resolution should be established promptly by the United Nations. This panel should include persons experienced in various skills mentioned above and should meet regularly.

2. The role of the Secretary General in settlement of disputes should be continued and expanded. Members should request the good offices of the Secretary General more frequently and more promptly.

3. The Security Council should have a primary and expanding role in conflict resolution, consistent with its fundamental responsibility for preserving
peace and security. There is now a new opportunity to make the Security Council more effective for this purpose. The Secretary General, on the other hand, should make greater use of Article "99" of the Charter, which permits him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

4. A United Nations special fund for peace-keeping should be established. This would allow the advance accumulation of voluntary contributions so that funds would be available for peace-keeping whenever needed. A major effort should be made now to implement Chapter VII, activate the dormant Military Staff Committee, and reach agreements with Member States to make forces available to the Security Council under Article 43. The provisions should promptly be made to work as envisioned in the original Charter.

5. In all future peace keeping, it must be made clear that after a nation has consented to a peace-keeping operation on its territory, the United Nations forces will not be withdrawn without the approval of the Security Council, even if demanded by one or both parties. The tragic events of 1967 must not be repeated.
6. General Assembly procedures and rules need substantial revision to provide greater effectiveness. Reasonable limits on time and subject matter of debate are needed, together with a rule of relevancy. Earlier adoption of specific agenda should be helpful.

The United Nations in principle is an important machinery and useful to some extent for promoting peace and progress in the world; efforts are needed for its effective role in world disputes. Thus, one can say that the United Nations represents a global international community, which can bring its influence to bear, for good or ill, on international problems. The existence of the United Nations in this respect is inevitable.

In fact, the world at present is not lacking machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes if the will on the part of the disputants to use that machinery is there, the decision to resort to the United Nations agencies, however, rests with the states themselves. It may, therefore, be said as a general rule that unless and until the parties to a dispute feel that it is in their interest to settle a dispute, the mere existence of technically adequate machinery of the United Nations for peaceful settlement is likely to have only very limited effect.

Hamstring by the doctrine of sovereign equality of member-nations, and the dominant status enjoyed by the Super Powers, the United Nations has been in its own way serving
the twin causes of peace and progress. It has provided a useful forum for discussion and conflict-resolution. Though recourse to violence in international politics has not been eliminated, war is no longer regarded as respectable and, as Clausewitz observed, the continuation of state policy by other means. Today, the United Nations reflects the conscience of mankind and the collective desire of the peoples of the world for peace and security. But to be effective, the Organisation has to be the representative of their will to eliminate war and to usher in a better world order, which should ensure higher standards of living in larger freedom for all, including the Arabs of Palestine.