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*Chairman:* Mr. Humberto LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras).

Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Léon M'Ba, President of the Republic of Gabon

Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

1. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Before we begin our work this morning I regret I must inform the members of the Special Political Committee of two sad items of news. The first is the death of His Excellency Mr. Léon M'Ba, President of the Republic of Gabon, in Paris on 28 November 1967. I feel I am speaking for all members of the Committee in expressing our deep sympathy to the Gabon Mission in the sad loss of this distinguished statesman.

2. Secondly, I received the following letter from the Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic:

*(Continued in English)*

"Excellency,

"I have the sad duty to inform your Excellency of the death of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, His Excellency Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov, on Saturday, 2 December 1967. A register of condolences will be open for signature at the Permanent Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the United Nations, 136 East 67th Street, from

9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. on 4 December to 6 December 1967.

G. G. TCHERNOUCHTENKO,  
 Permanent Representative of the  
 Byelorussian SSR to the  
 United Nations"

*(Continued in Spanish)*

3. I am sure that I also speak for the members of the Committee as a whole in expressing to the Byelorussian delegation my deep regret at the demise of the distinguished statesman of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Chairman of the Presidium, His Excellency Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov, and in transmitting to the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic our feelings of grief at the irreparable loss of its President.

4. I invite the members of the Committee to stand and observe a minute's silence in tribute to the memory of those distinguished statesmen.

*The members of the Committee observed a minute's silence.*

5. Mr. TKACHEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to thank you most sincerely, Mr. Chairman, for your expressions of sympathy in connexion with the death of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov.

Decision concerning the meetings dealing with agenda item 37

6. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Before we continue with the item on our agenda, I should like to consult the Committee on the following matter.

7. When we began our consideration of this item: "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: Report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations", and also during the debate, some delegations requested that, in view of the importance of the subject under discussion and the significance of the statements relating thereto, the record should be reproduced verbatim or the summary records should be produced in as full a form as possible. The secretariat of the Committee has duly consulted the Office of Conference Services and that Office has informed it that it is prepared as an exceptional arrangement during consideration of the item on peace-keeping operations, to issue a verbatim record of each meeting as an official document of the Special Political Committee, instead of the summary records which usually constitute the official record of the Commit-

tee. In view of that request, I would ask whether the Committee has any objection to the proposed procedure, and if it has not, I shall inform the Secretariat to proceed accordingly. As I hear no objection to that proposal, it is so decided.

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 37

Comprehensive review of the whole question on peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (*continued*) (A/6815, A/SPC/L.148, A/SPC/L.150, A/SPC/L.151)

8. Mr. EL-FARRA (Jordan): My delegation has no intention of speaking at length on the question of peace-keeping operations in this Committee and at this time. Our views have been explicitly and sufficiently stated in regard to this important item from 1962 onwards. However, at this stage of our deliberations we deem it necessary to make a few observations.

9. My delegation feels that any successful peace-keeping operation requires the closest agreement and support of the permanent members of the Security Council, who are entrusted with the primary role in the maintenance of international peace and security. We shall endorse every step which will help in finding a solution of the problem, provided that it does not impair the vested powers of the Security Council.

10. We need not emphasize the point that when an act of aggression is committed it is only natural that the expense of peace-keeping must ultimately be borne by the aggressor. Otherwise, if we accept the idea that small countries should pay a certain percentage of the cost of peace-keeping, and that the permanent members of the Security Council should pay the other portion, it will not offer an effective remedy for discouraging aggression.

11. We feel in this connexion that a reference to the intention of those who framed the Charter is in order. They intended to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security. Because they wanted to serve that idea and its realization, they never intended that either the permanent members or the members from small countries should take any step that would amount in any way to the encouragement of aggression. What is needed, therefore, is strict compliance with the specific and clear provisions for the maintenance of international peace and security, and the formulation of the principles and ideas into a workable solution.

12. The remedies incorporated in the Charter are therefore worthy of consideration. My delegation fails to see why the permanent members of the Security Council do not attempt to give material life to the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter. The real functioning of the original machinery contemplated in the Charter would make our whole discussion of how to ensure peace easier. We doubt whether creating *ad hoc* peace-keeping machinery for every given case is the solution. This invites more power politics and political expediency to play their part whenever a threat to peace arises. It does not strengthen the United Nations or develop the law of nations.

13. Today, there are problems which pose a challenge to the very existence of the United Nations. They are pressing for a just solution. In all these conflicts whether in Africa, Asia or the Middle East the aggressor is defying the will of the United Nations and the values embodied in the Charter. The United Nations is facing one of two alternatives: either to surrender to the aggressor or to impose its will and safeguard its Charter.

14. Certainly surrender never leads to a genuine peace. Peace through surrender is not peace—and here I am quoting my colleague Lord Caradon—it is "a dishonourable peace [which] could possibly buy some time, but the time would be short. It would store up a much greater conflict for the future."<sup>1/</sup>

15. Nor does the United Nations presence solve a problem unless it is followed by a genuine attempt to remove the causes of the conflict. This is simply because, as experience has shown, the United Nations presence whether through the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) or observers amounts to a palliative or a bandage, never a cure. When there is aggression, what is needed is not only a resolution to stop the fighting, or United Nations personnel to supervise the cease-fire, but a genuine will to deal with the basic issues which invited the conflict and led to the act of aggression. Otherwise inaction may lead to more conflicts, more disturbance and more wars. And it is this practice, for which some permanent members are to a great extent responsible, which has changed the image of the United Nations. And it is the duty of all of us, therefore, to keep the true image of our Organization.

16. The Secretary-General pointed out in his report of 12 July 1967,<sup>2/</sup> that much reliance had come to be placed upon the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of peace. Thus, the United Nations cannot afford to frustrate the hopes of its peoples. This is our understanding of peace-keeping. We are therefore unable to support draft resolution A/SPC/L.148. Last year we had the opportunity of stating our position clearly concerning this draft resolution and we still maintain our view.

17. On the method of financing and meeting the expenditure on peace-keeping operations, various suggestions were put forward during the fifth special session. These ideas and proposals included: first, voluntary contributions; secondly, special assessments; thirdly, adding the expenses as part of the regular budget; fourthly, payment by the aggressor and lastly, payment by the permanent members and others who vote for an operation. The question of reviving the relevant parts of Articles 43 and 47 of the Charter was also raised.

18. All these proposals and suggestions were referred to the Committee of Thirty-Three<sup>3/</sup> for consideration. During this debate we have heard new suggestions. We also have the suggestion of the Secretary-General incorporated in the introduction

<sup>1/</sup> The Lord Caradon, *The New Nations and the United Nations*, (Hawthorns of Nottingham, Ltd.), p. 6.

<sup>2/</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 21, document A/6672 and Add.1, para. 26.

<sup>3/</sup> Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

to his annual report [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31]. There is no doubt that the present debate is fruitful but we do not think it will lead to any constructive result if we attempt to impose majority opinion. To force the issue is to add to the complications and difficulties. The best recourse that the Committee might follow after we conclude our debate is to ask the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue the review of the whole question in all its aspects and to study the various suggestions on this matter. This is very important since the Special Committee was unable to undertake the task entrusted to it by the Assembly and has expressed the view that it should continue to carry out its mandates.

19. Before concluding, I must refer to the presence of the deficit in the budget of peace-keeping operations. We hope that pending an adequate solution to the problem, Member States, particularly those who have more resources and power will contribute to the pressing need of the United Nations.

20. We should also like to express our gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Aiken, the Deputy Prime Minister of Ireland, for his valuable contribution to the work of this Committee on this vital and important subject.

21. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Before I call on the next speaker on my list, I should like to inform the Committee that another draft resolution [A/SPC/L.151] on this item has been introduced this morning. It is sponsored by the delegations of Denmark, Finland and Sweden, and the Secretariat is making the necessary arrangements to have the document circulated in the various working languages. Thus, we have now before us three draft resolutions [A/SPC/L.148, A/SPC/L.150 and A/SPC/L.151] on the item on peace-keeping operations.

22. Mr. ALVARADO (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): There can be no doubt that the item on peace-keeping operations constitutes the keystone of the United Nations inasmuch as, according to the preamble to the Charter, one of its fundamental obligations is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind" and to achieve this purpose it says we should "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security" acting in accordance with the concept that enjoins the international community to work together under the principles of the Charter.

23. Moreover, mankind has lived in yearning and sorrow, sustained by hope alone. It is high time now to act in accordance with reality and with the urgency imposed by events. The world aspires to live in peace, freedom and justice. My country wishes to associate itself with all measures designed to achieve the goals of peace, freedom and justice.

24. In accordance with those objectives, in chapter IV of the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, presented to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General states, *inter alia*:

"For some years now there has been, both within and outside the Organization, a protracted and wide-

ranging controversy about many aspects of peace-keeping, and especially about its constitutional and financial aspects" [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 27].

"The lack of progress in the establishment of a more durable framework for peace-keeping operations, with agreed and authorized guidelines and ground rules for setting them up, conducting and financing them, undoubtedly diminished the confidence with which the United Nations can face the probable conflict situations of the future." [*Ibid.*, para. 30]

25. In the absence of this framework and authorization, the Secretary-General has at times been called upon to remedy this deficiency. The basic factors underlying the problem of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations are: their voluntary nature; their ineffectiveness when one of the parties is determined to use violence; and the lack of agreement in the United Nations about the legitimate basis for present and future operations. As the Secretary-General so rightly says:

"The United Nations cannot begin to justify the hopes placed in it unless it is enabled by its Members to meet the challenge of the increasingly dangerous situations ..." [*ibid.*, para. 36]

26. Answering in advance a question of fact, the Secretary-General expressed his opinion about work on future peace-keeping operations by stating that such work "could be done either by a committee specially appointed for the purpose, or by the Secretary-General himself, who would be authorized to carry out the necessary studies" [*ibid.*, para. 31].

27. I consider that the Secretary-General's appeal is of vital importance for peace-keeping operations and for that reason my delegation agrees with the suggestion made by the delegation of Ireland [see 570th meeting] that the Secretary-General should examine the possibility of setting up a standard agreement between the United Nations and States applying for a peace-keeping corps, but with the provision that both sides of the boundaries in question are demilitarized.

28. Peace-keeping operations, in the words of the distinguished Chairman of the Committee of Thirty-Three, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, "rely solely on the participation of Member States" and, as he noted, the Special Committee has tried "to strengthen the provisions of the Charter which, under the aegis of the Security Council, permit the establishment of forces capable of acting at the international level." [570th meeting, para. 76]

29. The delegation of Ecuador considers that the work of the Secretary-General has been an effective response deserving our support and we believe that the Special Committee, which has endeavoured to fulfil the noble task entrusted to it, must continue to discharge its mandate.

30. Accordingly, my delegation supports draft resolution A/SPC/L.148.

31. Mr. NEDELEA (Romania): On behalf of the Romanian delegation I wish to express to the Byelorussian delegation our deep sorrow at the death of

the distinguished Chairman of the Presidium, Mr. Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov. The same sentiment is directed to the delegation of Gabon.

32. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania avails itself of this opportunity of reaffirming its position on the issue we are now debating—a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, a subject which has been the concern of various United Nations bodies in one way or another for the past few years.

33. In this respect the Romanian delegation joins those delegations which have underlined the efforts made by the Committee of Thirty-Three, and especially by the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, who guided the negotiations in that Committee so successfully thus enabling encouraging progress to be made. Taking all this into account the Romanian delegation has from the very beginning declared itself in favour of the continuation of the work of that Committee.

34. Any measure which does not take into account the complexity of the problem with which we have to deal, any imposed solution which does not receive the consensus of the Member States of the United Nations and any failure to observe the provisions of the Charter could lead to an undesirable outcome for us all as well as for the Organization.

35. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, the reasons for anxiety on the part of Member States of the United Nations regarding the efficiency of the Organization for the maintenance of peace and international security lie not so much in the plurality of formulae or lack of them concerning the question of the maintenance of peace as in the way in which the principles of the Charter are observed or violated by Member States.

36. When tackling this question it is absolutely necessary that account should be taken of the necessity for observing and strictly implementing the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the declarations and decisions adopted by the Organization. In addition, realistic solutions should be found which are in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples, and those solutions should have the widest approval of Member States since they should be based on a strict observance of the fundamental principles intended to govern the international relations of our epoch.

37. The Romanian delegation declares itself in favour of improving United Nations activity in this field so that this international forum can mirror contemporary realities and, above all, become a truly universal organization. It is difficult to believe that the main issues of international life can be settled today by ignoring the People's Republic of China and other States which are not allowed to join this Organization.

38. Practice has proved that an efficient solution of the problems of maintaining peace and international security cannot be possible without giving its fully legitimate rights to the People's Republic of China, a great world Power and the only one having the right to represent the Chinese people as a permanent member of the Security Council. We deplore the fact that nowadays some great Powers use force brutally in

their international relations. A danger for peace and international security which worries not only the Romanian delegation but the whole of public opinion—all peoples throughout the world—is the continuation of the aggressive war waged by the United States against the Viet-Nameese people and the intensification of bombing over North Viet-Nam.

39. Romania steadily militates in favour of liquidating from international relations all sources which endanger world peace, such as the existence of military blocs, the maintenance of military bases and armed forces on foreign territories, the armaments race, and the accumulation of huge nuclear stockpiles. Having to face all these threats to peace, the United Nations, in keeping with its Charter, is called upon to act with all its energy.

40. Regarding the proposals made within the Committee, the Romanian delegation will be in favour of those which take into account the observance of the sovereignty of States, national independence, the right of the peoples to decide their own fate by themselves, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and peoples, the equal right of peoples, be they great or small, to peace and security.

41. Having in mind the aforementioned considerations, the Romanian delegation cannot vote for the Irish delegation's draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148] and it will declare itself in favour of the draft resolution, presented by the United Arab Republic delegation and by other delegations [A/SPC/L.150] which gives the Committee of Thirty-Three the possibility of continuing its work efficiently.

42. Mr. FATTAL (Syria): Before reading my statement, I should like to extend to the representatives of Gabon and of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic our sincerest condolences on the loss of their respective Presidents.

43. Since the inclusion of the item under consideration in the agenda of our Organization, my delegation has never ceased viewing the question of peace-keeping as an important one that deserves to be discussed with a great sense of responsibility.

44. A small State like my country cannot but recognize the deep impact that a durable and reliable system of peace-keeping operations, guided by the principles and purposes of the Charter, would have upon the orderly conduct of international relations, as well as upon the future structure and nature of the international system. The need for a peace-keeping method, set up within the framework of the ideals of the world Organization and in full accord with the spirit and the letter of the Charter, need hardly be emphasized.

45. It would only be a truism to reiterate once more that the fundamental purpose of the United Nations remains the maintenance of international peace and security. A peace-keeping system must therefore spring from the unanimous support of the members of the international community and be immunized against its exploitation and direction for purposes that are extraneous to the Charter. When we were discussing the same issue last year, we made no secret of our apprehensions regarding the establishment of peace-keeping machinery which, however modest in scope

and pragmatic in nature, would not muster the overwhelming support of the Member States. We thus voted for a procedural resolution rather than a substantive one in order not to help in alienating a substantial number of States from this important field of United Nations activity.

46. The prospects this year for a new approach to peace-keeping that would break the present stalemate are even dimmer than those of last year. The many representatives who have preceded me have amply expressed their scepticism and pessimism, to use their own words, as to the possibility of reaching, in the foreseeable future, an agreement acceptable to all parties concerned.

47. It appears that in spite of the fact that the question was considered by the fifth special session of the General Assembly in the spring of 1967, the Special Committee remained deadlocked on the setting up of acceptable guide-lines for future peace-keeping operations. The differences on authorizing, financing, and conducting such operations appeared as acute as they have been since the Committee started its work. The Secretary-General clarified once more in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization that the deficiency of the United Nations in this field stems "from the fundamental differences among the Members in their interpretation of the Charter with regard to United Nations activity in behalf of peace" [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 30]. He observed that "It is not to the credit of the United Nations that after nineteen years of peace-keeping efforts each operation has still to be improvised for lack of measures of a general preparatory nature by the appropriate organs" [*ibid.*]. In the light of those observations, my delegation believes that some arrangement for peace-keeping could have been made under Article 47 of the Charter.

48. It has always been the policy of my Government to assess political events objectively and see them within their true perspective. We thus believe that the lack of progress in the realm of peace-keeping, and the noticeably increased rigidity in the conflicting views of the different parties, are primarily due to political reasons. It is clear to us that despite some manifestations of international *détente* and increased international co-operation, the present international system still draws its relative stability from what is commonly called the "balance of terror".

49. We share the view that the underlying causes of conflict between selfish national interests and different ideologies are still as vivid as they have been before. The forces of imperialism are today as ferocious as they have always been. The war of indiscriminate destruction waged against the heroic people of Viet-Nam under the pretext of pacification—a war which has been condemned by a great segment of American public opinion—is but a new chapter in the history of imperialism. The ugly colonial domination in the southern part of Africa, the prevention of the People's Republic of China from rejoining our club, and the Israel aggression on 5 June against three Arab States, are but a few instances that underlie the causes behind the inability of the United Nations to devise ways and means proper to the fundamental field of keeping the peace.

50. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General has extensively dealt with the political underpinnings of peace-keeping. He states that "The hard and frustrating fact remains that the principal obstacles in the way of an improvement in United Nations peace-keeping are primarily political and constitutional, and only secondarily military and financial" [*ibid.*, para. 35]. The Secretary-General is even more specific as to the impact of what he rightly calls the "new tide of violence" on international relations. He says:

"Both the conflict in Viet-Nam and the recent fighting in the Middle East have inevitably affected the whole climate of international relations, including of course the relations between the two super-Powers." [*ibid.*, para. 149.]

As to the effect of the "new tide of violence" upon peace-keeping, he stated:

"It is all too clear that the civilized and reasonable approach to international disputes, of which peace-keeping has been a part, cannot long survive if there is increasingly a resort to violent solutions and to more and more widespread exhortations to violence in the name of one cause or another". [*ibid.*]

51. What can easily be deduced from the preceding observations is that the present international climate is far from being propitious for embarking on the establishment of peace-keeping machinery which would serve the purposes of the Charter, and only those purposes. In an international environment where aggression is considered a precondition for peace and where peace is only the perpetuation of injustices, there is little hope for the peace-loving nations to expect too much from peace-keeping activities.

52. My delegation sincerely hopes that its views relating to the prospects of peace-keeping—views which are certainly shared by many other delegations—will not be construed as entailing any loss of faith in the final triumph of the principles and purposes of the Charter, which we believe are the very embodiment of the hopes of the struggling forces for genuine peace in the world. We cannot lose faith in these principles and purposes, for my country has several times been the victim of aggression. The Israel aggression of 5 June 1967, which culminated in the occupation of a large part of our territory by the Israel troops and the creation of 110,000 new Arab refugees to be added to the one and a quarter million old refugees and to the 250,000 new refugees from Jordan has only strengthened our conviction that the existence and independence of many small countries are still seriously jeopardized by the forces of imperial domination. We are not approaching the complex problems of peace-keeping with any sense of scepticism. We are approaching them with realism, for in the life of States and peoples there could be no worse or more bitter reality than foreign occupation.

53. There is no country, perhaps, outside the Middle East in closer touch with the problems of the United Nations peace-keeping operations than my country. The Secretary-General stated this fact in the introduction to his annual report when he said that "... peace-keeping and peace-making activities had their genesis in Palestine" [*ibid.*, para. 45]. In the

same report the Secretary-General describes United Nations peace-keeping activities in the Middle East as "... more prolonged, more intensive and more varied ... than in any conflict situations elsewhere" [ibid.].

54. We have no doubt in our minds that the Secretary-General, in stating these facts, had primarily in mind the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and the peace-keeping machinery established under the aegis of the General Armistice Agreements<sup>4/</sup> concluded 19 years ago between four Arab States and Israel. Indeed, UNTSO is the most prolonged and most intensive peace-keeping operation ever undertaken by the United Nations, and specifically by the Security Council, since 1948-1949. To our regret, some delegations spoke of UNEF, yet very little was said regarding UNTSO, which is a peace-keeping operation par excellence.

55. Israel's endeavours to repudiate UNTSO and the General Armistice Agreements are too well known. After its 1956 aggression Israel repudiated the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt while refusing to permit UNEF troops to be stationed on its side of the demarcation lines. This refusal was repeated last May. Since 1951 the Israelis have been boycotting the Syrian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission and violating the status of demilitarized zones, as confirmed time and time again by the reports of successive Chiefs of Staff of UNTSO. In a letter dated 29 June 1967,<sup>5/</sup> the Israel spokesman repudiated all the General Armistice Agreements and rejected the task of UNTSO and its terms of reference as defined by Security Council resolutions.

56. Fortunately the Secretary-General rejected this unlawful Israel decision by stating in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization:

"On the other hand there has been no indication either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council that the validity and applicability of the Armistice Agreements have been changed as a result of the recent hostilities or of the war of 1956; each agreement, in fact, contains a provision that it will remain in force 'until a peaceful settlement between the parties is achieved'. Nor has the Security Council or the General Assembly taken any steps to change the pertinent resolutions of either organ relating to the Armistice Agreements or to the earlier cease-fire demands. The Agreements provide that by mutual consent the signatories can revise or suspend them. There is no provision in them for unilateral termination of their application." [ibid., para. 43.]

57. In conclusion, I should like to state once more that the road to success in peace-keeping is not an easy one. Countries and peoples like the Arabs, who have been the victims of Israel aggression three times in twenty years, have every right to expect that peace-keeping operations will be geared to fulfil the aspirations of the oppressed and those against whom grave injustices have been committed. Peace-

keeping must not condone foreign occupation and annexationist policies.

58. My delegation, which fully realizes the dimensions and importance of this issue, will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 because this resolution will give Members of the United Nations more time to ponder this complex and delicate problem. As to the draft resolution submitted today by Denmark and other States [A/SPC/L.151], my delegation reserves the right to express its views at a later date, following careful consideration of the provisions of the resolution.

59. Mr. LUMBI (Zambia): On behalf of my delegation, which is a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150, I would like to speak on the question of the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects because of the great importance my delegation attaches to this issue.

60. The question of peace-keeping operations is of special importance not only to emergent nations, but to big Powers as well. In this regard, we feel that all proposals and suggestions made by Member States should be carefully studied and examined so that a successful conclusion can be reached. This is the only way that international peace and security can be guaranteed. It is imperative, therefore, that the maintenance of international peace and security be the concern and responsibility of all the States Members of the United Nations.

61. We note from the report of the Special Committee to this session that "Owing to the preoccupation of the entire membership of the Organization . . . , the Special Committee was unable to undertake the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly" [see A/6815, para. 5]. In other words, the Special Committee has been unable to furnish us with what would be considered the vital information which would have guided our deliberations. In view of this, my delegation feels that the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects should be referred back to the Special Committee as originally assigned to it by the General Assembly in paragraph 2 of resolution 2249 (S-V).

62. My delegation would like to say a few words on the draft resolution submitted by the Irish delegation [A/SPC/L.148]. The draft refers to the Secretary-General's call, inter alia, "to devise ... means whereby future operations involving relatively large expenditures by United Nations standards are financed on a firmer and more reliable basis than in the past" [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 141]. My delegation would find it difficult to accept a method whereby some Member States are left free to opt whether they will pay or not. This becomes even more outrageous when the option to contribute or not to contribute to peace-keeping operations applies to the very highly developed States Members of this Organization. My delegation cannot and will not support such an arrangement because it is as unfair as it is discriminatory. It places obligations but not responsibility on the young nations, and yet places responsibility without obligations upon the big Powers. It is because we are convinced that the present system of peace-keeping operations has proved cumbersome that we object to replacing it with

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplements Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., Twenty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1967, document S/7930/Add.20, para. 3.

another ad hoc arrangement, as has been suggested by some delegations.

63. It is my delegation's view that, before any solution is arrived at, an adequate study of the whole question has to be undertaken. It is for this reason that my delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/SPC/L.150, requesting that the Special Committee continue the work assigned to it by the General Assembly in paragraph 2 of resolution 2249 (S-V). At no time in the history of mankind has the peace and security of the world been more threatened. All nations, large and small, look to the United Nations for solutions of the multifarious problems they face. The fate of this world Organization will be in doubt unless it demonstrates the capacity to resolve world problems. It is, therefore, the inescapable duty of all Member States to see to it that this Organization is resolute and effective.

64. It is my delegation's firm hope that the Special Committee will not spare any effort in reviewing the whole question of peace-keeping operations. My delegation considers the present arrangement of voluntary contributions for peace-keeping operations unsatisfactory. As long as the present system of voluntary contributions for peace-keeping operations remains, the effectiveness of those peace-keeping operations will be impaired. Zambia believes that the important principle of collective responsibility should be upheld. Consequently, my delegation proposes that a perma-

ment fund to which all Member States will contribute should be established.

65. We do realize the urgency of the whole question of peace-keeping. At the same time, my delegation is also aware of the need for a permanent and lasting solution of the present unsatisfactory method of financing peace-keeping operations. As we all know, the world Organization was almost paralysed in 1964 when it ran into financial difficulties over the peace-keeping operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and it is facing the same problems now in Cyprus. It is well and good to expect the highly developed countries to contribute more to peace-keeping operations. But what should not be forgotten is that once a country voluntarily contributes the largest share in any one peace-keeping operation, the tendency for that country to have more say in the control and use of such funds becomes greater. Ultimately, the same feeling in that country of being the champion of peace and security grows. Finally, neo-colonialist tendencies develop.

66. I should like to end on this note—that international peace and security is and should be the responsibility of all Member States, as it benefits all nations large and small. After all, every nation benefits from a stable world. By the same token, every nation should contribute to the maintenance of peace and security according to ability.

*The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.*