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**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 716th  
MEETING**

Friday, 6 November 1970,  
at 3.25 p.m.



NEW YORK

*Chairman: Mr. Abdul Samad GHAUS  
(Afghanistan).*

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Hierro Gambardella  
(Uruguay), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 36**

**Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (continued) (A/8081, A/SPC/L.193)**

1. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Committee had before it draft resolution A/SPC/L.193, submitted by the delegation of Kuwait.

2. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) emphasized the importance of the question of peace-keeping operations as enunciated in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter. He recalled that the Secretary-General and many speakers had stressed the urgent need to reach an agreement on the conditions under which the necessary action could be taken to attain the prime objective of peace-keeping. Paragraph 4 of the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations adopted by the General Assembly (resolution 2627 (XXV)) gave expression to that common concern. Unfortunately, the hopes aroused by the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations during the previous year had not been fulfilled, and the Special Committee in its current report (A/8081) had recognized that, although the debates had been constructive, it had not been able to carry out the mandate entrusted to it by the Assembly.

3. His delegation realized the importance and the complexity of the problem, but felt that the task should not be abandoned. Only patient and painstaking negotiations could overcome the noticeable divergencies between Member States and make it possible to find a solution on which the whole future of the United Nations would depend. While such negotiations might give rise to understandable feelings of impatience, peace-keeping operations could not just be improvised without danger to the Organization and to its constituent Members. It was not unreasonable, however, to express guarded optimism for the future. Despite the absence of any spectacular progress in the past towards a settlement, the conditions necessary therefor seemed gradually to have emerged. The spirit of polemics had given way, apparently, to a sincere desire to reach a solution, and thus, by a common effort, to overcome obstacles which had long seemed insurmountable.

4. Furthermore, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Cuevas Cancino, the Special Committee had acquired irreplaceable experience and now provided ideal machinery for research and for the elaboration of a solution acceptable to all. The restricted Working Group which it had established in 1968 and with which it must constantly maintain, and indeed strengthen, its links, was an excellent basis for work.

5. In addition, the detailed exchanges of views had made it clear that it would be idle to claim that the whole problem of peace-keeping operations could be solved in the absence of an agreement on its fundamental aspects. His delegation wished to stress again that whatever the degree of logistic preparation for such operations, they could not be contemplated without the most serious misgivings when there was disagreement concerning the authority responsible for taking the initiative, for defining their main characteristics, for assuming responsibility for them and control of them and for working out the necessary arrangements with the participating and host countries. In that connexion, he noted that, according to the report (A/8081, annex) of the Working Group of the Special Committee, while five chapters of model I, which dealt with that fundamental question, had been fairly easily completed in 1969, three chapters remained unfinished because their completion depended on agreements still to be reached on basic issues. The frank recognition of the existence of fundamental problems and agreement on their urgent character showed at least that a realistic approach had at last been adopted, which should lead to their solution.

6. In order to determine the main principles for action, he recommended a return to the provisions of the Charter, which in fact defined very clearly the general terms of reference of the different United Nations bodies. His delegation was convinced that only by reference to the Articles of the Charter could answers be found to the fundamental questions of peace-keeping, questions which were of an institutional nature. It would then become clear which of those answers could logically be applied to the other aspects of peace-keeping operations and, particularly, to the financial aspects, the importance of which was recognized by all. In that way, without sacrifice of principles, the means could be found for finding compromises which would make it possible to reach the necessary consensus. At the preceding meeting, the representative of Canada had referred to Article 29 of the Charter and made a suggestion which deserved detailed study.

7. With regard to the generally accepted need for a consensus at a higher level between the great Powers on the very delicate questions still outstanding, he said that his country, for its part, was firmly resolved to contribute all in

its power towards the realization of such an agreement. He emphasized, however, that in a matter of such importance for the future of the United Nations, success depended on all and must be the achievement of all. Experience had shown, in fact, that it was not on the territories of the great Powers that peace-keeping operations were carried out, nor were they the ones to suffer most from their possible failure. The bilateral consultations between the delegations of the United States of America and the Soviet Union could bring about a desirable thaw, but should not shake the confidence of Member States, without which nothing could be achieved.

8. He would welcome the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate. He earnestly hoped that the Special Committee would be permitted to pursue its thankless and delicate task and that, paying due heed to the constructive suggestions which it might place before the Special Political Committee, it could bring its work to the successful conclusion desired by all.

9. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) noted with regret that once more the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, together with its Working Group, had achieved only meagre progress, since the absence of the necessary agreement among the major Powers had prevented the Special Committee from resolving the constitutional and organizational problems raised. During the commemorative session celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, many speakers in the General Assembly like the signatories of the Lusaka Declaration adopted at the recent meeting of the non-aligned countries, had emphasized the need to strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter.

10. He had already expressed his views on that question in the First Committee (1734th meeting) and would confine himself to examining some specific aspects of peace-keeping operations and to submitting some constructive proposals. Many provisions of the Charter had been either deliberately ignored or only partially implemented. Some States committed breaches of the peace with impunity and persistently refused to comply with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, while the permanent members of the Council often prevented it from discharging its functions and had refused to apply Chapter VII of the Charter. Consequently the United Nations now found itself at an impasse.

11. His delegation considered that Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter was the key to the problem, and emphasized that the maintenance of peace was the collective responsibility of the entire international community and that, consequently, the powers of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly were complementary and not contradictory, since that paragraph provided that, in carrying out its duties under its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council acted on behalf of Member States.

12. Article 43 provided for several alternative ways of making military forces available to the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, including an international army, a system of national contingents placed under international direction for speci-

fied purposes, and collective action by national forces under over-all international direction. In the light of the experience of the previous twenty-five years, the third possibility was the only one capable of effective implementation. Obviously, any operation that might be undertaken by the United Nations had to be decided with the agreement of all the permanent members of the Security Council.

13. The obstacles which had prevented the Security Council from applying the provisions of Chapter VII had to be removed by creating the necessary political will and by devising, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, proper procedures and arrangements for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations in matters of international security. As a result of the failure to establish generally accepted procedures for authorizing and financing peace-keeping operations, the United Nations had been incapable of acting promptly in times of crisis. The Organization should have at its disposal, on a permanent basis, the necessary funds and administrative and military personnel in constant readiness to assume command of peace-keeping operations as well as a team of observers who could be sent to any trouble spot without delay. He therefore proposed the establishment of a permanent fund for peace-keeping operations, to be placed under the authority of the Security Council, which would decide on the type of situation that constituted a threat to international peace and security; the Security Council would draw from the fund the resources required to finance the peace-keeping operations it had authorized.

14. Since the attitudes of the great Powers with regard to defining responsibilities in international crises were frequently at variance, it had often been difficult in the past to secure from each Member its share in the cost of financing peace-keeping operations. However, such expenses could be shared in advance by all countries, in accordance with a fixed scale which would ensure that the contributions of the developing countries did not exceed their economic means. The decision to authorize an operation would still be subject to the veto of the permanent members of the Security Council, but it would be easier to reach agreement on the use of funds which already existed, and the great Powers would no longer be restrained by political considerations hampering their freedom of action.

15. In view of its complexity, the question should be studied in depth by a highly qualified group of experts free from any national influences, who would recommend a scale of assessment based on the foregoing criteria.

16. Furthermore, in view of the close connexion between prosperity and world peace, the resources of the fund, when not being used to finance a peace-keeping operation, could be utilized to accelerate the economic and social development of the developing countries, through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which would return the resources to the United Nations whenever the Security Council authorized a peace-keeping operation. The work of considering the practical arrangements for making such transfers might also be entrusted to the group of experts.

17. In the light of the foregoing, his delegation, having regard for the principle of collective security and acting in the hope that the co-operation of the great Powers and of States Members of the United Nations would be forthcoming, was introducing draft resolution A/SPC/L.193, which incorporated the following main features.

18. First, contributions to the proposed fund would be compulsory. Members would recall one peace-keeping operation which had threatened the very existence of the Organization, and another for which recourse had been had to voluntary contributions and in the case of which it had proved impossible for the Security Council to take effective action.

19. Furthermore, the draft resolution emphasized the special responsibility devolving upon the permanent members of the Security Council in return for the privileges conferred on them by the Charter; they should discharge that responsibility by undertaking to provide the greater part of the proposed fund.

20. With regard to the possibility of establishing an organic link between the fund and both IBRD and UNDP, he pointed out that the resources of the fund could obviously be utilized for accelerating economic and social development only when they were not required to finance peace-keeping operations. In return, IBRD and UNDP would undertake, even after the resources placed at their disposal had been invested in development projects, to provide the United Nations with the necessary resources to finance operations authorized by the Security Council, within the limits of the amount placed at their disposal.

21. The Secretary-General would be requested to name a group of experts to study the whole question; he would also be requested to study the possibility of establishing a training centre for United Nations observers and administrative and commanding officers for peace-keeping operations, and to report on those matters to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

22. He hoped that the draft resolution that he had submitted would lead to a fruitful debate and would provide an opportunity of solving the problem, which had been before the Special Political Committee for six years.

23. Mr. CREMIN (Ireland) said that the work of the Special Committee must be judged in the light of the terms of reference assigned to it in General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX), paragraph 3.

24. His delegation was disappointed at the paucity of the results of the Special Committee's deliberations. The General Assembly, by its resolution 2451 (XXIII), had requested the Special Committee to submit, not later than at the twenty-fourth session, a comprehensive report on model I and a progress report on any other models of peace-keeping operations. At the twenty-fourth session, however, the Special Committee had submitted only a schema of model I. An identical request had then been made in resolution 2576 (XXIV); but the report that the Special Committee had submitted at the current session suggested that virtually no progress had been made during the preceding year.

25. His delegation found a striking contrast between the lack of progress in the work of the Special Committee and the importance attached in public statements to the urgent necessity for satisfactory arrangements for peace-keeping operations. In the four draft resolutions on the question of strengthening international security<sup>1</sup> submitted to the First Committee at the current session, peace-keeping operations were presented as an important feature of any system for achieving that purpose. He also referred to paragraph 5 of resolution 12 adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, to paragraph 4 of the Declaration on the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (resolution 2627 (XXV)) and to the many appeals made during the ceremonies in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary. He spoke of the warnings uttered by the Secretary-General over the past decade concerning the need for the United Nations to have a satisfactory peace-keeping system, and to the statements made by the Secretary-General in his report<sup>2</sup> of 15 May 1970 and at his press conference on 10 September 1970.

26. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and the United Nations military observers in the Middle East were serving the cause of peace, and through them the United Nations was putting into practice the basic principles of the Charter. His Government had always supported the United Nations in its efforts to keep the peace in accordance with Article 1 of the Charter. In the political climate of the world today it was important to uphold and strengthen the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. Moreover, in the draft programme on disarmament submitted to the First Committee (CCD/313<sup>3</sup>), peace-keeping machinery was referred to as an important element in international security. However, United Nations peace-keeping would remain uncertain so long as no acceptable basis could be found for the establishment, the organization and the financing of peace-keeping operations. His delegation shared and supported the views of the Secretary-General: peace-keeping operations would never be dependable until they were based on a system of mandatory financing in accordance with the principle of the collective financial responsibility of Member States. He reminded the Committee of the proposals for a system of financing that his delegation had put forward previously;<sup>4</sup> it was a matter for regret that the chapter on financial arrangements was one of the chapters of model I still to be completed.

27. All that the Special Committee had succeeded in doing was to reach a modicum of agreement on the least controversial aspects of a model for the least controversial type of peace-keeping operation. The lack of progress on all the central questions was very disappointing; nevertheless, his delegation welcomed the fact that the report of the Special Committee clearly explained its causes. In the

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 32, document A/8096, para. 5, subparagraphs (a), (c), (e) and (f).

<sup>2</sup> Document A/7922 (mimeographed).

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1970*, document DC/233, annex C, sect. 42.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 37, document A/6959, paras. 4 and 20.

introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had made the following observation:

“What now seems necessary is a political consensus at a higher level, among the major Powers, on the very difficult outstanding questions relating to the role of the Military Staff Committee, the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the management and financing of the United Nations military observer groups.” (See A/8001/Add.1, para. 15.)

His delegation shared that view, but considered that the existing situation affected the viability of the United Nations. It was pleased to note that some members of the Special Committee felt that current realities should not imply any abdication of responsibility on the part of the Special Committee or of the United Nations and that it was necessary to continue the efforts to strengthen the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations. It would do everything it could to strengthen those capabilities, and it appealed to the major Powers to reach agreement on the outstanding problems.

28. Finally, his delegation paid tribute to the Chairman and the officers of the Special Committee for the efforts they had made to fulfil their mandate. It hoped that their diligence over so long a period would be rewarded before the twenty-sixth session.

29. The CHAIRMAN at that point availed himself of the opportunity to extend a cordial welcome to the representative of Fiji.

30. Mr. BORCH (Denmark) said that the problems to be solved by the Special Committee were so complex that rapid progress could hardly be expected. The preceding report had given cause for guarded optimism: some progress had been made in the work on model I, although there had been no progress with respect to model II. Denmark had therefore taken over the seat in the Special Committee vacated by Sweden in a hopeful spirit. However, it now had to admit that little progress had been made during the year, as the Special Committee's report (A/8081) made clear. The progress made in 1969 had been possible because the Working Group had started with the easiest problems, whereas the problems tackled in 1970 had been much more complicated and controversial. His country felt that the Working Group should be encouraged. It had adopted that position during the Special Committee's discussion of the report of the Working Group, for two reasons. First, the Working Group felt that its methods and procedures would make it possible to overcome the difficulties that had been

present for several years. Also, the Working Group felt that the lack of progress was due solely to the complexity of the outstanding problems. Thus, the Working Group deserved support. However, he wished to draw attention to paragraph 8 of the Special Committee's report, in which it was suggested that the Working Group should report more frequently to the Committee, thus enabling the Committee to play a more constructive role in the deliberations, for, although the establishment of a framework for peace-keeping operations must be based on agreement between the great Powers, that should not imply any abdication by other Member States of their responsibilities and duties. Secondly, the question of peace-keeping was an extremely important one, and Denmark had always lent its support to peace-keeping operations either by participation or by making financial contributions. The Danish Government had always believed that the capacity of the United Nations to undertake peace-keeping operations should be developed with the support of all Member States, bearing in mind that the operations undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis had been very successful.

31. The Danish Government therefore felt that the General Assembly should renew the mandate of the Special Committee. It was important that the work of the Special Committee should be accelerated so that the United Nations had an efficient peace-keeping instrument for any future situation.

32. As it did every year, his country wished to remind other Member States of the consensus<sup>5</sup> reached by the General Assembly on 1 September 1965, by which it appealed for voluntary contributions to solve the financial difficulties of the Organization. The solution of those problems was one aspect of the Special Committee's task, as the Secretary-General had observed in the introduction (A/8001/Add.1, para. 16) to his report on the work of the Organization.

33. His delegation would examine with care the draft resolution submitted by Kuwait.

34. The CHAIRMAN requested representatives who wished to take the floor to inscribe their names immediately on the list of speakers, and asked prospective sponsors of draft resolutions to submit their texts as soon as possible.

*The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nineteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1331st meeting, paras. 3 and 4.