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Chairman: Mr. Humberto LOPEZ VILLAMIL  
(Honduras).

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)

1. Mr. BŔZOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): The position of the Yugoslav delegation on peace-keeping operations derives from a firm conviction that the United Nations constitutes, in the complex conditions obtaining in the world today, an irreplaceable instrument for the promotion of broad international co-operation and for the safeguarding of peace. For these reasons, in our activities so far we have supported the strengthening of the role of our world Organization; we have favoured a continued expansion of the area of its activity and its more effective influence in world affairs.

2. We have always paid particular attention to reinforcing the role of the United Nations in the preservation of peace. Consequently, we have given our full support to those actions which have as their aim the fulfilment of this difficult task which is before us. Yugoslavia, for its part, has participated in these actions by placing at the disposal of the United Nations the necessary personnel, material and financial contributions in conformity with its possibilities. We were among the first countries to make a voluntary contribution to help overcome the financial difficulties facing the United Nations. We have acted in this way because we felt—and that continues to be our opinion today—that the consensus<sup>1/</sup> to liquidate the financial deficit was a victory of political wisdom and a sense of reality and not one or other of the theses which, at the time the consensus was reached, were being expounded.

3. The consensus, in our opinion, reflected the common interest of all States Members of the United Nations to contribute towards the liquidation of the

deficit, without prejudging the position of Member States on the different aspects of the complex issue of peace-keeping operations. Therefore we cannot accept those interpretations which look on the consensus as a victory for one or other group of countries or as a compensation for giving up requests, the legal foundations and political wisdom of which were questioned from many quarters. We continue to hold the view that the consensus makes it necessary for all countries to make more contributions without any conditions, without prejudging their own positions and without futile attempts to have a voluntary act of a Member State interpreted as some explicit or implicit acknowledgement of the blame for the existence of the financial difficulties of the United Nations.

4. The Yugoslav delegation has had the opportunity of expressing its views on the substantive side of the question at various sessions of the General Assembly and in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We have never doubted that it is necessary for the United Nations to participate actively, in the manner which is deemed most suitable under given circumstances, in actions directed towards the safeguarding of peace. At the same time, we have never lost sight of the fact that the success of every action depends, first and foremost, on the readiness of Member States to accept, in the interests of peace, certain restrictions of their sovereignty and these restrictions cannot be imposed by majority vote. This being the case, we pledged ourselves to such solutions as would enjoy the widest support and would draw us closer in our aspirations to consolidate peace, thereby ensuring the success of our concerted efforts.

5. It is true that so far we have failed to find generally acceptable solutions of numerous problems of peace-keeping operations because of the intrinsic complexity of those problems. We are dealing here with fundamental issues, the solution of which depends, in great measure, on the capacity of our Organization to contribute effectively to the promotion of international relations. The examination of those problems so far has not been altogether unsuccessful. It has enabled us to identify the problems clearly, to establish where the differences are and to embark upon a road in search of grounds for agreed solutions.

6. Certain progress along these lines has been achieved in spite of many difficulties. As was stated by the representative of Mexico [570th meeting]—to whom I shall also turn for assistance on another occasion—there exists a general consensus to make the United Nations capable of engaging in effective action if peace is imperilled. This serves as a corroboration of the belief that it is possible, through patient negotiations, to expand the area of agreement

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1331st meeting, paras. 3 and 4.

also in terms of the methods to be employed when undertaking different actions for safeguarding peace. In our opinion, it stands to reason that the greatest attention in this should be paid to peace-keeping operations, that is, to those operations which entail the use of armed forces for the purpose of attaining clearly defined goals.

7. However, it would not be in keeping with present-day needs if due attention were not paid, at the proper time in our discussions, to other activities of the United Nations which have as their aim the creation of conditions for a lasting peace—activities for the accomplishment of which we also bear a collective responsibility. In saying this, I am thinking in terms of the elimination of colonialism, where United Nations action could usefully be employed, the undertaking of concerted action towards the removal of the differences in development of various countries, the implementation of the principle of co-operation on the basis of equality, the promotion of co-operation between States with different political social systems, and so on. In other words, we have to take up the matter of peace-making with the matter of peace-keeping.

8. In our consideration of peace-keeping operations, we have reached the stage, as was very convincingly presented by the representative of Mexico [*ibid.*], who is also the Chairman of the Special Committee, in which it is necessary to display full understanding of the difficulties we face and the maximum readiness to continue with the process which has already been initiated, of exploring the possibilities of finding solutions that would, above all, have as their aim the consolidation of the role of our Organization and the improvement of its efficiency.

9. Without questioning the good faith of the delegations submitting proposals—and this is where I cannot follow the representative of Liberia [572nd meeting] in his reasoning, much less in his vocabulary—we do not deem it appropriate to discontinue the initiated process of seeking agreed solutions by adopting resolutions which could, in one way or another, prejudice the positions of individual States or groups of States. The Special Committee should, in our opinion, be given an opportunity of continuing the study of all aspects of the problem of peace-keeping operations and of presenting its report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

10. Being fully appreciative of the significance of the action of the United Nations in this important area, there is no doubt that Member States will continue with the exchange of views and will persist in their efforts so that if the need arises, the United Nations can fulfil its task as in the past, even in the absence of appropriate formulas. The delegation of Yugoslavia, as it has up to now, will continue giving its full support to the efforts directed towards those aims.

11. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always taken an active part in the efforts to make the United Nations more effective in safeguarding international peace and security, for it realizes that this is a matter that undoubtedly concerns one of the funda-

mental tasks of the United Nations. Our view on this matter has been that the basic condition for making the United Nations more effective is strict compliance with its Charter, which is a law that is binding upon all Members of the United Nations in all its activities—above all, in the maintenance of international peace and security. Actions that run counter to the Charter directly undermine the foundation upon which our Organization rests. Thus in order to increase the effectiveness of the Organization we must first of all turn to the principles of the Charter and consider how they can most closely be observed in practice.

12. The increase in international tension, aggressive acts and interference in the domestic affairs of other States, often accompanied by the use or threat of force, which are constantly taking place in the world shows that certain States refuse to observe the basic principles of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter, which in the preceding years they had solemnly undertaken to observe. It seems strange, to say the least, that on a number of occasions—and most recently in our own Committee—the representative of the United States has come forward with a homily on how to safeguard peace and increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, while, at the same time, we are witnesses to the way in which the United States engages in provocations and commits aggressive acts in various parts of the world.

13. The position taken by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with regard to the actions of the United Nations in the settlement of disputes between States is that all peaceful means laid down in the Charter must be utilized to the utmost. The task of the United Nations is, first and foremost, to prevent conflicts from arising and, at the same time, by every means at its disposal, to develop and strengthen peaceful co-operation among States, and to defend their security, independence and freedom.

14. The application of armed force by Member States in the name of the Organization—if we speak about the possibility of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations—is, of course, the most important component element of this problem. It is clear from the Charter that the application of armed force as part of the security system of the United Nations constitutes an extreme measure which should be resorted to only after all existing peaceful means for the settlement of disputes have been fully exhausted.

15. The Charter lays down that the application of armed force rests within the exclusive competence of the Security Council. In this respect the Charter is abundantly clear and there can be no other interpretation of it. The precise mechanism of United Nations collective security, as prescribed in the Charter, is the main and constant feature of our entire Organization. Any interference with that carefully balanced system would only do harm and weaken the Organization, and might lead to even more serious consequences. The examples of the past are sufficient proof of this. We are convinced that only consistent observance of the system of United Nations collective security as laid down in the Charter can guarantee that the Organization will not be improperly

used for purposes having nothing in common with its objectives.

16. This conviction leads us to the conclusion that we shall never agree to any attempts to alter the appropriate provisions of the Charter—those which define the actions to be taken in using United Nations armed forces. For this reason we reject, for instance, the attempts of certain States to place different interpretations on those provisions, or to make various proposals that would bypass the United Nations Charter. The Security Council is the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and is thus the only organ having the right, in certain extreme cases, to take military measures designed to avert threats to the peace.

17. That in no sense implies that the General Assembly cannot deal with questions or situations which threaten international peace and security; that right belongs to the General Assembly under the United Nations Charter, on the basis of Articles 10, 11 and 12. The General Assembly can not only discuss these problems, but can also present appropriate recommendations to the Security Council. What the General Assembly cannot do is adopt decisions for the implementation of which action is required, in particular the use of armed force. That right, under the Charter, belongs exclusively to the Security Council.

18. If at the present stage we speak of implementing those clauses of the Charter which provide for the total readiness of the Security Council to take swift and effective measures, the logical starting point for this must be Article 43 of the Charter under which States Members of the United Nations are to make military contingents available to the Security Council. In our opinion there are other possibilities for activation under provisions of the Charter which have thus far not been used. We have in mind first of all the Military Staff Committee and its terms of reference as laid down in the Charter.

19. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has already for a number of years held the view that the way to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations is in the two directions just mentioned, and that is why our Government already in 1964 made specific proposals on those lines, and subsequently in April 1967 defined them more closely.

20. In this connexion we would wish to express our satisfaction with respect to the fact that these proposals have met with a favourable response at meetings of the Special Committee this year.

21. In examining the financial questions, we hold that the competence to decide questions involving the

financing of peace-keeping operations is likewise held by the Security Council, i.e. the organ which decides on the question of peace-keeping operations themselves. However, a satisfactory solution of the financial compensation for these operations is dependent on the general adoption of the principle of the total material responsibility of the aggressor for the aggression committed and for the damage caused by the aggression. We likewise share the view that the Security Council must not exclusively burden the developing countries and in this connexion we fully understand their positions and their demands. Any proposals for a settlement of the financing of peace-keeping operations that would be contrary to the above-mentioned principles and go beyond the terms of the Charter will, of course, not have our support. That is why we could, regrettably, have to vote against the draft presented by the delegations of Ireland and other States [A/SPC/L.148], if that draft were put to the vote.

22. May I briefly state our position regarding the activities of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, whose report is before us.

23. We consider that thus far its activity has been justified because it fully reflects the interest of States in the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. In the course of the work of the Special Committee various views were put forward on the possible approaches to a solution of the problem of future peace-keeping operations. The exchange of views has undoubtedly been most useful and has confirmed us in our belief that among many Member States there is a growing awareness that the only way to make progress in this matter is to respect and strengthen the provisions of the United Nations Charter and to apply and observe them properly. That is why we consider that the Special Committee ought to continue its work. The problems on its agenda in our opinion require further discussion which should end with the conclusion that the only effective way to settle the question of peace-keeping operations is properly to apply the United Nations Charter.

24. We support the idea that the General Assembly should express its agreement with the activities of the Special Committee.

25. As for the resolution presented by the delegations of the United Arab Republic, India and other States [A/SPC/L.150], the Czechoslovak delegations will be able to vote for it.

*The meeting rose at 4 p.m.*