

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 579th
MEETING**



Tuesday, 5 December 1967,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 37

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/6815; A/SPC/L.148, A/SPC/L.150, A/SPC/L.151)

1. Mr. JIMENEZ (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): Throughout these debates on what are called "peace-keeping operations", various delegations have expressed their faith in the political future of the United Nations. My delegation shares those feelings and finds itself increasingly convinced that, in view of the precarious international situation, it is our common duty to seek successful formulae for understanding that will bring tranquillity to our tormented world.

2. Although the United Nations is effectively discharging its task in other fields and, within the limits of its possibilities, is satisfying the desire of mankind to attain better economic, social and cultural levels of living, the results leave much to be desired in such an essential field for the successful progress of the world as that of peace-keeping.

3. The causes are indeed complex; they are known to all of us and since it serves no useful purpose to discuss them, I think that the best course is to try with all our might to eliminate these causes before it is too late.

4. The smaller countries which, like my own, express here the longing for peace and justice among men, since they have no privileges to defend nor claims to prowess to display save their own moral convictions, are in duty bound to press for certain measures such as the present one, which could promote the strengthening of peace and security, particularly in the smaller countries which have disarmed of their own accord, as has the country which I represent.

5. From what I have just said it is clear that my delegation, like so many others, has always believed that the question of peace-keeping operations should not have the effect of weakening the security function of

the United Nations; quite the contrary, it should be the reason for a proper and logical interpretation of the Charter, and strengthen the principle that there should not be nor could be any conflict which the United Nations cannot solve with justice and equity.

6. My delegation considers that the work done by the Special Committee on peace-keeping operations will be most useful for the future of our Organization. It has followed closely the debates in that Committee, where the main trends of opinion on the nature, purposes and scope of such peace-keeping operations have been most clearly set forth.

7. My Government has never called into question the powers which the international legislators have granted to the Security Council to intervene directly and immediately in any contingency endangering international peace and security. But we also consider that the great interests entrusted to the General Assembly mean that the Assembly must use its attributes of highest authority in cases where serious situations must be solved which cannot be settled by the Security Council, and in particular where, because of the interposition of the veto, the action of the Security Council has been paralysed.

8. As a political instrument, the Charter of the United Nations was written to link the action of the Security Council with the powers of the General Assembly on the understanding, of course, that the latter, since it represents all States, has supreme status. Indeed it could not be otherwise since the Assembly is the body which combines and offers a forum for voicing the views of a great majority of the nations of this world.

9. That is why my country, being a peace-loving State that has disarmed, has always supported this item in the Committee as being a matter of true importance for its security and the collective security of all these States which have likewise placed their faith in the United Nations.

10. Therefore, we are now and shall be in favour of any resolution that will carry forward the work of the United Nations to make this just aspiration a reality.

11. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): It is not necessary for me to stress the importance of peace-keeping operations. After many years of trial and error, they are now a trusted and reliable tool in the hands of the international community for dealing with dangerous crises and situations.

12. Although the concept of peace-keeping, as it is now known and practised, is not specifically provided for in the Charter, it is safe to predict that the United Nations will be called upon to undertake more such operations in the future. This is because the inter-

national community has found these operations to be most useful and timely in forestalling and preventing armed confrontations from endangering international peace and security. Yet in spite of the proven efficacy and usefulness of these operations, the future remains uncertain and precarious. The differences which have divided the membership of the Organization have not yet been resolved and no early solution is in sight. Our failure to agree is not due to the intransigence or obduracy of this or that group of States. Progress has been slow because the issues involved are of fundamental importance for the future of the United Nations. We are not dealing merely with the practical questions of establishing, organizing, directing and financing peace-keeping operations, nor is it only a question of interpreting the Charter and defining the respective areas of responsibility of the Security Council and the General Assembly. What is at stake is the whole concept and philosophy of the United Nations; and as long as this controversy remains unresolved future operations will continue to be on a voluntary basis in many, if not all, of their aspects.

13. This is especially true in two respects: the absolute right of States to accept or reject the stationing of foreign troops on their national soil and also their absolute right to ask for their removal if they so wish. Equally voluntary in character is the readiness of Member States to contribute contingents, services and facilities.

14. The Committee of Thirty-Three^{1/} has been engaged for more than two years now in the highly difficult and complex task of clarifying the principles underlying the concept of peace-keeping and devising ways and means for their practical application. Much useful work has been accomplished and many imaginative proposals and suggestions have been presented.

15. We regret that the Committee was unable to resume its work on the basis of the fresh mandate given to it by the General Assembly [resolution 2249 (S-V)] in May 1967. The membership of the Organization was preoccupied with the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab people. While the situation has not changed and aggression continues unabated, we feel that the Committee of Thirty-Three should resume its work. We hope it will continue following the well-tested method of work, namely, to refrain from imposing by majority vote any set of rules or guidelines for any or all the phases and aspects of peace-keeping operations. Experience has shown that majority decisions on such questions have no real value. For this reason the Committee of Thirty-Three should be allowed maximum freedom and flexibility by the General Assembly.

16. The discussions we have had in the Special Political Committee have been useful but it is clear that the General Assembly is hardly in a position to take substantive decisions during the present session. Any attempt in this direction would complicate and render more difficult the Committee's patient and persistent search for acceptable solutions to the complex problem entrusted to it.

17. Resolution 2249 (S-V) of 23 May 1967 singled out two aspects of peace-keeping operations for special consideration by the Committee of Thirty-Three: methods of financing and the conditions under which facilities, services and personnel may be voluntarily provided for peace-keeping operations. Until agreement is reached on these and other basic problems, the United Nations will have no alternative but to deal on an *ad hoc* basis with each situation as it arises. Admittedly, this is not a very satisfactory way of doing things. But experience has shown that whenever the Organization faces an urgent crisis all Member States, particularly those entrusted with special responsibilities under the Charter, leave the sanctuary of their rigidly held constitutional and legal positions and adopt decisions on the basis of the needs and realities of the situation.

18. As a member of the Committee of Thirty-Three my delegation does not think it is necessary to go into much detail or to discuss at great length the manifold issues that are involved in the problem of peace-keeping operations. But we thought it was necessary to share with other members of the Committee certain of our ideas and thoughts which we believe should be paramount in the thinking and work that lies ahead in the Committee of Thirty-Three.

19. In the light of the general considerations I have outlined, my delegation will adopt its attitude and position on the various draft resolutions before the Committee.

20. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The General Assembly has once again taken up the issue of peace-keeping operations which involves many intricate and important problems of maintaining international peace and security. Perhaps it will be worth recalling that during this Committee's last debate on the question of peace-keeping only limited material was available based on a rather perfunctory discussion in the Committee of Thirty-Three. Since the twenty-first session, however, the Committee and its working groups have held a significant number of meetings.^{2/} The Committee has served as a forum for a useful exchange of views which, thanks to the able and devoted leadership of its Chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, has produced a number of constructive ideas.

21. It is, of course, true that owing to the preoccupation of the entire membership of the Organization with the developments in the Middle East, the Special Committee was unable to undertake the task entrusted to it by the fifth special session of the General Assembly [resolution 2249 (S-V)], as was explained with complete candour in the Committee's report to the twenty-second session [A/6815]. Still, the hopeful developments of its spring session augur well for the Special Committee and make us believe that this important organ of the United Nations, if offered further time and opportunity, may obtain significant results.

22. As the United Nations experience has amply demonstrated on more than one occasion, to achieve progress in the highly sensitive and important field

^{1/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

^{2/} See documents A/AC.121/SR.23-27, A/AC.121/WG.A/SR.1-7 and A/AC.121/WG.B/SR.1-3 (mimeographed). See also *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 8, document A/6654.

of peace-keeping is not an easy or simple task. It has been made even more difficult by the continued actions of a group of some Western States which eventually tend to undermine the very foundation of the United Nations as reflected in the United Nations Charter.

23. Among the basic principles of the Organization under attack are those of unanimity and the special responsibility of great Powers for the maintenance of international peace and security. These attempts, which found their expression in some of the draft resolutions presented at the twenty-first session, are firmly opposed by my delegation because we believe that the United Nations can play an important role in securing peace in the world not by acting against the Charter but only in full compliance with it.

24. The Charter has magnificently withstood the test of time. Its authority as a basic political and legal document is so unquestionable that even those who, *de facto*, attack its provisions dealing with the maintenance of international peace and security do not dare to act openly but endeavour to revise the Charter illegally, through the back door, so to speak. For, may I ask, are not the proposals designed to vest the General Assembly with a competence which under the Charter is the sole responsibility of another organ, the Security Council, but an attempt, *de facto*, to revise the Charter? After all, it is the Charter itself which provides for a strict division of competence between the various United Nations organs.

25. The Polish delegation will firmly object to any attempt to revise the provisions of the Charter under the cover of improving United Nations machinery. We shall continue to insist that the Articles of the Charter dealing with United Nations activities in the field of peace and security, some of them almost a dead letter in the practice of the Organization, should become fully operative and thus open opportunities which have not yet been properly exploited. Important proposals to this effect are contained in the Soviet memoranda of 1964^{3/} and 1967^{4/} as well as in the Czechoslovak document ^{5/} referring to the conclusion of appropriate agreements with the Security Council under Article 43 of the Charter.

26. We continue to believe that arrangements should be made to include in the United Nations forces contingents from socialist States along with those from neutral and Western countries. The same principle of equitable representation should apply to the composition of the respective military commands. An important role in the planning and conduct of military operations should be played by the Military Staff Committee, with the participation of certain interested States Members of the United Nations. Those and other measures can provide satisfactory guarantees that operations will be undertaken and carried on in the interest of international peace, and not in the interest of certain Western Powers, as was the case with the Congo operation.

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5721.

^{4/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967, document S/7841.

^{5/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5821.

27. The lessons that have been drawn from the Israel aggression in the Middle East demonstrate once again that it is not enough just to stop an aggression. What is most important is to liquidate the results of aggression and to make its recurrence impossible. It is also significant that the Security Council, an organ entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, was instrumental in taking the first step towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict in application of the principles of the Charter.

28. When dealing with peace-keeping operations it is necessary to bear in mind the simple truth which is frequently forgotten by some of us, namely, that these operations are not an end in themselves but only a means to an actual end: the bringing of an aggressor to justice and the eradication of the consequences of an aggression, or the peaceful settlement of a dispute. One might add that operations of that kind are exceptional measures in the United Nations system; hence they cannot be a substitute for those measures which were meant to be used in the first place.

29. Under Article 33, paragraph 1 of the Charter:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

Therefore, practically all existing procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes are considered under the Charter to be normal means for the maintenance of peace.

Mr. López Villamil (Honduras) took the Chair.

If a dispute which is likely to endanger international peace and security is not settled by those normal peaceful means, then the parties, under Article 37 of the Charter, are obliged to submit it to the Security Council. The Council is of course empowered to take appropriate measures, including originating the use of the United Nations armed forces if necessary. The General Assembly, for its part, under Articles 10 to 14, may discuss and make recommendations concerning "any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security". However, if a need for action, such as the launching of an operation arises, it is Article 11, paragraph 2, providing for the exclusive competence of the Security Council that becomes applicable.

30. We are deeply convinced that the real sources of the difficulties which our Organization has experienced over the period of the last few years are of a political character. No magic formula of financing can save us from the frustration of aggressive wars and colonial or neo-colonial interventions, as long as the United States and its followers do not abandon their policy of military onslaughts against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America—in every instance where peoples' governments or liberation struggles are not to the liking of the United States. At the same time, those very countries exert every pressure to block any action which the anti-colonial majority of the United Nations might plan to assist

peoples still under the colonial yoke, be it through meaningful economic sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, or effective action against the Portuguese colonizers.

31. Like those delegations which have expressed their concern about the present conflict-torn international situation, the Polish delegation feels that opposing aggression and eliminating the remnants of colonial domination all over the world is indeed a duty of this Organization. It cannot, however, be realized through artificial financial schemes, scales or tabulations, whose practical implementation would totally depend on the goodwill of certain Western Powers and their allies.

32. An important part of the work performed by the Committee of Thirty-Three has been devoted to the problem of financing. Its Working Group A has been charged with the study of various methods of financing peace-keeping operations and has held a number of meetings dedicated to this subject. The resulting discussion has confirmed our scepticism as to the feasibility of formulating a universal scale for financing different peace-keeping operations, as again proposed to us by the Irish delegation [A/SPC/L.148]. Even putting aside various serious deficiencies in this particular scale, we firmly oppose the concept of a uniform operations scale from the point of view of financing.

33. There are several methods of financing which can include, *inter alia*, placing the expenses upon the aggressor, voluntary contributions, payment of expenses by the parties directly concerned, or distributing the expenses among the Members of the United Nations. But even in the last case, if all the Member States were to be called upon by the Security Council to foot the bill—even then, I repeat—the amount of the particular share of a given country would fluctuate depending on such circumstances as the extent of individual involvement in certain actions, the economic situation of that country, and so on. It is absolutely impossible to determine, once and for all, conditions under which the sharing of obligations would have to be executed in the future. It is only in specific and well-known circumstances that the competent United Nations organ can decide what method of financing a given operation is the most appropriate under prevailing conditions.

34. The only exception of a general nature to which we do adhere is the recognition of the relatively limited capacity of the economically developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America to contribute towards the cost of future operations. Since that factor has been widely accepted in the Committee of Thirty-Three, my country, as one of its members, would not see any difficulty in agreeing that developing countries should not be unduly taxed in this respect, and that a reasonably low limit for their participation in the costs of operations should be established.

35. While commenting on the draft resolution submitted by Ireland and its co-sponsors [A/SPC/L.148], one is bound to observe that it does not constitute a way out of the present difficulties but that, on the contrary, its adoption could lead to a repetition of

the grave crisis which confronted the United Nations at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

36. The Polish delegation believes that the errors committed in the Special Political Committee during the last session, when certain delegations tried to impose their divisive schemes on the General Assembly, should not be repeated. This Organization must continue to act in relation to reality. The United Nations itself can successfully achieve only those solutions which the international community of its Members can afford under the rules of the Charter.

37. In this spirit, we welcome as a constructive though moderate step the draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 submitted by India and four other co-sponsors. We believe that it reflects the views of those who, like the distinguished ambassadors of Austria, Nigeria, Jordan, and today Iraq, as well as the majority of other speakers, favour a constructive and patient approach to the difficult and frequently thorny problems of maintaining peace and security. As to the draft resolution sponsored by Denmark, Finland and Sweden [A/SPC/L.151], we shall examine this text with the utmost attention.

38. Mr. BERNARDES (Brazil): The United Nations, during some twenty-two years of existence, fighting its way forward through thick and thin, has acted as a catalyst for almost all international controversies of substance in the realm of politics or in the field of economics with their unavoidable social repercussions. That much was accomplished with machinery devised at a time and under circumstances that differ greatly from the state of world affairs in present days. It has been recalled, quite pertinently, that the Charter antedates the cold war, the nuclear age, the space age, the anti-colonial revolution, and the full development of the industrialized nations with the widening gap in relation to the less advanced countries.

39. Some of its provisions were even framed with an eye on the potential re-emergence of the Axis Powers as a threat to international peace and security, as the Secretary-General pointed out in a remarkable political statement. The Charter went so far as to include specific references to "enemy States", meaning "any State which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter". A simple glance around this table is enough to show how unrealistic this concept has become with the passage of time. It is not therefore surprising that the Charter should not mention the concept of peace-keeping operations. Nevertheless, it is this very fact, natural as it may be, that lies at the heart of the controversy raging around peace-keeping operations, and the omission weighs heavily upon the structure of the Charter. Not so long ago, it inflicted a partial paralysis upon every United Nations action and threatened to wreck its fragile framework. The constitutional factor is therefore the all-pervasive element of every issue arising out of the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will expound briefly on it.

40. It is only too clear that peace-keeping operations do not lie within Chapter VII of the Charter, but it is also true that they rest uncomfortably upon Chapter VI. My delegation has suggested in previous debates that a

revision of the Charter is overdue and such a revision would seem to be the most appropriate way of tackling the problem at hand. We are of course conscious of the difficulties involved in such an undertaking, but the magnitude of the question leaves no satisfactory alternative. After all, the Charter should be a flexible instrument, easily adjustable to changing international conditions, if it is to preserve its usefulness. The question in our mind is not so much whether we should or should not attempt a revision of the Charter, but rather how to go about it. In other words, it is a question of timing and method. We should be inclined to agree that to call a conference to revise the Charter and throw in its lap the problem of peace-keeping operations with all its implications would be a most reckless undertaking with a built-in guarantee of failure. If, however, prior to the formal convening of a conference the matter had been thoroughly discussed in all its aspects with a sensible measure of agreement being achieved, then, and only then, a debate in a wider forum might yield positive results. The stage in which we find ourselves now should be used not to seek a final and definitive answer to the problems of peace-keeping, but to clarify the issues involved in the light of the experience gained in past and present operations.

41. This experience has been considerable and extremely revealing. The operations in Gaza, for instance, were entirely different in scope from those in the Congo and in Cyprus. In a similar vein, the Congo operation bore very little resemblance to the two others.

42. In our view we should now endeavour to analyse the results achieved in these three previous experiences with a view to setting up some rules and principles common to all, but independent of the nature of the individual ventures. We therefore favour the suggestion contained in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31] concerning the carrying out of the studies necessary to place the problem in its proper perspective. We believe the Secretary-General should be entrusted with that task, and we would leave it to his discretion to call for advice and assistance from those Member States that would like to participate in the preparation of the document, or even from the subsidiary organs of the United Nations, including the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council. Once this difficult and delicate task is performed, Member States should have the time to discuss the findings and recommendations and the opportunity of presenting their views thereon in written form. As this phase reaches conclusion, either a measure of possible consensus will emerge and crystallize in such a way as to permit a revision of the Charter or it will become clear that the time is not yet ripe for constitutional inclusion of the concept of peace-keeping operations. We are guided by the conviction that we should aim towards a revision of the Charter after suitable preparation and avoid the strong temptation to settle this complex problem through resolutions adopted either by the General Assembly or by the Security Council. The method may be a cautious one: we view it as protected but surer.

43. We are in sympathy with the aims and objectives of draft resolution A/SPC/L.148, which was ably in-

troduced by the Foreign Minister of Ireland. In our view it is an interesting and most promising method of settling some of the problems raised by peace-keeping operations, but it has the defect of trying to solve a constitutional issue through what we consider to be an inappropriate channel. We note there was some improvement in this draft resolution over the one presented to this Committee last year.^{6/} We are gratified to note that the question of contributions to the financing of peace-keeping operations by less developed Member States has been fairly dealt with. On the other hand, to exempt from financial assessment those members of the Security Council which do not vote in favour of the operations raises certain problems in principle whose solution as prescribed in the draft resolution does not fully satisfy my Government.

44. We shall therefore favour any draft resolution which would entrust the Secretary-General with the task of undertaking the study of the problems involved in peace-keeping operations, and we shall urge that in preparing the study he should consult the appropriate subsidiary organs of the United Nations, as well as those Member States which, through the experience gained in participating in former operations of similar nature, are in a position to assist in the preparation of the document we have in mind. The method to follow after this preliminary work is completed will be decided upon in the light of its conclusions and the comments on it that will be fully forthcoming from interested Member States of this Organization.

45. Mr. ÅSTRÖM (Sweden): Mr. Chairman, I am most grateful to you for giving me the floor at this stage. I have asked for the floor in order to introduce, on behalf of the Danish, Finnish and Swedish delegations, a draft resolution [A/SPC/L.151] on the subject before the Committee. It is a short draft resolution, the main purpose of which is to allow the Committee of Thirty-Three to continue to carry out its mandate under circumstances as auspicious as can be devised.

46. As representatives know, the Special Committee was unable to initiate its work on the basis of the mandate which was worked out at the fifth special session as a result of prolonged and thorough negotiation. The new mandate must be regarded as a balanced whole and as an expression of the unanimous will of the General Assembly. I think we owe a debt of gratitude to the representatives, known to all of us, who worked so diligently to bring this significant result about.

47. The mandate should, as I said, be treated as a whole, and we do not therefore believe that it would be wise to try and add to it now or to amend it, nor to take a decision on any other various substantive aspects that are covered by the mandate. May I be allowed to recall that the present mandate expressly requires the Committee of Thirty-Three to study, in particular, the question of facilities, services and personnel that Member countries might voluntarily provide in accordance with the Charter for United Nations peace-keeping operations?

^{6/} Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603, paras. 4 and 5.

48. We believe that the thorough debate which has taken place here in the Committee has demonstrated again a deep concern amongst Member countries for the continued capacity of the United Nations to take measures to keep dangerous situations under control and to further peaceful solutions through the means that have come to be known as peace-keeping.

49. Many interesting suggestions have been made, or referred to, during the debate; concrete proposals have also been put forward. All this material, when referred to the Committee of Thirty-Three, will be of great value to that Committee when it resumes its work next year.

50. Furthermore, we believe that it would be appropriate for the General Assembly, as was done at the fifth special session [resolution 2249 (S-V)], to appeal again to all the countries which have not yet done so to make voluntary contributions to ease the financial situation of the Organization. We do not of course wish to point a finger in any direction; we only want to say that we sincerely hope that it will soon be possible to overcome the hesitations and reservations which have so far delayed contributions from several countries. We believe that if contributions are made within the next few months, a good climate will be created for a constructive discussion in the Committee of Thirty-Three.

51. The draft resolution does not suggest any change in the mandate of the Committee of Thirty-Three; nor does it propose any change in the composition of that Committee. However, I want to say that in view of the very particular concern shown by some countries which are not yet members of the Committee, we would consider it natural and appropriate for the Committee of Thirty-Three to invite such countries to address the Committee and to make proposals to the Committee if they so wish. The draft resolution now stands in the name of Denmark, Finland and Sweden. We would much welcome as co-sponsors all those delegations which share our point of view.

52. May I add that, in view of the character of our draft resolution, we feel that it should be given priority in the voting and, consequently, that other proposals would not be put to a vote? We very much hope that the Committee will grant such a request and that the draft resolution will receive general support amongst representatives in this Committee.

53. Mr. MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, since this is the first time that I am speaking in the Committee, allow me to express to you and the other officers my somewhat belated but very sincere congratulations and best wishes on your respective elections to high office.

54. Allow me also to express to the delegations of the Republic of Gabon and of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic my Government's sincere condolences on the loss that their respective countries have sustained as a result of the deaths of their great and renowned national leaders.

55. Once again, as the Committee turns its attention to the vital problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations, all our thoughts are turned to this urgent aspect of United Nations responsibility for the main-

tenance of world peace. If the Organization has failed so far to evolve a system for the proper performance of this vital task, or if its efforts in this direction have not always met with the kind of success we all expect, it is certainly not because this has been a task which does not naturally fall within the competence of our Organization. The lack of success has been due to the absence of common accord on ways and means, as well as to a number of politically motivated constitutional differences which are well known to us all.

56. As far as I know, there is no Member country which would in principle deny to the United Nations the peace-keeping role that naturally belongs to it. The differences on peace-keeping operations, as the Committee is well aware, are in this sense incidental to other political considerations, and do not stem from any real difference in the need or necessity for peace-keeping as such. But the incidental differences and issues have given rise to certain political, constitutional and financial problems which cannot be ignored or simply put aside. If the United Nations is to evolve and maintain a system of peace-keeping, that surely has to be founded on a clear and mutually agreed basis so that the Organization can perform this task without the handicaps and hindrances that are otherwise bound to arise. It is this consideration which has impelled the Ethiopian delegation to urge that we continue our peace-keeping endeavours with patience and with a sense of realism until our persistent and persuasive negotiations can lead to better and more effective results.

57. When last year, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Committee was giving its attention to the item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations", and when at the end of that long and interesting debate we agreed to recommend that the Committee of Thirty-Three should continue its work, I had occasion to make a statement [526th meeting] in the course of which I attempted to underline some of the political, constitutional and financial problems which had made it difficult for the United Nations to assume one of the most imaginative and constructive roles in its task of maintaining world peace.

58. In underlining those difficulties and in advocating the continuation of the search for a solution on the part of the Committee of Thirty-Three, I urged that the Committee redirect the thrust of its effort towards finding an agreed and practical basis for United Nations peace-keeping operations. I said, in that connexion:

"The Committee should be requested, in our opinion, to seek a solution in terms of procedures that will spell out what the General Assembly and the Security Council could separately and jointly do in respect of the initiation and financing of peace-keeping operations. Such procedures should be of such a nature as would avoid prejudicing the basic constitutional stand Member States, particularly the big Powers, may have taken in the past. Most importantly, the agreements on procedures to be followed in the initiation and financing of peace-keeping operations should be reached by a broad

consensus and, to be precise, by a gentlemen's agreement which will operate on a standing and continuing basis." ^{2/}

59. My delegation continues to believe that this is the kind of approach that the Committee of Thirty-Three should continue exploring and we are confident that such an approach can enable us to make sure progress towards our vital goal.

60. Unfortunately for the cause of peace-keeping operations, as indeed for many other United Nations causes, the past year has been a year of continuous international crisis which has tended to affect the general climate of international relations adversely. Since it has had to operate in this kind of atmosphere, the Committee of Thirty-Three has not been able to make much headway in the task that we entrusted it with last year. By its very nature, peace-keeping is an aspect of international life which is closely affected by the various determining factors in international and big Power relationships. And in any case, peace-keeping negotiations are so delicate and so politically involved that they are bound to be both difficult and time-consuming.

61. I hope, therefore, that the Committee will show understanding and forbearance for the difficulties which the Committee of Thirty-Three has had to face during this exceptionally critical period, and will agree to renew last year's mandate for the continuation of its work, with the clear understanding of course that the Committee of Thirty-Three will present a full report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly in 1968.

62. It is with these considerations in mind that we have been studying draft resolutions A/SPC/L.148 and A/SPC/L.150, now before the Committee.

63. Taking first the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of Ireland and co-sponsored by eight other delegations [A/SPC/L.148], I must say that we of the Ethiopian delegation appreciate the high and commendable motives that have prompted these delegations to submit these draft proposals. We have had the privilege of working closely with all the delegations concerned and wish to mention in particular the keen interest and enthusiasm of the delegation of Ireland whose strong and forthright position on United Nations peace-keeping is only too well known. The long and useful presence of the distinguished Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Ireland during our present deliberations, as indeed during other sessions of the General Assembly, bears testimony to his country's dedication to this cause.

64. While thus paying tribute to him and to the other co-sponsors of this draft resolution for the sense of urgency they have sought to bring to our deliberations, we cannot help feeling that in the present world situation and with the kind of atmosphere that recent developments have brought into being, it would be too much to expect to have such specific proposals, as contained in the said draft resolution, adopted at this time. Forcing the issue of mandatory financing at this

stage and at this particular time without resolving the other related problems would, in our view, lead to many difficulties and complications which would risk aggravating the situation and take us backwards into controversy instead of forward to a gradual understanding and common accord.

65. On the other hand, we feel that this draft resolution has many important points which will add to and amplify the guidelines that the Committee of Thirty-Three has to follow in its search for some agreed solution. The proposals for financing peace-keeping operations that they have outlined could be useful in the study and preparation that the Committee of Thirty-Three has to make and could in fact form an integral part of the comprehensive report that we expect that Committee to submit to us next year.

66. We hope, therefore, that the Committee will refer this draft document to the Committee of Thirty-Three for appropriate consideration within the context of its urgent work during the coming year.

67. I can assure the Committee that it is not with any sense of overflowing satisfaction that we would go along with the proposals that aim at ensuring the continuation of our efforts and negotiations. Like, I am sure, many other delegations, we would have preferred a more substantive course of action on this vital matter which so closely affects the very cause of international peace and security. It is only the dictates of reason and of practical common sense which oblige us to restrain our urge for quick action and to support the suggestion that negotiations continue within the Committee of Thirty-Three.

68. In this respect we find the proposals contained in draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and those contained in draft resolution A/SPC/L.151 introduced this morning by the distinguished Ambassador of Sweden, in the name of his and two other Nordic countries, to be fully compatible. We endorse the appeal addressed to all Member States in this draft resolution and, in particular, to highly developed countries, to make voluntary contributions to overcome the continuing financial difficulties of the Organization, and we share their regret that no voluntary contributions have been made since the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution 2249 (S-V) to overcome the continuing financial difficulties of the Organization. We fully appreciate the useful role that voluntary contributions can play pending agreement on some firm and continuing arrangement of peace-keeping operations.

69. In conclusion I would only say that our aim all along has been to obtain quick and common action, but it has always been our view that quick action, however desirable in itself, should never be taken at the expense of that common accord so essential for the success and lasting effectiveness of the United Nations role in the peace-keeping field.

70. Peace-keeping is a matter too important and too delicate to contemplate as a mere subject for disposal by a majority decision of some sort. This is one of those international efforts in which we need to bring every side along so that the arrangement we envisage will have the backing of all sectors of the United Nations family. For us this is a matter of paramount consideration and it is this same considera-

^{2/} This statement was made during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, at the 526th meeting of the Special Political Committee, the official record of which was published in summary form.

tion that will determine our final position on the alternative proposals that have been put before us at this time.

71. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon): May I extend on behalf of the delegation of Lebanon our sincerest condolences to the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the delegation of Gabon for their respective losses of two distinguished statesmen? We feel that this was a great loss and we sympathize with them.

72. My delegation hardly needs to stress the importance that we attach to the item under discussion. Such importance stems from the fact that peace-keeping operations have become an indispensable and a necessary instrument within the United Nations structure for the maintenance of international peace and security; an instrument whose effectiveness and usefulness will depend on what we make of it individually as sovereign States and collectively as Members of the United Nations.

73. At the 572nd meeting of this Committee the representative of Norway stated:

"However, we should not lose sight of the important principles which govern the activities of the Organization in these fields, namely, that the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; that the General Assembly has the right to discuss any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and to make recommendations on any such question; that the Secretary-General has executive responsibilities and functions in the field of peace-keeping; and that the expenses of peace-keeping operations must be shared by the Members of the Organization, depending on the kind of operations and the circumstances requiring such operations." [572nd meeting.]

My delegation shares these views basically and we wish, for our part, to emphasize further the principles which guide the delegation of Lebanon in the consideration of this item.

74. First, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and its functions and powers have been defined in Article 24 of the Charter. Secondly, the General Assembly has the right to discuss any question relating to the maintenance of peace and security and to make recommendations on any such question; we refer in particular to Article 11, paragraph 2. Thirdly, the Secretary-General has executive responsibilities which he must discharge and functions which he must perform in the field of peace-keeping. Fourthly, the expenses of peace-keeping operations must be shared by the Members of the Organization, depending on the kind of operations and the circumstances requiring them, and taking into consideration the capacity of Member States to pay, in particular, the capacity of the developing countries which are in great need of financial assistance.

75. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General stated that "The first reality of United Nations peace-keeping is its voluntary nature. Peace-keeping efforts must be accepted voluntarily by all parties to a conflict if

they are to be effective at all ..." [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 28].

76. We have noted that some speakers who have emphasized the voluntary nature of peace-keeping operations and tried to draw conclusions from the experiences of the United Nations in that field failed, we submit, to draw what should have been a logical conclusion, namely, that the instances of failure of certain peace-keeping operations were due to the fact that they did not enjoy the voluntary support and co-operation of both or all parties to the conflict, and that, in the absence of such support or what the Secretary-General terms acceptance, the operations would no doubt be doomed to failure.

77. Peace-keeping, I am sure we can all agree, is a very complex subject. It is also a difficult one. It is as complex as the manifold problems which have unfolded during the debates on this subject since 1965, whether in this Committee, in the Committee of Thirty-Three, or in the General Assembly. The problems involved are of a serious nature since they relate to basic differences on the questions of the authorization, initiation, financing and conduct of peace-keeping operations.

78. Describing the state of affairs with regard to peace-keeping, the Secretary-General had this to say in the introduction to his annual report:

"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. The fact that the concept of peace-keeping as such is not mentioned in the Charter has contributed to this controversy." [*Ibid.*, para. 27.]

This indicates clearly that there is basic disagreement on the essential aspects of peace-keeping operations which, in our international endeavour to maintain peace and security, we may propose to engage in through the United Nations. This disagreement is a fact of our international life that has to be recognized. It cannot be ignored, nor can it be dismissed lightly. To overcome it in order to reach agreement is a challenging task which we all have to face in the interest of peace, international order and security. It is a long-term task for which patience, perseverance and goodwill are needed.

79. It might be useful to recall that the Charter prescribes that Member States have the duty to fulfil in good faith the duties and obligations which they have undertaken under the Charter. We, for our part, have no reason to doubt the good faith or the genuine sincerity of those who hold one or the other point of view. We agree with the view that the fundamental differences among the Member States of this Organization do stem from their interpretation of the Charter with regard to United Nations activities on behalf of peace.

80. What we think is most needed in the field of peace-keeping at this stage is the preservation of the capacity of the United Nations in that connexion, and the further need for all of us to do our utmost to see that that capacity is not impaired. We note with satisfaction that such a view has very wide sup-

port in this Committee. We believe that, to this end, it would be most appropriate and useful if we were to avoid forcing the controversial aspects of this problem to a decision through the process of voting.

81. It might be useful to recall to this Committee that the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter has refrained from resorting to a vote in its deliberations. The Sixth Committee, in dealing with this particular item when it reached the substance of the principles which it is considering in order to try to codify and progressively develop them, has refrained from applying the majority rule. We of the non-aligned countries and the Latin American countries have adopted the position that the subject was too important to be pressed to a vote and that a majority vote would hamper co-operation among States rather than facilitate it. We do not see that such a predicament could be useful in this Committee because we believe that the task of maintaining peace and security in the world is a collective one in which co-operation is required and indeed essential.

82. We believe further that we have stated our position on what we call the process of voting—the majority-minority process—on this important subject. It is also our opinion that the Committee of Thirty-Three should continue its work. We do not share the pessimism expressed by some in this Committee on the work of the Special Committee. Its task is a difficult one and the problems with which it is dealing do not lend themselves to easy and simple solution. The fact that it was unable to pronounce itself on the important proposals submitted to it should not discourage us. The continuation of discussion within the Committee of Thirty-Three should be a source of hope for us and not of despair, for as long as its work does not end in deadlock and as long as it does not report to us that it has finally reached deadlock, we must keep hoping that the deliberations within that Committee will result in some sort of agreement that we can all put into effect.

83. The exposé of the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, the representative of Mexico [570th meeting], strengthens us in our belief that agreement on essentials is not a far-fetched hope. The road to progress must start somewhere; we have made our own interpretation of the statement and we know that those who emphasize the failures should at last have emphasized the beginning of progress which appeared on the horizon of the Committee of Thirty-Three. Agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations is more than a possibility; it is definitely difficult to attain, but it is not impossible. We believe that if we were to apply our efforts towards reaching agreement on guidelines of a flexible character, such an objective might be attained, if we persisted.

84. We consider that the Committee of Thirty-Three should consider all the proposals made as to the substance of the item with which we are dealing. It should discuss them at length and in depth and then try to see what type of agreement might be reached around those proposals, important as they are to all of us. We ex-

pect that Committee to submit the result of its deliberations to us at the next session.

85. While the Committee of Thirty-Three is continuing its work and the Assembly is attempting to resolve the basic issues which it has to face on the constitutional and financial aspects of the problem, the question will arise, and rightly so, as to what should be done in the meantime. Would we not be impairing the effectiveness of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping? Certainly such a view has many merits. I should like to quote what the representative of Sweden, Mr. Åström, said:

"On the other hand, when the need for a peace-keeping operation arises, usually in a situation of high tension and immediate urgency, there is often general agreement on the practical measures to be taken. Divergencies of views as to legal interpretations then seem to fall into the background." [See 573rd meeting, para. 5.]

He went on to say:

"In other words, when the matter of peace-keeping is discussed in abstracto, the common denominator is low and tends to become lower as the discussion goes on." [Ibid., para. 6.]

The delegation of Lebanon shares the views expressed by Mr. Åström to that effect. We believe that those delegations that have suggested a pragmatic approach pending agreement on guidelines have paved the way for the immediate course of action to be taken whenever the need arises. Pending agreement, the case by case approach can work and must work, as the practice becomes more established and as our experience in the field of peace-keeping operations is further enriched by our engagement in other peace-keeping operations. Perhaps then our differences will fall into their proper perspective and they will then assume the proper dimensions. What appears now to be irreconcilable may be agreed tomorrow or, we hope, in the not too distant future.

86. My delegation questions the usefulness of the interim arrangements to be proposed, though not to be subscribed to and supported by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, in particular the great Powers, not to speak of the support of the whole membership of the United Nations. Regardless of the built-in merits of alternative schemes for financing the operations proposed to the Committee, and regardless of the fact that we share most of the ideas they embody, we still hold the view that they are too important to be decided upon by the process of voting, whether the majority support they require is thirty-two or sixty-two.

87. That is why at this stage we would express the hope that no proposal on the substance, which is the subject of controversy and upon which there are wide and basic differences among Members of this Assembly, should be pressed to a vote. We say that because in assessing the situation it is our own personal judgement that such proposals run the risk of losing their usefulness, which we think would remain unimpaired if the issues were not pressed to a vote at this particular stage of the debate.

88. I cannot end my statement without mentioning the role that the United Nations has played in organized supervision. It has been said here by some Members that this is the Organization of peace-keeping. The Government of Lebanon has always co-operated, and is still co-operating and will always co-operate with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. I would end by completely endorsing the suggestion of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization that the General Assembly should authorize a study along the lines suggested by the Secretary-General [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31].

89. We were very pleased to hear the representative of Sweden when he introduced his draft resolution [A/SPC/L.151] to this Committee this morning. The delegation of Lebanon will have no difficulty in supporting it when it comes to the vote.

90. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to offer my profound condolences on the untimely demise of an outstanding statesman of a brother republic, Mr. Vasily Ivanovich Kozlov, Chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

91. We should also like to offer our condolences to the delegation of Gabon on the untimely death of Mr. Leon M'Ba, the well-known statesman and President of that country.

92. Discussion in the Special Committee on the subject under consideration, that of peace-keeping operations, shows that the problem is engaging the close attention of the Members of our international Organization as one of the most important problems of modern times.

93. We are discussing a question which is connected with one of the basic functions of the United Nations: the taking of effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression. That is particularly relevant in view of the recent continuous attacks of aggressive imperialism in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

94. That is why we understand the special interest shown with respect to this subject and that is why we also understand the endeavours of many delegations to seek a constructive approach to the solution of this serious problem, which is of vital concern to all peace-loving mankind.

95. A large number of countries, including my own, have steadfastly defended the key provisions of the United Nations Charter and consider that the only possible solution to the problem of the use of armed forces by the United Nations lies in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter by all Member States concerned without exception. It was precisely on that foundation that the United Nations was erected and therein lies the basis of its ability to act as an instrument for maintaining peace.

96. However, certain other States unfortunately adhere to a diametrically opposite position and are persistently attacking the foundations of our international community, calling for a direct revision of the United

Nations Charter. They are generally carrying out, both in theory and in practice, a policy which blatantly violates the fundamental provisions of the Charter. Those who adhere to such a view shelter behind slogans expressing their concern about strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace, and are trying to push through a decision which is contrary to the Charter, according to which the General Assembly could adopt decisions for the use of United Nations armed forces; they are trying to force upon us the creation of various types of "police", "patrol" and other such forces which the imperialist and colonialist States would wish to exploit in order to repress national liberation and revolutionary movements and to intensify pressure on the under-developed countries.

97. It is natural that the United States and some of its NATO allies cannot find justification for their position in the Charter of the United Nations and other universally accepted rules of international law since their position directly contradicts those rules. That is why, as their basic argument, they adduce so-called "United Nations practice", having in mind the establishment of United Nations armed forces in Korea and in the Congo, which was done by bypassing the United Nations Charter.

98. We cannot agree with such "practice" and we consider it incompatible not only with the United Nations Charter but also with the interests of the States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of all the peace-loving States of the world.

99. In becoming a Member of the United Nations, each country has expressed its total agreement with the United Nations Charter and respect for its principles. The majority of Member States have strictly and unwaveringly complied with these principles and are usefully contributing to the strengthening of international peace and security.

100. It is clear to all that the principle of the unanimity of the Security Council is the guarantee of such co-operation, which would undoubtedly be upset if the Council were to be replaced by the General Assembly.

101. Some are inclined to think that the time that has elapsed since the fifth special session of the General Assembly has not yielded the desired result of bringing the positions of the various countries closer, and that we must, none the less, adopt at the present session the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Ireland [A/SPC/L.148], which has already been seriously criticized here.

102. Other delegations are speaking in a more constructive vein and propose that the mandate of the Committee of Thirty-Three should be extended so that it might, in a calm atmosphere, continue its work of formulating the foundations for a solution to the problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations within the framework of the Charter.

103. This latter point of view has in particular been supported, among others, by the representatives of Mexico, the United Arab Republic, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Sierra Leone, France, Tunisia, Nigeria and Finland.

104. We consider that the subsequent work of the Committee of Thirty-Three, mutual talks and consultations among States Members of the United Nations, and our co-operation within the context of this and other international organizations, will create the necessary conditions for further progress in this matter.

105. We hope that the further work of the Committee of Thirty-Three, and the constructive support of its activities by all Member States will definitely lead to further progress in this task in a spirit of international co-operation and strict compliance with the United Nations Charter.

106. As for the financial aspects of the question under consideration, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that the Security Council, in adopting decisions on a specific operation involving the use of United Nations armed forces, might choose from a wide range of methods of financing such operations, from making the aggressor responsible for the costs to covering such costs by means of voluntary contributions, or again by a combination of various methods of financing. This has been dealt with in detail in the memorandum of the Soviet Union which has been circulated as a document of the United Nations.^{8/}

107. We should also like to point out that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic understands the position of the developing countries, which are experiencing considerable financial difficulties, and believe that their share of the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations should not exceed 5 per cent of the total sum involved, always provided that the operation is carried out in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter.

108. In supporting the views of many of those who have spoken here, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic believes that there is no reason for haste in this important matter, and no reason for trying to solve it in such a short period of time. That is why we think that, in the present circumstances, the most acceptable position is the one set out in the joint draft resolution [A/SPC/L.150], whose sponsors are India, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia, because we consider that the provisions it contains duly reflect the tasks that our Organization faces.

109. Actuated by an awareness of our responsibility for the future of the United Nations, we call upon all States Members of the United Nations to demonstrate loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to adopt, on the question under consideration, decisions in keeping with these lofty principles.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

^{8/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967, document S/7841.