

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 583rd
MEETING**

Friday, 8 December 1967,
at 7 p.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Humberto LOPEZ VILLAMIL (Honduras).

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 (A/6815; A/SPC/L/148, A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1) (concluded)

1. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): In accordance with the decision taken at our meeting this afternoon we shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions before the Committee. However, before we proceed to the vote I should like to sum up the situation from the procedural standpoint.

2. In the case of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add. 1, two series of amendments were introduced, one by the delegation of Pakistan [A/SPC/L.152] and the other, at our meeting this afternoon, by the delegation of Austria together with the delegations of Argentina, Burma, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands and Sierra Leone. All those amendments have been accepted by the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1 and have been incorporated in the revised text of the draft resolution [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1].

3. The representative of Sweden, on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.151, has stated [582nd meeting] that that draft resolution was being withdrawn.

4. Moreover, the representative of Brazil, speaking on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.153, said that they would not press for a vote on that text [582nd meeting].

5. Accordingly, the Committee has before it two draft resolutions, one sponsored by the delegations of Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ghana, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Philippines, Togo and Upper Volta [A/SPC/L.148], and the other sponsored by the delegations of India, Singapore, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1], which incorporates the amendments submitted by Pakistan [A/SPC/L.152] and the amendments submitted at the meeting this afternoon by the representative of Austria on behalf

of his delegation and the delegation of Argentina, Burma, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands and Sierra Leone [A/SPC/L.154].

6. At this afternoon's meeting [582nd meeting] the representative of Yugoslavia asked that priority should be given to the revised draft resolution [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1]. As no decision was taken on this request this afternoon, I must ask whether there are any objections to it. In the absence of any objections I shall take it that priority should be given to that text.

It was so decided.

7. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Ireland to speak before the vote.

8. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): The draft resolution now before us, A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1, transmits to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations all the records of this Committee's work during the past two weeks, including all the suggestions and proposals contained in those records. It also requests the Committee of Thirty-Three ^{1/} to report by 1 July 1968 on the progress it has made in carrying out its mandate.

9. The co-sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.148 have come to the conclusion that in spite of our best endeavours and in view of the expectations which have been aroused that before 1 July 1968 the Committee of Thirty-Three will produce a fruitful report on all aspects of peace-keeping, including the financial aspects, we cannot muster a two-thirds majority at this session of the General Assembly for the system of mandatory assessments contained in the operative paragraph.

10. We would urge the Committee of Thirty-Three to include in its report a proposal for the adoption of a system of mandatory assessments for peace-keeping, as contained in draft resolution A/SPC/L.148, or some other acceptable system of mandatory assessments which will ensure that future peace-keeping operations will be adequately and reliably financed. We would also urge all Member States to study the proposals in draft resolution A/SPC/L.148, and we trust that in the event of the Committee of Thirty-Three failing, for the fourth time, to produce recommendations for a mandatory system of peace-keeping, an overwhelming majority of representatives will have instructions to vote at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly for the system contained in draft resolution A/SPC/L.148 as an interim solution of the problem.

11. Mr. EREN (Turkey): This is the first time I have taken the floor on this issue. I have only a few remarks to offer concerning the draft resolution before the

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

Committee [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1]. I kept quiet in the general debate because my country's stand on peace-keeping needed no further explanation. Turkey's sons have participated in it at the cost of their lives. We have placed our trust in a matter of vital interest to our nation. In word and deed we have been fully committed to it during the past two decades in its application to situations far from and near our shores. We regard it as one of the fundamental functions of the United Nations—an unavoidable function. Indeed, as circumstances have proved, the persistence of basic differences concerning the constitutional and political aspects of peace-keeping operations has not been able to prevent their use to meet emergencies. They have been the best example of the indomitable assertiveness of collective security, that cornerstone on which the peace functions of our Organization rest.

12. In the light of these convictions, I want to express our appreciation and admiration of the Irish effort. The draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148] which was before the Committee bears the indelible mark of their wise persistence in the search for a practical approach which would circumvent the inhibitions of constitutional differences. Ireland's participation in peace-keeping activities has been full, in matter as well as in spirit. It has contributed the services of its sons to operations across the seas. In the past two years one of her leading statesmen, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Aiken, has dedicated his whole time to this challenging task. The draft resolution is imbued with the purity of their motives. It reaffirms collective financial responsibility. We embrace its manifest purpose that peace-keeping operations should continue without hindrance due to constitutional and political differences. We shall be pleased to see it among the documents to be transmitted to the Committee of Thirty-Three.

13. We believe that the prolonged discussions on this issue, which have engendered much heat, have also cast some light on the fundamentals of this dispute. In spite of apparent absence of final agreement, the Committee of Thirty-Three, in our view, has moved forward and reduced the differences to their basic essentials. It has also made progress in exploring the financial and operational alternatives, without prejudice to the constitutional and political positions of the opposing parties. We believe that another extension of its mandate will be helpful in making it possible to move further towards agreement by mutual accommodation. In this vital matter, which involves war and peace, in this matter which embraces a most fundamental function of our Organization, we firmly believe that agreement by mutual persuasion is more conducive to greater effectiveness in action than is agreement by the compulsion of the vote. After all, is not the Charter itself, on which we all aim to base our conduct, a child of mutual accommodation by both the big Powers and the small? For this reason we shall vote for the compromise draft resolution [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1] now before the Committee.

14. If you will bear with me for a few moments longer, I should like to offer two observations for the consideration of the Committee of Thirty-Three, for the extension of whose mandate we propose to vote. In the discussions we have observed a tendency towards

over-simplification of some aspects of peace-keeping operations. Some have evinced a penchant for dividing them into two principal categories: one group falling under the stipulations of Chapter VI of the Charter and another group stemming from the obligations under Chapter VII. Others have tried to divide them according to their geographical location: those placed between the borders of two States and those located within a State for the prevention of communal strife. Had those classifications been directed towards an elucidation of the nature of those activities they would have served a purpose, but instead the classification was made to serve a differentiation in their ultimate objectives as well as in the legal status of the operations. This has bred confusion rather than clarification. It will be agreed that there can be no differentiation in the ultimate objective of any peace-keeping operation, no matter where it is located. A peace-keeping operation is directed at the danger of international conflict. The external security of any sovereign State is of course the concern of its own government. If any peace-keeping operation is requested for internal security, it follows naturally that the international condition of the State in question is beyond its control and has reached the point of provoking international conflict.

15. In fact, as experience has demonstrated, it is at that stage that domestic strife becomes the object of international action. Once international action has been accepted, the sovereignty of that State becomes circumscribed within the purposes of the peace-keeping operation. It can exercise its sovereignty only within the bounds of the peace-keeping operation which it has requested or accepted. Furthermore, even acceptance cannot be taken as altogether voluntary. It implies an element of coercion—the coercion of circumstances which have led the international body to authorize the action. In fact, any purist's emphasis on voluntarism, denying this element of coercion in the background, would be conducive to a challenge to the authority of the authorizing organ of the United Nations. In this context the voluntarism in Chapter VI of the Charter becomes fused with the compulsion of Chapter VII in a complex, indefinable interrelationship.

16. Another and final point is that some have construed peace-keeping activities as exclusively passive. A cursory view would seem to justify that concept, namely, outside imposition upon a smouldering situation to contain the flames. Yet experience has shown that their preventive nature cannot be divorced altogether from their curative effect. Especially in conflicts arising out of international strife, they are compelled to undertake an active role in pacification. If they remain simply passive, passive observers of a build-up of the elements of discord, the eruption they have been assigned to prevent may explode with greater volcanic violence.

17. I thank you for allowing me to submit these observations for the attention of the Committee of Thirty-Three, for the extension of the mandate on which we will now vote.

18. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (translated from French): Since the delegation of Belgium has not intervened in the general debate, it would not like its silence to be interpreted as a sign that Belgium is not interested in the question of peace-keeping operations.

19. As other delegations have pointed out, the maintenance of peace, like the peaceful settlement of disputes, which is complementary to it, is one of the essential tasks, if not the essential task, of the Organization. Past experience—and I have in mind more particularly the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)—has shown furthermore that while the operations organized by the United Nations may not have settled the problems, they have at least helped to avoid for many years direct confrontation between parties. It is in any case regrettable that the pause thus arranged has not been made use of to arrive at a solution of the substance of the problem.

20. A more concrete proof of the interest Belgium takes in these operations may be seen in the voluntary contributions which it regularly makes towards the financing of the expenses of UNFICYP and the participation of Belgium in UNTSO.

21. Like many other delegations, the Belgian delegation realizes the benefit that would result from reducing the risks of improvisation by carrying out a serious and constructive study of the organization and preparation of peace-keeping operations and by establishing certain rules. Nevertheless it must be noted that the discussions which have just taken place in the Committee have shown that there are still wide divergencies of views on the basic questions.

22. In the circumstances we feel, as the representative of the United Arab Republic said [570th meeting], that we should avoid any approach to the question which could be prejudicial to the constitutional positions of the various delegations. It seems to us, indeed, that it would be futile—and perhaps even dangerous for the future of our work—to try to bring about the adoption of resolutions which do not gain an overwhelming majority of the votes and do not take account of present realities.

23. Those are the considerations which will guide the Belgian delegation in the voting on the draft resolutions before us.

24. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by Ireland and eight other countries [A/SPC/L.148], I want first of all to pay a tribute to the tireless devotion and patience that the Minister of External Affairs of Ireland, Mr. Aiken, applies to seeking solution of the problem of peace-keeping operations, and I appreciate the statement he has just made requesting that this draft resolution should be transmitted to the Committee of Thirty-Three.

25. As for the draft resolution submitted by the United Arab Republic and four other countries [A/SPC/L.150/Rev. 1], it would doubtless have been difficult for us to vote in favour of it in its original version, since certain Member States could not agree on it from the constitutional point of view. But we shall vote in favour of the draft in its present form, and we wish to pay a tribute both to its authors, who have agreed to modify it, and to the delegations which, by their suggestions, made it possible to submit a text which, while it may not further the solution of the problem, does hold out hope of an effective resumption of the

work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

26. Mr. VIERA LINARES (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): In making clear the position of my delegation on the draft resolutions that we have before us, I must refer to the statement made by the permanent representative of Cuba, Mr. Alarcón de Quesada, during the fifth special session of the General Assembly [1519th plenary meeting]. Our delegation fully explained the views of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba on peace-keeping operations.

27. Our position is based on the recollection of the shameful past experience of peace-keeping operations carried out in the Congo and Korea. In those activities, the United Nations served only as an instrument of imperialist policies. Furthermore, we also recall the powerful influence of the United States in this Organization and the balance of forces existing in it at present. This situation places any peace-keeping force under the domination of imperialist interests, in its composition, its command, and its political orientation.

28. We cannot imagine a peace-keeping force of this Organization acting against colonialism and neo-colonialism in any corner of the world. We cannot imagine such a force defending the rights of the black peoples or right of oppressed peoples to their national liberation. It is impossible for an anti-imperialist force to come into being in the United Nations, where the Powers that practise the policies of colonialism and neo-colonialism can still count on mechanical majorities. That is why we would have voted against draft resolutions A/SPC/L.148 and A/SPC/L.153, and why we shall abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1.

29. We understand the efforts made by many delegations that are free from association with imperialist policies to find ways of resolving the financial problems of the Organization and of avoiding a deadlock in the discussion of this item in the Committee, and we duly appreciate the diligent work done by those delegations.

30. In conclusion, I should point out that our Government considers that the path to peace is to be found in the struggle against imperialism and that it will be the national liberation movements, that are fighting against aggression and seeking to find true independence, which, in the last analysis, will lead the peoples of the world to achieve and maintain genuine peace.

31. Mr. NGUZA (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (translated from French): I should like briefly to explain and outline the attitude of my delegation in the vote which is to take place.

32. At the time of our intervention in the general debate [580th meeting] we set forth at length, and I hope clearly, our position on the item under consideration by the Committee. It is clear that in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution an exhaustive study of the question must be carried out, and we are among those who favour such a study. However, we expressed formal reservations in connexion with the manner in which the Committee of Thirty-Three was to pursue its task. We have clearly expressed our views on this question and our attitude remains unchanged; we would

have liked the scope of the study to be altered, for the Committee of Thirty-Three, as we have pointed out, has done its best but has in fact achieved very little.

33. We know that since our last intervention in the general debate many efforts were made to reach a satisfactory formula. But I am bound to say that we find it difficult to support the latest draft resolution, even as amended [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1]. As you may guess, we are not going to support this text because, even as amended, it merely asks the Committee of Thirty-Three to continue its task, a task which we have come to regard, as has the Committee of Thirty-Three itself, as too general and confused. In its two-page report [A/6815] the Committee itself has noted this deficiency.

34. This does not mean that we are against the study of the problem. On the contrary, we are in favour of such a study, as we have said. But the framework of the discussion does not seem to be any longer appropriate to this study.

35. That will be my delegation's attitude when we vote.

36. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): As there are no further speakers to explain their vote before the vote is held, we shall proceed to take the vote on the draft resolution in document A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1.

The draft resolution was resolution was adopted by 75 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions.

37. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): There is no other draft resolution before the Committee since the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.148 do not wish their text to be voted on.

38. I call on the representative of the United Arab Republic who wishes to make a statement.

39. Mr. ABDEL-HAMID (United Arab Republic): I wish merely to say a few words on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution which was just adopted by the Committee [A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1]. First of all I should like to express, on behalf of those sponsors, our great appreciation for the support which we received from the Committee in our endeavours to reach an almost unanimous draft resolution.

40. In particular, I should like to thank the delegation of Ireland and to express to it our great respect and esteem for its contribution, dedication and devotion to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. We are fully aware of the record of Ireland and we always have great respect and esteem for that record. As far as my delegation is concerned, although we were not in a position to support its draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148], we still maintain our great respect and esteem for the delegation of Ireland and also for the person of Foreign Minister Aiken.

41. I should also like to thank the delegation of Pakistan for its co-operation. In addition, I should

like to thank the delegations of Denmark, Finland and Sweden for their efforts in drafting and submitting to this Committee a draft resolution [A/SPC/L.151] which was almost unanimously accepted. Last, but not least, I should like to thank the representative of Austria, Ambassador Waldheim, and the representative of Mexico, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, for their efforts which allowed us to achieve this happy result.

42. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): Now that we have adopted draft resolution A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1, I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep appreciation for the collaboration we found in the negotiations which eventually led to the adoption of this important draft resolution.

43. I wish to pay tribute, in the first place, to the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Ireland, Mr. Aiken, whose efforts in the field of peace-keeping are well known to all of us. His understanding and good intentions helped us considerably to achieve this remarkable result.

44. At the same time, I should like to thank our Scandinavian friends who were very helpful in complementing the various suggestions put forward during our debate. Everybody knows the valuable contributions made in this connexion by our colleague, Ambassador Åström.

45. Furthermore, I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation to the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.153 for their understanding of our efforts, as well as to all those delegations which contributed to our endeavours to find a generally acceptable draft resolution.

46. Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150/Rev.1, and in particular to the representative of the United Arab Republic, as well as his colleagues, for their spirit of co-operation and for the assistance they rendered to my delegation and the co-sponsors of the amendments contained in document A/SPC/L.154.

47. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the draft resolution just adopted will lay the ground for future fruitful work by the Committee of Thirty-Three, which is guided by our colleague and friend from Mexico, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino whose help during the consultations in the last days was of great importance in achieving a positive solution.

48. The CHAIRMAN: We have therefore concluded the consideration of the question of peace-keeping operations.

49. At its next meeting, the Committee will begin the consideration of the last item on its agenda: "Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East".

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.