

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records

**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 581st
MEETING**

Wednesday, 6 December 1967,
at 3 p.m.



NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Tribute to the memory of General Oscar D. Gestido, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.</i>	219
<i>Fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Finland.</i>	219
<i>Agenda item 37:</i>	
<i>Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (continued)</i> . .	219
<i>Organization of the Committee's work.</i>	229

Chairman: Mr. Humberto LOPEZ VILLAMIL
(Honduras).

Tribute to the memory of General Oscar D. Gestido,
President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay

1. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): It is my painful duty to inform you of the death today of the distinguished President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, General Oscar D. Gestido, a loss that has brought sorrow to all the countries of Latin America, which have, as a token of their solidarity, already expressed their condolences.

2. On behalf of all the delegations here, and interpreting the general feeling of sorrow at the demise of General Gestido, President of Uruguay, which has plunged the Government and people of Latin America into mourning, I wish to convey to them our condolences and would ask all representatives to observe one minute's silence as a tribute to his memory.

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

Fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Finland

3. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Before we begin the discussion I should like, on behalf of all members of the committee whose views I am sure I am expressing, to convey our best wishes to the delegation of Finland on the fiftieth anniversary of its independence which is being celebrated today.

4. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): On behalf of my delegation and myself I extend to you our gratitude for the very kind words you have addressed to us on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Finland. I also wish to convey our thanks to all the members of the Committee. Your friendly words are very highly appreciated and I shall not fail to convey them to the Finnish Government.

5. May I take also this opportunity of extending to the delegation of Uruguay our condolences on their great loss?

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 and Add.T, A/SPC/L.151, A/SPC/L.152)

6. Mr. BOS (Netherlands): On many occasions in the past the views of the Netherlands Government on various aspects of the question of peace-keeping operations have been set forth both in the General Assembly and in the Committee of Thirty-Three. / Therefore, my delegation feels it can now refrain from entering into a detailed discussion of the substance of the matter. Once again the Special Political Committee finds itself in a situation where a majority of the members deem it advisable to avoid an attempt at drawing up a durable formula for any aspect of the problem. Obviously this is a regrettable conclusion but it seems preferable to recognize the fact that the right time for achieving this desired result has not yet arrived.

7. It is evident from the present debate that views among the Members of the United Nations are still widely separated on several crucial points. We regret that the efforts deployed in the Committee of Thirty-Three have not yet brought about a larger measure of agreement. However, allowing for the great complexity of the problem, one has to recognize that the Committee, under its able and persevering Chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino, has performed useful work in clarifying the issues. Owing to special circumstances prevailing all through last summer the Committee had insufficient opportunity of carrying out its task fully. My delegation deems it essential that the Committee of Thirty-Three should be enabled to continue its work. Some new impetus was given to the discussions earlier in 1967 and it was only through lack of time that it proved impossible to pursue some new suggestions. My delegation remains hopeful that continued serious discussions in the Committee of Thirty-Three will eventually produce some convergence of ideas. It is for this that we should continue striving.

8. During the debates in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations the Netherlands delegation was one of those which expressed the hope that, pending the solution of the basic constitutional issues, it might at least prove possible to achieve some prog-

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

ress with regard to such practical problems as the preparation and organization of peace-keeping operations and the study of past experience. My Government has demonstrated the value it attaches to these operations by its decision to keep available on a standby basis a considerable contingent comprising units of the Netherlands army, navy and air force. Therefore, it is understandable that we have a special interest in the lessons that can be drawn from past experience and in the best possible preparation for future operations. The need for a study of this nature has been proved repeatedly, if only to eliminate the need to improvise every new operation.

9. Although there would seem to be widespread agreement on the usefulness of such practical studies, there exists a divergence of opinion on the question by whom these studies should best be made if they are not to be made by the Committee of Thirty-Three itself. Some Members wish the study to be undertaken by the Secretary-General while others consider the Military Staff Committee the appropriate body. My Government has no strong preferences. It considers the implementation of a decision to undertake an organizational study more important than its assignment. As far as a study of past experience is concerned, it would seem logical to entrust its execution to the Secretary-General. The wealth of material collected in the Secretariat during nineteen years of peace-keeping experience should provide a useful and valuable basis for such a study. On the other hand, as regards a study of possible improvements of the preparation and organization of future peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council, my delegation would not object to entrusting this task to the Military Staff Committee. Referring this particular matter to a subsidiary organ of the Security Council would, in the opinion of my delegation, in no way derogate from the powers or prestige of the Secretary-General. Neither do we share the view of some delegations that the Military Staff Committee can perform no task with regard to military operations which are not of an enforcement character. Under Article 47 of the Charter the Military Staff Committee can advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, and we do not see why that provision cannot cover the requirements for peace-keeping operations of the same type as, for instance, the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

10. For this reason we are in agreement with the main idea embodied in the proposal submitted by the delegations of India and five other countries [A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1]. At the same time we fully share the opinion expressed during the present debate by the representative of the United Arab Republic, who said that "any approach which may prejudice the constitutional positions of various delegations should be avoided" [see 570th meeting, para. 14]. It is clear from the present debate that draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1 is considered by some delegations as prejudicing their constitutional position. In order to acquire the greatest possible support for the immediate goal we have in mind, it would seem preferable to eliminate from this draft all elements which could give rise to further controversy while maintain-

ing its basic purpose. To our mind, the two most urgent decisions would be to extend the mandate of the Committee of Thirty-Three and to request an organizational study.

11. If in the course of further negotiations it does not prove possible to incorporate this twofold decision in a resolution which is acceptable to an important majority of this Committee, my delegation will support the procedural draft resolution introduced yesterday by the Ambassador of Sweden [A/SPC/L.151].

12. From statements made in the past it will be clear that my delegation cannot support the draft resolution proposed by the delegation of Ireland and eight other countries [A/SPC/L.148]. We admire the constant efforts of the Foreign Minister of Ireland to safeguard the financing of peace-keeping operations, but our firm conviction that the only sound basis for financing is one of collectivity will oblige my delegation to vote against the draft resolution in question.

13. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): The representative of Pakistan has asked to make a brief statement on the amendments contained in document A/SPC/L.152, to draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1.

14. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): In my statement at the 578th meeting of this Committee on 4 December 1967, I suggested two amendments to draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1. One of the two amendments I suggested would add the following words at the end of paragraph 4: "with the request that the suggestions contained therein be taken into account". Since that statement was made, we have had consultations with the sponsors of the draft resolution. I understand that this amendment is acceptable to them with the addition of the words "and proposals" after "suggestions". The intention of my amendment was that the greatest importance be attached to the views of the larger membership of the Organization as expressed in the current debate. As such, we welcome the favourable reaction of the sponsors to this amendment.

15. Since this amendment has been accepted, my delegation feels that the other amendment submitted by us, to the effect that the Committee of Thirty-Three give priority to peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council, will also be considered as one of the proposals made during this debate. We trust that the Committee of Thirty-Three will give due attention to all suggestions and proposals, including our own. In these circumstances, my delegation does not find it necessary to press that amendment.

16. The amendment accepted by the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1 has now been circulated in document A/SPC/L.152.

17. Mr. DE SOUZA (Jamaica): Before presenting my statement on behalf of the Jamaican delegation, I should like to offer our most sincere condolences to the representative of the Government and people of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay on the loss they have suffered on the passing of the distinguished President of their country.

18. The General Assembly has been considering the financing of peace-keeping operations ever since its eleventh session and there seems at least to be general acceptance that the crisis which had developed over contributions for the financing of peace-keeping operations should be resolved by arranging on a permanent basis that their establishment, functions and financing should be clearly determined by agreement. Representatives have expressed the view that the successful conduct of peace-keeping operations would require well-established ground rules and guidelines to govern them because the policy of piecemeal extension of such operations made efficient planning and economical running almost impossible.

19. The interest of the Jamaican delegation in the item that we are now discussing is too well-known to need any lengthy reiteration. The need for a properly defined role for the United Nations in peace-keeping operations has been underlined by recent events in the Middle East. At this stage, it is enough merely to point to that need. In the words of the Secretary-General: "The events of 1967 have brought both the practice and theory of United Nations peace-keeping to an important milestone—and perhaps even to a crossroads" [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 27].

20. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly the widely differing views of the major Powers on the legal and constitutional issues shaped the problem, but it was the medium-sized and small Powers which took the lead in framing new proposals. The Assembly came very near indeed to adopting a clear and reassuring expression of principles governing the whole tangled question but shrank from taking a decision. In spite of the last minute failure, the Assembly debate of 1966 was in many ways historic—it gave further indication that the membership is gathering its collective will and reasserting the importance, and indeed the indispensability, of a dynamic United Nations able to deal effectively with matters of world peace.

21. The twenty-first session of the General Assembly decided [resolution 2220 (XXI)] to refer the report of the Special Political Committee,^{2/} containing the three draft resolutions that were adopted by the Committee, to the fifth special session. Among those draft resolutions was one sponsored by Jamaica.^{3/} At the fifth special session [1521st plenary meeting] the General Assembly decided to transmit that same report to the Committee of Thirty-Three. It has been our understanding that in doing so the General Assembly wished that Committee, under its able Chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, to study the resolutions before it renewed its own consideration of the subject and, in particular, before it took a final decision.

22. The work of the Committee in the intervening months, although disappointing, has not been entirely fruitless. The basic problems, as we all know, are constitutional and political and, as the representative of France said [573rd meeting] the other day, the

financial cannot be separated from the political. These problems cannot be solved within the time available to us at this session, and it would be unwise to attempt to reopen old wounds. It is the opinion of my delegation that we should proceed step by step and consolidate each gain as we go forward; but go forward we must. There must be evidence of perceptible expansion of the area of agreement, but we should not allow the desirability for a consensus to disguise inaction.

23. The Jamaican delegation feels that members should continue the discussion on the understanding that it is a real exchange of views and that meetings are not simply used as a forum for stating and restating unyielding positions. To act in this way will require a great deal of patience on the part of members who regard the posture of certain delegations as deliberately obstructive, but the cause of peace is not likely to be served by impatience.

24. As the Committee of Thirty-Three was created during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, one might consider that it would be desirable for the numbers to be increased by the addition of other members who, while not actually being members of the Committee, might join in its work and then give it better strength and scope. I think that this suggestion was made by the representative of Mexico at the fifth special session [1519th plenary meeting] and I join with him in the feeling that if other States would participate in the work of the Committee, greater flexibility would be achieved as well as more precision. However, I am not suggesting an expansion of the Committee. It might also be desirable to consider some form of rotation of the Committee's membership.

25. I further wish to say that the question of peace-keeping operations is still too narrow for the present time. It is still only a part of the broad subject of the maintenance of international peace and security. In the present state of world political relations, it must involve establishing machinery and laying down procedures for settling disputes peacefully; it must involve a readiness, on the other hand, to take enforcement or coercive action where necessary, as well as to make the type of effort which has come to be known as the peace-keeping operation.

26. I am concerned that the distinct but complementary roles of the Assembly and the Security Council should be recognized and respected; but I am equally concerned at the conclusion at which we seem to be arriving. We seem to be reaching the conclusion that the limit of the United Nations future role in maintaining world peace is to be the peace-keeping operation—the exercise which can be carried out only with the consent of the parties involved. Perhaps recent events in the Middle East have reminded us how precarious is the status of a United Nations operation which depends for its very continuance, not to mention its effectiveness, on the will of the parties to the dispute.

27. My delegation agrees with the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ireland in not blaming the restricted Committee of Thirty-Three for failing to come to grips with the problem, with the General

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, para. 11.

Assembly unprepared to take a stand on the principle of mandatory assessments for the maintenance of peace. My delegation is deeply appreciative of his initiating energy and perseverance in keeping the subject before the General Assembly, and of his efforts to try and devise ways and means whereby future peace-keeping missions will be financed on a firm and reliable basis. The Committee will recall the formula presented by my delegation, setting out a fair and equitable method of making mandatory assessments.

28. With regard to the specific proposals of the Irish draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148], which merited a good deal of consideration last year, the Jamaican position was that support would present some slight difficulty for Jamaica, seeing that we have put forward our own proposals. On the difficult question of financing, my delegation fully appreciates the purposes and arguments of the Irish representative, but feels that the attempt to produce an exact formula might not win maximum support now.

29. My delegation at the twenty-first session undertook an initiative to strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and proposed to the Committee a draft resolution^{4/} urging the Security Council to proceed with preparations enabling it to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter. To fail to take practical steps to ensure the Organization's ability to support peace-keeping operations when necessary is to ignore the Organization's duty to achieve the maintenance of international peace and security—the purpose of the United Nations as stated in the first paragraph of the first Article of the Charter.

30. We would like to touch on certain matters which we think need restating. One is that whatever may be said there is no getting around the fact that there needs to be an agreed, but clearly defined, basis for the financing of peace-keeping operations. During the discussions in the Committee of Thirty-Three, there were suggestions, with which we agree, that varied circumstances may require different systems. This is probably something which can be further explored.

31. We support the Secretary-General's suggestion that a study be made of standby forces, the relationship of the United Nations to Governments providing such forces and the constitutional and financial aspects of employing them [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31]. The earmarking of forces and facilities by Member States, whether for peace-keeping operations as evolved or for enforcement action as contemplated by Chapter VII of the Charter can only be made effective by negotiation, with the proper authority of the United Nations as the second party to the agreement.

32. Jamaica continues to support any effort aimed at strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping capability and to this end we think that the work of the Committee of Thirty-Three has been useful and will continue to be useful. That the results have been small and the progress slow is not inherent in the existence of the Committee, but is due to other circumstances.

^{4/} *Ibid.*

33. We believe that the Committee of Thirty-Three should continue its work, and we would support all positive efforts aimed at strengthening the ability of the United Nations to act effectively when peace is threatened.

34. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): The United Arab Republic has expressed its desire to make a statement concerning the comment by the delegation of Pakistan on documents A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1 and A/SPC/L.152.

35. Mr. ABDEL-HAMID (United Arab Republic): I should like to refer to the statement made by the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Shahi, in which he introduced an amendment [A/SPC/L.152] to the draft resolution submitted by my delegation, in company with the delegations of India, Mali, Singapore, Yugoslavia and Zambia [A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1].

36. I should say at the outset that we are always appreciative of the contributions of the delegation of Pakistan and are fully aware of its objectivity and its devotion to the purposes, ideas and goals of the United Nations. Therefore it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the co-sponsors, to express our gratitude to the delegation of Pakistan for its co-operation, and to state that we accept the amendment it has proposed.

37. Mr. PENCHEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): First of all, I should like to transmit to the delegation of Uruguay, both on behalf of my delegation and personally, our deep condolences upon the cruel loss that Uruguay has just sustained in the death of its President.

38. The impressive number of delegations that have indicated their intention to speak during our discussion on peace-keeping operations and the lack of haste they have subsequently shown in intervening in the debate, are further evidence in our opinion, of the extreme importance of the subject being debated and also of a certain feeling of reluctance to engage in improvisation and make over-hasty proposals.

39. One point has nevertheless been completely agreed upon and subscribed to by virtually all delegations. It is also to be found in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations [A/6815] and in the statements of the Chairman of the Committee, the representative of Mexico, Mr. Cuevas Cancino [570th meeting], and of the Rapporteur of the Committee, the representative of the United Arab Republic [*Ibid.*]. It is the idea that has emerged from the majority of interventions in this Committee, namely, that the study of the over-all problem has not made much progress and that the Special Committee should continue to examine it in all its aspects. This is a very wise observation, because the existing difficulties and disagreements cannot be resolved either through improvisations that are often hasty or by the adoption of any provisional measures; we must rather submit the whole of this problem to a serious, thorough and detailed scrutiny.

40. We therefore consider that draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1, presented by the delegation of India, Mali, Singapore, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia, offers us the appropriate solution for the moment, since it suggests that we

should prolong the mandate of the Committee of Thirty-Three and request it to pursue the task assigned to it by the General Assembly. That is why our delegation will give its support to this draft.

41. Guided by the same considerations and attempting to avoid any solutions that might be adopted lightly, and especially solutions which, although adopted on a transitional basis, nevertheless run counter to the United Nations Charter, we feel that draft resolution A/SPC/L.148 constitutes a new attempt to impose upon us a solution that is inappropriate to say the least. On several occasions already in the course of previous debates on the same problem, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has declared that the solution should be sought in the Charter, and solely in the Charter, a document which gives ample possibilities of safeguarding international peace and security, including recourse to preventive or enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace which, in our opinion, must be considered as extreme measures that the Charter recommends for the achievement of this goal.

42. The correct answer to all questions concerning the nature and the purpose of preventive or enforcement action and the competent organs that have the right to carry out, direct and control the application of these measures is to be found in the Charter. If it had really been desired to make a distinction between the use of armed forces in military operations and their simple despatch to a given region for preventive purposes, that would have been mentioned in the Charter. On the contrary, the Charter clearly and concisely states that action to safeguard and maintain peace falls solely within the competence of the Security Council. Or, as the Foreign Minister of France rightly pointed out in the course of the general debate in the present session of the Assembly, the Charter establishes an appropriate balance among the principal organs and a realistic distribution of powers [see 1571st plenary meeting, para. 27].

43. Though these provisions are quite clear, certain delegations pay no heed to them and try to convince us that they would be ineffective and should be modified. In other words, a revision of the Charter is sought on the basis of what is alleged to be the practice in peace-keeping operations. We all know very well what were in fact the true motives that led to this unfortunate practice, and by whom this practice was imposed upon us. The principal purpose of these repeated violations of the Charter was to use the United Nations for the specific interests of imperialist and colonialist Powers and more particularly for the interests of the United States. This was clearly demonstrated in the course of the present debate by several delegations, and many examples could be adduced to bear it out, but we hardly wish to revert to this.

44. Nevertheless, we should warn Member States that attempts to oppose the exclusive competence of the Security Council in the field of peace-keeping operations would be tantamount to an attack upon the political and legal foundations upon which the whole of our Organization rests. As a small country, Bulgaria stands firmly by the Charter which, in the present international situation, represents a firm

guarantee against any attempts to transform our Organization into an instrument of the policy of Imperialist Powers, a policy which is precisely directed, as we all know very well, against the vital interests of other peoples and primarily against the legitimate struggle for liberation of peoples who are still under the colonial yoke.

45. In their desire to distort the provisions of the Charter, several speakers have attempted to make us believe that the present difficulties are due mainly to financial questions. Others are as a matter of fact quite sincerely convinced that the purpose of draft resolution A/SPC/L.148 is to provide a solution on a transitional basis to the financial crisis of the United Nations. We do not think that only exclusively financial questions are involved. All peace-keeping operation problems are first and foremost political problems, and if we were to fall back upon the words used by the Secretary-General himself in his report, the military and financial aspects are only secondary [see A/670/Add.1, para. 35].

46. Let us find a solution for the political problems and the other controversial issues will be easily solved. Constructive proposals and suggestions along these lines have been made by several delegations in the course of previous debates as well as during the present discussion and these deserve all our attention, since they not only provide for a solution of the problem without any infringement of the Charter, but, what is more, are based upon the clear provisions of the Charter in this matter.

47. We agree, therefore, with those representatives who have insisted upon a continuation of the examination of peace-keeping operations by the Special Political Committee with the object of finding the most effective ways of using the possibilities offered us by the Charter and by the United Nations machinery set up on the basis of the provisions of the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is in this spirit that the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will vote in favour of draft resolution A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1.

48. Draft resolution A/SPC/L.151 presented yesterday by the representative of Sweden [579th meeting] seems to us to be worthy of interest and we shall certainly examine it with all the attention that it deserves.

49. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): Early in 1967 the General Assembly asked the Special Committee to continue its review of the question of peace-keeping, in particular relating to methods of financing as well as the facilities, services and personnel or forces Member States might voluntarily provide. Every one of us knows of the great enthusiasm existing among the members of the Special Committee, and their work in the past has shown the sincere dedication of all of them in the performance of their very important task. But, owing to the serious developments taking place in the Middle East, where for the past decade the United Nations has been deeply involved in peace-keeping operations and actions, the Special Committee was understandably unable to do much. The Special Political Committee is now requested to have the Special Committee continue with its work in the

coming year and report to the next session of the General Assembly.

50. Our meetings in the past several days have displayed the continuing great interest of Member States in the many-sided problem of peace-keeping. We have heard many illuminating statements; we have followed several deep analyses of the difficulties and the dilemma the Assembly is confronted with in trying to compose or institute agreed guidelines on which future peace-keeping operations can be based without experiencing any dissension among Members of the United Nations.

51. My delegation is gratified to note that all speakers have expressed their belief in the importance and usefulness of peace-keeping operations, either in the past or in the future, in the maintenance of peace and security to which all Member States are dedicated. However, at the same time it must be admitted sadly that agreed and lasting solutions of the many different facets of peace-keeping still elude us, although the United Nations itself has undertaken a number of peace-keeping operations. Although it might be said that in a few minor aspects we are edging slowly towards some sort of consensus, on the constitutional issue of the matter opinions expressed here are still widely apart.

52. In the present circumstances my delegation is one of those which doubt the wisdom of our Committee's adopting rigid guidelines by majority decision, however temporary such guidelines might be. In the words of the representative of Austria [576th meeting], such guidelines would impair the value and effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. It might sound rather paradoxical, but in the view of my delegation, the very fact that peace-keeping operations imply "voluntariness" requires that such guidelines should receive the widest measure of support from the various divisions within this Committee in order that such guidelines should become indeed hopeful and useful.

53. My delegation therefore supports the proposal to have the Special Committee continue its review of the whole question of peace-keeping, also taking into account the various constructive proposals put forward during our present discussion. My delegation realizes that the constitutional issue of our problem is indeed a hard nut to crack. It involves basic differences regarding the interpretation of the provisions of the Charter, which perhaps could be overcome only by a revision of the Charter. In the short time at our disposal here in the Committee members are not, of course, in a position to debate the many ramifications of the suggestions presented here. This again strengthens the argument that the Special Committee should continue carrying out its important task.

54. The delegation of my country shares the opinion already expressed here that to ensure harmony and early success—if there could be any early success—the Special Committee would do well to deal with and make progress in areas in which a large measure of agreement already exists. In this respect may I refer to the organizational and technical aspects of peace-keeping which fall within the competence of the

Security Council? Perhaps the Special Committee might initiate a move here, at least in the sense of encouraging the competent organ or organs of the United Nations to take substantive steps in the matter.

55. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General has proposed, among other things, that the General Assembly should authorize him to carry out the necessary studies regarding standardization of training and equipment for standby forces, as well as other technical aspects [see A/6701/Add.1, para. 31]. While my delegation is aware of the existence of objections to this procedure, we nevertheless wonder whether such authority could not be given to the Secretary-General, whom Member States without a single dissension re-elected last year to another full term as Secretary-General and in whom all Member States, again without a single exception, have expressed their greatest confidence.

56. Finally, it is appropriate that my delegation should reiterate here the position of our Government on the constitutional aspect of peace-keeping. My Government believes that the General Assembly, in the exercise of its function in accordance with the Charter, has also the right and the duty to initiate peace-keeping actions. It is in support of this stand that the troops of the Republic of Indonesia have formed part of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Gaza and in the Congo, where, serving under the blue flag of the United Nations, some of Indonesia's best young men have lost their lives.

57. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In the first place, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to express our deep condolences, through Mr. Berro, the representative of Uruguay, to the Government and people of Uruguay, a friendly country for which we have feelings of particular admiration and respect. We sympathize with the people of Uruguay in the great loss which they have sustained in the death of President Gestido, a distinguished personality of great wisdom and courage in the conduct of his country's affairs.

58. In respect of peace-keeping my delegation believes that consideration of future United Nations peace-keeping operations may be more productive in the months immediately ahead than it has been in recent years for we now have a better perspective of the role of the United Nations in this field and new approaches to peace-keeping may have evolved from the experiences of the past, especially those of the last six months.

59. By the most recent action of the Security Council in the Middle East crisis, peace-making in that area has been closely related to peace-keeping. Several possibilities emerge from recent events. Measures might be considered for linking more closely from the outset United Nations intervention to pacification of a conflict situation by the peaceful settlement of issues in dispute between the parties involved.

60. We might also approach the comprehensive review of United Nations peace-keeping with less controversy if we took up first the variety of different situations in which peace-keeping has been required in the past and may be required in the relatively near

future. From such an analysis we might see more clearly what need there may be for reinforcement action under Chapter XII of the Charter and what need there may be for other United Nations responses to less serious threats to world peace.

61. Peace-keeping operations as we understand them today, were of course not contemplated by the Charter and no specific provisions concerning them were included in that document. As we all know, what was provided for in the Charter was military action under Chapter VII, which can be characterized as enforcement action. In such cases the Security Council must first determine that there has been aggression by a particular nation or group of nations and call upon it or them to desist and, if need be, to take action under the said Chapter in order to bring an end to the anomalous situation by combat.

62. In contrast, peace-keeping operations have no character of enforcement action; they are undertaken with the consent of the Government in whose territory they will operate. They are therefore entirely different not only in degree but also in kind.

63. These distinctions between coercive and non-coercive measures have to be borne in mind. Voluntary or consent operations, when they were first introduced in a pragmatic way as the situation arose, were directed towards an external situation. The United Nations force was to act as a buffer to prevent conflict along the boundary between two independent States. This was the case with the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which was instrumental in preserving the peace effectively for a period of over ten years. Its presence on the armistice line had a decided effect on the observance of the provisions of the relative agreements and on the preservation of international peace. As I said, its duties there were concerned with international and not internal peace.

64. In this respect I wish to quote from a report to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly in 1958 by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld who was Secretary-General at that time, in which he outlined what he believed to be the fundamental principles of United Nations peace-keeping. In this document Mr. Hammarskjöld said:

"A rule ... reflecting a basic Charter principle, precludes the employment of United Nations elements in situations of an essentially internal nature. As a matter of course, the United Nations personnel cannot be permitted in any sense to be a party to internal conflicts. Their role must be limited to external aspects of the political situation. ..."^{5/}

65. Within that framework and with reference to that statement, I should like to refer briefly to some of the peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations since that statement was made and to look into their nature.

66. In the Congo a situation arose where United Nations peace-keeping was required in respect of an internal situation. The United Nations force went there with the consent of the Congolese Government to pro-

vide military assistance in maintaining law and order and in resisting subversion from within, which was assisted by foreign troops from outside and which was aimed at the partition of the country. In that case, the United Nations effort was aimed at helping the Government to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo in accordance with the principles of the Charter. As distinct from UNEF, the duty of the United Nations force in this case was not to act as a buffer on the boundary between two States; on the contrary, it was to bring unity to one and the same State. Therefore, there is a significant difference between UNEF operations and the operations in the Congo.

67. A second instance of peace-keeping by the United Nations which also related to an internal situation was in Cyprus, where the United Nations force went with the consent of the Government of Cyprus in order similarly to contribute to the maintenance of law and order and a return to normal conditions. Responsibility for such maintenance of law and order was vested in the Government, as recognized by Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, and the United Nations force was to contribute towards this task.

68. In this way, neither in the Congo nor in Cyprus was the United Nations peace-keeping force intended, nor could it be intended, to interfere, intervene in or affect the sovereignty of the country and the authority of the Government, for under the Charter the internal security of any Member State is the concern of its own Government. Policing functions cannot be carried out by the United Nations internally in any State, as that would be in disregard of Article 2 of the Charter. Therefore, under the Charter there would be an infringement of the sovereignty of the Member States, which would be a violation of the Charter.

69. Thus the duty of the United Nations peace-keeping force acting internally in any country under consent operations is to contribute to the pacification and normalization of the situation, with due regard to the sovereign rights of the Government concerned.

70. A further important point has to be borne in mind in studying these problems and in giving them their proper elaboration in their various categories: if the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a country in which a United Nations force is actually operating comes under the threat or the use of force from outside, the peace-keeping force ought not to remain indifferent to such a situation, since its primary purpose should be to refer to external aspects under the Charter, particularly regarding the rule that I have stated before, as given by the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld. Nor can a peace-keeping force contribute effectively to internal order where the threat or use of force from outside inevitably creates tension and friction internally. Consequently, my delegation submits that it cannot be conceived that the duty of the United Nations force in a country where there are internal factions can be completely unconnected with the threat or use of force from outside, since it goes without saying that that external interference has a prejudicial influence on internal order.

71. My delegation maintains that numerous peace-keeping operations already undertaken by the United

^{5/} Ibid., Thirteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 65, document A/3943, para. 166.

Nations offer valuable experience which would no doubt be of great help in our present and future deliberations on the issue. We therefore strongly suggest that the Secretariat should be requested to prepare a study of these experiences of the past for our perusal; I believe there is already a proposal for such a study.

72. Further, my delegation would not object to and would support the continuation of the work of the Committee of Thirty-Three. We believe, however, that its efforts would be more fruitful if the study we have suggested could be undertaken and the Special Committee had, *inter alia*, that study in mind in the course of its deliberations. We believe that agreement on peace-keeping is most likely to be reached if we do not confuse the various methods by trying to treat them as though they were all one and indivisible. Rather let us, without prejudice to constitutional and political positions taken up, first examine the previous methods on their merits in the light of our various needs for peace and security.

73. The delegation of Cyprus believes that the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations are fundamental to the fulfilment of the primary purpose of the United Nations, that is, the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, whatever the political and legal problems, the question must ultimately be solved by agreement between all Member States in the interests of peace.

74. Mr. PEREZ CADALSO (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): The United Nations, the heir to the League of Nations, is one of the great achievements of this century. Its mission, with the responsible aid of most of the States of the world, is to bring about understanding in relations between States of various kinds and to bring together the creeds, ideologies, political beliefs of different cultures and races into a civilized form of co-existence for which permanent peace among Member States would be the most appropriate solution and the goal of all. The League of Nations lasted for eighteen years, until the second World War broke out. The United Nations has now existed for more than two decades.

75. Like human nature, international organizations are not perfect, but they may be improved if men or the States that represent the great bodies of population in the world retain their fundamental interest in emphasizing the purpose for which they have been set up. The United Nations is superior to the League of Nations in that the Charter is not linked with any peace treaty, as the Covenant of the League was linked with the Treaty of Versailles, and, moreover, the United Nations has already set up enforcement measures to impose an international order which would make it possible to preserve peace.

76. Both the League of Nations and the United Nations brought to their own organization the memory of the Congress of Vienna in which the interests of the great Powers were obvious, and whether our world Organization will endure for the generations to come will largely depend on the ability of the great Powers to live together in a civilized manner and on their sense of historical responsibility.

77. The present situation would have been even more serious if the small Powers that came together to

work out the Charter at San Francisco, where the voice of Latin America played a preponderant role, had not succeeded in bringing about radical changes to reduce the almost absolute power that the great Powers had conferred upon themselves at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, in which the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and China had participated, and which would have enabled the Security Council to decide everything in the face of an impotent General Assembly. San Francisco gave rise to the debate, which has still not been concluded, on the broad terms in which the Charter points out the goal of all States: the achievement of world peace.

78. The question of peace-keeping operations has been and continues to be a subject of concern for all States Members of the United Nations, and even for those States which, though not members, represent important interests. This has imposed on our Organization an intensive debate owing to the fact that conventional interests or ideological weapons, if we may so describe them, seek to take away from the spirit of the Charter its true interpretation in favour of the higher interests of mankind, and put forward instead so-called constitutional pretexts whereby they seek not only to undermine the goals of the Organization but also the responsibility devolving upon all States to follow the surest path for the solution of international problems.

79. It was thus owing to the pressure of the smaller countries that it was possible to draw up Article 14 of the Charter in San Francisco, to broaden the framework of Articles 11, 12 and 13. This victory of the smaller countries was what gave genuine content to the idea of the collective responsibility of all Member States in the face of situations likely to endanger international peace and security, thus converting the United Nations into a safeguard for the small countries against either their inability to defend themselves against direct or indirect external aggression or to resist the continued pressure of the great Powers, except where the totalitarian systems lay down arbitrary criteria.

80. Many delegations have referred in detail to the various problems that the United Nations has had to confront: the problem of Korea; then the Suez problem and resolution 377 (V), known as the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, which laid emphasis on a decision by the General Assembly; the Congo problem; later the Cyprus problem, and now the possibility of taking action again in the Middle East problem in which the General Assembly, even if it had not succeeded in working out a solution by a two-thirds majority, at least established sufficient moral force to lay the foundations for the resolution that was adopted by the Security Council.

81. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization the following ideas are expressed by the Secretary-General:

"The pioneering experiments in United Nations peace-keeping are a promising aspect of the grand effort to build a world community based on peaceful and reasonable methods and practices. But if that effort is to go forward to success, the tide of violence and the trend towards violent solutions

must be stemmed by a massive effort of Governments and peoples alike. That effort must include more persistent and vigorous attempts to find just and peaceful solutions to the many problems throughout the world which give rise, through despair, to the resort to violence.

"In these circumstances I have asked myself what could be done, in addition to peace-keeping operations, to help resolve international conflicts even before they become a threat to international peace and security. I believe it is necessary to draw attention to the urgent need for States to have wider recourse, in their relations with other States, to the various means for the peaceful settlement of disputes. By Article 33 of the Charter, Member States have bound themselves to seek, first of all, a solution to any disputes, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice. In this connexion, I cannot fail to draw attention to the availability of the International Court of Justice, as a principal organ of the United Nations, for the settlement of legal disputes. Prompter and wider recourse to the Court might well have settled issues which have remained unresolved in the hope that political solutions might be found for them. I am aware that criticism of the Court was expressed at the last regular session of the General Assembly as a result of the disappointment of many Member States at the outcome of the South West Africa cases; however, I regard it as essential that the independence of the Court should be fully protected and that it should not be subjected to political pressures in the course of its work or as a result of a particular case. It is in the interests of every Member State to ensure that the principles of the Charter are paramount, and that the Court is able to discharge its responsibilities free of political considerations. I hope that, in the years immediately ahead, the Court will play an increasingly useful role in regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes. If this hope is to be realized, I would suggest that it would be opportune for States at this time to review their position regarding the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under Article 36 of its Statute. At present only forty-three of the 125-parties to the Statute of the Court have accepted such jurisdiction, and then subject in some instances to wide reservations. Both as regards the number of acceptances of compulsory jurisdiction, and as regards the reservations in some of those acceptances, the situation can hardly be regarded as satisfactory in the present condition of world affairs." [A/6701/Add.1, paras. 154 and 155.]

82. I can say that my country accepts these wise recommendations of the Secretary-General, for a few years ago, together with our sister Republic of Nicaragua, we went before the International Court of Justice. A Judgement was handed down in 1960 by that high tribunal^{6/} which put an end to the open

^{6/} Case concerning the Arbitral Award made by the King of Spain on 23 December 1906, Judgement of 18 November 1960: LC.J. Reports 1960, p. 192.

hostility and even warlike actions in which, unfortunately, our two countries had been embroiled until we found a juridical solution that has led us to establish sincere and close ties of friendship with our sister Central American Republic.

83. The history of the United Nations has shown that most Member States do not wish the work of the Organization to be paralysed by the inability of one of its organs to act when a crisis arises. It has also often been said that there should be a proper balance between the various organs and a realistic distribution of their powers, but it has become evident and has been proved that this balance has ceased to exist in fact when the action of the Organization was paralysed or when the failure of a great Power to comply with its obligations, including financial obligations, makes it necessary for the Assembly to take decisions and act.

84. Moreover, there is the question of the administrative functions, in accordance with Article 98 of the United Nations Charter, which devolve upon the Secretary-General. The Charter is not a casuistic text in which rules can be found for each and every problem. On the contrary, it is the summing up of an international order where interpretation has to be adjusted to what is intended, and this we feel is what we have the right to codify. The French author Barthélémy considered the administrative function as the one designed to enforce the law. Other authors, such as Hauriou and Jellinek, took into account the satisfaction of general interests within the limits imposed by public power, in other words, material functions are the result of the relationship between the activity of the State and the aims of the State.

85. When we say "State" here, we should take it to mean Organization. There is no need for an excess of academic quotations to understand that the power of decision which devolves upon the organs of the United Nations is one thing and the execution of such decisions is another, for which activities have to be carried out within the discretionary powers imposed, and I consider that we would diminish the discharge of that function if Member States, both as authors of resolutions, and in their passive function of having to accept the decisions made, had to examine or analyse administrative actions in order to carry out their decisions. It is only when there is an excess of functions that there is need for changes or modifications, always through the body that has made the original decision.

86. From all this we can conclude that we are faced with a grave crisis in which, as delaying tactics, not only are financial vetoes being used but attempts are also being made to weaken the moral authority of the Secretary-General, at a time when the Secretary-General has the unanimous support of all States, thus showing up more clearly the political intransigence opposing the moral authority which the Organization should maintain in peace-keeping problems, and the need, above all, to ensure that financial solvency is not a sordid obstacle to the Organization's aims.

87. Valuable opinions have been expressed by various delegations which have gone more deeply into a num-

ber of considerations in this Committee. Moreover, the majority of delegations have referred to the work of the Special Political Committee under the mandate entrusted to it in May 1967 at the fifth special session [General Assembly resolution 2249 (S-V)], and it cannot be denied, as indeed the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, has said, that the Special Political Committee has been exploring ways for the Security Council and the General Assembly to achieve co-ordinated financial action; he also hinted, however, at something which is a regrettable possibility which will affect the smaller countries, and that is the fact that the deficit of \$36.5 million may lead the United Nations to borrow from funds set aside for the development of the majority of Member States.

88. Many delegations, including my own, agree that the mandate of the Special Committee should be prolonged, and that if possible we should provide a breathing space to allow that Committee to do fruitful work. That does not mean that we are indifferent to the gravity of the crisis or lacking in concern, because the responsibility of all States, large and small, cannot be evaded through some over-zealous interpretation of the Charter which not only impedes the solution of the crisis but discourages the voluntary contributions that have already been made by certain great Powers.

89. In conclusion, my delegation would like to join all other delegations which hope that the question of the maintenance of peace will be settled by means of a stable method of financing through the efforts of all the Members of the United Nations.

90. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): First of all, permit me to add the condolences of my delegation to those of other delegations that have expressed sympathy with the Government and people of Uruguay on the death of their President.

91. I have no doubt that peace-keeping has come to be recognized as a vital bulwark against the scourge of war and fully in keeping with the Charter. I say this because I have watched the Security Council authorize one peace-keeping operation after another during the last ten years and I have heard one speaker after another in this Committee stress the importance of such missions for the maintenance of peace and the protection of weaker States. Many members have gone on to explain the vital need to strengthen this bulwark. They have urged the necessity of increasing the speed, efficiency and financial reliability with which a peace-keeping mission can be mounted when a small State in danger of attack seeks assistance from the United Nations.

92. It is comparatively easy, as we know, to get agreement for mounting a peace-keeping operation in an atmosphere of tension and emotion when fighting has begun or threatens to begin and to spread; but a peace-keeping corps cannot live on the emotional content of the debates which led up to its establishment or off the countries it is helping. And we know it has proved very difficult and in one case impossible to raise the funds necessary to support and maintain peace-keeping missions until stable peace had been established. I submit that to reach the peak of effec-

tiveness and morale, a peace-keeping force must be, and be recognized to be, a truly United Nations force financed by all groups of Member States and not dependent on the voluntary subscriptions of a few Powers. In this regard I am sure that the representative of Canada, Mr. Beaulieu, spoke for the overwhelming majority of members when, in referring to peace-keeping, he stressed that the principle of collective security, expressed in the Charter itself, entails collective financial responsibility [572nd meeting].

93. The only reason given by some members for not voting in favour of our draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148], which asks the Assembly to express the opinion that this reliable system of financing peace-keeping missions should be adopted until a better one is suggested, is that any mandatory system adopted by the Assembly will be opposed by permanent members of the Security Council. These members have argued that, if permanent members object to a system of mandatory assessments, it is unwise for the Assembly to express its opinion—by however large a majority—that such a system should be tried, and it has been proposed that the Committee should not vote upon the matter. I do not impugn the motives of those who do not wish to face up to the problem for another year. But I would suggest strongly to representatives that if the Assembly were to drift into the position that no proposal repugnant to permanent members should be put to the vote, it would have fatal consequences for the United Nations.

94. This Committee has three draft resolutions before it [A/SPC/L.148, A/SPC/L.150 and Add.1, A/SPC/L.151] each proposing a different treatment of the problem under discussion. Such a situation is not new in human affairs, and when the Charter was being drafted it was anticipated that it would arise in the United Nations. It was for this reason that Article 18 was incorporated in the Charter. It lays down that, when there is a division of opinion, questions should be decided in the General Assembly by way of voting, and that decisions on important questions, including budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

95. I believe that the framers of the Charter were wise and far-seeing in 1945 when they laid down the principle of resolving differences by way of voting, and when they prescribed that differences of opinion on important questions should be resolved by a two-thirds majority. They were then keenly conscious that no effective steps had been taken, or could have been taken, by the League of Nations to prevent the slaughter and destruction of the Second World War owing to the provision in the Covenant of the League that all decisions must be unanimous.

96. It is, I am convinced, in the vital interest of all Members that the General Assembly should stand firmly by the principle of deciding important questions, including budgetary questions and recommendations for the maintenance of peace, by the majority laid down in the Charter. I am convinced that if the Assembly were not to stand by that principle, even when permanent members object, it would quickly tend to become the established practice and the United

Nations would become as politically helpless and sterile as was the League.

97. Turning now to the substance of the draft resolution [A/SPC/L.148], I wish emphatically to deny the allegation that we are trying to take either peace-keeping or peace-enforcement out of the hands of the permanent members of the Security Council or to derogate in any way from the special position they hold under the Charter. Our aim is quite different. We are trying to create a climate of opinion within the United Nations and in responsible quarters in all our countries which will, we hope, serve to protect the rights given to the Assembly under Article 17, and exercised by the method laid down in Article 18. This will, we hope, help to stimulate permanent members to initiate prompt and effective action for the maintenance of peace and security in exercise of the powers conferred on them by Article 24 for the specific purpose of ensuring that prompt and effective action could be taken by the United Nations. We are trying to induce the permanent members to give leadership in taking action to keep the peace when peace is threatened. Our purpose is to encourage permanent members to act up to their Charter responsibilities, not to usurp their Charter rights.

98. The record of the Irish delegation in the United Nations for this last ten years is there to be examined if our motives are questioned. It was our delegation which, nine years ago at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly [751st plenary meeting] proposed that the four permanent members which were then nuclear Powers should have the monopoly of nuclear weapons on the condition that they would play their part in preventing the further spread of those weapons.

99. As recently as 4 May [1513th plenary meeting] and 19 May 1967 [1517th plenary meeting], I urged at the fifth special session of the General Assembly, on the question of South West Africa, that instead of the General Assembly's appointing a council charged with the duty of bringing the people of South West Africa to independence it should request the Security Council to take all steps necessary to ensure compliance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating South Africa's mandate and proclaiming independence for the people of the Territory. What has happened, or has not happened, since May 1967 has not weakened my conviction that the Security Council, on its own initiative or on a recommendation of the Assembly, should act in accordance with the Charter duty to put an end to the annexation of the Territory.

100. Before concluding, I wish to deal briefly with a few strange arguments used in this debate. Take, for instance, the allegation that the co-sponsors proposed the adoption of the draft resolution in order to facilitate imperialists and colonial Powers in their oppression of small States. This is in fact an allegation against the two-thirds majority of the General Assembly which might vote for mandatory assessments for peace-keeping operations. It is also an allegation against the ninety-odd developing States which could block a proposal to make assessments, mandatory or otherwise, for peace-keeping operations if only forty-one of them voted against it. Surely there are more than forty-one anti-colonialist Members in the United Nations?

101. Then take the claim that a permanent member, in order to protect small States must, in addition to its Charter veto in the Security Council, have a financial veto on peace-keeping by denying the right of the Assembly to make mandatory assessments for the expenses of peace-keeping. Surely this is a claim that would undermine the provisions of the Charter and should not be conceded unless and until the Charter is amended accordingly.

102. Again, take the argument that adopting our draft resolution would revive the crisis of the nineteenth session. That crisis, as we know, arose when two permanent members, in spite of the opinion of the International Court of Justice,^{2/} refused to pay their share of the expenses of a peace-keeping operation which they had not opposed. Our proposals would dispense them from payment if they did not vote in favour. They would, of course, be assessed if they did vote in favour of the operation. Surely they could have no grievance if they had to pay for an operation for which they had voted. Surely it is the State that had been promised assistance by the United Nations that would have the grievance if they did not pay for the operation and the operation collapsed.

103. Finally, let me urge the members of the Committee to reject any attempt to prevent this draft resolution being put to the vote, if for no other reason than that those studying how to improve the efficiency and reliability of peace-keeping operations must know whether they can rely on the expenses being met.

104. But another important reason has emerged in this debate. It is the threat to the Assembly's right to give its opinion on a question as vitally important as the reliability of the method by which we should meet the expenses of a peace-keeping operation requested by a small State which has asked and been promised the assistance of the United Nations.

105. There is a third reason. It is that if we abandon our right to make mandatory assessments for peace-keeping and our right to give our opinion on important matters, we shall deprive the General Assembly of any effective influence, reduce it to a mere debating society, and thereby destroy the best chance man ever had of organizing his resources, including financial resources, "for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples" based on the solid foundation of stable peace.

Organization of the Committee's work

106. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): The statement of the Minister of External Affairs of Ireland, Mr. Aiken, exhausts the list of speakers on this item. More than sixty speakers have inscribed their names on the list, including those delegations which, either by expressed intention or by their absence, have shown that they would not participate in our discussions this afternoon.

107. I should like to say that the President of the Assembly, Mr. Manescu, at the meeting of the General Committee today, urged all Chairmen of Committees and members of the Secretariat staff to conclude

^{2/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, para. 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

their work within thirteen days; in other words, the twenty-second session will conclude its work on 19 December.

108. In complying with the request, it must be borne in mind that three Committees are still having difficulty in concluding their work in the allotted time and that some work has to be done jointly, both as regards the Assembly and various delegations that have to intervene in the debates, particularly when we have questions connected with items in various Committees. I think it very important to inform the members of the Special Political Committee of the situation and to say that I intend to try to finish the work of this Committee as quickly as possible, allowing due time for the approval of our resolutions in the plenary Assembly, as the President has requested.

109. I have had an exchange of views with the President of the Assembly with special reference to the progress of the Special Political Committee and he expressed the wish that we should conclude our work on Tuesday, 12 December, that is to say, next week. I explained that that might be difficult because we have a very important item still to be considered—the question of the Palestine refugees—and I told the President that with the close co-operation of all members of the Committee, and with the will to succeed, we should be able to finish the last item by Friday, 15 December, that is by the end of next week.

110. Thus, in order to meet this deadline I hope the Committee will finish its consideration of this item and vote tomorrow afternoon on the question, so that on Friday, 8 December, we can begin our debate on the question of the Palestine refugees.

111. I cannot fail to mention the interest taken by the various delegations of this Committee in these items, the close study they have made of them and the valuable contributions they have made in many of their statements. In deference to this interest, I would now urge all members to consider that we are under pressure of time to co-ordinate our work with that of the plenary, as part of the over-all work schedule of the Assembly.

112. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): My delegation is very grateful for the information we have just received, Mr. Chairman, and we greatly appreciate your appeal to finish our discussion on the item before us tomorrow and to have a vote on the question under discussion tomorrow afternoon.

113. However, as you are perhaps aware, efforts are being made to find common ground for solving the problem confronting us. Of course, I do not mean we shall be able to solve the peace-keeping problem in this Committee during this session, but should like to suggest that you, Mr. Chairman, might give us a little more time so that we can conclude our efforts.

114. I can assure you that a considerable number of delegations are involved in these efforts, and we are doing our best to be helpful in arriving at a draft resolution which will perhaps help us to overcome the present difficulties. It is for this reason that I suggest you might give us a little more time and postpone the vote until Friday, 8 December, thus

giving us the opportunity of holding consultations tomorrow.

115. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): On this point I should primarily like to hear from the sponsors of the draft resolutions whether they agree with this request, since if they do, that would reinforce the request made by the representative of Austria.

116. Mr. ABDEL-HAMID (United Arab Republic): We have heard the statement made by the representative of Austria and we very much share his views. We should also like to support him in the efforts being made to draft a resolution which would be widely, or unanimously, acceptable. We should therefore like to support Mr. Waldheim's suggestion.

117. Mr. APALOO (Ghana): In view of the fact that we are anxious to reach some form of agreement by means of a resolution, would it not be better if we suspended action on the comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations and proceeded to the next item on our agenda? This would give us time, first, to continue our consultations and, secondly, to deal with a new subject, later going back at the appropriate time to take a vote on the draft resolution. I should like to commend this course seriously to other representatives.

118. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon): I wish to appeal to the representative of Ghana not to press his suggestion, as we deem it necessary that once we have started to debate the question of the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East that debate should not be interrupted. We would abide by any decision the Committee would wish to take on this particular item but once we start on the debate of the next item we do not wish to see any interruption in view of its importance.

119. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): I should like to support the suggestion made by the representative of Austria, as my delegation believes that if we postpone the vote until Friday, thereby giving ourselves twenty-four hours more to conclude our discussions, they may prove to be fruitful.

120. My delegation hopes the Chair will view sympathetically the discussions that are now under way.

121. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): As we have heard, two suggestions have been made: one, made by the representative of Austria and supported by other delegations, is that we should suspend the work of the Committee briefly so that through a joint effort the draft resolutions which now differ might perhaps be combined to form a new draft resolution. The other suggestion, made by the delegation of Ghana, has encountered objections.

122. In view of the consultations I had with the President, I would point out again that we are working under pressure of time and that any change in our programme, such as holding over this item we are discussing and starting on the last item, might upset and obstruct our work.

123. I repeat that pressure of time and the number of working days left for the Assembly as a whole, only

thirteen in all, make it impracticable for us to make any changes that might interfere with our work. What I am saying merely accords with the instructions given to all of the Chairmen of Committees by the President.

124. Mr. APALOO (Ghana): In view of the statement you have made and in view of the fact that my suggestion did not seem to have any support from any other delegation, I would emphasize that it was only a suggestion and not a motion and I should like to withdraw it.

125. Mr. PINERA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, I fully understand your observations on the heavy workload and your legitimate concern, as well as the concern of the President of the Assembly, to have us conclude our work in good time, but after hearing the observations of the representative of Austria and the suggestion made by the representative of Mexico, I believe the possibility of postponing the vote on the draft resolution until Friday, with a view to providing time for negotiations, might be acceptable. I should therefore like to support the suggestions made by the delegations of Austria and Mexico.

126. In regard to this peace-keeping problem we have always thought that every effort to find a harmonious solution is worth while undertaking, even though this one may put off further work for twenty-four hours.

127. I understand your point, Mr. Chairman, but I think we can reconcile both views.

128. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): The last speaker has expressed a desire which is in accord with the views of the representative of Austria, the representative of Mexico and others.

129. In the belief that I am interpreting the wishes of the committee and bearing in mind the pressure of time, I think we may take it that this period of twenty-four hours that has been requested can be granted. Consequently we shall begin our work on the next item on Monday, 11 December, without any further delay, and on the understanding also that on Friday, 8 December, which is the date suggested for reconciling the different points of view expressed in the draft resolutions, we shall proceed to vote on these texts.

130. If I hear no objection to this procedure, which reflects the requests that have been made to the Committee, I shall take it that the Committee decides to adopt it.

It was so decided.

131. The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Accordingly, the meeting which is listed in the Journal for tomorrow will be cancelled and our next meeting will be on Friday.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.