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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (concluded)

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL
COMMITTEE 1/**

1. Mr. SHEVCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has discussed in detail the question of United Nations operations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. We should like to note with satisfaction that most of the States represented on the Committee exhibited a high sense of responsibility for the fate of the United Nations and refused to follow those who sought to lure both the Committee and the United Nations as a whole into the dangerous enterprise of taking decisions contrary to the United Nations Charter and the Special Committee's terms of reference.

3. The Ukrainian delegation deems it necessary to point out that in so important a matter as the achievement of mutual understanding among Member States on the question of ensuring international peace and security there should be no undue haste; still less should there be any attempts to force through proposals which contravene the Charter.

4. Experience has shown that any impairment in such mutual understanding, based on the provisions of the Charter, has led only to a heightening of international tension and has hurt the cause of peace and of the United Nations itself, as an organization in which States are to co-operate, on an equal footing, in promoting peace and the welfare of people everywhere.

5. This is why my delegation supports the Special Committee's draft resolution [A/6654, para. 153], which, as we all know, calls for further study of the whole question of peace-keeping operations, although we have some reservations on a number of details.

6. If the United Nations is to be made a more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, continuous and manifold efforts on the part of States will be required. We must, above all, strive to prevent violations of the Charter, stop interference in the domestic affairs of States and peoples, and condemn the imperialist policy of positions of strength, a policy which, for the sake of the selfish interests of a group of imperialist Powers, jeopardizes world peace and security and which could have the direct consequences for all mankind.

7. In this connexion, we feel that a step of major importance was taken by the Soviet Union when it proposed the adoption of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, and also the initiative taken by Czechoslovakia in raising the question of prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the right of peoples to self-determination.^{2/} There can be no doubt but that these actions have strengthened the United Nations as an organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. In order to make the United Nations more effective we must also make fuller use of the possibilities offered by the Charter for the taking of collective measures to maintain international peace and security.

9. The Charter, besides defining the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations, provides detailed regulations for the methods and means to be used in attaining them, above all as regards questions relating to the maintenance of peace. It states unequivocally that primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace has been conferred on the Security Council.

10. The Security Council is empowered to decide all questions relating to action to be taken for the maintenance of peace, including the use of armed force. These extraordinary powers include the right to form and use armed forces, and to determine their duties, numbers, command, duration of the operations, and ways and means of financing.

11. In brief, the Charter contains all the provisions necessary to enable the United Nations, in case of need, to take effective measures for the maintenance of peace, including the use of armed force. What we have to do is to make proper use of the possibilities open to us of creating and organizing an armed force—naturally, in strict compliance with the Charter.

12. Of great importance for a fuller utilization of the possibilities inherent in the Charter are the Soviet Union's proposals, set forth in its Government's

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

2/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April-June 1967, document S/7852.

memorandum,^{3/} which are aimed at activating both the Security Council itself and its Military Staff Committee, with due regard to certain rights conferred by the Charter on the General Assembly.

13. We do not wish in any way—and our position on this matter is known to all—to minimize the functions and prerogatives of the General Assembly as they are set forth in the Charter.

14. To enable the Security Council to have at its disposal contingents of armed forces and, if the need should arise, to use them swiftly and to good effect, we must above all strive for the implementation of Articles 43 and 45 of the Charter, i.e. the conclusion in the near future of agreements whereby States would make available to the Security Council armed forces and other assistance and facilities.

15. Such agreements might also make it incumbent upon the signatory States to maintain in a condition of immediate readiness certain contingents of their national armed forces, which could be made available to the Council.

16. Furthermore, consideration should be given to the question of activating the Military Staff Committee, and inviting a large number of States to participate in its work.

17. In order to expedite the conclusion of agreements on making contingents of armed forces available to the Council, the Military Staff Committee could even now proceed to prepare a standard model for such agreements, for the Security Council's approval.

18. As to the financing of peace-keeping operations, the Security Council, in the exercise of its powers, could in each particular case select the most appropriate methods of financing, which could include, *inter alia*, charging the costs to the aggressor State, apportionment of the costs among the Members of the United Nations, voluntary contributions, payment of the costs by the countries directly concerned, or a combination of any of these methods.

19. This is the course that we should take if we are to succeed in increasing the capability of the United Nations to discharge its functions with regard to the maintenance of peace. It calls for the implementation of certain entirely unambiguous provisions of the Charter, and proposals to this effect should therefore command the support of all those who are really desirous of carrying out the Charter's prescriptions concerning effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression.

20. However, the discussion of the question of peace-keeping operations indicates that certain States prefer to follow another course. On the pretext of making the United Nations better able to maintain the peace, they are virtually mounting an attack on those Charter provisions which define the measures that must be taken on behalf of the United Nations in order to maintain or restore peace, and especially measures relating to the use of armed force. The proposals advanced in this connexion are tantamount to a revision of those Charter provisions under which only

the Security Council may take decisions on action for the maintenance of international peace and security.

21. The idea of trying to find a substitute for the Security Council is not really new. Throughout the entire history of the United Nations, the representatives of the United States of America and certain other imperialist Powers, desirous of using the United Nations as a tool of their aggressive policy, have been attempting to destroy the very cornerstones of the Charter—those provisions of it which define the functions and powers of the Security Council with regard to the maintenance of peace. And now again, being engaged in an aggressive war against the Viet-Nameese people, the United States is persistently seeking ways to circumvent the Charter provisions on the use of armed force on behalf of the United Nations in order somehow to conceal under the United Nations flag both this bloody conflict and other Pentagon-planned assaults on fighters for national freedom and independence.

22. We should be failing in our duty if we did not draw to the attention of all Members of the United Nations the fact that in his statement the United States representative has been guilty of arbitrary interpretation of the Charter.

23. We, for our part, have always stood, and shall stand in the future, for keeping firm the cornerstone provisions of the Charter, that solid foundation of the United Nations without which it could neither exist nor act.

24. My delegation is deeply convinced that strict compliance with those Charter provisions which govern the use of force on behalf of the United Nations is the only correct and, in the world as it is today, the only possible solution to the problem before us—that of making the United Nations a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

25. It is a grievous error to imagine that the United Nations can succeed in maintaining the peace if the fundamental principles of its Charter, defining the legal international obligations of States, its structure and its purposes and principles, are circumvented or violated outright.

26. The United Nations Charter is an agreed and generally accepted treaty which alone offers a basis for international co-operation within the United Nations. To seek to destroy it means to seek to destroy the United Nations itself, to shake its foundations, to make it powerless in international affairs.

27. We are therefore deeply convinced that the question of peace-keeping operations must be examined in the light of the clear and precise provisions of the Charter concerning the functions and prerogatives of the Security Council, in a spirit of co-operation, without undue haste or agitation, but rather with a sense of full responsibility on the part of all Member States, great and small, for the ultimate fate of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that the special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which has been entrusted with a review of this important problem, should proceed, and it is in that sense that we understand the recommendation it has submitted.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, document S/7841.

28. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for its part, will support any and all efforts to strengthen the United Nations, and it urges all other States which are sincerely desirous of strengthening the United Nations and increasing its prestige and effectiveness, to do likewise.

29. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): At this late stage, the Pakistan delegation will confine its statement to those aspects of peace-keeping that have been the subject of continuing study by the Special Committee. Those aspects continue to demand consideration if progress is to be made in enabling the United Nations to respond promptly and effectively to situations which pose imminent or potential threats to international peace and security.

30. In our view, the meetings of the Special Committee during its recently concluded session brought up many constructive ideas and suggestions to resolve the differences which continue to persist, in relation to the procedural as well as to the substantive aspects of the problems of peace-keeping. The discussions were marked by an earnest approach aimed at preventing a paralysis of the Organization in the fulfilment of its primary purpose, namely, to maintain international peace and security. We should like to pay tribute to the wisdom and patience with which the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, conducted the Committee's deliberations and steered it to the draft resolution which is before us [A/6654, para. 153].

31. My delegation was greatly impressed with the virtual unanimity of all members of the Special Committee on the approach to the task before it. It was generally stressed that controversial constitutional issues inherent in the question of peace-keeping should be avoided as far as possible and that future efforts should be concentrated on the search for practical, realistic and mutually acceptable solutions that have so far eluded the Organization.

32. We share the view that the real problem before us is not so much a constitutional as a political one. The constitutional controversy is but the emanation of the conflict of views between the permanent members of the Security Council over what each of them regards as its own vital political interest in the question of peace-keeping, as well as the insistence of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations that they should have an effective role to play in the decisions of the United Nations on the establishment and financing of peace-keeping operations.

33. There can be no doubt in regard to peace-keeping operations of the nature of enforcement actions, that is the use of armed force in cases of threat to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, undertaken in pursuance of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Here, the responsibility of the Security Council is not only primary, but also exclusive on all aspects of peace-keeping, in regard not only to authorization, but also to organization and financing.

34. If the Security Council fails to act under Chapter VII of the Charter, no enforcement action can be undertaken. No such action has so far been attempted

by the Security Council, nor does my delegation foresee any practical possibility of its doing so in the future unless the international situation undergoes a revolutionary transformation.

35. It is in regard to peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI of the Charter—namely, the pacific settlement of disputes—that controversy has raged in the United Nations during the last seventeen years. The Security Council has in fact authorized peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI in disputes or situations which had or were likely to become a danger to peace or security. No doubt, the responsibility of the Security Council in this sphere is primary, but is it exclusive, or does the General Assembly have a residual responsibility?

36. The permanent members of the Security Council hold opposing views on this question. A large number of other Member States have taken up positions in affirmation of the residual responsibility of the General Assembly under the Charter of the United Nations.

37. In this context, it is pertinent to take note of the fact that in the only case in which the General Assembly decided to assert a residual authority and to authorize a peace-keeping force to interpose itself between combatants and perform duties in the nature of surveillance of frontiers or truce lines, practical difficulties of financing supervened which, in conjunction with the problem of financing a peace-keeping operation authorized by the Security Council, plunged the United Nations three years ago into the worst constitutional and financial crisis in its history and brought it to a virtual standstill. The Organization was able to emerge from that crisis, thanks to the efforts of the Asian and African Member States and as a result of your initiative, Mr. President, by an explicit agreement to shelve the constitutional issues arising from the provisions of Article 19 of the Charter. The consensus of 31 August 1965, appealing for voluntary contributions, continues to be the basis of our search for a solution of the financial difficulties of the Organization resulting from the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo.

38. This experience has been a chastening one. It has taught us a lesson and we must draw the necessary conclusions. Therefore, in the view of my delegation, continued preoccupation with the task of delimiting the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly in accordance with the constitutional provisions of the Charter is not likely to lead either to a consensus or to the provision of necessary financial resources to raise and maintain peace-keeping forces, when situations so require, if some of the States which would otherwise be large contributors refuse to pay.

39. There is no immediate prospect of overcoming the constitutional differences on peace-keeping. Judicial verdicts cannot in practice be enforced. Majority votes are not the answer to the problem of financing. Hence the wisdom of a pragmatic and realistic approach on the basis of mutual accommodation of divergent views and interests is self-evident.

40. In this context, my delegation has noted with great interest the view expressed in the recent

session of the Special Committee that peace-keeping measures have emerged as a new concept, different from, but not incompatible with, the enforcement measures contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter.

41. The founders of the Organization were undoubtedly statesmen of wisdom and foresight, but they were not omniscient; nor did they have the gift of divination to foresee future events and to provide for the contingent and unforeseen elements that influence the march of history. The Charter was written when the cold war had yet to come, making unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council, on which alone the Council could act to maintain international peace, a rare phenomenon and, consequently, plunging the Security Council into deadlock when the situation demanded commensurate action.

42. Little did the founders of the United Nations, assembled in San Francisco in 1945, visualize the historical phenomenon of decolonization and the emergence into independence of new nations whose number has almost tripled the membership of the Organization. That the "third world" would have collective interests and stakes of its own in world peace, not always identical to those of the great Powers, and would demand for itself a place and a role in the scheme of things within the framework of the Organization, was a development neither foreseen nor provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, the Charter, based as it is on the imperatives and hopes of 1945, does not reflect the realities and expectations of today.

43. While Pakistan believes in and will always act in scrupulous respect of the Charter and of all the obligations flowing from it, we cannot regard it as Holy Writ or immutable like the laws of the ancient Medes and the Persians.

44. In saying this, let it not be understood that my delegation is suggesting amendment of the Charter to delimit more precisely the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly, or to resolve the constitutional controversy by spelling out new provisions on the concept of peace-keeping operations other than those in the nature of enforcement action. Nor do we seek, through constitutional amendments, to rectify the imbalance in the distribution of power and responsibility in the Organization so as to confer a greater degree of both on its general membership. We are fully aware that the time is not opportune for seeking adjustments in the relationship of the principal organs of the United Nations through amendment of the Charter.

45. What we do think to be both necessary and opportune is to search, through continuing discussions in the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, for a political compromise on the basis of consensus without prejudice to the positions of principle of the great Powers.

46. In this context, I may refer to the suggestion made by the representative of Ethiopia in the Special Committee regarding the possibility of evolving a number of gentlemen's agreements "on procedures to be used in the initiation, conduct and financing of peace-keeping operations". This suggestion, in the view of my delegation, deserves consideration.

47. It has been contended that the Security Council offers possibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, fuller use of which would enable the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to play a more active role in the discussion of United Nations peace-keeping operations, thereby providing a democratic system and protecting the interests of all Member States. In this context, reference has been made to Article 50 of the Charter, under which any Member State which found itself confronted with special economic problems as a result of the Security Council's decision to establish a peace-keeping force has the right to consult the Security Council with regard to the solution of such problems. Reference was also made to Article 44, under which any Member State is entitled to participate in the decision of the Security Council if it is called upon to provide armed forces. It seems to my delegation that Articles 50 and 44 are applicable only in the context of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter and cannot be resorted to when the Security Council decides on peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI.

48. It is for this reason that my delegation has been led towards the conclusion that a greater role in the decision-making processes of the United Nations in all the aspects of peace-keeping under Chapter VI should be accorded to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America through understandings and informal agreements.

49. I now turn to the question of methods of financing future peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, with the study of which the Special Committee is particularly charged under the draft resolution before us [A/6654, para. 153].

50. My delegation is pleased to note the constructive suggestions that have been made by a number of delegations. We agree that, first of all, attention should be given by the Special Committee to peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council. There also appears to be a general consensus on the various methods to which recourse could be had to finance them. In this regard the guide-lines for equitable sharing of the costs of peace-keeping operations set forth in resolution 1874 (S-IV), adopted by the fourth special session of the General Assembly, should also be kept in view.

51. As for the method of financing by apportionment of the expenses among all Member States, in pursuance of the principle of collective responsibility, the question arises whether the Security Council can or should assume exclusive responsibility to tax the entire membership for peace-keeping operations under Chapter VI, without their concurrence. In an attempt to find a way out of the persistent differences that have marked the consideration of this issue, it has been proposed to establish a financing committee. Whether this committee should be established by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, or by both, and whether it should submit its recommendations to the one or to the other organ, are crucial matters which require further clarification before any definitive opinion can be expressed on the subject.

52. There is one other issue to which my delegation would like to refer. This is the question of establishing a special scale of assessments on an equitable basis to share the costs of peace-keeping operations if they are apportioned among all Member States. My delegation considers that the suggestion in the report submitted by the Special Committee to the General Assembly, that the global financial participation of the developing countries should not exceed 5 per cent of the total costs of peace-keeping operations involving heavy expenditures [A/6654, annex V, para. 3], deserves the serious consideration of the Special Committee for reasons which are well known.

53. Turning now to the question of facilities, services and personnel which Member States might voluntarily provide, in accordance with the Charter, for United Nations peace-keeping operations, as set forth in sub-paragraph (b) of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution recommended by the Special Committee, my delegation notes with appreciation the practical and constructive suggestions that have been put forward by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Mexico, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands. We consider it important to explore the Soviet Union proposal that the Military Staff Committee or, as suggested by the representative of Mexico, the competent organs of the United Nations, should consult with interested Member States with a view to drafting a standard form of agreement to be used in the conclusion of agreements between them and the Security Council under Article 43 of the Charter. We note the observation of the United States representative that the provision of forces under Article 43 agreements would not necessarily meet the need for manning consent-type peace-keeping operations. The implications of this observation can also be examined together with the proposal of the Soviet Union.

54. This brings us once again to the imperative need to adopt a pragmatic and realistic approach to the problems of undertaking peace-keeping operations and to search for solutions on the basis of mutual accommodation of the conflicting views and divergent interests.

55. It is encouraging that the permanent members of the Security Council, while firmly maintaining their respective positions of principle, have nevertheless stated their willingness to play their part in the combined efforts to reach a realistic consensus. We do not believe that they have frozen their positions. We are encouraged by the statement of the French representative that, in the case of peace-keeping operations involving only surveillance and observation missions, the Charter of the United Nations has granted to the General Assembly, together with the Security Council, the competence to decide on such operations.

56. The Pakistan delegation therefore believes that there is a basis for extending the life of the Special Committee to enable it to continue the review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all its aspects.

57. In conclusion, my delegation would like to remind the General Assembly that the task of the United

Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is not confined to the surveillance of truce-lines by United Nations peace forces and to the dispatch of observation missions. The representative of Ethiopia touched on the heart of the problem when he stated in the Special Committee that "the traditional means of pacific settlement of disputes—negotiations, inquiry, mediation and conciliation—could be elaborated and institutionalized by a formal protocol that would to some extent make their operation automatic".

58. Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, which deals with the pacific settlement of disputes, places upon the Security Council the primary responsibility for recommending appropriate procedures or methods of settlement of international disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. In this respect, we regret to note that the performance of the Security Council has fallen short of the promise held out in the Charter of the United Nations. In our view, the main reason lies in the lack of resolve to implement its own resolutions.

59. The interests of this Organization and its general membership require that in the performance of its foremost task—that is, the maintenance of international peace and security—the United Nations should not be found wanting either in the efforts to remove the causes of armed conflict or in initiating peace-keeping operations when such conflict actually breaks out.

60. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): During the last few years the General Assembly has constantly been under pressure from certain Powers which for their own infamous ends, seek to impose on Member States their own ideas with regard to the creation of United Nations forces, or, as they prefer to call it, with regard to "the question of peace-keeping operations". In a time marked by the stormy and triumphant emergence of popular national and social liberation movements, which are bringing together all of progressive mankind struggling against the forces of oppression and aggression and are having an immense historic importance for the fate of human society, these Powers, with the United States at their head, are using every possible means to stamp out the flames of revolutionary struggle, halt the process of popular liberation and launch mad plans for world domination.

61. As part and parcel of this policy and with the same end in view, efforts are now being made to execute in haste the sinister plan for the establishment of United Nations forces.

62. There can be no doubt that those who support such a plan are, wittingly or unwittingly, assisting the imperialist oppressors and aggressors, headed by the United States, at a time when they need assistance most acutely, reeling as they are under the blows showered upon them by the people in their heroic struggle, confronted as they are by insurmountable difficulties and having earned the hatred of all progressive mankind. In other words, to support or to contribute to the creation of United Nations forces in the present state of international affairs and the situation now prevailing in the Organization, is tanta-

mount to contributing, consciously or unconsciously, to the fulfilment of dangerous plans for resort to the threat or use of armed force against the liberation movement and against all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries, in keeping with the policy of spheres of influence and world hegemony so clearly pursued by two great Powers.

63. The practice of making use of the United Nations by some Western Powers as an instrument of interference in the domestic affairs of independent States, and of its armed forces as a means of aggression against peaceful countries and a method of stifling the revolutionary liberation struggle of peoples, was initiated in the very first years of the Organization's existence. This practice, which is in flagrant violation of the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter, has been the hardest and most damaging blow the Organization has suffered in its entire existence. Among the most flagrant instances, one may cite the armed aggression perpetrated in Korea under the cover of the United Nations and the shameful part played by the Organization's forces in the Congo (Leopoldville) in defence of imperialist and colonialist interests, which led to the criminal dissolution of the legitimate Government of the Congo and the achievement of United States colonialist aims in that country.

64. Every time that a United Nations force has been established and used, it has invariably served the interests of the imperialists and aggressors at the expense of the victims of aggression and of the liberation movement.

65. But the United States of America has constantly endeavoured to go ever further in that direction, to remove any and all difficulties and to have a completely free hand. Thus it has been obstinately pressing for the establishment of a United Nations standing force which it could use easily at any time and in any place in accordance with unforeseeable contingencies of its aggressive and counter-revolutionary policy. United States imperialism has always sought to be in a position to play, in a somewhat disguised form and chiefly under the name of the United Nations, its self-imposed role of international policeman. The United States Government has been increasing its efforts in that direction since 1956, the debates in the General Assembly on the dispatch of the United Nations Emergency Force to the Suez Canal zone being a notable example. Supported by its partners, the United States vigorously maintained at that time that it was necessary to establish what it called a standby force of the United Nations. It even went so far as to argue that the force should be equipped with nuclear weapons.

66. Opportunities to carry out such dangerous plans have increased in recent years because the plans now have the support of another great Power, the Soviet Union. This is a direct consequence of the profound change in that country's policies. For instance, in its Memorandum of 10 July 1964 on "certain measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations",^{4/} the Government of the Soviet Union came out openly in favour of establishing such forces. Thus, on this question as on so many others,

the USSR Government is associated with the Government of the United States and together these two Powers are making every effort to have United Nations forces established without delay, in furtherance of their own designs which are completely at variance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter and with the aspirations of the freedom-loving nations and peoples.

67. There is hardly any need to emphasize that this is a highly dangerous undertaking and that it is a threat to the sacred rights of oppressed peoples, to national sovereignty and independence and to world peace and security. It is clear from the USSR Government's Memorandum to which I have just referred and which, according to oft-repeated statements by that Government, constitutes the basic document on its position in the matter, that this plan is part of the series of agreements successively concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union, and represents one of the many bargains struck between them at the expense of peaceful peoples and nations. Like the notorious Moscow Treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests, and like some other treaties which those two Powers have concluded subsequently or plan to conclude in the near future and to impose on other countries—such as the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and a treaty relating to a joint system of anti-ballistic missiles—the present plan to establish United Nations forces is part of the collaboration between those two Powers and is aimed at aggressive and anti-popular ends.

68. The differences between the two Powers regarding the respective competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly in carrying out military operations are not so great as they would have us believe by their cunning presentation; they are more apparent than real. Of course, each of the two Powers wants to be in an advantageous position with regard to the establishment, composition, command, control and everything else relating to the forces. That is why one of them is endeavouring to obtain recognition of the exclusive competence of the Security Council, in which it enjoys a special position, while the other insists on equal recognition of the competence of the General Assembly, in which it is still able to command what has been called "a built-in majority". But we must bear in mind above all that both parties, in accordance with their aims, have an equal interest and are completely in agreement regarding their objective—namely, the establishment of United Nations forces. That is the crux of the matter. Hence, it should not be difficult for them to compose their differences whenever they wish and to agree on ways and means of implementing the joint plan, as was the case, indeed, with the draft resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee of Thirty-three.

69. The efforts of one of the parties to create confidence in the Security Council by arguing that this body is in itself a guarantee that the forces in question will not be used for imperialist and aggressive ends are obviously in vain. The past activities of the Security Council and the part played by the military forces it has set up are notorious

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5721.

throughout the world, whose peoples can never forget the unjust decisions and positions, contrary to the Charter, which the Council adopted on numerous questions involving the imperialist, colonialist, and racist policies of certain Powers, and their interventions and acts of aggression in various parts of the world, in Asia, Africa, the Near East, Latin America and wherever the rights of peaceful peoples and countries have been violated. Particularly striking are the two cases I have mentioned, namely, the armed aggression perpetrated in Korea in the name of the United Nations, and the dispatch of military forces to the Congo (Leopoldville) to defend the interests of the imperialists and colonialists. We should also remember that while the Security Council decision on the Korean aggression was reached in the absence of the USSR, its decision to dispatch forces to the Congo (Leopoldville) was taken with the support and affirmative vote of the USSR Government—a significant fact which testifies to the new direction of Soviet policy.

70. Is it necessary to mention that the General Assembly has behaved no better, especially in connexion with problems relating to the rights of peoples to freedom and independence and to international peace and security? Above all, it is very well known that whenever the United States Government, has felt it necessary to impose its wishes on this Assembly in order to advance imperialist policy in some respect, it has done so without any scruples and has unstintingly resorted to pressure, threats and blackmail to achieve that end.

71. The question of the representation of China in the United Nations is a typical example. The great majority of Member States agree that refusal to recognize the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations constitutes an injustice and an anomaly without precedent, and that it does serious harm to the Organization. However, this intolerable situation has existed for many years because of the arbitrary position of the United States which results from its hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China and its aims with regard to the Organization itself.

72. Neither must we forget on this occasion that it is precisely because the United States has a hold over the United Nations that it and some of its collaborators were able, by using the expenditures entailed by the military operations of the United Nations as a pretext, to sabotage the entire nineteenth session of the General Assembly, a session which is one of the saddest pages in the annals of the United Nations.

73. It obvious that for as long as the United States Government, either on its own or together with another Power, exercises a hold over the United Nations, the latter will continue to decline and to act in a manner diametrically opposed to the fundamental provisions of the Charter and to its own true mission. To endow it with armed forces which, in disregard of the prerogatives of the Security Council and the General Assembly, would only serve to further the policy of those who at present dominate it, would be to condemn it irrevocably to destruction.

74. In this context we should point out that in order to justify the plan for the establishment of United Nations forces a sustained effort has been made in recent years to make us believe that conditions favourable for this purpose have been established through a relaxation of international tension, greater confidence in relations among States, and some improvement in the situation within the Organization itself. Such assertions are often made, even with reference to the situation in Europe, with regard to so-called European security. I need scarcely say that such contentions are unrealistic and completely unfounded, unless they refer to the strengthening of understanding and collaboration between the two great Powers. Indeed, there can hardly be any doubt that for many years the international situation has been very tense and dangerous for world peace and that it has been constantly deteriorating, and that the situation in the United Nations is equally deplorable and continues to grow worse. It is quite right that the peoples of the world should firmly reject such assertions and should express their profound indignation attempts to justify, on the same false premises, the creation of new forces to be placed under the control of those sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples, the imperialists and colonialists, headed by the United States of America.

75. The valiant people of Viet-Nam who are conducting against the United States aggressors one of the most heroic struggles that the world has ever seen cannot but be indignant and protest vigorously against these sinister plans. The peoples of South West Africa, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, occupied South Yemen, Aden, Oman, Palestine, Puerto Rico, and all other peoples struggling for their sacred and inalienable rights against colonialist and racist oppressors and aggressors are full of indignation and firmly condemn all such attempts in the United Nations, whenever the United States and its partners make use of the Organization for purposes of intervention and pressure and in order to hoodwink them by false claims concerning their liberation by peaceful means, by resolutions destined to remain a dead letter, by "peaceful talks" and by other tricks which are meant only to bring about their capitulation and submission.

76. Member States must also take into account the fact that the plan to establish United Nations forces is now more dangerous than ever in view of the intensified efforts in the Viet-Nam war now being waged by the sponsors of this proposal who do all they can to cause the Organization to intervene in it in every possible way. By such means, by the continuous escalation of this brutal war and by the artifice of the "peace talks", the heroic Viet-Nameese people are to be made to give up their sacred struggle for their country's salvation and surrender to the United States aggressors. But neither the blackmail of war, nor forces of any kind, nor the artifice of negotiations, nor treason from whatever quarter can shatter the iron will of the Viet-Nameese people and prevent them from winning their just fight against the ferocious onslaughts of the United States imperialists. Peaceful States must bear in mind, however, the designs con-

cealed behind the sinister plan regarding United Nations forces and must draw the obvious conclusions.

77. It is becoming clear to everyone that the true aim of the two great Powers is to have at their disposal, in addition to their enormous war potential which they are ceaselessly and feverishly perfecting and augmenting an international police force which they can use, under the cover of the United Nations, to implement designs that are totally contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter and the hopes of peaceful nations.^o The people of the world understand full well that, by means of agreements or draft agreements such as those relating to the partial cessation of nuclear tests, the non proliferation of nuclear weapons, the establishment of United Nations armed forces, and other plans which we know of or which have been kept secret, the two Powers intend to disarm the freedom-loving peoples and nations and to place themselves in a privileged and monopolistic military position which would enable them, either overtly or covertly, according to what their plans call for, to stamp out the flames of popular revolutionary struggle, to put down the fight for freedom wherever it occurs, to subjugate the peaceful countries and to direct their strategy of counter-revolution and world domination against the People's Republic of China, that impregnable fortress, that invincible champion of the struggle of peoples for their freedom, sovereignty and independence.

78. Of course, the peoples will only fight all the harder for freedom and independence and will surely bring to naught the infamous designs and attempts of the imperialists and their collaborators. They will see to it that their enemies get their just desserts and will find ways and means to establish and organize international relations on a fair and sound basis. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the peaceful Member States to make their contribution to that cause, denounce and reject the dangerous plans of the two great Powers and, acting in concert, do whatever is necessary to defeat the great conspiracy against mankind.

79. The establishment of United Nations armed forces can in no way serve the cause of freedom or international peace and security, nor can it help to improve the situation in the United Nations, or to enhance and strengthen it. On the contrary, such a measure would be very dangerous to peace and would inevitably lead to the final transformation of the United Nations into an instrument of intervention and aggression in the hands of the United States imperialists and their collaborators. The imperialists are the oppressors and slaughterers of the peoples who are struggling for freedom. They bear the chief responsibility for all the conflicts among States. They are the authors or the instigators of all the acts of aggression and all the breaches of the peace and threats to peace and freedom in the world. Armed forces created at their instigation and under their control could only serve their interests to the detriment of peaceful peoples and nations.

80. What is important to the overwhelming majority of Member States is not that the United Nations should have a military force, but that it should regain its strength and resume its proper course, in confor-

mity with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the dearest hopes of peoples. It is now more imperative than ever for us to work together to prevent the United States from manipulating the Organization at will, to frustrate the attempts to bring it under the control of one or two Powers, to restore to full vigour the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States, and to establish the necessary conditions for a reorganization of the United Nations so as to enable it to satisfy the imperative requirements of the contemporary world in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter.

81. The delegation of Albania will spare no effort to make its modest contribution to that end, as it has done in the past. Guided by our policy of peace and of unstinting support for the struggle of peoples against imperialism and colonialism and for their sacred right to self-determination and independence, we vigorously oppose and reject any measure whatever leading to the establishment of United Nations forces. My Government's position on this question—a position which has been clearly stated here on many occasions—therefore remains unchanged. We have been and we remain firmly opposed to the establishment of such forces and we will never agree to contribute to the expenses relating thereto. The Albanian delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/6654, para. 153].

82. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): The report of the Special Committee which the Assembly is now considering embodies a consensus in the form of the draft resolution which is recommended to the Assembly for adoption. This consensus is a tribute to the tireless and devoted efforts of the Committee's Chairman, our eminent colleague, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, efforts that were greatly appreciated by my delegation.

83. As a member of the Special Committee, Japan supported the Committee's recommendation to the Assembly. We support it here, and we hope that the draft resolution contained in the Committee's report will be adopted by the Assembly. The Japanese delegation attaches special importance to the renewed appeal for voluntary contributions which is contained in the draft resolution. Prompt solution of this persistent problem would no doubt conduce to a much healthier atmosphere, would help break the present log-jam and, quite possibly, would unlock the door that now seems such a barrier to progress.

84. In this connexion, it should be noted that among those twenty-three countries which have so far made their voluntary contributions, we find, with the greatest respect and appreciation, quite a number of developing countries which are the least able to pay.

85. My delegation also attaches special importance to the continuation, without interruption, of the Special Committee's work. As the Committee's report indicates, many suggestions were made by different delegations, including my own, during the Committee's last session, and it is most desirable that these suggestions should be studied further and every effort made to reach agreement.

86. The Japanese delegation is fully prepared to continue its active co-operation with the other members of the Committee of Thirty-three if the draft resolution before us is adopted by the Assembly. We are convinced that adoption of this draft resolution will pave the way for further progress towards solution of the many vexing problems in the peace-keeping field.

87. The importance and the urgency of proceeding as swiftly as possible to find appropriate solutions for the problems of peace-keeping operations are markedly stressed, to cite one example, by the current regrettable build-up of serious tensions in the Near East. At the end of last week, just as the Assembly was about to embark upon its consideration of the question peace-keeping operations, one of the most successful of such operations, the United Nations Emergency Force, was suddenly terminated.

88. My delegation fully shares the deep concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his recent report to the General Assembly,^{5/} with regard to the possible implications for peace of the latest developments in the Near East. We also note the Secretary-General's view stated in the following words in his report to the Security Council that "the current situation in the Near East is more disturbing, indeed, I may say more menacing, than at any time since the fall of 1956".^{6/}

89. We ardently hope that the Secretary-General's current visit to the Near East will prove to be successful and help to alleviate the current tensions in that area. The present situation in that area may well have very important implications with regard to the question of peace-keeping operations as a whole, as well as to the future effectiveness of the United Nations with regard to its primary purpose, the maintenance of international peace and security. Perhaps the most important of these implications, as I see it, is the necessity of the United Nations being in a position of constant readiness, able at all times to move swiftly to establish effective peace-keeping machinery before a particular situation might deteriorate beyond the point of no return.

90. My delegation is convinced that the difficulties and obstacles that stand in the way of acceptable solutions of the problems of peace-keeping operations can be overcome by intensive effort and hard work, and we, for our part, are fully prepared to do all that we can to achieve results.

91. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): At this advanced stage, when the work of the General Assembly's fifth special session is drawing to a close, my delegation hesitated to ask to speak in order to express its view on the agenda item entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". However, we decided to address the Assembly because we heard several statements endeavouring, even at this late stage, to implant the idea that a solution to the question of peace-keeping is

^{5/} *Ibid.*, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/6730.

^{6/} *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1967*, document S/7896.

to be found, not by establishing conditions and an atmosphere conducive to a maintenance of world peace, but rather by converting our Organization into a sort of world policeman. As Bulgaria is not a member of the Special Committee, we felt that it would be helpful for us to state our views, even at this late hour, and perhaps thereby to shed some light on the question that will be discussed by the Special Committee when it resumes its work, in accordance with the draft resolution now before us [A/6654, para. 153].

92. We were very surprised to hear the United States representative refer, in his statement yesterday, to *Realpolitik*. Perhaps he did so as a diversionary tactic. We must say that we do not disagree with him when he says: "I do suggest that we are even less assured of success if we continue to rely on the so-called *Realpolitik*..." [1519th meeting, para. 49]. However, we are in complete disagreement with him on, and are vehemently opposed to, the implication of that remark, which equates the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations with *Realpolitik*, past or present. We were truly surprised to hear the United States representative say yesterday that: "Great Powers should not alone be responsible for policing trouble spots, settling quarrels and protecting weaker nations" [*ibid.*, para. 40]. Frankly, the audacity of such a statement on the part of the United States representative amazes us. Indeed, we are astounded to learn from Mr. Goldberg that someone—certainly not the United Nations—has instructed the great Powers to police the world. On the contrary, we have always wished and wished ardently, that some of the great Powers would desist from those acts of interference in the affairs of other States which they call "police operations". All peoples and all peaceful States would, we are sure, want to see an end to *Realpolitik* as manifested by the sending of the United States Sixth Fleet to the Mediterranean, where its presence creates a threat and danger of war and only breeds trouble and insecurity in the region. Indeed that threat is only too obvious from the provocative attitude adopted by some countries even today.

93. An end must also be put to the United States intervention and aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam who ask only to live in peace and to decide their own future. All opposition and all threats to the popular liberation movement must likewise cease. However, instead of putting an end to this policy of force and intervention in the affairs of others, we see from the statements of some representatives, and particularly of the United States representative, that there is a desire to make the United Nations function for the benefit of the imperialist and colonialist Powers. To endow the Organization with such functions would be tantamount to signing its death warrant.

94. We do not agree with those who pursue such a policy, any more than, in our opinion, other peaceful peoples and States can agree with it. On the contrary, we wish the United Nations to continue to carry out, and carry out successfully, the tasks and duties which it has assumed before all mankind.

95. It is in this spirit that the delegation of the Peoples's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to assure the Assembly that it shares the legitimate concern of

the majority of Member States as regards the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Such an attitude is entirely consistent with the arguments I have just put forward. The ability of the United Nations to take preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of international peace and security is only one aspect, one of the diverse manifestations of the role it has to play in the maintenance of peace and the settlement of international problems in conformity with the principles of international law and justice. The effectiveness of the Organization in these matters is not due solely to its ability to have recourse to preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace, any more than its scope of action is limited to such recourse. The tasks and functions of the United Nations as defined in the Charter are, without doubt, much wider. That is why the effectiveness of the United Nations should also be considered in the light of its contribution to the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the elimination of colonialism in all its forms, the conclusion of agreements on matters of disarmament and the introduction and strengthening of rules governing international relations.

96. One of the most important pre-conditions for the successful solution of such problems in an atmosphere of peace and security is respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law on the part of all States. The more respect is shown for law and justice in international relations, the less will it be necessary for the United Nations to take preventative or enforcement measures in order to eliminate threats to or violations of peace and tranquillity in any part of the world. In fact, the use of armed forces by the United Nations should be regarded as an extraordinary and extreme measure recommended by the Charter to that end. It follows that United Nations peace-keeping operations are a very serious action which may have strong repercussions, not only in inter-State relations, but also as regards the rule and functioning of the United Nations itself. There are some highly significant precedents in that respect.

97. The discussion of the question of peace-keeping operations which has taken place in various United Nations bodies in the last few years, and in this Assembly in the last few days, has shown that the way to eliminate the present difficulties and controversies is not by means of hasty improvisation but through a detailed examination of the entire problem; not by methods which violate the Charter, but rather by taking advantage of every opportunity it offers and by applying all the means it provides for the safeguarding of international peace and security. Any recourse by our Organization to preventative or enforcement measures, including the use of armed force, should not be based on innovations or assumptions that contradict the Charter, but on clearly defined Charter provisions which are binding on all Members of the Organization.

98. Consideration of all the legal, political, constitutional, financial and other aspects of the problem of United Nations peace-keeping operations should be based on the study of those provisions, with due

regard for their importance. All matters relating to the nature and aim of preventative and enforcement measures and the competent organs responsible for them and their implementation, like those relating to the obligations of Member States, must be settled in accordance with the Charter. The attempts to amend the Charter have always aimed at the respective functions and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly and their interdependence. While hiding behind constitutional and legal arguments, those attempts have always been inspired by well defined political motives. The attack against exclusive competence of the Security Council to take preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace is in reality directed against the political and legal foundation on which our Organization stands. The attempt to transfer certain functions and power of the Security Council to the General Assembly is merely part of a not very ingenious scheme thought up by certain imperialist States which wish to be able to defend their own interests, by using armed force in the name of the United Nations, and thus carry out all their operations under the United Nations flag.

99. Representing as it does a small country, the Bulgarian delegation wishes to state that such attempts to curtail the powers of the Security Council and to impair the principle of unanimity of its permanent members may well transform the United Nations into an instrument of the policy pursued by the imperialist and colonialist Powers against the small countries and against the countries which have acceded to independence in recent years.

100. In this respect, we associate ourselves fully with the following statement from the Memorandum submitted by the USSR Government on 16 March 1967:

"If the rule of unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council did not exist, the imperialists could without any difficulty use the United Nations for crushing the national liberation movements of peoples ^{7/}."

101. Since the Security Council is alone competent to undertake preventative and enforcement measures for the maintenance of peace and security, it is also entitled to resolve all questions relating to the preparation, execution and financing of such operations.

102. The note from the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations, date 17 December 1964, categorically states:

"Under the Charter, the Security Council is competent to take preventative or enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. By virtue of those powers, it is within the competence of the Security Council to take decisions in all matters relating to the establishment of United Nations armed forces, the definition of their duties, their composition and strength, the direction of their operations the structure of their command, the duration of their stay in the area of operations and the financing of the expenditures involved ^{8/}."

^{7/} *Ibid.*, document S/7841.

^{8/} *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, Annex 21, document A/5839.*

103. We continue to maintain that position of principle and we are of the opinion that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should take this as a starting point for its examination of means of financing and provision of facilities, so that Member States can make available to the United Nations the means to carry out peace-keeping operations, in conformity with the Charter.

104. With regard to how those operations should be financed the report of the Special Committee [A/6654/ contains a number of specific proposals, inter alia, that the cost should be borne by the aggressor, that a portion of the cost should be borne by the States directly concerned, and that voluntary contributions should be solicited and expenses shared among all Member States.

105. We believe that previous debates on these questions, allow us to hope that a just and acceptable solution, in keeping with the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter, can be found. No one can deny that, under the general principles of law and the tenets of international law, anyone who violates international law by threatening or causing a breach of the peace must assume full responsibility for his illegal acts and bear the cost of the damages he has caused, including the cost of operations undertaken to prevent or put an end to the aggression.

106. We are of the opinion that the Special Committee should also study the practical advantages of other methods of financing peace-keeping operations, and should make recommendations on the matter to the Security Council.

107. My delegation considers that special attention should be given to problems of the provision of facilities, and also to the application of those passages in the Charter that deal with these matters, in particular Articles 43 to 47. In the course of the recent discussion in the Special Committee and in the General Assembly, as well as during the past year, a number of delegations made constructive and useful proposals. In this connexion we would draw attention to a letter from the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, dated 13 April 1967 [A/6652], which contains a number of considerations of principle and some carefully thought out recommendations. The report of the Special Committee also represents a useful basis for future debates on these questions.

108. As the representative of a country whose Government declared, as early as 1964, that it was prepared to place a contingent of its armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter, I wish to reaffirm that declaration.

109. In conclusion, I should like to stress that the political, constitutional, legal, financial and technical problems I have mentioned should be examined in greater detail, with a view to making the best and most productive use of the opportunities offered by the Charter and the machinery of the United Nations, basing our actions on the provisions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. This fully justifies the proposal that these questions should be discussed by the Special Committee until the

twenty-third session of the General Assembly, to which the Committee is to present its report.

110. We believe that the solution to the question must be sought along these lines, and not by trying to make the United Nations into a world policeman.

111. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): The views of the Jamaican delegation on the subject which is before the General Assembly this morning have been stated fully in previous meetings of this Organization, particularly in the 482nd meeting of the Special Political Committee in December 1965 and in the 527th and 529th meetings of that same Committee in November and December 1966. I have no intention, therefore, of inflicting on the Assembly a lengthy dissertation on the merits of the arguments and proposals which are recorded in the report of the Committee of Thirty-three [A/6654].

112. I have come to this rostrum to speak on two matters only, which, in my judgement, have not been given in the preceding exchanges either the attention or the emphasis which they deserve. I am not trying to present a comprehensive statement once more of our views, but simply to make reference to two disjointed matters which have been discussed before the Assembly.

113. The first of these matters has reference to the rival claims to the United Nations power of assessment. By this I mean the respective claims by the advocates of exclusive General Assembly competence and exclusive Security Council competence, respectively, to make levies or demand a financial contribution from Member States for the purpose of defraying expenditures of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

114. I fear that there might be some weakening of resolve in this matter, and I wish to urge those of us who believe in and wish to safeguard the General Assembly's role in the maintenance of international peace to stand firm on the exclusive nature of the Assembly's power to make assessments upon Member States.

115. As Members know, Jamaica has always exhibited a scrupulous respect for the primary responsibility of the Security Council in the sphere of maintaining international peace. We know that when action to maintain or restore international peace is required, the Security Council has been given primary responsibility and competence by the Charter. The Council can determine the scale, the character and the duration of any military operation, whether such operation be of enforcement nature or otherwise. It can call upon Member States to take part in a joint exercise and, in consultation with the States concerned, of course, it can determine what share of the joint operation each State shall undertake with its own resources. It is competent to designate and organize the command. It can lay down areas of co-operation between Member States. It has even, I believe, the authority to receive and to dispose of voluntary contributions towards the common expense. What the Security Council has no authority to do is to levy any compulsory charges on any Member State to defray the expenses of such a joint operation. By Article 17 of the Charter, the power to make assessment on

Member States is exclusively committed into the hands of the Assembly, and no special interpretations, no inferences, no deductions—none of those can be used legally to maintain that the Security Council can assume or usurp this power.

116. We shall not be enhancing the prestige of the United Nations Organization or fortifying its capacity to maintain the peace if we seek to take away from the Security Council powers which are committed to it by the Charter. Neither, by the same token, will it reinforce the moral authority of the Organization or fortify its capacity to maintain the peace if we seek to deprive the Assembly of powers which are exclusively committed into its hands by that same Charter.

117. My second purpose in coming to the rostrum has to do with the subject-matter of today's discussion. I wish to say to the Assembly that the question of peace-keeping operations, no matter how comprehensive the review we undertake or how varied the aspects in which the question is considered, is still too narrow for the present time. It is still a part only of the broad subject of the maintenance of international peace and security, which, we are sure, involves much more. 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 the type of effort which has come to be known as the peace-keeping operation. 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 we seem to be arriving at almost by agreement or by default. 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.

118. 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.

119. When questions affecting international security are debated in this Assembly, Jamaica speaks as one of many small Powers, as a country which desperately wants to rely on the United Nations for the protection of its security. Being genuinely peace-loving people, having no intention at any time of committing acts of aggression, seeing ourselves only as the potential victims of aggression, we are naturally concerned to see the United Nations establish and maintain arrangements under which protecting forces can be interposed between us, or any other potential victim, and aggressors. We are concerned, of course, that these United Nations forces should be interposed by the appropriate authority, legitimately interposed by the full authority of the whole international community. We regret to say that we cannot find this sort of protection or this sort of promise of protection in the peace-keeping operation as it has evolved. It is natural, therefore, that we

should be less than enthusiastic about procedures in the United Nations which decline to name aggressors, which decline even to state who was attacked or who it was that first resorted to force.

120. It was with these considerations in mind that at the last session of the Assembly the Jamaican delegation moved, in the Special Political Committee, that certain decisions should be taken by the Assembly. The Special Political Committee adopted, and then transmitted to the plenary session, three draft resolutions, from one of which I wish to quote. It is draft resolution C in the report of the Special Political Committee to the Twenty-first session, under which the Assembly would have requested the Security Council—or, in the appropriate language of the draft resolution, would recommend to the Security Council—that, *inter alia*:

"it proceed to negotiate arrangements with Member States or groups of Member States under which armed forces, assistance and facilities would be made available to the Council, at its call, in accordance with the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter".^{2/}

121. The Assembly would have assured the Security Council of its full co-operation, if the Council required it, in the negotiation of the arrangements mentioned above. This draft resolution was available to the Committee of Thirty-three. The Committee has been unable to make any recommendation in the matter. This is regrettable, and it is a matter of regret to my delegation that the draft resolution which the Special Committee has proposed that the Assembly should now adopt ignores entirely the resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 2220 (XXI), of 19 December 1966, which referred that matter to this special session.

122. Unless the Committee succeeds in reaching a consensus on this particular proposal, which is of special interest to States in our position; unless the Special Committee manages to make a recommendation in the matter for consideration by the Assembly at the twenty-second session, the Jamaican delegation may find itself obliged to reintroduce at the twenty-second session a proposal to the same effect as that which the Assembly failed to adopt last year.

123. The PRESIDENT: We have now come to the final stage of the Assembly's consideration of agenda item 8. It is my understanding that Members would wish first to take a decision on the recommendation made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. That recommendation is that the Assembly adopt the draft resolution contained in the report of the Special Committee [A/6654, para. 153] I now put that draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 90 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.

124. The PRESIDENT: By the vote just taken the General Assembly has decided to request the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue its work and to report on the progress thereof to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 33, document A/6603, para. 25.

The Assembly must now decide on how to deal with the report which the Special Political Committee submitted during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and which was referred to this special session. The Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations proposed, during his statement yesterday morning, that the General Assembly should decide to transmit the report, with the draft resolutions it contains, to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations so that the Special Committee may study it and take it into account as its work proceeds. As members are aware, that proposal was made at the outset of the 1519th plenary meeting, held yesterday.

125. In the statements which have been made in the debate on this item, no objection has been raised.

I personally have had some contacts with a number of representatives and have not heard any objection to the proposal. It seems indeed that the general feeling among Members of the General Assembly is towards supporting that proposal made by the Chairman of the Special Committee.

126. Therefore, if I hear no objections at this stage, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the proposal to transmit the report of the Special Political Committee to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.