

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 689th

MEETING

(Closing meeting)

Wednesday, 10 December 1969,
at 3.30 p.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Eugeniusz KULAGA (Poland).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. FARACE (Italy), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 35

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (concluded) (A/7742 and A/SPC/L.178)

1. Mr. SEN (India) said he wished to make a few brief comments regarding the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/7742). Although the Working Group had done some useful work, since it had reached agreement on five of the eight chapters of model I, it was precisely the most sensitive questions (establishment, direction and control, legal arrangements, and financial arrangements) that were still pending. Those questions should be carefully discussed by the Member States so that the study might profit from the experience of the different countries with regard to peace-keeping. Such consultations were all the more important in that certain kinds of operations could be undertaken only at the invitation of the interested States or with their express consent.

2. It had also been stated that model I might serve as a prototype for a model II, which would deal with peace-keeping operations on a larger scale. Although it would be premature to comment on any particular details of the study envisaged, his delegation wished to point out that each model should be considered on its own merits and could not automatically be set up as a precedent. He did not doubt that the Special Committee would carefully and seriously examine not only the model it was considering now, but all suggestions regarding future models as well.

3. Since he was convinced that increased participation in the debates would help expedite the task of finding solutions to many problems, he was pleased to note that the report stated that the meetings of the Working Group were open to the members of the Special Committee and

that future meetings would be announced in the *Journal of the United Nations*.

4. His delegation wished to congratulate the officers of the Special Committee, particularly its Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, who has so ably led that Committee in its work.

5. In conclusion, he stressed the importance of peace-keeping for the United Nations, which would be able to look to the future with confidence if the Member States renounced the use of force in international relations and agreed to associate peace-keeping with peace-building. In that spirit, his delegation would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

6. Mr. WARNER (United Kingdom) thanked Mr. Cuevas Cancino for his patient and wise guidance of the work of the Special Committee; he also thanked the Secretariat for its co-operation and in particular for the solid piece of research which had been contributed in the way of the volume II material. He commended also the work of the peace-keepers in the field, some of whom had lately been killed or wounded in the service of the United Nations.

7. His delegation had been reasonably encouraged by the year's progress in the Special Committee, while sharing some of the disappointment that had been expressed. It was indeed disappointing that no progress had been made towards the goal of reliable financing. However, like other speakers, he recognized that much hard work and practical discussion underlay that Committee's report (A/7742). There had been a genuine forward movement after the ineffective efforts of the past. There had been some modification in traditional positions and more would be needed.

8. In 1970 the Special Committee should continue its work, complete model I and make a start on model II. There was no reason why this should not be achieved by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, provided that work could continue in the same spirit as in 1969, taking account not only of the principles of the Charter but of the whole organic growth resulting from their implementation in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. Thus the United Kingdom gave its full support to draft resolution A/SPC/L.178, of which it was a sponsor.

9. It must be noted, however, that the draft resolution did not cover the financing of peace-keeping operations. Past debts really must be liquidated. He recalled that the contributions made in response to the Secretary-General's appeal for funds in 1965 still amounted only to some \$20 million, of which the contribution made by the United Kingdom Government in 1965 accounted for half. It was equally important not to overlook the problem of future

financing, and he hoped that the Committee would be able to make progress on this in 1970.

10. The United Kingdom was willing to continue to play a full part in the Special Committee's work. It did not intend to adopt a doctrinaire approach and continued to be guided by the principles set out by Lord Caradon at the fifth special session in the General Assembly on 22 May 1967:

"We continue to believe in the primary responsibility of the Security Council and in the complementary functions of the Council and the General Assembly in the preservation of international peace. We continue to believe in the principle of collective responsibility of all Member States for peace-keeping expenses. We continue to believe in the necessity for greater efficiency in the command and control and training and logistic supply of peace-keeping troops. We continue to support the authority of the Secretary-General." (1520th plenary meeting, para. 27.)

11. Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus) recalled that for several years Cyprus had had direct experience with a peace-keeping operation. It was generally recognized that the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus had been successful. The problems it had encountered had been met pragmatically, thanks to the political consensus of all concerned. It could not be expected that the same would hold true of other cases and that was why, if the United Nations was to be able to play its part in keeping international peace, a general agreement must be reached before any operation was carried out. In drawing up such an agreement, the Special Committee should bear in mind the lessons of the past in its attempts to reconcile existing differences.

12. As a small country that was dependent upon the system of collective security, Cyprus had long favoured the establishment of a permanent force that would be recruited, organized and financed by the United Nations and placed under its authority. However, he recognized the fact that conditions were not yet propitious for the implementation of such a force.

13. The outcome of the Special Committee's four years of work was far from satisfactory, as it had not been able to address itself to the most sensitive problems or to propose over-all solutions. Indeed, the nature and complexity of the questions were such that it might be well to take time to reconcile views and patiently to await more favourable circumstances. It was therefore with diminished satisfaction that his delegation had noted the progress of the Working Group over the past year.

14. He wished to express his appreciation to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, as well as to the other officers and to the Working Group, for their efforts. He thanked the Secretariat for the excellent documentation it had provided. His delegation was pleased that agreement had been reached on five of the eight chapters of model I. However, it noted that the three chapters which were pending were precisely the ones that presented the most difficult and controversial problems. Particular attention must be given to the examination of the executive powers to be granted to the Secretary-General for day-by-day decisions, in view of the fact that it was not feasible for a committee to direct operations in the field.

15. His delegation could not but express regret that no progress had been made with regard to model II. It hoped that the Special Committee would spare no effort in the future in order to make tangible progress in its work. It was in that spirit that his delegation would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

16. Before concluding his remarks, he wished to congratulate the many representatives who had spoken before him for their constructive and thoughtful suggestions; in particular, he fully endorsed the observations made by the United States representative (687th meeting) with regard to the relationship between peace-keeping and peace-building.

Mr. Kulaga (Poland) took the Chair.

17. Mr. JAZIC (Yugoslavia) said that his country, which had participated in most of the United Nations peace-keeping operations, attached great importance to that question, since it was directly connected with the fundamental objective of the Organization, which was to maintain international peace and security.

18. He regretted that the Special Committee had not been able to submit a complete report to the General Assembly on the military observers established or authorized by the Security Council. However, the Special Committee's report (A/7742) showed that real progress had been made in the work of the Working Group, which had thoroughly studied all the questions that were to be covered by model I, and had reached agreement on a number of chapters of that model. The fact that the great Powers had seriously tried to resolve their long-standing differences was an encouraging sign.

19. His delegation was not unaware of the political scope of the very delicate questions raised by model I. It was convinced that real progress could be made only through a pragmatic and patient approach and if the work was conducted in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and took account of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

20. His delegation was glad to note that, with a view to closer co-operation between all the members of the Special Committee, the report specified that the meetings of the Working Group were open to the members of the Special Committee and stated that those meetings would in the future be announced in the *Journal of the United Nations*.

21. The problems which had not been solved concerned mainly the establishment, direction and control and legal and financial arrangements. While his delegation preferred to reserve its position with regard to the substance of the question examined by the Working Group, it wished to stress the importance of two categories of problems.

22. First, with regard to the competence and responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations in peace-keeping operations, his delegation considered, while recognizing that the Security Council had the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, that the role of the General Assembly in that regard should not be forgotten. Indeed, no provision of the Charter prevented the General Assembly from assuming its responsibilities in that sphere whenever the necessity arose.

23. Secondly, it was essential to protect the sovereign rights of the host State, since if that was not done peace-keeping operations would not fulfil their purpose. It was indispensable to have the consent of the host State in order to undertake peace-keeping operations on its territory and it was also necessary to give it an appropriate role in determining how long the operations would continue and when they would end. In no case should interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned be allowed.

24. He expressed his delegation's gratitude to Mr. Cuevas Cancino and to the other officers of the Special Committee for the efforts they had made to advance the work of that Committee. He hoped that the Special Committee would be able to begin work on model II, dealing with peace-keeping operations on a larger scale, before the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. His delegation supported the Special Committee's recommendation that the General Assembly should authorize it to continue its work and would vote in favour of draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

25. Mr. FARACE (Italy) noted that, in the course of the past year, encouraging progress had been made in the review of the question of peace-keeping operations, one of the essential tasks of the United Nations. It was true that those operations had not been provided for in the Charter, but certain events had forced the United Nations to improvise them. What was necessary, now as before, was to agree on systematic and reliable arrangements, which would be sufficiently practical and flexible to be applied to any conflict that might arise. All aspects of peace-keeping operations should be provided for in those arrangements, including the most debated aspect, financing, since it had been the reason for the establishment of the Special Committee in 1965. His delegation hoped that, by the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the review of the means of financing those operations would have progressed, and it considered that the contributions of Member States could be adapted to the needs of each operation. His Government had always been interested in strengthening the possibilities available to the United Nations for the maintenance of peace: it had taken part in all the operations, either financially or by furnishing personnel, and his delegation had participated in the work of the Special Committee since its establishment. That interest had been confirmed once more in the statement that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs had made to the Assembly at the current session (1783rd plenary meeting).

26. His delegation expressed satisfaction with the report of the Special Committee (A/7742) and paid a tribute to its Rapporteur, its Chairman and its secretary, and to the Secretariat, which had prepared the documentation. However, the report submitted did not meet the most ambitious expectations or the recommendations of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 2451 (XXIII). His delegation would have liked to see the draft of model I and the schema of model II completed. However, the disappointment felt by many delegations should not obscure the fact that the schema of model I had been completed and that the agreement reached concerned five of its eight chapters. His delegation was pleased to note the spirit of co-operation and desire for agreement that prevailed in the Special Committee, which it hoped would enable the remaining

difficulties to be more easily surmounted. It was true that those problems concerned the legal arrangements, the financial arrangements, the rules relating to the establishment and the direction and control of observation missions, and it could not be expected that they would be solved without difficulties. His delegation was nevertheless convinced that they would be solved and that model I would be completed in the course of the coming months. It recommended that the Special Committee's report should be approved and supported draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

27. Mr. STORDRANGE (Norway) reviewed the work of the Special Committee, the results achieved and the complex problems still to be resolved in order to complete model I, which problems had always prevented an agreement from being reached on the peace-keeping role and possibilities of the United Nations. On the whole, the report (A/7742) submitted did not warrant pessimism. Although the review which had been undertaken did not deal with the most difficult peace-keeping operations, it nevertheless raised important questions of principle inherent in every type of operation. If they were resolved in the case of observers, they would also be resolved in other cases. Moreover, the Members of the Organization were now examining peace-keeping problems from a practical and technical viewpoint, rather than from a doctrinary one. His delegation trusted that the system of provisions for directing peace-keeping operations would be established as soon as possible. However, it approved of the method of gradual progress.

28. It could perhaps be said that previous discussions devoted to peace-keeping problems had been fruitless, but the reason for that should be sought in the importance which Member States attached to those activities. Once undertaken, they had often succeeded. In any event, they constituted one of the most important forms of international co-operation. They corresponded to the main task of the United Nations, whose scope in that field should therefore be extended. The approaching twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization should provide the incentive for Member States to improve its financial situation and thus to improve its working atmosphere.

29. Mr. BHATT (Nepal) said that the main task of the United Nations was, as it had been from the outset, the preservation of peace, which required that it should establish the terms and conditions of operations undertaken to that end. His delegation, which had in the past regretted that the Special Committee had been unable to agree upon a plan of action, would have liked the study on military observers, on model I, to be completed that year. None the less, it welcomed the progress which had been made, for it appreciated the difficulties which the Special Committee had encountered. It hoped that not only the completed model I would be submitted during the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, but also that the atmosphere of understanding and goodwill which existed in the Special Committee would facilitate the drafting of model II. It was convinced that the members of the Special Committee were aware of the importance and urgency of the problem; the success of future peace-keeping operations could depend on their work.

30. His delegation approved of the report of the Special Committee and recommended that its mandate should be extended. It would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

31. Mr. GHAUS (Afghanistan) said that Afghanistan's attitude with respect to the problems raised by peace-keeping operations was well enough known not to need to be repeated. In its report (A/7742) the Special Committee had confined itself primarily to facts. Agreement had been reached on some of the chapters of model I and the results already achieved should lead to further progress. Owing to the interdependence of the chapters of model I, his delegation did not believe that it could submit any observations until after all the chapters had been completed. It considered the work carried out satisfactory and hoped that the General Assembly would allow the Special Committee to continue its activities, in order to undertake the review of model II after completing model I.

32. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary) felt that the report of the Special Committee (A/7742) indicated that the work of that Committee, and especially of its Working Group, had been fruitful. The Working Group had completed five of the eight chapters of model I; it had also made progress in respect of the three remaining chapters, thanks to the spirit of co-operation which it had shown. It could therefore be hoped that next year the Special Committee would place comprehensive recommendations on the missions of military observers before the General Assembly, for submission to the Security Council. It could be considered that the elaboration of model I had been slow, but the issues involved were difficult questions of principle which could not be settled by a mere vote. It was to be hoped that the following year the Special Committee would be able to submit a schema for model II, concerning operations involving military contingents.

33. He congratulated the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, and said that he thought his statement at the 687th meeting of the Committee very useful. His delegation trusted that the mandate of the Special Committee would be renewed, and it would vote in favour of draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

34. The CHAIRMAN invited representatives who wished to do so to explain their vote on draft resolution A/SPC/L.178, before the vote.

35. Mr. NGUZA (Democratic Republic of the Congo) said that his delegation would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178, despite certain reservations. For example, in paragraph 2, mention was made only of military observer missions established or authorized by the Security Council; it was regrettable that no mention had been made of missions appointed by the General Assembly. Moreover, while congratulating the Special Committee on its work, his delegation believed that the review of the question should not be the exclusive purview of that body; other bodies were also qualified to submit objective studies on the subject.

36. It was to be hoped that the great Powers would make every effort to see that progress was made on the review of peace-keeping operations before the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

37. Mr. BRECKENRIDGE (Ceylon) said that in previous years his delegation had been among those which had supported the so-called "Irish" draft resolution. His delega-

tion had not ceased to support the ideas contained in that text; on the contrary, it hoped that the Special Committee would keep them in mind while drawing up its report. The report should not be merely a "handbook for future peace-keepers", in the words of the United Kingdom representative, but a comprehensive document which, it was to be hoped, would be submitted to the Assembly at its next session.

38. His delegation would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178, and trusted that the Special Committee's work would be more positive in the following year.

39. Mr. GHAFARI (Iran) recalled that his delegation had voted at the previous session for General Assembly resolution 2451 (XXIII), concerning the question under consideration, with some misgivings; it had considered that the Special Committee had not made much progress, but it had nevertheless wished to indicate its support. The progress reflected in the present report was equally unspectacular; however, the basic problems in connexion with peace-keeping had been broached, and would certainly be solved if the Special Committee's mandate was renewed.

40. Missions of observers had been the first topic considered, because, as the Canadian representative had said (687th meeting), it had appeared that agreement on that question would be reached most easily; in fact, the Special Committee had not made marked progress in the review of the question. Nevertheless, there was every reason to be satisfied that the deliberations of the Working Group had produced a spirit of co-operation.

41. The importance of the role played by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, should be noted, and his delegation would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178 with the hope that the Special Committee would be completely successful in its task.

42. Mr. ABDULGANI (Indonesia) stressed his own country's special interest in peace-keeping operations; in 1948-1949, the United Nations military observers sent to Indonesia had played an important part in the cease-fire with the Netherlands forces; subsequently, Indonesia had participated in its turn in United Nations operations at Gaza in 1956-1957, and then in the Congo in the early 1960s.

43. His delegation therefore appreciated the results attained by the Special Committee, which, while they were limited, indicated a real spirit of co-operation; it believed that that Committee could submit a comprehensive report within a reasonable space of time and it would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

44. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico), Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, after thanking members of the Committee for the tributes they had paid him, enlarged upon some of the issues raised during the debate.

45. Firstly, he explained that, if the elaboration of model I had been slower than expected, it was because many of the questions before the Special Committee had not been studied previously. Furthermore, the three work-

ing documents used by the Working Group and submitted respectively by Canada, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and the United States, were based on different concepts which had needed to be harmonized. The Working Group had not focused its attention merely on the easier chapters of model I, but had made a thorough study of all the chapters. It was true that three chapters had still to be completed, but they were extremely intricate.

46. Secondly, he wished to dispel any doubts that members might have concerning the nature of the operations considered by the Special Committee. It was competent to study voluntary operations alone and thus could not be said to be challenging the sovereignty of States. It could under no circumstances deal with operations arising under Chapter VII of the Charter.

47. Thirdly, he pointed out that the models drawn up by the Special Committee were not definitive, but would be placed before the Security Council for unanimous approval. There need be no fear that model I would serve as a precedent for other models, since only the methods used in drawing it up would, if they were suitable, be used.

48. In conclusion, he expressed regret that the Special Committee had been unable at the current session to complete the work entrusted to it under General Assembly resolution 2541 (XXIII). However, it should be borne in mind that the eight members of the Working Group were also the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/L.178 and had undertaken to complete the report on military observer missions before the General Assembly met for its twenty-fifth session.

49. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote draft resolution A/SPC/L.178.

The draft resolution was adopted by 77 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Completion of the Committee's work

50. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had carried out a fruitful study of four particularly important and delicate issues, which were of outstanding humanitarian interest, namely, the questions of atomic radiation, *apartheid* policies, Palestine refugees and peace-keeping operations. He thanked those who had assisted effectively in the accomplishment of that task, and in particular the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Farace, the Rapporteur, Mr. Akongo, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Bunche, and also the Committee Secretary, Mr. Chai. He noted with deep regret that Mr. Chai, whose extreme modesty was well known to all, and who had served the Committee, since its inception, with unparalleled devotion, establishing with the new Chairman of each succeeding session a relationship based on respect and affection, would be relinquishing his office the following year. In addition to his scholarship and experience, Mr. Chai possessed an invaluable sense of humour and an equanimity which had earned him the esteem and trust of all. The future Chairman of the Committee would unfortunately be deprived of the invaluable assistance and counsel of a very experienced officer, who displayed both an intimate knowledge of the procedures and precedents involved and an

impartiality that was boundless. He also thanked the other members of the Secretariat who had assisted the Committee in its work.

51. He was glad that the proceedings had taken place in a harmonious atmosphere and that the debate had been of a high level. He had derived great pleasure from presiding over the Committee at the present session.

52. Mr. MASITHELA (Lesotho), speaking on behalf of the African delegations, thanked the Chairman, the officers of the Committee, the Secretariat and the delegations. The constructive work carried out by the Committee augured well for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. He drew the attention of the Committee once more to the Manifesto on Southern Africa,¹ which, by calling for the social and political democratization of southern Africa, was helping to bring about universal justice and peace. The struggle against colonialism and the other systems which alienated man was part of an historical movement symbolized by the United Nations. Once the movement had triumphed, problems such as *apartheid* and the Palestine refugees would no longer exist.

53. Mr. ANSARI (Iran) congratulated the Chairman on the competence and impartiality which he had shown. He also thanked the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Farace, the Rapporteur, Mr. Akongo, and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Bunche, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, who had given the Committee the benefit of his prestige and his experience. He recalled also the valuable assistance of the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chai, who had long been working for the Committee and who knew its problems so well. In addition, he thanked the other members of the Secretariat and the delegations.

54. Mr. TOMEH (Syria), speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Arab States, stressed that the Committee had been considering some of the most difficult problems facing the United Nations; they were problems which concerned the whole of mankind. In that task, the Committee had made so much headway that, in his opinion, its work marked a historic date for the United Nations. The Chairman was to be commended for the patience, competence, impartiality and, when necessary, the firmness he had shown in the conduct of the Committee's work. His qualities of real statesmanship were the outcome of a considerable amount of hard work; moreover, they reflected the traditions of Poland, a great country by reason of its culture and its tragic past.

55. He went on to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Bunche, who for a long time had given the Committee the benefit of his patience and wisdom, and he regretted the departure of the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chai, whose abilities had been well attested by the Chairman. He also congratulated the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and the Secretariat, particularly the interpreters, for the services rendered to the Committee.

56. Mr. ARNESEN (Norway), speaking on behalf of the Western European delegations, warmly congratulated the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

Chairman, and thanked the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Farace, the Rapporteur, Mr. Akongo, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Bunche, the Committee Secretary, Mr. Chai, and the other members of the Secretariat for the assistance rendered to the Committee in its work. He regretted the departure of Mr. Chai, who had for years given valuable service to the Committee.

57. Mr. ROMANYUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on behalf of the representatives of socialist countries in Eastern Europe, expressed his satisfaction that the Chairman, whose delegation represented one of those countries, had shown, in directing the work of the Committee, qualities which had contributed so much to the success of that work. He congratulated the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, and thanked Mr. Bunche, Mr. Chai and the other members of the Secretariat for the efficient help rendered to the Committee.

58. Mr. SEN (India), speaking on behalf of the Asian delegations, considered that the successful conclusion of the work of the Committee was a good omen, particularly since 10 December was Human Rights Day; the protection of human rights had in fact been the aim during consideration of the questions before the Committee. He warmly congratulated the Chairman, whose qualities he had already had occasion to value in other circumstances, and extended his thanks to the other officers of the Committee and to the members of the Secretariat.

59. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico), speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Latin American countries,

congratulated the Chairman on the great competence which he had shown and considered that the other officers of the Committee and the members of the Secretariat were to be commended for the assistance which they had given to him.

60. Mr. JOHNSON (United States of America) endorsed the remarks of those representatives who had already congratulated the Chairman so eloquently. He extended his thanks to the officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat. He greatly regretted the departure of the Committee Secretary, Mr. Chai, who for a considerable time had rendered such valuable assistance to the Committee.

61. Mr. PERRAULT (Canada) also congratulated the Chairman, the officers of the Committee and the Secretariat, whose devoted service had enabled the Committee to carry out its work.

62. Mr. BUNCHE (Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs) thanked the representatives for their kind remarks, and wished to join in the tribute which had been paid to Mr. Chai; a long collaboration with the Committee Secretary had enabled him (Mr. Bunche) to appreciate his value and above all his human qualities.

63. The CHAIRMAN, speaking personally, and also on behalf of the officers of the Committee and the Secretariat, thanked the representatives for their kind words.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.