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**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 720th
MEETING**



Wednesday, 11 November 1970,
at 3.45 p.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Abdul Samad GHAUS
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 36

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (*continued*) (A/8081, A/SPC/L.193)

1. Mr. TARDOS (Hungary) said that he shared the feelings of the delegations that had expressed their disappointment that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had not been able to present even a complete text of model I, or an outline of model II. However, the issues dealt with by the Special Committee, as described in its report (A/8081), were certainly very complex and could not be solved by terminating the mandate of that Committee, but rather by accelerating its work. The composition of the Special Committee and its Working Group was a guarantee that a solution could be found within that framework. The establishment of a new body could only delay the working-out of a detailed plan for future United Nations peace-keeping activities.

2. United Nations peace-keeping operations should serve the interests of all Member States, and not those of one State or a group of States, and should be completely in accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. Currently, there seemed to be some common ground in the Special Committee for working out such arrangements. The General Assembly should therefore give the Special Committee time to solve those fundamental problems.

3. Although his Government did not feel financially responsible for the indebtedness of the United Nations, it was ready to make a voluntary contribution to liquidate that deficit if certain more important contributors gave some sign that they felt themselves bound by the consensus reached in the Special Committee at its 18th meeting, on 31 August 1965.¹ However, the financial problems of peace-keeping operations were essentially political and therefore could not be solved independently from the basic political problems. The principle of the collective responsibility of all the Members of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could not be used as cover for the responsibility of those Members whose behaviour made it unavoidable for the Security Council to initiate a peace-keeping mission. To establish a

special fund to finance peace-keeping operations, without a political settlement, would be premature.

4. As a member of the Special Committee, Hungary would spare no effort to contribute to the solution of the remaining problems, and would support a draft resolution that renewed the mandate of the Special Committee and instructed it to accelerate its work.

5. Mr. CUMES (Australia) expressed sincere sympathy to the representative of France on the death of General de Gaulle.

6. The failure of the Special Committee to complete its consideration of model I had caused a number of delegations to have misgivings about its effectiveness. The Charter had given the permanent members of the Security Council special responsibility with regard to peace-keeping operations in the expectation that the unity of purpose which had carried the allies to victory would persist. The lack of concerted determination on the part of the great Powers had resulted in two long-term peace-keeping operations for which the membership of the United Nations as a whole had not accepted financial responsibility, to a deadlock in the formulation of acceptable models for peace-keeping operations and to the paralysis of the Organization in that respect.

7. Despite its disappointment, the Australian delegation believed that the full potentialities of the Special Committee had not yet been utilized. Without adopting specific proposals which might harden disagreement on other aspects of peace-keeping, the Special Political Committee should give careful attention to proposals emanating from the Special Committee or its members. Any scheme would of course lose some of its practical value if it did not have the prior support of the great Powers. It should be borne in mind that the differences of the great Powers with regard to financing had not in any way been reconciled by the consensus of 1965 on the non-application of Article 19 of the Charter, whereas that consensus had forced the United Nations to reconsider from the beginning the way in which peace-keeping operations should be authorized, financed, carried out and controlled.

8. As a member of the Special Committee, Australia was not in favour of setting a deadline on that Committee's work on the question and on the definition of accepted models, nor in favour of a proposal which would prematurely terminate its work. As the Mexican representative had inferred (715th meeting), agreement between the great Powers was the key to the problem. He understood that the existing arrangements within the Special Committee had not adequately provided for a dialogue between the great Powers.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annex No. 21*, document A/5916, para. 2.

9. Should the Special Committee be modified or discarded because of circumstances extraneous to its contribution and composition? Any alternative body would be subject to the same shortcomings. He agreed with the representative of Mexico that the Special Committee should give priority to encouraging the great Powers to intensify their efforts to resolve outstanding differences and should keep abreast of their consultations, so as to accommodate them in its conclusions.

10. It would be useful to provide a time-table for the future work of the Special Committee: the great Powers might be invited to report progressively to the Special Committee as they found common ground; it was to be hoped that such an approach would produce sufficient results by mid-1971 to enable the Special Committee to reconcile completely the views of its members before the twenty-sixth session.

11. His delegation fully shared the belief of the Canadian representative (*ibid.*) that, while accord among the great Powers was essential, the other Members could not abdicate their responsibility. On the other hand, collective responsibility should not diminish the prime responsibility of the great Powers. They should therefore be encouraged to take decisions by a certain date. The existing machinery of the Special Committee should be retained, with its composition and mandate intact.

12. His delegation supported the broad objectives of draft resolution A/SPC/L.193, submitted by Kuwait, calling for the establishment of a permanent fund to finance peace-keeping operations, which was symptomatic of the desire of Member States for the early establishment of effective machinery. Nevertheless, it had reservations about its practical implications and about the General Assembly making decisions on the financial aspect without prior agreement on constitutional issues. A great deal of work remained to be done on the substance of peace-keeping before the proposal contained in the draft resolution could be considered by the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

13. The Canadian representative had suggested that the solution to the constitutional and management problems of peace-keeping operations might perhaps be to create a subsidiary organ of the Security Council, under Article 29 of the Charter, or to have recourse to the Military Staff Committee in certain cases. If their mandate was renewed, the Special Committee and its Working Group should give urgent attention to that question.

14. Finally, he said that his delegation supported the proposed extension of the Special Committee's mandate for another year; as was stated in paragraph 6 of the report, a just solution of long-standing problems that would be acceptable to all States required time, a patient approach and goodwill.

15. He supported the Canadian suggestion that the Special Committee should meet more often to hear progress reports from its Working Group, as was also suggested in paragraph 8 of the report. As the representative of Morocco had suggested, the Special Committee, through its Working Group, should stimulate great-Power agreement on specific issues, if possible in accordance with a specific time-table.

16. Mr. KANIARU (Kenya) stressed the significance that the small countries attached to the question of peace-keeping and welcomed the clear statements by the representatives of the United States of America and the Soviet Union that they would try to solve the problems that were still hindering progress in the work of the Special Committee and its Working Group. His delegation shared the feelings of those who had regretted the lack of progress in elaborating model I, and hoped that if its mandate was extended, the Special Committee would be equal to its task in the coming year.

17. The representative of Czechoslovakia (718th meeting) had highlighted the reason for the existing state of affairs, namely the long-standing divergence based on the ideological and political views of the big Powers.

18. Constitutionally, there seemed to be no problem: under Article 24 of the Charter, primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lay with the Security Council. However, that responsibility was not exclusive; the Charter recognized the role of the General Assembly to take appropriate action, should the Security Council be paralysed by inaction, as had happened in the past. Such inaction was incompatible with strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter.

19. His delegation was categorically opposed to any State using the United Nations for its own benefit or that of an allied group—a practice which had made some States advocate the revision of the Charter to prevent the United Nations from being paralysed by inaction when the big Powers endeavoured to place their own interests above those of peace and security, and to prevent the big Powers from weakening peace-keeping operations in the hour of crisis by use of the veto power. As the Secretary-General had said before the General Assembly at the closing meeting of the commemorative session (1883rd plenary meeting): "What has to come is an acceptance of the fact that what is good for the international community will in the long run be the best for each nation as well."

20. All Members of the United Nations, even the smallest countries—and the members of the Special Committee—had a role to play while the super-Powers held bilateral talks, and his delegation hoped that their participation would be taken into account.

21. He hoped, like the representatives of France (716th meeting) and Nepal (718th meeting), that the Canadian representative's suggestion for the creation of a subsidiary organ of the Security Council under Article 29 of the Charter, or for the use of the Military Staff Committee for certain purposes, would be carefully studied by the Special Committee. As the representative of Italy had observed, whatever organ was created should use the accumulated experience of the Secretary-General in connexion with peace-keeping operations. The reconstitution of the Special Committee proposed by the representative of Mexico deserved study, and his delegation would welcome further details on the subject.

22. His delegation supported draft resolution A/SPC/L.193, relating to the establishment of a permanent fund for peace-keeping operations. The fact that the fund would

be independent of the regular budget of the United Nations would eliminate the financial difficulties which had so far beset the Organization when some States had refused to pay their contributions for certain peace-keeping operations. His delegation fully supported the criteria proposed in operative paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs (a) (ii) and (iii). Given their special responsibility for peace-keeping, the permanent members of the Security Council should make a substantial contribution to the financing of the operations; so too should the other developed countries, in line with the principle that much was expected of those who had been honoured with much. The developing countries, including Kenya, would also bear their share of the financial burden, in accordance with their economic means.

23. Yet none of the big Powers had unequivocally accepted the commitment asked of them, although the representative of the United States of America (715th meeting) had referred to equitable financing of operations on the basis of collective financial responsibility. The representative of Italy had observed (718th meeting) that that principle should be confirmed, and that it was at the very basis of the concept of collective security enshrined in the Charter. However, the fact that certain representatives who had spoken after the draft resolution had been introduced had made no reference to those suggestions clearly illustrated their indifference. Under operative paragraph 1, sub-paragraph (b), the fund would be placed under the authority of the Security Council and its resources made available to finance peace-keeping operations; but what would happen should the Council not agree on defraying the costs of a particular operation? He considered that the residual powers of the General Assembly should be mentioned.

24. The Kenyan delegation would also like clarification of the reference to United Nations Development Programme and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose constitutions might require modification before the final decision was taken on the role to be assigned to them. The Secretary-General could perhaps be asked to study the implications of such a decision and report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session. The Committee could then make such recommendations as it saw fit, particularly in the light of the assessments of financial contributions envisaged in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. Meanwhile, the Special Committee could be invited to continue the study of matters falling within its competence. It was time for action, and above all for success in the work on models I and II.

25. As the representatives of the United States of America and Italy had stated, the gravest blow to the confidence and hopes placed in the United Nations would be failure to take action to strengthen peace-keeping operations.

Mr. Mahjoubi (Morocco), Rapporteur, took the Chair.

26. Mr. HOLDER (Liberia) paid tribute to the statesmanship of General de Gaulle, and offered his condolences to the French delegation.

27. Turning to the question under consideration, he said that most representatives speaking on the subject had expressed disappointment at the lack of progress in the

work of the Special Committee. The whole question could be viewed in two different ways.

28. An idealistic approach would ignore the fundamental nature and complexity of the problems of peace-keeping operations: it would seek a return by all Member States to the prevailing disposition of the pre-Charter days, and would concentrate more on the problems which gave rise to the need for the creation of peace-keeping machinery.

29. A realistic and practical approach, on the other hand, would face the realities of the world and the attitudes of the major Powers. It would consider all the issues involved, encourage collective responsibility, and emphasize the necessity for agreement among the major Powers and for effective peace-keeping machinery within the United Nations.

30. He cited paragraph 7 of the Special Committee's report (A/8081), in which the importance and the delicacy of the Special Committee's task were characterized with a lucidity which in itself represented progress by comparison with 1969. Accordingly, his delegation, preferring the realistic approach, would wish to emphasize the importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations and to invite concrete expressions of goodwill on the part of all Member States, especially the major Powers. In the current state of affairs what was needed was a sincere effort to understand and deal with the basic problems. Efforts would also have to be made to remove apprehensions and suspicions and encourage conditions conducive to the solution of difficulties. Since the Special Committee, while recognizing the complexity of its task, nevertheless hoped to be able to carry it out, his delegation thought that its mandate should be renewed.

Mr. Hierro Gambardella, (Uruguay), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

31. Mr. RAKOTOFIRINGA (Madagascar) paid tribute to the memory of General de Gaulle, a tireless builder of peace and a symbol of decolonization, and extended his condolences to the French delegation.

32. The Members of the United Nations all agreed that the question of the maintenance of peace, dealt with in the first paragraph of Article 1 of the Charter, was of primary importance. Unfortunately, the report of the Special Committee was if anything a recognition of failure in that regard. That was both disappointing and detrimental to the prestige of the United Nations, which had thus not yet been able to solve the problems inherent in the primary task assigned to it. Of course, man could not hope to solve in the space of twenty-five years problems that had been with him from his earliest beginnings. It was encouraging to see him determined to confront those problems seriously. And since improvisation was not good enough in dealing with such problems, he must take his time and hurry on without haste. The current situation was in any case propitious for work on the problem of peace-keeping, and the opportunity should be seized. If the major Powers must not remain indifferent to the appeals made to them, since, as the Special Committee pointed out in paragraph 7 of its report, agreement among them was essential for the resolution of the remaining difficulties, it was equally incumbent on other States not to shirk their responsibilities.

33. He paid tribute to the Special Committee and, in particular, to Mr. Cuevas Cancino, its Chairman. He would not oppose the renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee, believing that it should be given the opportunity to complete its work. He wondered, however, whether it would not be advisable to increase the Committee's membership. In any event, its terms of reference needed to be more clearly defined.

34. As to draft resolution A/SPC/L.193, his delegation had already partly explained its attitude. It was not opposed to the establishment of a permanent fund, but would attach particular importance to making the contributions voluntary. It felt that the fund should be placed under the authority of the Security Council, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. It had very serious reservations concerning the utilization for other purposes of funds earmarked for development. Study of the means, services and personnel which could be made available to the United Nations should, in his delegation's view, be assigned to the Military Staff Committee, assisted if necessary by other Member States. His delegation reserved the right to speak again on that subject.

35. Mr. TEJA (India) paid tribute to General de Gaulle's qualities as a leader, a statesman and a patriot, and requested the French delegation to convey the condolences of his delegation to the Government and people of France.

36. In a world in which the prohibition of the unlawful use of force was only imperfectly observed, the maintenance of peace became the paramount objective of the United Nations. In that field, although the Organization had acquired experience in twenty-five years of effort, the General Assembly had still felt it necessary at its twenty-fourth session (see resolution 2576 (XXIV)) to direct the Special Committee to make a comprehensive study of the question. The work of the Special Committee had clarified many issues, and a realistic attitude had emerged. Thus there was greater awareness that the Security Council had the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, although the General Assembly had a complementary role to play in that regard. The question of financing previous operations, although perhaps not insoluble, still had to be settled. As to the guidelines for future peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations, the three main chapters of model I, which concerned military observers, had not been completed, owing to lack of agreement. His delegation would like to see the Working Group expedite its work and keep the Special Committee better informed about the progress of its deliberations. It also felt that any model adopted by the Working Group should be fully discussed by the Special Committee and should not become a prototype for other models without the agreement of all concerned.

37. He wished to make some comments in addition to those his delegation had already made at the twenty-fourth session (689th meeting). First, the Special Committee had done useful work, and its mandate should be extended, the more so since the problem needed to be pursued with patience, perseverance and a spirit of accommodation. Secondly, the work of the Special Committee required the participation and agreement of all groups, since a genuine consensus was necessary if the arrangements made were to

be viable. The decision-making process needed to be given as much attention as the substance of the issues under discussion. Thirdly, if the guidelines for peace-keeping operations were to enjoy universal acceptance, they should be adopted only after the most careful and thorough scrutiny. Detailed agreement should be reached on the scope and objectives of the machinery being elaborated. Without agreement on the fundamental issues, proliferation of subsidiary organs merely transferred the differences of opinion to other forums. Finally, a piecemeal approach should not be allowed to obscure the problem as a whole.

38. The non-aligned countries had a particular stake in the matter and had resolved, at their recent Conference at Lusaka, to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping capacity.

39. In seeking reliable peace-keeping methods, however, the United Nations should give adequate attention to the fundamental principle of the non-use of force in the settlement of differences, which had been reiterated recently by the General Assembly in the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (resolution 2625 (XXV)). What was necessary was rules which could prevent conflicts. In any case, India, which had taken part in certain peace-keeping operations, was anxious that guidelines for such operations should be put on an agreed, concrete and reliable basis. His country was neither impatient nor pessimistic, and felt that goodwill and the will to peace would enable the Special Committee to resolve the remaining issues. It was in that spirit that his delegation would consider any drafts submitted.

40. Mr. NAVEIRO de la SERNA (Argentina) paid tribute to the greatness of General de Gaulle and extended his condolences to the French delegation.

41. His country had participated in various peace-keeping operations, and had taken part in the work of the Special Committee since its creation. The report of the Special Committee and the statements made by representatives during the current debate testified to a critical and realistic attitude as to the scant progress made in elaborating the models undertaken by the Special Committee. At the same time, an atmosphere of *détente* had been displayed during the discussions in the Special Committee with a view to finding a solution to the problems raised by those models, and given that atmosphere it should be possible to reach the desired consensus.

42. The members of the Committee knew the constitutional and legal difficulties attaching to the Special Committee's task and were therefore in a position to assess its efforts. For that reason, his delegation wished to join with those who supported the Special Committee in its work despite the lack of appreciable results. Moreover, those who were familiar with the work of the United Nations knew that, while the analysis to which the words and paragraphs of texts were subjected delayed the results, it also strengthened them precisely because of the agreement from which they derived. His delegation was pleased that the great Powers, whose role in the matter was a predominant one, were prepared to pursue their exchange of ideas until they

arrived at solutions acceptable to all concerned. It took an optimistic view of their sincere efforts to find ways to resolve the differences which hindered the progress of the Special Committee's work.

43. His delegation welcomed the suggestion made by the representative of Italy (718th meeting), which would admit to the Working Group all the members of the Special Committee who were also members of the Security Council. It had noted with interest the proposal made by the representative of Kuwait (A/SPC/L.193) concerning the problem of financing peace-keeping operations. The proposed creation of a permanent fund laid stress on a matter which was one of the main obstacles to the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations.

44. His delegation warmly supported the efforts of the Special Committee and the Working Group, as well as those of Mr. Cuevas Cancino and Mr. Badawi, the Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively, of the Special Committee. It would support the recommendations put forward by the Special Committee in its report and the annex thereto.

45. Mr. AMONOO (Ghana) expressed his condolences to the French delegation on the occasion of the death of General de Gaulle.

46. He recalled that at their recent conference at Lusaka the non-aligned countries had agreed that the best way of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations would be to complete arrangements for United Nations peace-keeping operations. Unfortunately, it was apparent from the report submitted by the Special Committee that attitudes had hardened. He recalled that nearly all the representatives speaking before him had expressed their disappointment and deplored the fact that nothing had been achieved for fourteen months. If the Special Committee's mandate was renewed, as advocated by its members, what guarantee was there that it would complete its task within a year or two? Was it not possible to refer the problem back to the Military Staff Committee, or any other subsidiary organ appointed by the Security Council in accordance with Article 29 of the Charter, to endeavour to solve the problems one by one? Could not the funds allocated to the Special Committee be devoted to other operations—for instance, to assistance to the freedom-fighters of southern Africa?

47. His delegation had doubts regarding the advisability of renewing the Special Committee's mandate. It considered that the maintenance of peace and security was the primary purpose of the United Nations and that it was not the special preserve of a select few Members.

48. With respect to the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations, his country had always advocated mandatory contributions. However, if such contributions could not be instituted, his country was prepared to consider the institution of voluntary contributions as an interim measure. That was why it would give careful consideration to draft resolution A/SPC/L.193.

49. Lastly, he exhorted all Member States to adopt a policy of flexibility and rise above their selfish interests, because the problem concerned the whole world.

50. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the question under consideration was an integral part of the general problem of the maintenance of international peace and security. His country had always spoken in favour of strengthening the role of the United Nations as an effective instrument in the struggle for peace. The Soviet peoples, who were well aware of the nature of war, would do their best to spare future generations from that scourge. His delegation's activities in the United Nations were oriented in that spirit and with a view to promoting co-operation and lessening tensions among all States.

51. He recalled that the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (resolution 2627 (XXV)) reaffirmed the determination of Member States to take concrete steps to fulfil the central task of the United Nations—the preservation of international peace and security. He also pointed out that the Security Council, for its part, had emphasized the importance of reaching early agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations, in conformity with the Charter.² Thus new documents had appeared alongside the Charter—the aforementioned Declaration and the communiqué of the Security Council—the provisions of which could serve as an additional legal basis for the solution of all problems relating to peace-keeping operations. Those texts should also encourage the work of the Special Committee and its Working Group.

52. Without underrating the role of the peaceful measures envisaged in the Charter for ensuring collective security, his delegation did not rule out the possibility of the use of force by the United Nations. However, it wished to stress that the use of military contingents or personnel in peace-keeping operations should be reserved for extremely urgent cases and should be subject to the condition that the organization and operation of the missions actually served the interests of all Member States, and not merely of a few.

53. It followed from the Charter that the Security Council was the only body empowered to take action for the maintenance and restoration of international peace and security. Its competence therefore embraced all questions relating to the establishment of United Nations armed forces, the definition of their task, their composition, their leadership, the length of their tour of duty in the field of operations, and other aspects of the problem.

54. His delegation affirmed its adherence to the position of principle which required that any significant decision regarding the creation, use and financing of armed forces which, in each individual case, participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations, should be taken by the required number of members of the Security Council, including all permanent members. That procedure alone ensured respect for the Charter. Indeed, peace-keeping operations had been carried out in violation of those fundamental provisions.

55. It was therefore a matter for concern that the Special Committee had, by its own admission, been unable to

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth year*, official communiqué of the 1555th meeting, para. 6.

discharge the mandate conferred on it by the General Assembly. Even though the Special Committee's debates had been constructive, it must be recognized that its work had practically come to a standstill. He regretted that it had been impossible to complete model I, despite the hopes which had been raised by the progress made the previous year. While he understood that the maintenance of peace gave rise to complex problems, he emphasized the need to pursue efforts for the prompt elaboration, in the strictest observance of the Charter, of principles which would make it possible for the United Nations to become a genuinely effective instrument for the maintenance of peace, while guaranteeing that the control and leadership of peace-keeping operations would fully meet the interests of all groups of States.

56. His delegation considered that the Special Committee's mandate should be extended and that it should be requested to pursue the task entrusted to it with greater urgency.

57. Mr. JAZIĆ (Yugoslavia) paid a tribute to the memory of General de Gaulle, former President of the French Republic.

58. He recalled that, like other representatives, he had hoped that the Special Committee would be in a position, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, to complete model I and to begin the preparation of model II. It was therefore with regret and disappointment that he noted that the Special Committee, by its own admission, had not been able to discharge the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and had made no further progress, owing primarily to lack of agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council on the remaining chapters of model I. While recognizing that an agreement among the major Powers was essential if the remaining differences were to be resolved, his delegation wished to emphasize that the members of the Special Committee and the Members of the United Nations as a whole should not, however, abdicate their responsibilities. The complexity of the problems at issue should not obscure the need to achieve results in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, which, according to the Charter, was the main purpose and *raison d'être* of the Organization.

59. The question was of special interest to many small and medium-sized countries which considered that peace-keeping operations helped protect their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. A resolution of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, for example, had urged a speedy resolution of differences on the initiation, control and financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations, so that the United Nations could play a more effective role in preserving peace. His delegation was convinced that if all parties concerned, and especially the great Powers, showed the necessary political will, satisfactory solutions to the unsolved problems could be found.

60. Two questions deserved particular attention. The first related to the competence and responsibilities of United Nations organs in the field of peace-keeping operations, and in particular to the roles of the Security Council, the

General Assembly and the Secretary-General. While the Charter conferred primary responsibility for maintaining peace on the Security Council, nothing in it prevented the General Assembly from discharging its responsibilities in the same field, if the need should arise. The second question concerned the relationship between observers and host countries. The sovereign rights of host countries had to be respected, including their right to consent to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation on their soil, and to play an appropriate role in determining the duration and the termination of operations. Nothing justified interference in the internal affairs of host countries. The United Nations should endeavour to ensure an impartial solution which satisfied the legitimate interests of all concerned, in conformity with the Charter.

61. His delegation felt that there was a need for fresh and determined efforts in the Special Committee toward finding adequate solutions. The problem was not a mere theoretical exercise; at any moment the United Nations might find itself obliged to set up a peace-keeping operation. The Committee should speed up its work, and show more flexibility and a common desire to complete the task conferred on it by the General Assembly. In that connexion, the proposal submitted by the representative of Kuwait (A/SPC/L.193), which dealt with a very important aspect of peace-keeping operations, was of particular interest. That proposal, and others, would require careful consideration when the time came. His delegation supported the idea that the Special Committee should re-examine its working methods, as well as those of its Working Group, in order to achieve broader participation by the members of the Special Committee in the negotiating process. To that end, his delegation was prepared to consider the possibility of wider representation in the Working Group.

62. He expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, and the other officers of the Special Committee for their tireless efforts. Yugoslavia intended to participate in the future work of the Special Committee, and hoped that the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly would bring real progress in the work on peace-keeping operations. His delegation supported the continuation of the Committee's mandate, but wished to emphasize the need for speeding up its work so as to complete it as early as possible in 1971.

63. Mr. GHAFARI (Iran) expressed his condolences to the French delegation on the death of General de Gaulle.

64. In voting at the twenty-fourth session (689th meeting) for the text that became resolution 2576 (XXIV) his delegation had expressed its disappointment at the lack of progress that had been made at that time; it could not help but realize that even less progress had been made during the past year. In view of the encouraging atmosphere of trust and goodwill that had appeared in the Special Committee, it was surprising that the Committee's efforts had not resulted in a single concrete measure in the important field of peace-keeping.

65. Referring to paragraph 7 of the Special Committee's report (A/8081), he said that if the Members of the United Nations failed year after year to take practical steps towards a solution, they would in effect be abdicating their responsibilities.

66. His delegation felt strongly that the legal intricacies of the internal jurisdictional arrangements of the United Nations should not be allowed to limit the Organization's peace-keeping potential. Legal and doctrinal positions needed to be softened; solutions were to be found not by engaging in disputes over constitutional interpretations, but by analysing past experience.

67. During the commemorative session, in particular, the whole world was looking to the Members of the United Nations for a show of decisiveness; the crucial question was whether they could afford to have the Organization fail to function. While he welcomed bilateral discussions and considered them essential, he felt it was the duty of every Member of the United Nations to encourage a greater sense of responsibility for maintaining international peace and security on the part of the great Powers.

68. For those reasons, slight changes in the Special Committee and its Working Group might help advance their work on the extremely intricate subject of peace-keeping. The suggestion made in that regard by the representative of Mexico (715th meeting) was of considerable interest and should receive proper attention. As pointed out by the representative of Italy (718th meeting) the proposal to increase the membership of the Working Group was of utmost importance; such a measure would facilitate the

Group's work. He favoured more frequent meetings by the Special Committee, as had already been suggested by the Committee itself in paragraph 8 of its report. In his delegation's view, the draft resolution to be adopted should extend the Special Committee's mandate for one year, but should also urge the Committee to reach substantial progress towards agreement.

69. He wished to emphasize that the points he had raised were not in any way aimed at individual members of the Special Committee. Its Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, whose dedication and integrity were well known, deserved particular praise. He agreed that in principle the Working Group's current methods were the best available way of seeking agreement, but felt that little progress towards agreement had been made. Time and the Special Political Committee's patience were running out.

70. The CHAIRMAN requested delegations who wished to submit draft resolutions to do so as soon as possible, so that the Committee could, as it had planned, conclude its work on the question before it by the end of the week.

71. He announced that Senegal wished to become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/L.193.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.