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NEW YORK

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Agenda item 35:

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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 (*continued*) (A/7742, A/SPC/L.178)

1. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden) said that, considering the complicated and controversial nature of the problems with which the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had to deal, its report (A/7742) could be regarded as satisfactory. The Special Committee had finally come to grips with some of the fundamental problems. With regard to the methods of work, the substantive discussions had been conducted in the Working Group while the other members had remained in a relatively passive role, but that was perhaps an inevitable trend. In that connexion he expressed the hope that the relations between the Working Group and the Special Committee as a whole would continue to be based on confidence.

2. It was also to be hoped that in drawing up guidelines for future operations, the Special Committee would be able to work towards an agreement while respecting the fundamental principles involved and bearing in mind the lessons of past operations, whether it was considering legal and constitutional questions or financial provisions. Moreover, the practical arrangements for future operations should take account of the interests of all countries, large and small; Sweden, which was a small country, wished to emphasize that that was essential if the United Nations was to enjoy the confidence of all and, consequently, if its peace-keeping activities were to be effective.

3. Sweden had been a member of the Special Committee ever since its establishment in 1965. Profiting from the experience it had acquired by its participation in almost all peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, it had tried to the best of its ability to further the work of the Committee. In that connexion he recalled his delegation's

letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee dated 20 March 1968¹ in which it described in some detail the various preparations which the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Governments had undertaken with a view to increasing their capability to participate in future operations; that information, as well as that of a similar nature provided by several other countries, would undoubtedly be of value in the study of model II.

4. Sweden would now like to cede its place on the Special Committee to another country in its region, in response to the appeal made by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, calling for the adoption of a system of voluntary rotation. He had informed the President of the General Assembly of that decision on 8 December 1969 (A/7632).

5. In conclusion, he expressed regret that the original consensus reached in the Assembly on 1 September 1965 (1331st plenary meeting) had still not been carried out in all its aspects; the financial deficit had not been wiped out and the expected voluntary contributions had not been forthcoming from a number of countries.

6. Mr. NENEMAN (Poland) noted that, by basing its work on the principles of the Charter, which vested primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Security Council, the Special Committee had made definite progress in its work on model I. The method of work adopted by the Special Committee had also been a factor in that progress; by assigning to a working group the main part of the introductory negotiations and the drafting of model I, the Special Committee had been able to reach agreement on five chapters of that model.

7. He recalled that at the preceding session his delegation had welcomed the Special Committee's decision to begin its work with the study on military observer missions. The work done so far on working out principles and procedures for that aspect of peace-keeping operations was encouraging. Not only had five of the eight chapters planned for model I been completed, but there had been a considerable narrowing of differences of opinion concerning the remaining three chapters.

8. Emphasis should be placed on the principle, mentioned in the first chapter, that the establishment of missions or groups of military observers would be carried out pursuant to a resolution or other form of authorization of the Security Council. That principle, which reflected the main responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, ensured the effective-

¹ Document A/AC.121/11.

ness of United Nations action in that sphere. The Council's main responsibility should also extend to agreements with States receiving missions or providing personnel for them and the composition, size, financing, leadership and control of missions. On the other hand, tasks of a technical nature could be carried out by a subsidiary body, such as the Military Staff Committee, whose role was defined in Article 47 of the Charter, which also provided that States which were not members of the Military Staff Committee could participate in its work.

9. He hoped that those principles would also be reflected in the remaining chapters. While the chapters on which agreement had already been reached dealt with important technical aspects, the remaining chapters were absolutely essential to the model as a whole. It might be difficult to reach agreement regarding them; nevertheless the report of the Special Committee (A/7742) indicated that the questions to be covered in those chapters had already been discussed in depth and that there had been a considerable narrowing of differences of view.

10. His delegation was confident that, thanks to its appropriate methods of work and the ability of its Chairman, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, the Committee would soon be able to conclude its work on model I and start work on model II, which would deal with peace-keeping operations on a larger scale.

11. Mr. AKATANI (Japan) said that it was in the task of maintaining international peace and security that the United Nations needed most to be strengthened, as advocated in General Assembly resolution 2499 (XXIV) concerning the celebration of the Organization's twenty-fifth anniversary. It was true that the United Nations had done much to prevent the spread of hostilities and arrange the peaceful settlement of disputes during the past twenty-four years. Nevertheless, the extreme difficulties resulting from certain peace-keeping operations of several years earlier still had lingering effects.

12. In particular, the United Nations continued to be plagued by a large financial deficit. The Secretary-General had stated at the 1299th meeting of the Fifth Committee² that the debts incurred in connexion with the United Nations Emergency Fund and the United Nations Operation in the Congo amounting to \$38.8 million remained unpaid. Moreover, as a result of non-participation in the financing of certain items in the regular budget, particularly the servicing of the United Nations bonds issued to finance part of the costs of those two operations, there had been a progressive erosion of budget resources. The Secretary-General had pointed out that by the end of 1969 the cumulative shortfall in budget receipts would amount to \$26.7 million.

13. It was well known to the Committee that it had been agreed in 1965 to resolve the difficult financial situation resulting from the peace-keeping operations by means of voluntary contributions. It was regrettable that a large number of States, including some of the permanent members of the Security Council, had not yet made their contributions despite the appeals of Japan and other

countries which had already done so. The present financial situation, which caused the long over-due indebtedness of the United Nations to Governments which had provided contingents and logistical support, might seriously hinder the carrying out of present and future operations; his delegation therefore appealed once again to those countries which were late in making their contribution.

14. In a statement made at the current session of the General Assembly (1756th plenary meeting), Mr. Kiichi Aichi, the Foreign Minister of Japan, had stressed that the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations should be further strengthened. In view of the situation in many parts of the world, the United Nations would probably be called on to make further peace-keeping efforts. As the Japanese Foreign Minister had pointed out, the extent to which the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations could be developed depended entirely on the efforts of each Member State. In that connexion he had mentioned, in particular, the immense responsibility of the great Powers.

15. The report of the Special Committee (A/7742) revealed that some progress had been made towards developing guidelines for future operations. The Special Committee had, however, been unable to carry out the whole of the mandate specified in paragraph 3 of Assembly resolution 2451 (XXIII). The Committee was therefore not in a position to discuss fully the problem of peace-keeping operations on the basis of the Special Committee's report. It was true that the chapters which that Committee had been unable to complete involved complex questions; moreover, the fact that differences of opinion on those questions had to some degree been overcome gave grounds for hope. If those differences were to be resolved completely, much patience, understanding and good will would be required, as paragraph 8 of the Special Committee's report stated, and he concurred with the view that those conditions could most easily be attained within the Working Group.

16. His delegation hoped that in the course of future work on models I and II there would be patient and fruitful discussions of such important questions as the authorization and establishment of peace-keeping operations, the Secretary-General's role and methods of financing. The achievement of consensus on those points, gradual as it might be, was the best way of strengthening the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. In that connexion, he wished to stress once again that the great Powers should show an enhanced sense of their responsibilities.

17. His delegation supported the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate, which would enable it to submit a comprehensive report to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. He thanked the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, and the other officers, the members of the Working Group and the Secretariat staff, and expressed his confidence that they would all make every effort to produce a comprehensive report.

18. Mr. DENIAU (France) said that in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had welcomed the agreement that had developed among members of the Working Group of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 74, document A/C.5/1233.

Operations, despite differences of view which were not surprising because, as he had pointed out, "positions which have been maintained and defended over a period of several years cannot be expected to be changed overnight".³ His delegation, which had taken an active part in the work of the Special Committee and its Working Group, shared the Secretary-General's reasonable optimism and intended to maintain its support of the Working Group, if the Group was authorized to continue its activities.

19. Intensive and thorough discussions at some fifty meetings had enabled the Working Group to produce, on the very specific and limited issue it had decided to study first, the beginnings of an agreement. Those chapters which had been completed contained a number of useful practical guidelines for future observation missions. Chapter I, in particular, provided a useful statement of certain responsibilities of the Security Council. However, because of differences of view, the nature and extent of which had recently become better known, three chapters remained incomplete: chapter II, which was to deal, *inter alia*, with the role of the Military Staff Committee and the Secretary-General, and with the formation, command, direction and control of missions, chapter III, on legal agreements between the Organization, the host countries and the participating countries, and chapter IV, on financial arrangements. He stressed that all the provisions on which agreement had not yet been reached were of great importance; they would have to be expressed in unequivocal language if misunderstandings and disputes which were damaging to the United Nations were to be avoided in future. There would have to be some flexibility in those provisions, however, in order to allow for varying and unforeseeable situations, but such flexibility should not be carried to the point of ambiguity.

20. Despite the difficulties in connexion with chapters II, III and IV, their general structure had already been decided upon and there had been very detailed discussion of what they should contain. In that respect, as the representative of Canada had pointed out at the 41st meeting of the Special Committee (A/AC.121/SR.41), more had been done in the previous six months than in the preceding twenty years. His delegation contended that it was in the Charter itself that the answer to the questions which had for so long given rise to differing views was to be sought; it had explained its position on that subject at length, both in the Special Committee and at earlier sessions of the General Assembly. His delegation would accordingly confine itself to stating that the principles of the Charter were obviously applicable to observation missions. When such missions were undertaken on the initiative of the Security Council, the Council should assume full responsibility for them; with the co-operation of the Military Staff Committee and the Secretary-General, as stipulated in Articles 47, 97 and 98 of the Charter, the Council should decide, not only on the terms of reference and duration of missions established by it, but also on the size, composition, command and principal features of the missions, the participating countries and the host countries. The Council should also, having taken into account any estimates supplied by the Secretary-General, set a ceiling for expenses and determine how they were to be financed. Finally, it should ensure that

the proposed action was relevant, at all levels, to the political facts of the situation, as ascertained by it. On the other hand, the Council should obviously not concern itself with details of organization and day-to-day matters.

21. The continuing differences of view on the matters he had just mentioned seemed to relate mainly to shades of meaning and differences of wording and were likely to be reconciled before too long. His country was constantly mindful of the principal purpose of the United Nations, which was "to maintain international peace and security"—one of the purposes stated in Article 1 of the Charter—and it had contributed to its achievement by making a large number of observers available to UNTSO. His delegation was convinced that, under the enlightened guidance of Mr. Cuevas Cancino, the Special Committee and its Working Group would make substantial progress towards achieving that aim and it therefore firmly supported the renewal of that Committee's mandate.

22. Mr. BORCH (Denmark) said that his Government had always considered United Nations Peace-keeping Operations to be of the highest priority and had contributed funds and personnel for them.

23. The peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations had in the past developed without any premeditated pattern, but according to the needs and possibilities of the situation. As they developed in importance and scope they had therefore given rise to problems and disagreements, thus creating the need for an agreed framework for such operations. The General Assembly in recognition of that need had established the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. His Government, in its consideration of the problems relating to peace-keeping activities, had taken certain basic principles as its point of departure: that the United Nations, as a living Organization, was subject to the laws of change and development; that such change and development had to be in accordance with the Charter, if anarchy and inefficacy were to be avoided; and that the Charter should not be invoked to curtail legitimate activities or in order to argue that anything that was not explicitly allowed was prohibited. The difficulty lay in the decisions which had to be made in applying those principles.

24. His country would not participate in any endeavour which might jeopardize the very foundations of the United Nations, but it considered that any peace-keeping operations so far undertaken had been compatible with the provisions of the Charter and had represented some of the most constructive endeavours by the United Nations in the political sphere. Therefore, the experience and the momentum gained should not be lost, and his government would continue to support efforts to that end. Until such time as a regular system was developed a pragmatic approach necessarily had to be adopted for peace-keeping operations. In seeking to establish such a system, however, one should beware of hasty solutions in which the common denominator of substance would be unnecessarily low.

25. His delegation wished that the report of the Special Committee could have been more comprehensive, but it was aware of the difficulties which had faced that Committee and paid a tribute to the Chairman and members on

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 25.

their strenuous efforts. In the case of model I, the report (A/7742) stated that the Working Group had achieved a certain amount of progress, limited, but none the less significant. However, the limitations were considerable in that agreement had not been achieved on establishment, direction and control, or on legal and financial arrangements. Moreover, no progress at all had been made with respect to model II. The report and statements by the Chairman and members of the Special Committee did, however, give evidence of cautious optimism about the prospects for further progress.

26. His delegation hoped that before the following session progress would have been achieved to allow for rules to be established for some, at least, of the peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations. Such rules based upon broad support in the entire membership, would be an important step towards the institution of a system applicable to any future situation.

27. His delegation believed that the results of the work of the Special Committee had not reached the appropriate stage for a discussion of technical questions in the membership as a whole. Denmark would continue to take an active interest in the work on peace-keeping activities and its attitude would be guided by the principles laid down in his statement.

28. Mr. APUNEN (Finland) said that his delegation was particularly interested in peace-keeping operations, since the maintenance of international peace and security was the primary task of the United Nations. Finland had provided money and men for those peace-keeping operations and, like the other Nordic countries, it was training emergency forces and keeping them available for possible use by the United Nations. His Government was convinced that because of the growing interdependence of States, it was in Finland's interest to strengthen the peace-keeping capability of the United Nations which had already proved an indispensable tool for preventing or containing crises and conflicts that endangered world peace.

29. At the theoretical or constitutional level, differences of opinion of Member States, particularly the great Powers, had long seemed to be irreconcilable. At the practical level, however, peace-keeping operations had been undertaken and continued by unanimous decisions. That fact showed how essential it was for peace-keeping operations to be based on agreement among Member States, and in particular on agreement between the great Powers.

30. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had been trying for some time to find a practical solution to the problem of military observers authorized or established by the Security Council. It would subsequently study other types of peace-keeping operations as well. His delegation had followed with great interest the work of the Special Committee and its Working Group. Since that work was still in progress and since there was even reason to hope that it was approaching its final stage, his delegation would not discuss the substance of the work at present. It was encouraging to see that the great Powers were finally engaged in negotiations on possible future peace-keeping operations. His delegation hoped that the present atmosphere of co-operation would continue when the Special

Committee took up the main political and financial problems connected with peace-keeping operations. It further believed that the mandate of the Special Committee should be extended.

31. Mr. HERACLIDES (Greece) congratulated the Special Committee and its Working Group on the results they had achieved. To establish the constitutional, legal and financial rules for future peace-keeping operations was not an easy matter in the present political situation, particularly since the Charter contained no precise provisions on the subject and no guidelines had been given by either the Security Council or the General Assembly. His delegation believed that the Special Committee was doing useful work and hoped that its mandate would be extended; it also hoped that the Special Political Committee, the other organs of the United Nations and the Secretariat would help the Special Committee complete its work as quickly as possible.

32. His delegation did not share the scepticism of some delegations concerning the progress already made, and it believed that the Special Committee would be able to overcome its present difficulties. The peace-keeping operation in Cyprus, to which it had made material and moral contributions had made it clear to Greece that constitutional, legal and financial difficulties could be overcome in the interest of peace. His delegation therefore believed that the experience gained in practice would enable the Special Committee to provide the United Nations with a simple and flexible machinery suited to present conditions. Since five of the eight chapters of model I had now been completed, the amount of progress made was by no means negligible. The other three chapters, dealing with the establishment, direction and control of such operations, with legal arrangements and with financial arrangements, were more difficult, but work on them had at least been begun and differences of opinion had been brought out into the open; that was a good starting point.

33. His delegation also wished to make some comments on the substance of the problem. Since no precise provision was made in the Charter, it was important to arrive at a general agreement on all aspects of the problem in order to make the United Nations an effective peacemaker; that agreement should establish a body capable of dealing with practical questions, i.e. with the composition, material, direction and control of each operation undertaken by the United Nations; to that end, an *a priori* agreement should be reached on the financing of such operations, in order that all Members might participate on an equitable basis. The financing should be part of the general agreement, since the constitutional, legal and financial aspects of peace-keeping operations were interdependent. The difficulties in financing the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus served only to convince his delegation more firmly than ever that a collective and compulsory financing system must be established.

34. Peace-keeping operations were valuable. In at least three cases they had safeguarded world peace, which was the purpose of the United Nations and the task of the Security Council, even though a parallel role was played, under Article 12 of the Charter, by the General Assembly and the Security Council. For that reason the Special Political Committee should contribute to the establishment of a system for peace-keeping operations.

35. Mr. DA SILVA MAFRA (Brazil) expressed the view that peace-keeping operations could not be adequately handled within the constitutional and political framework established by the Charter. A fruitful study of the problem also required finding a way to relate the institutional machinery of the United Nations more closely to the reality of contemporary international life, for the Charter reflected the conditions of the world of 1945. His delegation realized that other delegations were aware of the problem. Doubts and disagreements arose only when the question of Charter reform was brought up. Peace-keeping operations should be made more systematic and efficient. But those operations represented a new concept, different from the peaceful solutions envisaged in Chapter VI and from the enforcement measures mentioned in Chapter VII of the Charter; such, at least, was the lesson to be drawn from two decades of United Nations efforts to safeguard peace and security.

36. It was scarcely possible to conceive of Charter reform without the concurrence of the permanent members of the Security Council, which were perhaps reluctant to give their support because any reform might weaken their position of pre-eminence. However, the United Nations as a whole had its own interests to defend and was calling for a more flexible and effective system. Each United Nations success or failure showed how and in what direction the Organization should proceed.

37. His delegation was sceptical about the possible long-term results of the studies on peace-keeping operations but would support any measure capable of promoting progress in that field. At the twenty-third session it had been thought that the previous studies undertaken by the Special Committee and the guidelines included in General Assembly resolution 2451 (XXIII) would be sufficient to guarantee substantial progress. It had been hoped that a comprehensive report on military observers established or authorized by the Security Council would be submitted at the twenty-fourth session. Those hopes had not been fulfilled. Paragraph 7 of the Special Committee's report (A/7742) stated that the Working Group had found it impossible to complete either model I, dealing with military observers, or a schema for model II, which would deal with peace-keeping operations on a larger scale. The report merely indicated those of the topics discussed on which agreement had been reached and those on which there was disagreement. With regard to model I, there had been disagreement on such crucial points as establishment, direction and control, legal arrangements and financial arrangements. The Special Committee had prudently conveyed the feeling that since the problem was so complex, it should be allowed to undergo a process of maturation before definite recommendations were made. There was perhaps some ground for arguing that it would have been preferable for the Special Committee's report to contain more information, so that the debates in the Special Political Committee might help to overcome the difficulties.

38. His delegation paid a tribute to the competence and dedication of the Chairman of the Special Committee and believed that that Committee should be authorized to continue its work.

39. Mr. GARCIA PIÑEIRO (Argentina) observed that the report of the Special Committee (A/7742) showed only

meagre progress, despite the efforts made by the Working Group to achieve positive results. Differences had arisen with regard to the initiation and financing of peace-keeping operations, so much so that the Special Committee, anxious to carry out its mandate, had been able to complete only five chapters of model I. His delegation was pleased to note that the permanent members of the Security Council had reached an agreement on the five completed chapters. It trusted that common aspirations would still make it possible to reach agreement on the remaining chapters and thus complete model I.

40. His delegation wished to commend the Special Committee and express its confidence in its work. That Committee should be supported and every positive contribution toward peace-keeping should be welcomed. The Special Committee could work only on the basis of mutual confidence and hope for a world with universal peace, liberty and justice. A prerequisite for any peace-keeping operation was therefore the creation of mutual trust, for peace could only be established in a spirit of trust.

41. His delegation wished to congratulate the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino, the representative of Mexico, whose competence and authority were matched with his solid faith in peace and in the means for keeping it. He represented, in the Special Committee, the Latin American ideal which the Argentine delegation would like to see carried out in the United Nations. He deserved respect and recognition for the enthusiasm he had communicated to the Special Committee.

42. His delegation felt it was advisable to recommend that the General Assembly extend the mandate of the Special Committee, in order to enable it to continue its work. It was to be hoped that its next report would indicate significant progress.

43. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) observed that one of the most important tasks of the United Nations was the solution of the complex of problems pertaining to peace-keeping operations. To that end, those operations must be carried out in strict accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Otherwise, the Organization would face situations in which, as had already occurred several times in the past, peace-keeping operations, instead of achieving positive results, would become a source of political conflicts and crises. The lessons of the past had shown the need to eliminate the possibility of misusing such operations for the political objectives of any group of States.

44. Any decision concerning the use of peace-keeping operations must be based on the Charter and must exclude any attempt to circumvent it or to interpret its provisions arbitrarily. The Charter provided that the Security Council had the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Any measure undertaken to strengthen the prestige of the Security Council in the field of peace-keeping operations would be an important step toward strengthening the prestige of the United Nations as a whole. Consequently, at the preceding session of the General Assembly, his delegation had supported General Assembly resolution 2451 (XXIII).

45. Czechoslovakia was a member of the Special Committee and its Working Group and had tried to contribute

to the fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to the Special Committee by the General Assembly. The report of the Special Committee (A/7742) was a testimonial of the collective efforts of its members and correctly reflected the situation concerning its debate and activities. It contained the first concrete results after long years of fruitless discussions and also attested to the spirit of goodwill, the sense of responsibility and the business-like atmosphere that had prevailed in the Special Committee.

46. When assessing the results achieved by the Special Committee in the formulation of model I, dealing with military observers established or authorized by the Security Council, certain facts should be kept in mind. In particular, it was necessary to realize the complex nature of the tasks entrusted to the Special Committee. Since the beginning of its work, the Working Group had been confronted by the fact that many of the problems relating to model I had been awaiting basic solutions for years and had given rise to serious differences. In view of such circumstances, the Working Group had realized that it would hardly succeed in finding, within a few months, a final and comprehensive answer to all those pending questions. That was why it had not been able to submit a complete text for model I. The gradual solution of the fundamental problems required a very rational approach and an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill. It was precisely that atmosphere which the Working Group felt it had created. His delegation commended the outstanding qualities of the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino. It also expressed its appreciation to the Rapporteur of the Special Committee and to the Committee Secretary, for their contributions to the success of the Special Committee's work.

47. His country had expressed its views on model I in the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet Union working paper No. 3 of 23 April 1969, which had also reflected the positions of some other socialist countries. On the whole, the schema of model I corresponded to the concept set forth in that working paper. Model I would enable the Security Council to take immediate and effective action in cases when the maintenance of international peace and security required the sending of a United Nations military observer mission. It was clear that, in order for such action to be successful and expeditious, the various provisions of the model would have to be worded in unequivocal terms; when the Security Council came to decide upon the establishment and operation of a group of military observers, discussions of competence and other matters must be kept to a minimum.

48. During the drafting of model I, Czechoslovakia had always been guided by the principle that military observer missions sent in accordance with that model should be instrumental in solving the crises and should not complicate them or violate the sovereignty of the host country. At the same time, it was not enough merely to give an account of experience gained during past military observer missions, since the existing practice must be remedied in many respects and a system must be created which would be acceptable to an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and which would be able to fulfil the tasks envisaged for it.

49. The Special Committee had achieved substantial progress during the current year. That initial success must be

further developed. The Special Committee must find a way to solve the problems which it had encountered during its debates and which had been identified in the Working Group as a result of its frank discussions. That very fact was an important step toward the elimination of existing differences. He was confident that, if its mandate was extended, the Special Committee would be able successfully to complete its work on model I and begin working on other models. The atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that had prevailed in the Working Group corroborated such conclusions. At the same time, Czechoslovakia would do its utmost to contribute to the success of the Special Committee's common task.

50. Mr. ADDAE (Ghana) noted with satisfaction the efforts made by the Special Committee during the course of the year towards the achievement of tangible progress in the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations. His delegation was aware that the Special Committee was only at the present coming to the heart of the matter and that it had not yet even completed the first stage. His delegation also realized the difficulties of the task and knew that much time and patience would be necessary to carry it out successfully. His country was pleased, however, that the future prospects seemed to be encouraging. He considered it an encouraging sign that the Special Committee's report (A/7742) described an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill. That demonstrated the determination of its members to succeed where they had failed in the past. Their success was particularly necessary since the task that had been assigned to them was directly related to the primary objective of the United Nations, which was to maintain international peace and security.

51. At the preceding session of the General Assembly, his delegation had deplored the apparent inactivity of the Special Committee. The progress made in 1969 proved that the criticisms of the previous year had been fruitful and he urged the members of the Special Committee to co-operate still more and move forward. Indeed, there was still much to be done since the Special Committee had not yet dealt with the most difficult questions, such as financial and legal arrangements. In that context, he stressed that the Special Committee should take full account of the proposals his delegation had made in the past two years.

52. The question of the authority for measures to be taken in moments of crisis and the financial arrangements connected with those operations constituted the core of the problem. Those questions should be dealt with first of all and most seriously. His delegation had explained that the problem concerned all States, big or small. In his view, only a real grasp of the magnitude and complexity of those issues and a determination to co-operate fully could ensure advancement towards the goal.

53. Political and ideological differences should be played down as a necessary first step towards any meaningful progress. Moreover, his delegation maintained that the Security Council had primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and that the role and responsibility of the General Assembly should therefore be given careful consideration. His delegation considered that a scale of mandatory financial contributions was the best way of financing the

operations that the United Nations might have to undertake and he referred the Special Committee to the suggestions advanced by his delegation in the statement it had made on that subject at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly (1565th plenary meeting).

54. His delegation was also pleased that the Special Committee proposed to begin work on model II as soon as it had completed model I. Gratified that the work had begun on the right lines and confident that goodwill and a spirit of understanding would continue to prevail, his delegation would join other delegations in encouraging and exhorting the Special Committee to move ahead and accomplish its task.

55. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to a draft resolution submitted by Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Mexico, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom

of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America (A/SPC/L.178).

56. Mr. BADAWI (United Arab Republic) introduced draft resolution A/SPC/L.178 on behalf of its sponsors.

57. Mr. CHAI (Secretary of the Committee), at the request of the Chairman, read out the list of speakers for the next meeting.

58. The CHAIRMAN announced that the list of speakers was closed. He expressed the hope that the Committee would be able to vote on the draft resolution (A/SPC/L.178) at its next meeting, Wednesday, 10 December at 3 p.m. and thereby conclude its comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.