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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 33rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GREGORIADES (Greece)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 54: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (A/31/337) (continued)

1. Mr. SOBER (United States of America) said that the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations indicated that some progress had been made towards achieving a consensus on some of the principles that would guide future peace-keeping operations. He hoped that, by continuing that spirit of accommodation, the remaining doctrinal differences could be ironed out in the coming year.
2. During the past year, United Nations peace-keeping operations had achieved a gratifying measure of success in the field. In the Middle East, UNTSO, UNEF and UNDOF had continued to exercise their mandates effectively. The renewal of the mandates underscored the importance which States in the area and the international community attached to those forces. In Cyprus, UNFICYP had performed a vital mission. The experience gained in peace-keeping operations should facilitate the work of the Special Committee in establishing guidelines for future operations.
3. The success of those operations underlined the importance of recognizing, and incorporating into the Special Committee's recommended guidelines, the flexibility required to enable the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the commander of the peace-keeping forces to deal with the special circumstances which arose in each operation. Future guidelines should be designed to indicate the broad responsibilities incumbent upon the principal United Nations organs involved and to pave the way for rapid and harmonious agreement on the unique requirements of each peace-keeping venture. In that connexion, he emphasized that the guidelines on which a measure of common ground existed and those still under review should be treated as an integral unit. It was not practical to attempt to extract one or another principle before the guidelines were accepted in their totality.
4. He noted with appreciation the contribution of the Governments of Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Italy and Sweden to the work of the Special Committee. Their suggestions concerning the development of stand-by peace-keeping forces, the initiation of suitable training techniques for peace-keeping operations and the need for a manual for peace-keeping troops should be given careful consideration. He looked forward to broader co-operation between the Special Committee and those nations which had contributed materially, financially and in manpower to United Nations peace-keeping efforts.
5. United Nations peace-keeping operations were necessary to the maintenance of international peace and security, and his Government looked forward to early agreement in the Special Committee concerning basic guidelines for such operations.
6. Mr. TELLMANN (Norway) said that peace-keeping operations had always constituted an essential instrument in the efforts of the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter. At the present time, the collective

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(Mr. Tellmann, Norway)

responsibility of all nations for peace and security remained more evident than ever. It was a tribute to the effectiveness of the Organization that the absence of agreed guidelines had not prevented decisive peace-keeping initiatives in times of need.

7. His Government had followed with keen interest the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and had participated in peace-keeping and observer activities. It had established stand-by forces for use by the United Nations and would continue to make voluntary financial contributions to peace-keeping operations. He noted with concern that the Special Committee had not been able to fulfil its task of drafting agreed guidelines. However, he welcomed the progress achieved so far and interpreted the request of the Special Committee for a renewal of its mandate for another year as an indication of its firm intention to fulfil its task at an early date. In that connexion, he urged members of the Special Committee to respond positively to the appeal addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 3457 (XXX). His delegation fully supported the Special Committee's decision to devote attention to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations.

8. Together with other Nordic countries, Norway participated in regional seminars and training courses on peace-keeping operations and would welcome the convening of such courses and seminars under United Nations auspices and the preparation of manuals and guidelines for the establishment of stand-by forces in order to strengthen United Nations preparedness in the field of peace-keeping. United Nations peace-keeping operations were the responsibility of all Member States. The principle of collective financial responsibility should be recognized as having general validity and all nations should be prepared to make the necessary contributions to peace-keeping operations either financially or in terms of personnel.

9. Mr. KARHILO (Finland) said that, owing to a lack of political will among Member States, no real progress had been achieved to date on the preparation of guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations. His delegation was disappointed that the report of the Special Committee gave no indication that agreement might be possible in the near future. Member States, and particularly the great Powers, remained divided on the constitutional issue involved, and their differences appeared to be irreconcilable. In practice, peace-keeping operations such as those in Cyprus and the Middle East continued to be carried out and, when the need arose, extended. However, it was tragic that the United Nations was compelled to resort to improvisations in providing peace-keeping services required by conflict situations. The ad hoc nature of those operations caused many practical difficulties, and his delegation was convinced that it was not in the interests of the Organization that peace-keeping activities should be carried out in that way.

10. It was vital to the success of United Nations peace-keeping activities that they should be based on agreement among States and, in particular, between the

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(Mr. Karhilo, Finland)

great Powers. The principle of broad geographical representation was essential in order to maintain political balance in peace-keeping operations. Training was also important, and the United Nations should play a special role in facilitating and co-ordinating the training efforts of potential participating countries. The practical experience of UNEF and UNDOF should be taken into consideration in the efforts to achieve agreed guidelines for peace-keeping operations.

11. In accordance with its policy of neutrality, Finland supported the United Nations as the primary instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus, it had assisted the United Nations in all its peace-keeping activities by making financial contributions, by placing military personnel at the disposal of the Secretary-General, or both. In 1968, the Finnish Government, in close co-operation with the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, had established a stand-by contingent and made other arrangements designed to enable it to respond promptly and effectively to any request for its services in a United Nations peace-keeping operation. So far, approximately 13,500 Finnish men had served in the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

12. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his Government had consistently held the view that the principle of collective responsibility must be upheld. It was satisfied with the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force through the budget, as agreed upon by the Security Council and the General Assembly. The expenses of the force should be apportioned among Member States on an equitable basis in the same way, in principle, as all other United Nations expenditures. Reimbursements to troop-contributing countries were running behind their actual payment schedules. The growing deficit in the budget of UNFICYP was a major source of concern to his Government. For too long, troop contributors had shouldered a disproportionate share of the expenses involved, and they would be faced with increased burdens if other Governments did not provide increased contributions. That situation would have a serious impact on the ability of a small country to make commitments to United Nations peace-keeping operations. In view of their joint responsibility to maintain international peace and security, all Member States had an obligation to contribute to the financing of peace-keeping activities agreed upon by the United Nations. In that connexion, his delegation fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to strengthen the political and financial basis of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Although the role of small countries was a modest one, it was still indispensable. Those countries were willing to continue their efforts and it was in the general interest not to create conditions in which the burden on them became unbearable.

13. He supported renewal of the Special Committee's mandate for another year and urged it to make a supreme effort to achieve agreement. It would perhaps be advisable to try to make the work of the Committee more manageable so that existing difficulties might be eliminated or at least alleviated. The need to reach agreement on the guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations called for

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(Mr. Karhilo, Finland)

an expression of political will and collective support on the part of all Member States. The international community should give high priority to the strengthening of its mechanisms for peace. In that connexion, he reaffirmed the view expressed by his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs in the General Assembly that the conditions created by peace-keeping for peace-making should be fully utilized by all parties and that stalemates could frustrate the efforts of contributors and the whole purpose of peace-keeping.

14. Mr. LEBLANC (Canada) said that his country had participated in many United Nations peace-keeping operations and had a direct and continuing interest in ensuring that such operations were mounted and maintained in the most effective manner. From the outset, it had been aware of the fundamental differences which impeded the attainment of that objective. Unfortunately, as the report of the Special Committee revealed, those differences still remained and even tentative agreement had been possible only in the case of four articles of peace-keeping guidelines. However, if followed when any new peace-keeping operation was established, the agreed articles would provide useful and necessary guidance to supplement the experience which the Organization had already acquired and would also be of assistance to the Security Council when it was called upon at short notice to provide a presence in the field.

15. During previous discussions on the item under consideration, his delegation had expressed reservations regarding the feasibility of the proposal to make it mandatory for a subsidiary organ of the Security Council established under Article 29 of the Charter to have direct operational control over a force in the field. At the same time, his delegation did not wish to rule out the possibility that bodies of that nature could play a useful role in future peace-keeping and observation activities, especially in an advisory capacity. In that connexion, it was noteworthy that provision had been made in article 4 of the draft guidelines for participation by representatives of host countries and countries providing substantial financial and material contributions. His delegation expressed satisfaction that the draft guidelines called for the establishment of such a body to be conditional upon the circumstances surrounding the setting up of the operation.

16. While the achievements of the Special Committee to date were not particularly impressive, the Organization had derived indirect benefits from its work. It was at least in part because of the efforts of the Special Committee that peace-keeping operations had continued over the years. UNEF and UNDOF were very useful and precedent-setting models, and there could be no doubt concerning the legal and financial basis on which they had been founded and continued to operate.

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(Mr. Leblanc, Canada)

17. Peace-keeping was a noble and vital venture of the international community. However, it must never become an end in itself. Peace-keeping should be accompanied by active peace-making. Unfortunately, there were instances where the process of peace-making had virtually ceased once a peace-keeping force was in position. He deplored that tendency, since the lack of a political solution inevitably led to a recurrence of violence. While agreed guidelines could not eliminate that problem, every effort must be made to ensure that the parties to a dispute were constantly reminded of their responsibility to press on with meaningful negotiations.

18. Recognizing that scant progress was likely on guidelines if the atmosphere which had prevailed during 1975 continued, his Government had proposed that as a secondary task the Committee should address itself to some of the practical aspects of peace-keeping until such time as doctrinal differences were resolved. In that connexion, he noted from the report that suggestions on practical aspects had been advanced not only by members of the Special Committee and its Working Group but also by other nations with an interest in peace-keeping. Certain of those suggestions merited serious study by the Special Committee, and, where appropriate, proposals should be submitted to the General Assembly with a view to giving substance to useful suggestions such as those relating to training.

19. His country remained committed to peace-keeping and would continue to remind those who held the primary responsibility for peace negotiations that its attitude towards particular peace-keeping operations would be very much influenced by the vigour with which peace-making efforts were pursued and by the degree of support which those operations received from the membership as a whole.

20. The role of the United Nations Force in Cyprus was not completely satisfactory. It was increasingly difficult to reconcile the mandate of the Force with the situation on the ground. Only a handful of Member States, not including three permanent members of the Security Council, contributed to the maintenance of the Force, leaving the troop contributors to finance their own costs. Many countries shared the view that the Force was essential to peace in Cyprus. However, peace-keeping must be a shared responsibility and must take account of the differing capacities of Member States to contribute either troops or funds. Consequently, if the Force was considered essential in order to guarantee peace in Cyprus and perhaps in the eastern Mediterranean, it must be given the necessary support and co-operation. His delegation would support a resolution calling for the continuation of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in the belief that it should make a serious effort to complete its work by the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

21. Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that, as an active Member of the United Nations, his country attached the greatest importance to the international community's efforts to preserve peace by strengthening the concept of collective security on the basis of the United Nations Charter. From the very outset, Yugoslavia had devoted appropriate attention to the question of peace-keeping

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(Mr. Mujezinović, Yugoslavia)

operations and had on various occasions expressed its views on the basic issues and principles, particularly in its memorandum addressed to the Secretary-General in April 1972 and in the Security Council in October 1973.

22. His country had contributed to the formulation of a common stand of the non-aligned movement on the further strengthening of the role of the United Nations in safeguarding international peace and security. Concrete positions on the question of peace-keeping operations had been adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and at the Fourth and Fifth Conferences the non-aligned countries had reiterated their unequivocal support for the further strengthening of the United Nations so that it might, inter alia, assist small and medium-sized countries in safeguarding and strengthening their independence and security. His country stressed the need to intensify efforts to regulate peace-keeping operations, bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter and the principles embodied in Security Council resolutions 340 (1973) and 341 (1973), which should be reflected in the text of the agreed guidelines. It was also necessary to bear in mind the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, although it should be noted that the Charter did not prevent the General Assembly from fulfilling its obligations in that area, especially if a veto prevented the Security Council from carrying out its functions.

23. His country attached great importance to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations as an institutional framework within which Member States could express their views on the subject. If his delegation was pressing for expansion of the membership of the Working Group, for increased participation in its work by other members of the Special Committee and for more frequent substantive consideration of the regulation of peace-keeping operations within the framework of the Committee, it was doing so only because it believed that the Special Committee's work could thereby be made more productive.

24. A majority of the countries which had set out their views on the report of the Special Committee had expressed either concern at the failure to achieve an effective break-through or mild optimism over the fact that some progress had been achieved in drawing up agreed guidelines. His delegation welcomed that progress, since it marked an affirmation of the principles underlying the second United Nations Emergency Force, which, in the light of present experience, reflected a measure of mutual agreement on the regulation of peace-keeping operations.

25. His delegation believed that the agreed text of the title, introduction and articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 represented a valuable contribution to the elaboration of the draft text of future guidelines. It considered the agreements with the host country referred to in article 1, paragraph 2 (11), to imply, inter alia, the following agreements: consent of the host country to the start of operations, namely the entry and stationing of peace-keeping forces in its territory; regulation of the right of

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(Mr. Mujezinović, Yugoslavia.)

the host country to demand the withdrawal of all or part of the peace-keeping forces; obligation of the peace-keeping forces to adhere strictly to their mandate without intervening in the domestic affairs of the host country or trying to modify the rights and obligations of the parties to a dispute in any way; right of the host country to participate in the selection of peace-keeping forces in accordance with conditions defined precisely in the guidelines; and guaranteeing of specified rights, privileges and immunities to peace-keeping forces under conditions also regulated by the guidelines.

26. His delegation attached particular importance to the agreement achieved regarding article 4 and felt that the right of a representative of the host country to participate in the work of the proposed committee without restrictions should be clearly defined. The suggestion of the French delegation that article 4, as an agreed draft, should be dealt with separately and submitted to the General Assembly for adoption, without awaiting the completion of articles 5 to 13, deserved careful study. Since that suggestion had been made at the current session, he felt that the Special Committee should debate it separately in order to arrive at a clear view of its implications.

27. The alternative formulations of articles 5 to 13 pointed to the existence of extremely divergent views concerning such vital questions as the role of the Secretary-General, the appointment of the commander-in-chief, the conduct of peace-keeping operations, the principles underlying the composition of peace-keeping forces and the method of financing. Even in their present form, however, those texts provided material for further work, which should take the form of more frequent meetings of the Special Committee in which a larger number of countries, particularly non-aligned countries, could contribute towards finalizing the guidelines.

28. Some countries had suggested that the Special Committee should consider the question of the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations concurrently with the drafting of guidelines. It had been suggested that agreements should be concluded between the Security Council and potential troop contributors providing for co-operation in the training of personnel for participation in peace-keeping operations. Yugoslavia, as one of the countries which had contributed troops to peace-keeping operations, believed that it would be sufficient at present for countries able to do so to train units for peace-keeping operations within the framework of their regular armed forces training programmes.

29. His delegation supported the suggestion that the Special Committee should continue to study practical questions arising out of United Nations peace-keeping operations and agreed that, while much work remained to be done, Working Document No. 3 represented progress towards the completion of agreed guidelines. It therefore felt that the General Assembly should renew the Special Committee's mandate in order to enable it to continue its work on the guidelines while at the same time devoting attention to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. The Committee should intensify its efforts to make substantive progress and fulfil its mandate in the

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(Mr. Mujezinović, Yugoslavia)

coming year. His delegation would contribute to that work, as it was genuinely interested in seeing a final draft of agreed guidelines submitted to the General Assembly at its next session.

30. Mr. BUENO (Brazil) said that, despite mounting pressure from a large majority of Member States, the Special Committee and its Working Group had found it difficult, if not impossible, to achieve significant progress in carrying out a mandate conferred by the General Assembly 12 years earlier. However, the negotiations which had taken place in 1976 had served not only to bring about preliminary agreement on a few guidelines for the conduct of peace-keeping operations but also to clarify certain issues and bring the Committee closer to finalizing its work. It was encouraging to note that some progress had been possible and that agreement might be reached in further areas, positions of principle and reservations notwithstanding.

31. Nevertheless, the limited progress achieved by the Committee should be viewed realistically and there must be no slackening of determination to proceed with renewed impetus to identify, explore and consolidate new areas of agreement. Despite the progress made, three essential areas of controversy remained: conflicting competences in the establishment, direction and control of operations, including their authorization and the definition of the purpose and mandate, size, composition and command of the force; the legal procedures to be followed in all phases of the operation; and the financial arrangements for meeting the costs of peace-keeping operations.

32. In order to complete that task, the Special Committee would have to hold more frequent meetings in 1977. Moreover, the meetings of the Special Committee and its Working Group should be held before - not during - the next session of the General Assembly. If the 1976 meetings had been held at shorter intervals, some of the remaining differences of opinion, particularly those relating to authority over the establishment, direction and control of peace-keeping operations, could perhaps have been satisfactorily resolved.

33. His delegation was prepared to support a draft resolution extending the mandate of the Special Committee for another year in the hope that it would intensify its negotiations for an early completion of agreed guidelines. It was only reasonable to assume that the permanent members of the Security Council participating in the Special Committee and its Working Group would sustain their optimism over the progress made in 1976 with unequivocal political will and that a greater spirit of conciliation would prevail in 1977. His delegation was prepared to initiate informal consultations with other members of the Working Group with a view to devising a method of work for 1977 which would pave the way for substantive results on controversial issues.

34. It was his Government's conviction that the collective security system of the United Nations rested on the premise that it should be capable of prompt and effective action to maintain peace and security. Above all, it was essential to complete the political and legal framework of the Charter. During the past decade, a lack of political will had prevented the Special Committee from completing the task originally assigned to it in General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX). The persistence of that impasse had given rise to improvised remedies that lacked

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(Mr. Bueno, Brazil)

adequate legal basis and might fail to yield effective results in a time of crisis. His purpose in referring to the circumstances which had prevailed in the Special Committee had been to prevent excessive optimism from slackening the momentum that seemed to exist in view of the results obtained in 1976. His delegation trusted that the progress made in 1976, however limited, heralded the long-overdue completion of a vital task.

30. Mr. LOGAN (United Kingdom) said that in 1976 the Special Committee had achieved a considerable measure of agreement on the text of the title, introduction and first four articles of the agreed guidelines. By eliminating a number of alternative drafts in respect of those articles, the Committee had made the first significant move forward since 1974.

36. His delegation's attitude on the first three articles had already been made clear in the Special Political Committee in 1974. With regard to article 4, his delegation, in its statement in the Special Political Committee in 1975, had welcomed the working paper introduced by the non-aligned members of the Special Committee on which that draft article had been based. He would only comment that his delegation's preference had been for an organ which included representatives of all States contributing to a peace-keeping operation. Although his delegation recognized the need to restrict the membership of the proposed committee in the interests of efficiency, at the same time it had always regarded such a subsidiary organ of the Security Council as an appropriate means of involving troop contributors in the conduct of an operation and did not believe that any of them should be excluded. However, in the interests of progress in the Special Committee's work and in a spirit of compromise, it would not press its point of view.

37. It was no secret that some delegations, including members of the Special Committee, were impatient at the pace of the Committee's work. His delegation, which had striven whenever possible to achieve constructive compromise between divergent views for the sake of progress, had a good deal of sympathy for that impatience. However, it must always be borne in mind that peace-keeping operations were one of the most important and most sensitive areas of the Organization's activities. Progress could be achieved only by means of whole-hearted and carefully negotiated agreement. While progress had been made in 1976 and while there might have been some modification of traditional positions, it would be foolish to minimize the difficulties which lay ahead. Moreover, as had been pointed out at the previous meeting, whenever the United Nations had been obliged to launch peace-keeping operations the Security Council had been able to do so in as many days as the Special Committee had spent years working out guidelines. He did not think that progress would be served by attempting to bring excessive pressure to bear on delegations representing States on which, in practice, the launching of peace-keeping operations largely depended. Nor did he believe that difficulties could be overcome by abandoning the present basis for the elaboration of the guidelines, for example, by attempting to implement one or another of them in advance of agreement on all the interrelated components of the machinery by means of which peace-keeping operations should be conducted. His delegation fully shared the reservations expressed in that regard by the representative of Australia at the previous meeting. It was basic to negotiations of the present kind that agreement on one element of a package was dependent on agreement on all the elements. If that customary procedure was not followed, negotiations might fail because there could be no room for flexibility and compromise on the different elements of the package.

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(Mr. Logan, United Kingdom)

38. His country's deep interest in all aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations had been amply proved by the part it had played in those operations and the contributions it had made, particularly its financial contributions. It was prepared, if the Special Committee's mandate was renewed, to continue to make a constructive contribution to the activities of the Working Group. If all members were prepared to join in a co-operative approach in 1977, it would be possible to build on the achievements of 1976.

39. Mr. KARIM (Bangladesh) said that the promotion of international peace and security was the primary function of the United Nations and that peace-keeping operations were a significant part of that function. However, peace-keeping operations would lose much of their value if they were undertaken simply to preserve the status quo. Although their immediate objective might be a preventive one, they could be successful only if they contributed to establishing a just and permanent peace. The preoccupation of the world community at present was to work together to establish a new and equitable order which better reflected the hopes and aspirations of the developing nations and ensured a better future for their people. His delegation therefore viewed United Nations peace-keeping operations in their wider positive context as an instrument for promoting the ideals of the Charter and would consider all proposals relating to the conduct of peace-keeping operations in that light.

40. Although there was general agreement on the usefulness and relative success of peace-keeping operations in recent years, there had been a lack of progress in the Special Committee's task of formulating agreed guidelines for carrying out such operations. In an attempt to circumvent that difficulty, the Special Committee had suggested in 1975 that special attention should be paid to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. The mandate of the Special Committee had accordingly been enlarged under General Assembly resolution 3457 (XXX). His delegation interpreted that proposal to mean that the General Assembly had recommended to the Special Committee the pragmatic approach of building on the experience of the past to improve the functioning of peace-keeping operations and thereby help to break the near deadlock in the discussion of general principles. The proposal had not been intended to scuttle the Special Committee's main task of formulating agreed guidelines. On that understanding, his delegation considered that approach to be a useful one. United Nations peace-keeping operations had so far been carried out on an ad hoc basis without any definite set of rules or principles. It was not surprising, therefore, that, when fundamental divergences of views on basic issues prevented agreement, progress could be achieved by attempting to build on the experience gained in practical operations in the past. However, that was no reason for complacency. Peace-keeping operations on an ad hoc basis had not always worked out and had not always proved equally successful. Nor could ad hoc arrangements be relied on to prove effective in the future. Although recent experience with UNEF and UNDOF had frequently been mentioned as landmarks in the history of United Nations peace-keeping operations, it must not be forgotten that their success had been due to a unique combination of favourable political circumstances. Political circumstances might not always be so favourable.

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(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

Obviously, a matter of such vital importance could not be left a hostage to political fortune. It was precisely in order to avoid that uncertainty that the General Assembly had called for the formulation of guidelines, and the Special Committee must continue its efforts.

41. United Nations peace-keeping operations were the collective responsibility of the international community, and that responsibility could not be made subject to the wishes of a few countries. The reasons for the lack of progress in the work of the Special Committee were not unknown. It seemed that the Powers that had ruled the destiny of the world still wanted to establish peace in their own image. Unless they demonstrated a greater political will and a greater spirit of accommodation than they had in the past, there was little hope for progress towards early completion of the agreed guidelines. There was more reason to expect such a demonstration of political will now that East-West relations had improved. No one challenged the practical considerations which dictated that the actual mounting of peace-keeping operations should remain primarily the concern of the Security Council. However, the basic objective of peace-keeping operations was the concern not of a few countries but of the United Nations itself and all its Members. That was why the guidelines were to be approved by the General Assembly. The Special Committee was an instrument representing the entire membership of the United Nations and had been set up on the basis of equitable representation. The results of its deliberations should reflect that equitable representation and a cross-section of the opinion of the entire membership. His delegation therefore considered it unsatisfactory that the Special Committee's work was carried out basically by a small Working Group while the Special Committee itself met for a limited period of time only. Since the composition of the Working Group did not reflect that of the United Nations, it was essential that the Special Committee itself should meet more frequently and assume more of the burden of actually formulating guidelines representing the views of all Member States. The question of peace was the indivisible concern of all Member States and therefore called for participation by all of them. True peace could be achieved only if it reflected the hopes and aspirations of all.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.