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COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING  
OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS

Report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations

Rapporteur: Mr. Mahmoud KASSEM (Egypt)

1. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, adopted resolution 2670 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 2006 (XIX) of 18 February 1965, 2053 A (XX) of 15 December 1965, 2249 (S-V) of 23 May 1967, 2308 (XXII) of 13 December 1967 and 2451 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968,

"Recalling in particular its resolution 2576 (XXIV) of 15 December 1969, in which it requested the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue its work and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session a comprehensive report on the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions, as well as a progress report on such work as the Special Committee might be able to undertake on any other models of peace-keeping operations,

"Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations of 1 October 1970, 1/

"Noting with regret that the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has not as yet been fulfilled,

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 36, document A/8081.

"Conscious nevertheless that the problems with which the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has been faced are of a fundamental nature and that the Special Committee believes that more time is required,

"Realizing that problems of such a fundamental nature require further consultations within the context of the United Nations in order to enable the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to fulfil its mandate,

"Bearing in mind the concern of Member States, as expressed in solemn declarations adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, over the need to reach an early agreement for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations consistent with the Charter of the United Nations,

"1. Takes note of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping operations;

"2. Stresses the importance of achieving agreed guidelines to enhance the effectiveness of United Nations peace-keeping operations consistent with the Charter and to this end urges the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to accelerate its work;

"3. Instructs the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to intensify its efforts with a view to completing, by 1 May 1971, its report on the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions and to determine, in the light of the progress achieved by that date, whether alternative methods are advisable for the early fulfilment by the Special Committee of its mandate to reach an agreement on peace-keeping operations in conformity with the Charter;

"4. Notes with interest the suggestions, proposals and documents submitted on this item during the present session and transmits to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations the records of the debates on the item at this session, together with the documents put forward in the course of those debates;

"5. Requests the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, in the course of its further deliberations, to study carefully and to take full account of the views expressed and the suggestions, proposals and documents submitted at the present session, and to report on them to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, as appropriate, within the context of its work;

"6. Directs the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session a completed comprehensive report on the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions, as well as a progress report on any other models of peace-keeping operations."

2. The Special Committee held its 49th meeting, which was the first meeting of the year, on 1 April 1971. At that meeting, the Secretary-General, in the capacity as acting Chairman, made a statement in which he noted inter alia that the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, who had laboured vigorously and patiently to help find an agreement on future peace-keeping operations and their financing, had been transferred to another assignment by his Government. In the absence of a chairman, the Secretary-General stated that it was his understanding that until a new chairman was elected, it should be possible for the Committee to meet as necessary under the chairmanship of the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Beaulne of Canada and Mr. Cernik of Czechoslovakia who would alternate in the chair. The Committee endorsed this procedure.
3. Following the statement by the Secretary-General, Mr. Beaulne presided over the meeting. In his opening remarks, he paid tribute to the former Rapporteur, Mr. Badawi of Egypt, who had left New York. He expressed the understanding that Mr. Kassem, also of Egypt, was prepared to accept the post of Rapporteur to replace Mr. Badawi. The nomination of Mr. Kassem, having been supported by the representatives of Yugoslavia and Nigeria, was endorsed by the Special Committee. At the conclusion of the 49th meeting, the Special Committee agreed that the Working Group should meet to deal with model I.
4. At its 50th meeting, held on 6 May 1971 under the chairmanship of Mr. Cernik, the Special Committee had before it the third report of its Working Group, dated 28 April 1971 (A/AC.121/L.12), which is appended to this report (annex I). Statements having been made by the Rapporteur and some representatives, the Special Committee agreed to the procedure outlined in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the third report.
5. At its 51st meeting, held on 1 December 1971 under the chairmanship of Mr. Beaulne, the Special Committee had before it the fourth report of its Working Group dated 29 November 1971 (A/AC.121/L.13), which is also appended to this report (annex II).
6. After the Rapporteur had introduced the report of the Working Group, several representatives made statements on the contents of the report.
7. The representative of Brazil, while praising the accuracy of the report, not only took serious issue with its contents, but also expressed serious concern

about its general thrust. The representative of Brazil criticized what he regarded as the exclusion of some members of the Special Committee from the informal consultations and raised questions about the methods and procedures of the Working Group. He further criticized the failure to elect a new chairman of the Committee. The representative also proposed that the Special Committee should confess its inability to resolve the problems referred to it by the General Assembly, thus opening the way for the Assembly to propose new procedures.

8. Responding to specific questions put to him by the representative of Brazil, the Chairman, Mr. Beaulne of Canada, indicated to the Committee that Mr. Cernik of Czechoslovakia and himself had indeed held several consultations with many members outside the Working Group particularly on the question of the election of a chairman. The representative of Czechoslovakia endorsed the statement by the Chairman and stressed that consultations were held on other topics besides those on the election of the chairman.

9. The representatives of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Canada in their statements reviewed the difficulties faced by the Working Group in reaching an agreement on model I. By and large, they stated that the issues before the Working Group were of a delicate nature that needed more time to find an agreed solution and that the difficulties were not of a procedural nature. They expressed the view that a problem of such significance would be better examined in a rather small group. Thus, in the view of those representatives, the methods and procedures so far used by the Working Group were an efficient way to tackle the problem. The representative of the Soviet Union stressed his willingness to contribute to the reaching of an agreed solution which would be in accordance with the Charter and which would thus enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

10. Some representatives supported the position of the Brazilian representative as expressed in paragraph 7.

11. Regarding the failure to elect a new chairman, a suggestion was made by the representative of the Netherlands that there should be consultations among the Latin American group to select a candidate to replace Mr. Cuevas Cancino, who himself was from Latin America.

12. Some representatives made statements regarding both the composition of the Special Committee and that of its Working Group. Regarding the Special Committee,

some representatives suggested that, considering that four permanent members of the Security Council were already members of the Special Committee, China should also become a member of the Committee. As regards the membership of the Working Group, the representative of Italy reiterated a proposal put forward a year earlier that the Working Group should be enlarged by incorporating members of the Committee that were also members of the Security Council as such a procedure would also ensure a rotation of membership of the Working Group.

13. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Special Committee took note of the fourth report of the Working Group (see annex II).

14. The Committee regrets that it has not yet been able to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it. It believes, however, that it will be better to look to the future and to make a renewed collective effort to break the deadlock and enable the United Nations to fulfil more effectively, in accordance with the Charter, its main purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

ANNEX I

Third report of the Working Group

Rapporteur: Mr. Mahmoud KASSEM (Egypt)

1. At its 49th meeting, held on 1 April 1971, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations took note of General Assembly resolution 2670 (XXV), which, in operative paragraph 3, instructed the Special Committee to intensify its efforts with a view to completing, by 1 May 1971, its report on the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions and to determine, in the light of the progress achieved by that date, whether alternative methods are advisable for the early fulfilment of its mandate to reach an agreement on peace-keeping operations in conformity with the Charter.
2. The Special Committee also took note, in particular, of operative paragraph 6 of the same resolution which directed it to submit to the General Assembly, at its twenty-sixth session, a completed comprehensive report on the United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions, as well as a progress report on any other models of peace-keeping operations.
3. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided that the Working Group should meet to continue its work on model I in its programme of work.
4. In the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session it was pointed out that "the issues with which the Working Group was now faced were of a fundamental nature and could not, without jeopardizing the possibility of a final positive result, be resolved in haste"<sup>a/</sup> In the same report, the Special Committee expressed the belief "that more time is required for consultations towards reaching agreement on model I".<sup>b/</sup>
5. The Working Group held two meetings, on 21 and 27 April 1971, at which other members of the Special Committee were present. In addition, the members of the

<sup>a/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 36, document A/8081, para. 6.

<sup>b/</sup> Ibid., para. 9.

Group also held informal consultations. The Working Group regrets, however, that it has not been possible for it to make any further progress on model I dealing with United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Security Council resolutions in the time available to it.

6. If the Special Committee agrees, the Working Group is willing to continue its work bearing in mind the views expressed by the Special Committee in paragraph 8 of its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. Taking into account the urgency and need for the early completion of model I and agreement on it, the Working Group hopes that, given time, and perhaps with the introduction of new ideas or positions in accordance with the Charter, it would be possible for it to make a positive report to the Special Committee on that model. This would also facilitate progress on model II.

7. The Working Group agreed that, if it were asked to continue its work, it would consider in the context of its future deliberations the views expressed and the suggestions, proposals and documents submitted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, including the proposal by Kuwait contained in document A/SPC/L.193.<sup>c/</sup>

8. The Working Group has continued its work under the rotating and effective chairmanship of the two Vice-Chairmen. Nevertheless, it expresses the hope that it will soon be possible for the Special Committee to elect a chairman.

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<sup>c/</sup> Ibid., document A/8175, para. 4.

ANNEX II

Fourth report of the Working Group

Rapporteur: Mr. Mahmoud KASSEM (Egypt)

1. At its 50th meeting, held on 6 May 1971, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations agreed to the procedure outlined in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the third report of the Working Group (A/AC.121/L.12) submitted on 28 April 1971 (see annex I).
2. Following the renewal of the mandate of the Working Group, the two Vice-Chairmen conducted informal consultations with members of the Working Group, as well as with some members of the Special Committee, in order to create the conditions that will enable the Working Group to make progress in reaching agreement on model I.
3. Parallel to the initiatives of the Vice-Chairmen, members of the Working Group continued informal bilateral discussions to find a common position on the remaining outstanding differences, including the question of command and control of United Nations military observers authorized by the Security Council.
4. During those discussions a number of concrete proposals were examined. In spite of these consultations, the Working Group regrets that it was not possible to develop the proposals made to the point where they could form the basis of negotiation in the Group. Thus, no further progress has been made by the Working Group since the submission of its third report referred to above. As before, this lack of progress is mainly due to the complexity and delicacy of the problems with which the Working Group has to grapple.
5. In its informal meetings, the Working Group gave consideration to the draft resolution dated 6 November 1970 (A/SPC/L.193), which was introduced by the representative of Kuwait, and the proposals made by the representative of Brazil at the 721st meeting of the Special Political Committee. The Working Group welcomed the contributions of the representatives concerned, which dealt with certain arrangements for the financing of peace-keeping operations. The Working Group recognized the importance of the question but concluded that, at the current stage,

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in the absence of progress on issues of a fundamental political nature, it would not be productive to pursue those proposals.

6. It has not yet been possible to complete chapters II, III and IV of model I and to agree on the model as a whole, including the chapters already completed, or to facilitate preparation of model II. However, the Working Group is of the opinion that the serious difficulties which have confronted it and the Special Committee so far are not procedural. Those difficulties are unlikely to be overcome without thorough and detailed negotiation for which purpose the methods and procedures of the Working Group continue to be appropriate.

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