

ization's continuing efforts to maintain international peace and security.

So fundamental was the dispute that other activity in the General Assembly ground to a virtual standstill. After two and a half months of inconclusive activity, the nineteenth session went into prolonged adjournment on February 18, 1965, to await the results of negotiations within a newly-appointed 33-member Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Significantly, the Committee's mandate called for a review of all aspects of peace-keeping operations — recognition that the purely financial question was symbolic of the disagreement within the United Nations rather than the root cause of it.

Origins of the Crisis

The financial crisis which came close to paralyzing the United Nations General Assembly in 1964 had been more than eight years in the making. The political crisis which underlay and shaped it, however, had its origins in the very founding of the United Nations and the drafting of the Charter. The Charter was the point of agreement from which subsequent disagreements sprang. Its authors sought, on the one hand, to give expression to the aspirations of the peoples of the United Nations to combine their efforts for the betterment of all mankind and, on the other, to avoid the mistakes of the League of Nations and to provide a firm link with reality in the shape of special responsibilities and authority for the great powers. The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China were given permanent seats and the right of veto in the Security Council, which in turn was given primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and the right to act in this sphere on behalf of the entire membership of the Organization (Article 24); all member states were obligated to carry out the Security Council's decisions (Article 25). The General Assembly was authorized to discuss any questions relating to peace and security, subject to the proviso that it should not make recommendations regarding any specific dispute or situation while the Security Council was seized of the matter (Article 2).

In what has come to be called the peace-keeping field, the Charter foresaw two general areas of action. Chapter VI (Articles 33 to 38), dealing with the "peaceful settlement of disputes", authorized the Security Council to *recommend* appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment. Chapter VII (Articles 39 to 51), dealing with "threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression", authorized the Council to *decide* on measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. The drafters of the