



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DIALLO (Guinea)

later: Mr. ABDULLATIF (Oman)

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AGENDA ITEM 73: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING
OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 73: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/39/573; A/SPC/39/L.5)

1. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to draft resolution A/SPC/39/L.5, which had been prepared following informal consultations and on which the Committee would have to take a decision at the following meeting. He hoped that, as in the past, the draft resolution on the item under consideration would be adopted without a vote.

2. Mr. ATEPOR (Ghana) briefly reviewed the history of peace-keeping operations and emphasized their usefulness for reducing tension and ensuring that cease-fires were observed pending a peaceful diplomatic settlement. His country had participated willingly in such operations and was ready to co-operate at all times in the maintenance of international peace. As Member States were collectively responsible under the Charter for bearing the financial burden of such operations equitably in order to ensure their effectiveness, his delegation was concerned at some Member States' persistent refusal to pay their contributions, thereby imposing a disproportionate burden on other Member States, in particular those which contributed troops. The latter were forced to lend the United Nations millions of dollars interest-free at a time when their budgets barely enabled them to meet the basic food and medical requirements of their peoples.

3. Peace-keeping operations were not the best possible peace-keeping instruments. In some cases, they had provided an umbrella for countries to pursue their narrow national objectives to the detriment of international peace. In others, attempts had been made to use those operations to interfere in the internal affairs of recipient countries. The refusal to support operations would only accentuate the current tendency to take unilateral measures or to seek solutions to world problems outside the framework of the United Nations. Such an approach was not particularly effective and could on the contrary create greater international tension and thus complicate the work of the United Nations. Instead, all States should join in making peace-keeping operations more effective, on the basis of the following three principles: the Security Council, which had primary responsibility for international peace and security, must endorse peace-keeping operations. The need for the Council to show a degree of flexibility with regard to the role of the General Assembly or the Secretary-General could not be over-emphasized. The United Nations Charter must constitute the legal basis for establishing peace-keeping operations, the functions of which ought to be clearly defined to embody, most importantly, the requirement of assisting diplomatic efforts by the United Nations. It was therefore essential to seek the co-operation of the parties in establishing peace-keeping operations and to ensure that forces were impartial in the discharge of their duties and enjoyed the confidence of the parties in order to encourage them to use constructively the opportunities for negotiation thus provided.

4. In conclusion, the broad principles he had mentioned must be backed up by clear guidelines. His delegation therefore supported renewal of the Special Committee's mandate and urged it to overcome its differences and reach agreement on such principles as soon as possible. Except perhaps in a few cases where

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(Mr. Atepor, Ghana)

collective regional action might prove more effective, the United Nations provided the best framework for international peace-keeping operations. The success of UNIFIL, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report (S/16776), gave ample testimony to that effect and any attempts to duplicate the United Nations role in that regard should be discouraged. Recent events had shown that such attempts did not help the situation.

5. Mr. Abdullatif (Oman) took the Chair.

6. Mr. SIBAJENE (Zambia) said that the maintenance of peace, one of the principal purposes entrusted to the United Nations by the Charter, was an area in which the Organization had achieved tremendous success since its inception. United Nations peace-keeping forces had performed their task commendably, often under very difficult conditions. Member States must support every effort aimed at strengthening the peace-keeping role of the Organization. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, set up by the General Assembly 19 years previously, had regrettably been unable thus far to complete its work. The need to elaborate guidelines to govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations and define the obligations of Member States, in particular parties to a conflict, was becoming increasingly urgent as breaches of the peace increased.

7. Some Member States in fact tried to use conflicts to further their own narrow interests, and areas under peace-keeping forces became the object of aggression. The manipulation of crisis situations, particularly through peace-keeping operations, was the principal cause of some Member States' failure to pay their share of the costs of peace-keeping, placing an additional burden on contributing countries, in particular troop-contributing developing countries. That also threatened the principle of geographical distribution in the composition of forces. It was essential therefore that the Special Committee renew its efforts to expedite completion of its work in order to ensure the effective functioning of peace-keeping operations, the purpose of which was to encourage the achievement of a lasting peace.

8. His delegation appealed to Member States to contribute generously to peace-keeping efforts and paid tribute to those who had served or continued to serve in United Nations forces.

9. Given the growing turbulence in the world, efforts to strengthen the peace-keeping role of the United Nations would be to the greatest benefit of the international community.

10. Mr. ALI KHAN (Pakistan) said that his country had always recognized peace-keeping operations, whether in the form of the deployment of forces or the stationing of observer missions, to be an effective instrument for maintaining peace and settling international disputes. They were, of course, particularly important for small and medium-sized States located in areas of international friction. That was why Pakistan had always systematically supported such operations and had participated in the work of the Special Committee which had, unfortunately, made little progress. The adoption of guidelines would add significantly to the ability of the United Nations in that area.

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(Mr. Ali Khan, Pakistan)

11. As the Secretary-General had indicated in his report on the work of the Organization (A/39/1), peace-keeping was an expression of international political consensus and will and, to be fully effective, should have the unreserved support of all the Members of the United Nations. During discussions in the Security Council on the report of the Secretary-General at the thirty-seventh session, Pakistan had agreed with the emphasis placed by the Secretary-General on the need to receive a clearly defined mandate from the Security Council in order for the conduct of peace-keeping operations to be efficient. On that occasion, Pakistan had suggested that territories or areas under peace-keeping operations should be declared internationally protected zones, the violation of which would automatically result in specific sanctions against the transgressor.

12. At the thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly had adopted a resolution which his delegation had been unable to support because of its reservations regarding the phrase in operative paragraph 1 "conducted with the consent of the host country". The fact that the host country could invoke that formulation in order to unilaterally terminate the peace-keeping operation was contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter, in particular Articles 24 and 25 thereof.

13. Pakistan itself was host to one of the oldest peace-keeping operations, the United Nations Military Observers' Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), and its Government was deeply appreciative of the efficient, impartial and dedicated manner in which the Group performed its duties and grateful to the countries which had provided troops.

14. Pakistan had made regular voluntary contributions to the United Nations Force in Cyprus and paid its assessed contributions to UNIFIL and UNDOF. It deeply deplored Israel's refusal to co-operate with UNIFIL and called upon it to withdraw its forces from South Lebanon.

15. Peace-keeping operations were interim measures and should never be permitted to sanction the perpetuation of situations imposed by force or by the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions and decisions. His Government had argued consistently that responsibility for their ultimate control should rest with the Security Council. However, within the mandate laid down by the Security Council, the Secretary-General should have the necessary power to direct operations efficiently.

16. With regard to the composition of peace-keeping forces, the parties concerned should be consulted and the principle of equitable geographical representation applied in a flexible manner with due regard to the principles of impartiality, efficiency and non-interference in the internal affairs of the country where they were stationed.

17. The financing of the force and the apportionment of its costs were the prerogative of the General Assembly. Pakistan supported the formula adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session and also considered that the forces should benefit from the privileges and immunities likely to enhance their effectiveness.

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(Mr. Ali Khan, Pakistan)

18. The conduct of the peace-keeping operations so far launched by the United Nations had been adequate, despite the inevitable difficulties caused by the absence of agreed rules and procedures, a situation which could not continue indefinitely. The Special Committee should endeavour to resolve its differences in a spirit of compromise. Pakistan urged the General Assembly to renew its mandate for another year.

19. Mr. SCHOENHERR (German Democratic Republic) emphasized the importance of peace-keeping operations, which were part and parcel of the efforts undertaken by the Organization to preserve peace and strengthen international security and, in particular, to settle dangerous conflicts, even though they did not exhaust the potential of the United Nations. The development of a political and legal framework for the principle of peaceful coexistence was equally important. The Soviet Union's proposal concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and on the mutual renunciation of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States parties to the Warsaw Pact and the member States of NATO was a valuable initiative in that regard.

20. For peace-keeping operations to be effective, generally acceptable guidelines based on the provisions of the United Nations Charter should be drafted. Discussion of so-called practical measures at that stage would be premature.

21. His delegation, which attached great importance to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, wished to reiterate its position. The drafting of acceptable guidelines or the approving of practical measures based on those guidelines could only be founded on the principles of the Charter.

22. As the Charter expressly stated, it was the Security Council which bore the primary responsibility for preserving international peace and security; it had the competence to decide on the composition, strength, mandate, duration of operations, command and financing of a peace-keeping force. It was incumbent only upon the Security Council to plan and carry out such operations.

23. In accordance with the principle of international law that an aggressor was responsible for his actions, the latter should therefore contribute to financing peace-keeping operations and any departure from that principle would encourage action likely to endanger peace.

24. Mr. OKI (Japan) said that his country had endeavoured to strengthen peace-keeping operations through financial contributions and by submitting suggestions to the Special Committee and the General Assembly because it believed that peace-keeping activities played an important role in containing conflicts and maintaining peace.

25. Because of the great importance of peace-keeping operations, the difficulties confronting the Special Committee in drafting guidelines should not discourage its members. Their endeavours should continue, which was why Japan supported the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate.

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(Mr. Oki, Japan)

26. The problem of financing those operations, in particular that of the deficits in the accounts of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was particularly worrying. Those deficits led to delays in reimbursement and placed a heavy burden on the budgets of troop-contributing countries. Japan therefore called upon those Member States which had not so far fulfilled their obligations to contribute their fair share to finance those vitally important operations.

27. Mr. RAM (Fiji) said that his delegation fully supported the United Nations peace-keeping operations, which were one of the most innovative and effective ways in which the Organization could fulfil its primary function, the maintenance of international peace and security. It should, however, be stressed that those operations should not be regarded as a substitute for, or alternative to, the peaceful settlement of disputes: their primary purpose was to achieve and maintain stability in areas of conflict, creating conditions in which the parties could and should solve their differences by negotiations. The United Nations peace-keeping forces must not be used as a permanent force to maintain the status quo. Peace-keeping operations must therefore have a clearly defined and time-bound mandate and have the full support of the Security Council, in particular the permanent members, and the full co-operation of the parties to the conflict and of the international community.

28. Unfortunately, the collective responsibility of the international community was often found wanting, a fact which was clearly reflected in the work of the Special Committee, because it had been unable even to meet in 1984. Its task was certainly arduous but his delegation continued to hope for an expeditious conclusion of its work.

29. Fiji had supplied troops to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon since its inception, hoping that that obligation would be an interim one and that UNIFIL would have the full support of all Member States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council. Although those hopes had not been fulfilled, the Government of Fiji, because of its commitment to peace, had continued to contribute troops to UNIFIL. However, the serious and worrying financial difficulties of the peace-keeping operations had led to a shortfall, which the Secretary-General, in his last report, had estimated at some \$199 million. That shortfall placed an unfair and increasingly heavy burden on all countries which contributed troops to UNIFIL and, in particular, developing countries such as Fiji. His delegation therefore called once again on all States withholding their payments to meet their obligations and pay their assessment without delay. The United Nations should enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations by seriously studying the whole question, particularly their financing. As a first step, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations must renew and redouble its efforts towards the fulfilment of its main tasks.

30. Mr. SUAREZ (Philippines) pointed out that the Committee was considering an item on which no report had been submitted. The Special Committee responsible for drafting that report had not met in 1984, or the preceding year, despite the interest expressed on that matter by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/81. There was virtual unanimity among Member States on the critical importance of

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(Mr. Suarez, Philippines)

peace-keeping operations and the question was why had the General Assembly failed to adopt guidelines for such operations which it had called for 19 years earlier. It was to be feared that the action or inaction of the General Assembly on the issue of peace-keeping operations and its guidelines would provide yet another argument for the detractors of the Organization. His delegation expressed its total agreement with the Secretary-General who, in his last report on the work of the Organization, had stated that the non-implementation of resolutions, as well as their proliferation, had tended to downgrade the seriousness with which Governments and the public took the decisions of the United Nations and had hoped that at the current session of the General Assembly, Member States would give serious thought to the best way of doing business. Since a draft resolution extending the mandate of the Special Committee was being circulated to members of the Committee, his delegation wished to put on record that it would not disturb a possible consensus but that if the draft resolution was put to the vote, his delegation would abstain or not participate.

31. Mr. LASARTE (Uruguay), after reviewing the major concepts at issue in the sphere of the maintenance of peace and security, said that the relevance, validity and effectiveness of the United Nations collective security system depended on a number of factors, in particular, the viability of the process of disarmament negotiations, arms control, the mechanisms established for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the shared responsibility of members of the Security Council for obtaining a minimum of agreement, and the political, military and financial support given by the international community to peace-keeping operations.

32. The efforts deployed in the collective security field within the United Nations system aimed to draw up a major co-ordinated programme of measures which would allow the Organization to achieve progress in a great number of spheres and to restrict the sources of international tension. Peace-keeping operations were an important part of the collective security system and were linked with the existence of an international political consensus. The effectiveness of peace-keeping operations depended on the way in which the Security Council, in particular its permanent members, played their part as mediators.

33. The existing situation in the Committee of 33, established 20 years previously, with a mandate to draw up guidelines, was a typical example of the international community's lack of political will. The Committee of 33 remained where it had started and the status quo would continue for so long as the Security Council failed to exercise systematically the preventive powers conferred on it under Chapter VI of the Charter or was unable to act on the basis of consensus about rules of conduct which would make it possible to adopt minimum measures aimed at preventing crisis situations and restricting sources of international tension.

34. On the subject of the agreed guidelines which should govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations, his delegation, like many others, believed that agreement was attainable on the following points: peace-keeping operations should be in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, be subject to the prior agreement of the country affected, be governed by a precise mandate defined in advance, act as a neutralizing and stabilizing force, always be of a provisional nature and assist negotiations on the solution of fundamental problems. But it was impossible to

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(Mr. Lasarte, Uruguay)

over-emphasize that peace-keeping operations could only succeed if a minimum of trust existed among the States which were primarily responsible for the effectiveness of the collective security system.

35. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon) recalled that from the beginning his delegation had supported the Irish initiative which had resulted, at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, in the formulation of the item currently being considered by the Committee. In 1965 it had likewise supported the establishment of the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

36. Although its members were not necessarily in agreement, the existence of the Special Committee made it possible to go beyond political differences, to have exchanges of view and to define areas of agreement and disagreement. His delegation therefore believed it imperative to extend the Special Committee's mandate so that negotiations could continue and, if possible, result in the elaboration of guidelines which enjoyed general agreement, or at least so that positions would become closer. It would therefore vote to extend the Special Committee's mandate.

37. Support for peace-keeping operations was not only a right but also a duty of Member States, who should direct their efforts to perfecting mechanisms which would make it possible to limit conflicts giving rise to peace-keeping operations and to create conditions for peaceful settlement of those conflicts.

38. There was no need to institutionalize peace-keeping operations for them to be effective. Past experience - which could unfortunately only be repeated - showed that the main responsibility for peace-keeping operations and decisions concerning them was borne by the Security Council and that flexible guidelines would provide the Secretary-General and his colleagues with mechanisms and instruments which would allow them to conduct those peace-keeping operations which the Security Council considered necessary.

39. Because Lebanon had become the main beneficiary of peace-keeping operations, his delegation had had occasion in 1983 to describe its experience of those operations to the Committee at greater length. In 1984, it wished to inform the Secretary-General and the United Nations Secretariat how much their efforts were appreciated and to assure them that it would continue to co-operate with them so that they would be able to fulfil their mission under the Charter and under the mandate which the Security Council had given them.

40. Lebanon likewise thanked those countries which had provided contingents for UNIFIL and, in particular, the Senegalese Government and people, who had been forced for urgent reasons to withdraw their troops before the Lebanese tragedy had ended and Israeli troops had withdrawn from the south of the country. His delegation paid tribute to the commanders, officers and soldiers of UNIFIL and thanked the Government of Fiji for its generous contribution; it assured that Government that Lebanon still considered the presence of the force as provisional but, for the time being, necessary.

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(Mr. Chammas, Lebanon)

41. On 12 October 1984, the Security Council had extended UNIFIL's mandate for six months from 19 October. On that occasion, his delegation had commented on and said how much it appreciated the Secretary-General's report on UNIFIL (S/16776). It was inviting all delegations to study the report and in particular its paragraph 22. The information which it contained on the presence and constructive role, both present and future, of UNIFIL could clarify the peace-keeping process, for which Lebanon was a model, and could assist the Committee to draw up guidelines if favourable political conditions occurred.

42. On the delicate question of the financing of UNIFIL and the burden which it represented for Member States, in particular for countries experiencing difficulties, his delegation, moved by the spirit of collective security, co-operation and friendship which bound Lebanon to all Member States, joined with the Secretary-General in calling on all Member States to contribute to alleviating the financial burden on countries which were providing contingents. When the legitimate Lebanese authorities were exercising power throughout the country's territory, UNIFIL would have accomplished its mission.

43. Mr. VIGLIENZONE (United States of America) paid tribute to those who served the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations and who thereby deserved the support - moral, political, practical and fiscal - of all.

44. Because some States, having blocked United Nations involvement in maintaining a cease-fire, had also chosen to criticize those who were attempting to fill the vacuum, he believed it might be useful to set the record straight concerning some historical aspects of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The Committee had initially been created to deal with the financial crisis caused by the failure of some to pay their share of the costs of peace-keeping, despite an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. After fruitless efforts to obtain payment, the Committee also began examining the question of the so-called guidelines. To claim that there had been any agreement in that area by picking a few phrases out of context was either self-delusion or an attempt to mislead. The effort had made no progress and had become substantially deadlocked by the early 1970s. Fortunately, the deadlock in the Special Committee had not prevented the Security Council from adopting its own guidelines, notably in the mandate for the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11052/Rev.1 of 27 October 1973), and from following that approach in all subsequent peace-keeping operations.

45. The United States had supported all the resolutions which had shaped the mandate of the Committee from the beginning. It believed that the problems in the financial area needed to be resolved and that a number of practical measures should be considered to improve the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. Those matters should also be examined in other forums where the prospects for progress were perhaps brighter. But at some point consideration should be given to rationalizing the work of the Assembly.

46. The need to focus on practical measures to enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping had not received as much attention as it deserved. The United States of America had made a number of proposals on practical measures concerning such matters as the earmarking of contingents, advanced training for United Nations forces and making advanced technology available to them. Moreover, it strongly

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(Mr. Viglienzone, United States)

supported many of the proposals made by other countries such as the Nordic States and Canada.

47. Past experience scarcely encouraged optimism that great progress would be achieved by the Special Committee. However, his delegation was prepared to support a continuation of the mandate of the Special Committee, if that was the clear wish of most of the Special Political Committee's members.

48. Mr. MITRA (India) regretted that, despite the efforts of all concerned, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had failed to finalize agreed guidelines to govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, because of profound disagreements as to how the Committee should carry out its mandate. It was the view of the Indian delegation that to solve that dilemma and find a concrete and lasting solution to that important problem, the permanent members of the Security Council should display a measure of political will; peace-keeping operations could function properly only with the co-operation of the parties and on a clearly defined mandate from the Security Council.

49. Peace-keeping operations should be governed by certain general principles. They should neither be extended on a routine and automatic basis, nor be considered as a substitute for efforts to resolve the dispute that necessitated them. They must have the consent of the host country, and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. In accordance with the Charter, the Security Council should have primary responsibility for the conduct of operations, but the Secretary-General must retain a degree of flexibility in order to implement the decisions of the Security Council with dispatch and efficiency. His delegation paid a tribute to the Secretary-General for the way in which he had carried out that task over the years.

50. India could support any specific proposal designed to increase the efficiency of the national contingents serving in peace-keeping forces, but considered that in the absence of general and agreed guidelines, it remained the sovereign decision of a Member State to support a particular peace-keeping operation.

51. Mr. VIKIS (Cyprus) said that peace-keeping operations, however limited in number, were indicative of the possibilities for international political consensus. All Member States, especially permanent members of the Security Council, should continue and intensify their efforts to overcome the obstacles in the way of such consensus.

52. His delegation's interest in the question of peace-keeping operations was well known. Cyprus appreciated the positive aspects as well as the difficulties of those operations, and was aware of the need for a clearly defined mandate and an appreciation of local realities. But those difficulties should not lead to passivity and, when basic principles of the Charter were violated, the Security Council should be able to respond and change the terms of reference of the peace-keeping operations accordingly. Thus, the reason why the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) had been incapable of deterring the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974, was, as pointed out by the office of the Under-Secretary-General responsible for peace-keeping operations, that it had

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(Mr. Vikis, Cyprus)

neither a mandate nor the capacity to oppose a massive invasion by 40,000 men equipped with artillery, tanks and aircraft. Peace-keeping operations were clearly no substitute for just and lasting solutions to conflicts, on the basis of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, and Member States, particularly permanent members of the Security Council, should support the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve such solutions. It was equally clear that United Nations forces responsible for peace-keeping should respect the sovereignty of the countries in which they were operating and adopt an impartial stance in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. On the other hand the argument that countries providing contingents to a peace-keeping force should refrain from taking a stand on the conflict at issue was in principle unacceptable and in practice unrealistic and even dangerous. The fact that national contingents were under the orders of the Secretary-General and of the force commander appointed by him was a token of their impartiality. Rather than seeking to silence troop-contributing Governments, it would be better to enhance the readiness of those troops, as suggested by Austria and Canada, both of which had offered to host peace-keeping seminars. The financial aspects of peace-keeping operations should also be urgently dealt with. In the case of UNFICYP there was a deficit of about \$US 120 million, although 70 countries had, since the inception of the Force, contributed approximately \$320 million.

53. The Government and people of Cyprus were grateful to all countries that were providing troops or financial contributions to UNFICYP, thus supporting its positive role, pending the achievement of a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, for which the Secretary-General was striving. The delegation of Cyprus paid homage to the officers and men of UNFICYP who had died in the service of the United Nations, and hoped that all necessary efforts would be exerted to enable the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to achieve progress in the work entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

54. Mr. RAPIN (France) said that his delegation fully endorsed the views expressed by the representative of Ireland in his statement of the previous day on behalf of the ten countries of the European Community, both with regard to the lessons to be learnt from the experience of peace-keeping operations, and with regard to the importance and relevance of resolution 38/81, adopted by the General Assembly at its previous session.

55. In common with other delegations, the French delegation regretted that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had not met during the year, in spite of the mandate it had received from the General Assembly and the fact that some of its members had requested a meeting. The implicit reason for that state of affairs was that an attempt was being made to reflect the displeasure of the delegations that had opposed resolution 38/81.

56. Those were the very delegations which, while stating that they were working for a consensus in the Committee, saw fit to renew their attacks and to reiterate that the countries participating in the "so-called multinational force" were responsible for holding up the work of the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. One delegation had even stated that "the countries participating in the Multinational Force in Lebanon" had sought to "oust the United Nations".

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(Mr. Rapin, France)

57. On that point, his delegation wished to recall that in February, France, which had been participating in the Multinational Force stationed in Lebanon, had taken the initiative, with the approval and support of the Lebanese Government, of requesting the Security Council to establish a United Nations force to replace some elements of the Multinational Force in Beirut and the surrounding area. When that proposal had been put to the vote in the Security Council, 13 members of the Council had voted in favour of the draft resolution and only two had voted against it; it was surprising that the representative of Poland had not mentioned in his statement that those two members had been the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union, not one of the participants in the Multinational Force.

58. Mr. LAWRENCE (Canada) said that the adoption by the General Assembly at its previous session of resolution 38/81 on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects had clearly shown that the majority of Member States continued to support the concept of peace-keeping and wished the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to continue its efforts to facilitate the conduct of those operations.

59. As the Secretary-General had recalled in his report on the work of the Organization (A/39/1), the success of those operations depended on the existence of international political consensus and will, as well as on the political, diplomatic and financial support of all members of the Security Council.

60. With regard to the financial aspects of peace-keeping operations, Canada believed that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, it was the collective responsibility of all Member States to share equitably the financial burdens of such operations. He wished to draw attention to the extremely difficult financial situation of the peace-keeping forces, in view of the heavy burden sustained by the troop-contributing countries, especially the developing countries. The financial difficulties facing the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) were an eloquent example of that situation. The Canadian delegation therefore supported the appeal of the Secretary-General to all Member States to pay their assessments without delay.

61. The financial situation of the United Nations Force in Cyprus was no less grave. Canada, as a troop-contributor to UNFICYP, was one of the signatories of the Memorandum of 12 October 1984 (A/39/537), in which the countries contributing troops to UNFICYP made an urgent plea for increased voluntary contributions to the Force. Canada hoped that Governments would make an early and positive response to that appeal, thus demonstrating their support for peace-keeping operations.

62. Canada whole-heartedly supported the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which it believed was the appropriate forum to seek a consensus and to establish practical measures to facilitate the conduct of peace-keeping operations. During 1983, several member countries had circulated documents containing proposals on the work of the Special Committee. The Canadian paper (A/38/499) addressed a number of areas, including the roles of the Security Council and Secretary-General, and the responsibilities of all Member States for financial

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(Mr. Lawrence, Canada)

support of peace-keeping operations. The document also proposed such practical measures as advance preparation and wider participation by States in peace-keeping operations, standardization of operating procedures used by the United Nations, and training on a regular basis for civilian and military officers appointed to senior command and staff positions in United Nations forces, and for observers in United Nations observer missions. Those suggestions could serve as a basis for further discussion in the Committee of 33 and possibly lead to a reasonable political compromise.

63. In conclusion, he paid tribute to the courage and dedication of United Nations personnel serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

64. Mr. RODRIGUEZ-MEDINA (Colombia) said that all States Members of the United Nations had an obligation to work for and strengthen peace; that objective should form the basis of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which for many years had been trying to find a way to end the financial crisis affecting peace-keeping operations.

65. Peace-keeping operations were one of the most effective means at the disposal of the United Nations. International disputes had demonstrated over the years the need for such operations and their value, and had ultimately justified their institutionalization. Colombia was in favour of giving full recognition to peace-keeping operations in the Charter. It would also be useful for the United Nations to have armed forces permanently available as well as a well-defined financing arrangement.

66. Colombia supported the proposals made by some non-aligned countries and some Latin American delegations to give the Secretary-General broader discretionary powers in the area of peace-keeping operations, so that he could take more effective and forceful action and thus successfully overcome the difficult problems which beset peace-keeping operations.

67. Mr. IRTEMCELİK (Turkey), exercising his right of reply, said that the Committee had heard another distortion of the historical facts relating to Cyprus and, in particular, of the political developments which had led to the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping force 20 years earlier, as well as the environment in which that force had had to function.

68. The periodic reports of successive Secretaries-General had adequately documented the conditions under which the Turkish Cypriot people, one of the two co-founder partners of the bicomunal State of Cyprus, had had to suffer for more than a decade. The Constitution of that bicomunal State had been deliberately violated, the rights and interests of Turkish Cypriots had been declared null and void, and the coup d'état of 15 July 1974 had been aimed at destroying the independence of the island. Turkish intervention had been an inevitable reaction in exercise of Turkey's treaty rights and obligations arising from the Treaty of Guarantee signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960, which itself was based on the principle of self-defence enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

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(Mr. Irtemcelik, Turkey)

69. In the absence of a political solution, UNFICYP had remained on the island. No peace-keeping force could, however, be regarded as a substitute for efforts to achieve a political solution. Since August 1984 the Secretary-General had been involved in a new initiative in the context of his mission of good offices. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus had participated in that initiative and had given its constructive and sincere support to the efforts of the Secretary-General.

70. The same speaker had also given a faulty interpretation of the statement made by the Turkish representative at the previous meeting. He read out an excerpt from that speech, and said that he had never required troop-contributing countries to remain "silent" but had merely asked that they should refrain from assuming a partial "attitude" with regard to the dispute in question.

71. Mr. VIKIS (Cyprus), exercising his right of reply, said that everyone was aware of the facts concerning Cyprus, and that with regard to the establishment of UNFICYP, he had merely expressed his appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts.

72. As far as the invasion of Cyprus was concerned, no treaty had given any country the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. As for the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, it was hardly necessary to remind the Committee that the Security Council, in its resolution 541 (1983), had condemned that act of secession.

73. Mr. SMIDOVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), exercising his right of reply, rejected the reasons given by some speakers to explain the delays experienced in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The Soviet delegation had always supported the work of the Committee since its establishment and had always associated itself with the efforts made to reach rapid agreement on guidelines. His delegation was always ready to participate in such work on the basis of consensus. It would be interesting to know who benefited from delays in the work of the Committee. Did those delays benefit those who wished to work on the basis of consensus and were in favour of adopting guidelines, or did they benefit those who, on various pretexts, including the elaboration of practical measures, had for years been obstructing the work of the Committee? The answer was obvious.

74. Everybody also knew who was responsible for sabotaging the activities of the United Nations in Lebanon at the beginning of the year. It was those who had rejected the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon in order to establish a multinational force.

75. Mr. VIGLIENZONE (United States of America), exercising his right of reply, said that the reasons for the delays experienced in the work of the Special Committee were recorded in its documents.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.