

983rd meeting

Tuesday, 25 November 1975, at 10.45 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Roberto MARTINEZ ORDOÑEZ (Honduras).

A/SPC/SR.983

AGENDA ITEM 51

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (*continued*) (A/10366)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. WALDENSTRÖM (Sweden) said that the role of the United Nations was indispensable in preserving and strengthening international peace and security and that its peace-keeping operations were significant and unique. Sweden's co-operation in those operations was therefore an essential part of its over-all United Nations policies, and it had consistently contributed both personnel and funds to them. It also maintained a stand-by force for service with the United Nations and was thus able to respond at short notice to requests from the United Nations. More than 35,000 Swedes had served in United Nations forces over the years and at present over 1,100 men were serving with UNEF, UNDOF, UNTSO, UNFICYP and UNMOGIP.
2. His delegation noted with regret from the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/10366) that its Working Group had not been able during the current year to complete agreed guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations, but agreed that more time and greater accommodation were required to overcome existing differences and to reach a final agreement on the guidelines (*ibid.*, para. 7).
3. His delegation noted with great satisfaction that the Special Committee felt that the Working Group should devote its attention to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. As a troop-contributing country, Sweden considered it most important to take note of the practical experience gained from participation in UNEF and UNDOF, the logistics and administration of which had been most difficult, especially in the early stages.
4. The immediate availability of specially trained personnel was an important prerequisite for United Nations peace-keeping forces. Only if such personnel were available from different parts of the world could the desirable broad-based composition of peace-keeping forces be achieved. Accordingly, Sweden considered that more attention should be given to training, and felt that the Working Group might give attention to that aspect of United Nations peace-keeping. A simulation exercise had already been held under the auspices of UNITAR in May 1975, and his delegation believed that a study of the problems involved would pave the way for more practical training activities. In that regard, Sweden was ready to share its experience of peace-keeping operations with the Working Group. It looked forward to continued work by the Special Committee and its Working Group and hoped that the special study on the Nordic stand-by forces for United Nations peace-keeping operations would contribute to their work.
5. Readiness among Member States to make financial contributions was a further prerequisite for peace-keeping operations, and in that regard his Government continued to favour the principle of collective financial responsibility. It fully shared the view expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization¹ that adequate financial support, particularly when operations continued for a number of years, could be a serious problem which, if not solved, imposed an undue burden on the Governments providing contingents. UNFICYP reimbursements were in some cases years behind their payment schedules, and even in the case of UNEF, financial problems made it difficult for the United Nations to meet its obligations in time. An equitable solution of the depreciation scales for contingent-owned equipment still remained to be found.
6. A solution to the problem of reimbursing the troop-contributing States was therefore a matter of vital importance in maintaining the efficiency of peace-keeping operations. His delegation wished to request the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to make available to the Organization the financial resources needed for the maintenance of those operations. Without the necessary resources, the financial burden on small countries might become so heavy that they would be precluded from making a contribution.
7. Mr. KARHILO (Finland) said that his delegation shared the feelings of those Member States which had voiced disappointment that guidelines had not yet been agreed for the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. While the talks on the guidelines for future peace-keeping operations had been at a standstill, the United Nations had been called upon to set up new peace-keeping forces, in situations of extreme urgency. In the absence of an agreed formula on peace-keeping forces or similar services, the international community had been unprepared to meet those situations. The United Nations had been compelled to resort to hasty improvisations in order to provide the services required by certain conflict situations. His delegation fully shared the view of the Secretary-General expressed in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization¹ on the practical difficulties arising from the *ad hoc* nature of the peace-keeping operations.
8. His Government had taken a strong, active and consistent interest in the United Nations peace-keeping opera-

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 1A, sect. X.

tions and, in accordance with its policy of neutrality, Finland supported the United Nations as the primary instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. It had assisted the United Nations in all its peace-keeping activities by means of financial contributions or by placing military personnel at the disposal of the Secretary-General, or both. Furthermore, in 1968, the Finnish Government had agreed with the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden to establish a stand-by contingent and to make other arrangements designed to enable it to respond promptly and effectively to any request for its services in a United Nations peace-keeping operation. Those arrangements had enabled the Finnish Government to act immediately when the Secretary-General had made a request for troops. Thus far, approximately 12,000 Finns had served in the United Nations peace-keeping forces. At present 1,127 men were serving with UNFICYP, UNEF, UNTSO and UNMOGIP.

9. Finland had not entered into discussions on the constitutional issue of peace-keeping, preferring a pragmatic approach which had led it to concentrate on operations initiated by the Security Council. His delegation considered it important that particular note should be taken of the practical experience gained in UNEF and UNDOF in any efforts to achieve agreed guidelines for future operations. That experience showed, *inter alia*, that the immediate availability of the appropriate national contingents and adequate preparations for the organization, training and use of peace-keeping forces were of crucial importance.

10. The principle of broad geographical representation was essential to the political balance of peace-keeping operations, and some progress had been made in that respect in recent years. Attention should also be given to opportunities for potential observers and contingents in all geographical regions to obtain training for peace-keeping work. His delegation supported the idea that the United Nations should be given a special role in facilitating and co-ordinating the training efforts of potential participating countries.

11. Finland considered the establishment and operation of the United Nations forces to be a collective undertaking. His Government had consistently held the view that the principle of collective responsibility must prevail in the financing of peace-keeping operations, and it was satisfied with the basic method of financing UNEF through the budget, as agreed upon by the Security Council and the General Assembly. It had always held the view that the expenses of the Force should be apportioned among the Member States on an equitable and fair basis in the same way, in principle, as all the other expenditures of the United Nations.

12. The financing of peace-keeping operations was closely linked to the basic principle of reimbursing the costs involved to the troop-contributing countries. The results achieved through consultations on the question of reimbursement seemed to be generally acceptable to Member States, including troop-contributing countries. The application of the principles of non-discrimination and equal treatment in the context of reimbursement would unquestionably cause difficulties for several countries, including

Finland, but his delegation believed that all supported the idea of equal reimbursement. In that connexion, Finland noted that the reimbursements due to the troop-contributing countries were in some cases running behind their actual payment schedules. Finland's dues from the United Nations amounted to \$15.5 million, and that state of affairs was bound to have a serious impact in the long run on a small country's ability to make commitments to the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

13. Current financial difficulties were such as to endanger the political basis of UNEF, namely, equitable geographical distribution in the selection of troops. Determined efforts should therefore be made to strengthen the positive potential in favour of peace-keeping in all countries, including the small States. In the light of those considerations, his delegation fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to strengthen the political and financial basis of the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

14. The role of small countries in the maintenance of international peace and in United Nations peace-keeping operations might be modest, but it was still indispensable. His delegation was convinced that the small countries were prepared to do their fair share, and it was in the common interest to maintain that willingness and even to strengthen it, and not to create conditions where the share and burden of the small countries became materially, and therefore politically, unbearable. His delegation therefore hoped that the finances of the United Nations peace-keeping operations could be placed on a solid and secure basis.

15. In supporting the renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee for another year, his delegation wished to urge it to make a supreme effort to achieve substantial progress towards agreement. It also wished to emphasize the need to give careful thought to making the task of the Special Committee more manageable so that existing difficulties might be eliminated or at least alleviated. The need to reach an agreement on guidelines for the United Nations peace-keeping operations, including their financing, presupposed the need for the political will of all Member States to support collectively those operations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

16. Mr. VALDERRAMA (Philippines) said that, in the view of his delegation, the Special Political Committee must endorse the conclusions set forth in the candid and clear report of the Working Group of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/10366, annex). All must concede that the task of achieving agreed guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations was difficult especially since the issues before the Working Group were fundamental. His delegation did not believe that the fact that certain important differences had arisen between certain members of the Working Group concerning basic political and institutional problems was a cause for despair, and it remained optimistic that any differences that existed were not insuperable and could be overcome, given more time and greater accommodation. It accordingly supported the conclusion that efforts towards the submission to the General Assembly of agreed guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations should be continued, having due regard to circumstances likely to lead to further progress. It also endorsed the Special Committee's recommendation, in

paragraph 7 of its report, that the Working Group should also devote attention to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of the peace-keeping operations.

17. His delegation wished to reaffirm its Government's continued support for the United Nations peace-keeping operations and to express the hope that the Special Committee and its Working Group would soon complete agreed guidelines that would be practicable, financially equitable and effective, as well as responsive to the changed circumstances of the contemporary world and the needs of the 143 sovereign Member States of the United Nations.

18. His delegation urged the Special Political Committee to endorse the recommendations and conclusions of the Working Group and to recommend the renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee.

19. His delegation wished to point out that suggestions had been made in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations that the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should be submitted to it for consideration in the context of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's mandate to review the Charter and to strengthen the role of the Organization in the promotion of international peace and security and the development of co-operation in relations between States. It might be a good idea for the Special Committee and the *Ad Hoc* Committee to establish some sort of liaison to co-ordinate proposals and suggestions on the question of peace-keeping and of strengthening the role of the United Nations in general.

20. Mr. MITCHELL (United States of America) said that he could only note with regret that the hard work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had not resulted in any significant progress towards agreement and, in fact, had revealed deep-seated differences of principle concerning the key issues of the peace-keeping operations. On the other hand, the positive approach and suggestions made by members of the Committee in a spirit of compromise had been encouraging notes in its proceedings.

21. His Government had been gratified at the Security Council's successful actions in the realm of operational peace-keeping and felt that it had demonstrated its ability to maintain and support peace-keeping forces operating under the most sensitive circumstances. It had been particularly heartened by the extension of UNEF for one year (Security Council resolution 378 (1975)), which would make for more rational planning in the operation of that force.

22. His Government continued to believe that the peace-keeping function of the United Nations was highly important in preventing the outbreak of hostilities and in providing the opportunity for the peaceful settlement of disputes. On the basis of United Nations experience in establishing and successfully operating peace-keeping forces in various critical areas of the world, his Government was convinced that a high degree of flexibility was required to allow the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the peace-keeping force commander to deal with the unique circumstances involved in each case. It consequently continued to believe that guidelines must be general in nature.

One of their major purposes should be to define in broad but clear terms the division of responsibility between the principal United Nations organs involved. While the Security Council had primary responsibility for authorizing peace-keeping operations and determining the major direction for any peace-keeping force, the Secretary-General should have sufficient authority and flexibility to ensure the effective functioning of those forces. The Security Council could maintain its over-all and continuing responsibility by receiving regular reports from the Secretary-General, by periodically reviewing the work of the peace-keeping force, and, if it considered it advisable, by establishing an advisory or consultative committee.

23. In view of the practical successes of the various United Nations peace-keeping forces, one ought not to be unduly disheartened over the long term by the failure to reach agreement on generalized guidelines. The experience of the Special Committee and its Working Group during the preceding year indicated the need for further reflection on the best approach to the problem. The Committee might even wish to consider whether, in the interest of achieving eventual success in its task, some hiatus in its drafting efforts would be wise, to give it time to explore possible approaches. In any case, his Government could only conclude that the current time was appropriate for reflection, since it remained convinced that peace-keeping continued to be a vital function, in fact one of the most vital functions of the United Nations, in resolving disputes and promoting peace in the world.

24. Mr. CABRAL DE MELO (Brazil) said that the report of the Special Committee was not a heartening document, especially for delegations like his own which had asserted for many years the need for an accepted framework of rules for the implementation of peace-keeping operations in the context of a revision of the Charter of the United Nations. The Minister for External Relations of Brazil, addressing the General Assembly, had already pointed to the need for co-ordinating the efforts of both the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations (2355th plenary meeting). His delegation felt that during the work of elaborating a set of guidelines for peace-keeping operations one should not lose sight of the work being performed by other organs and in other areas of the United Nations with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling its goals.

25. Unfortunately, the political situation had not been particularly helpful in that respect. The report of the Special Committee indicated some of the obstacles that had been encountered and the reasons for them. They were issues of a fundamental nature and had given rise to certain important differences between some members of the Working Group concerning the basic political and institutional problems which needed further substantive negotiation. Thus, the main problem was the existence of divergent conceptions of a constitutional nature. Although his delegation recognized the difficulties arising from such issues, it felt that the Special Committee should continue in its task and that the controversy could be reduced to a few basic elements.

26. His delegation also believed that the elaboration of guidelines did not necessarily exhaust the Special Commit-

tee's usefulness or its mandate. Other areas of agreement could be explored, such as, for instance, the consideration of specific questions related to practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. A question of paramount importance was, of course, contingency planning and preparedness on the part of Member States which, like the Nordic countries, for instance, were ready to co-operate in future peace-keeping operations.

27. Mr. CRAIG (Ireland) said that his delegation's interest in United Nations peace-keeping operations and the attempt to place them on a more satisfactory permanent footing was based both on his Government's support of the concept of United Nations peace-keeping and on its participation in the various peace-keeping forces. Ireland's concern for that concept had led it to make proposals in the mid-1960s to place the financing of peace-keeping operations on a more permanent and sounder basis and to participate in most of the forces set up since it had joined the Organization. His Government regretted having had to withdraw the Irish contingent from UNEF in May 1974 for domestic reasons but regarded its commitment to the Force as continuing. Irish officers continued to serve the United Nations in the Middle East and in Cyprus.

28. His delegation had noted with particular interest the Secretary-General's remarks in the introduction to his latest report on the work of the Organization¹ in which, while underlining the limitations of peace-keeping operations on an *ad hoc* basis as so far conducted, he noted that they had proved extremely useful in certain conflict situations. The Secretary-General had also drawn attention to the difficulties presented by the logistics and administration of the operations, especially in the early stages, in the absence of permanent peace-keeping establishments, and to the problem of providing adequate financial support when the operations continued for a number of years.

29. His delegation had welcomed the decision in 1973 (Security Council resolution 340 (1973)) to set up the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East on the basis of the collective responsibility of all Member States. It had hoped that that would give an impetus to efforts within the United Nations system to develop permanent guidelines for the establishment and conduct of a peace-keeping operation when circumstances required; it still hoped that other forces could be established on a similar basis and particularly that UNFICYP could be placed on that basis. Operations in the Middle East and Cyprus had provided practical experience which could form the basis for more general conclusions. His delegation was therefore unable to agree that the endeavour to find agreement on more permanent peace-keeping arrangements could currently be terminated or suspended. It was acutely disappointed at the lack of progress by the Special Committee, especially in view of the guarded optimism aroused by the preceding year's report.² That disappointment implied no criticism of the members of the Special Committee or of the Working Group, who should not give way to despair. The low-key nature of the Special Committee's activities and of the discussion in the Special Political Committee should not lead to the conclusion that problems would disappear if they were ignored. While by no means overcoming the

financial difficulties of the United Nations, the establishment of UNEF on its existing basis had somewhat lessened the fears that future peace-keeping operations would undermine for ever the finances of the Organization. It was not therefore unreasonable to re-examine the immediate objectives of the Special Committee, its method of attaining them and even its composition. Areas within the Special Committee's broad mandate on which it could make definite progress should be identified. They might be peripheral to its central concern, but should help to restore the Special Committee's morale and enable it to tackle the basic issues with renewed vigour. His delegation therefore endorsed the proposal that the Working Group should devote its attention to specific questions related to practical implementation of peace-keeping operations, in particular training for such operations, drawing on experience gained in existing operations, while the Special Committee itself remained concerned with the elaboration of agreed guidelines.

30. Mr. PAWLAK (Poland) said that, in view of international détente and the growing role of the United Nations, effective means of settling conflicts peacefully must be found. As an active Member of the United Nations, Poland had always paid great attention to questions of peace within the international community and had been a member of the Special Committee since its establishment. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly could deal with problems related to international peace and security, but only the Security Council could authorize action. It was therefore obvious that all decisions concerning peace-keeping operations should fall within the exclusive competence of the Council, whose role in such operations had been widely recognized. The creation of UNEF and UNDOF had been a turning point in the conduct of peace-keeping operations because of the recognition not only of the role of the Security Council but also of the principle of collective responsibility and the application of the principle of equitable geographic representation. Poland's participation in UNEF and UNDOF was an expression of its firm support of the provisions of the Charter and its desire to contribute to the safeguarding of international peace and security, which was in keeping with the general line of its foreign policy and that of the Socialist community. Through that participation, Poland had acquired considerable experience in the practice of peace-keeping operations. Although the United Nations forces were protecting peace in the Middle East, their presence should not be permanent or be used as a pretext for prolonging the current situation. An over-all solution must be found on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions; there could be no lasting peace in the region until Israel withdrew its forces from all Arab territories and until the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to their own statehood, were recognized. The United Nations forces in the Middle East could only play their role fully if all units enjoyed non-discriminatory freedom of movement. Israel's denial of such freedom of movement to UNEF and UNDOF contingents whose countries of origin did not maintain diplomatic relations with it was a serious obstacle to the efficient performance of their task.

31. His delegation regretted that the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee and its Working Group by General

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 39, document A/9827.

Assembly resolution 3239 (XXIX) had not been fulfilled. It appealed to members of the Working Group to show restraint and political imagination in order to achieve understanding on the basis of the common aim, especially in view of the continued existence of conflict areas in several parts of the world. The Polish delegation agreed with the Special Committee that more time and greater accommodation were required to overcome existing differences, but that time should not be unnecessarily prolonged. It would be ironic if the Special Committee became involved in sterile discussions while the latest peace-keeping operations in the Middle East were proving so successful. The stalemate in the Special Committee was chiefly due to obsolete modes of thinking by certain delegations, which found it difficult to adjust to the rapidly changing realities of international life.

32. Mr. LANGSLET (Norway) said that his Government firmly believed that the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations could play a unique role in strengthening international peace and security. Norway had therefore participated in peace-keeping operations, established stand-by forces and paid voluntary financial contributions to peace-keeping operations, and it would continue to support all efforts aimed at strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping machinery in the future. While his delegation regretted the lack of progress made by the Special Committee despite the positive developments indicated in the Working Group's eighth report,³ that should not be used as an argument against the continuation of its work. The Norwegian delegation supported the Working Group's suggestion in paragraph 7 of its ninth report (A/10366, annex) that it should devote its attention to the consideration of specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. No efforts should be spared to make those operations more efficient and to activate the interest of all Member States in their importance for the maintenance of peace and security.

33. His delegation also wished to stress the importance of training and preparedness, so that the personnel of potential contributors had the best possible background for carrying out their duties and responsibilities. One of the prerequisites for the effective functioning of such operations was the existence of stand-by or similar forces.

34. In view of the need to avoid in the future the financial problems created by past peace-keeping operations, the Special Committee should pay attention to the financial aspects of the matter. His Government maintained its attitude regarding the principle of collective financial responsibility.

35. Mr. McGHIE (New Zealand) said that his delegation shared the regret that the Special Committee had made no progress during the preceding year, despite the optimism expressed at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Since the early 1950s, the United Nations had struggled with the problem of how to provide the necessary funds to finance its peace and security operations and how to control those operations. The problem was fundamentally political, reflecting the various attitudes of Member States towards the United Nations and what they

considered to be its legitimate role. What was in dispute was not merely whether the General Assembly could oblige all Member States to contribute to the cost of peace-keeping operations but, what was even more important, whether it was entitled to initiate and control such operations or whether those functions should be the prerogative of the Security Council.

36. Although not a member of the Special Committee, New Zealand had always taken a close interest in United Nations peace-keeping activities. Besides providing troops for the United Nations enforcement action in Korea, it had had military observers with UNTSO and UNMOGIP for many years, had contributed civilian policemen to UNFICYP for three years and had made financial contributions to peace-keeping operations in the Congo, the Middle East and Cyprus. As a demonstration of its continuing interest, the Minister of Defence had announced in 1974 that New Zealand would introduce training for all branches of the armed forces as part of the Government's policy that the Services should be available to undertake peace-keeping duties. Such training had been introduced from the beginning of the 1975/76 training year and was being given greater emphasis in promotion courses at various levels.

37. Even with the Organization's long experience in peace-keeping operations, it was important that the rules and principles developed through that experience should be set out in a scheme of clear and effective guidelines to enable the United Nations to act quickly in situations requiring urgent action. Although the Special Committee could not yet report progress, his delegation felt that, because of the pre-eminent position given in the Charter to the maintenance of peace, the mandate of the Special Committee should be renewed in the hope that a further period of study would bring the required measure of agreement.

38. Mr. MARTINEZ (Venezuela) said that peace-keeping operations were vitally important in the fulfilment of one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, and therefore had his delegation's full support. Venezuela attached great importance to the work of the Special Committee and the Working Group and shared the optimism of the Rapporteur of that Committee concerning the future. It was disappointing that despite the efforts of various members of the Working Group, no agreement had been reached because of fundamental differences between some members. However, his delegation endorsed the opinion expressed in paragraph 7 of the Special Committee's report that the mandate of the Working Group should be extended because more time and greater accommodation were required to overcome existing differences.

39. The experience acquired in United Nations peace-keeping operations during the preceding few years gave rise to the hope that the Special Committee might be able to complete its task in the future. It was therefore essential that its work should continue and that the Working Group should devote its attention to specific questions related to practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. His delegation was certain that the Special Political Committee would, as in previous years, adopt a draft resolution calling for renewed efforts by the Special Committee to reach agreement on that important matter.

³ *Ibid.*, annex.

40. Mr. GREGORIADES (Greece) said that, since peace was the purpose of the United Nations, the practical means of ensuring it, and particularly the guidelines governing peace-keeping operations, went to the very heart of the Organization's mission. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece had said in the General Assembly (2362nd plenary meeting), the United Nations had played a positive role in preventing armed conflicts, especially in terms of localizing foci of confrontation and separating the adversaries. Greece attached special importance to the strengthening of that role. The Secretary-General was justly paying special attention to the functioning of the peace-keeping forces, in which he could be assured of Greece's full co-operation. His delegation was in complete agreement with the remarks made concerning those operations in sections XI and XII of the introduction to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization.¹ Since peace-keeping operations played an important part in maintaining calm in the regions in which they were conducted and since they created a suitable atmosphere for negotiations, a greater role should be given to them. Certain principles were essential for the success of such operations. The United Nations forces must be sufficiently strong and effective, any attack or pressure on them by national military forces should be forbidden, a system of international sanctions should be provided for in order to implement that policy, and the forces must in no way be hindered in the task assigned to them by the Security Council. In order to preserve their representative character, the United Nations peace-keeping forces should be composed of contingents as widely and equitably representative of the international community as possible and should be financed by all Member States, for the maintenance of peace was a common responsibility.

41. He wished to reiterate the deep appreciation of the Greek Government for the sense of mission and responsibility with which UNFICYP was performing its important task under difficult and often dangerous conditions.

42. Mr. DE PRAT GAY (Argentina) said that his delegation attached great importance to peace-keeping operations because they were an essential component of the activities of the United Nations. His delegation was therefore concerned that the Working Group and the Special Committee had not been able to meet the request made in General Assembly resolutions 3091 (XXVIII) and 3239 (XXIX) to renew efforts towards the completion of agreed guidelines for the conduct of such operations. The United Nations was faced with a paradoxical situation in which its emergency forces were playing a highly important and effective role in a number of areas while the Special Committee remained unable to reach agreement as to how to place peace-keeping activities on a firmer basis.

43. If the last two reports of the Working Group were compared, it became evident that the momentum gathered in 1974 had regrettably been lost and that the progress made in that year had perhaps even been undone in 1975. No progress had been made with regard to proposals put forward. In that connexion, he pointed out that the four non-aligned States which were members of the Working Group—Argentina, Egypt, India and Nigeria—had submitted a document pertaining to the establishment of a subsidiary body of the Security Council in accordance with Article 29

of the Charter in the hope that it might provide a basis for agreement. Unfortunately, however, agreement had not been reached.

44. It was a positive sign that the Working Group had singled out "important differences" between some members as the cause of the deadlock within the Group. It was also encouraging that the Working Group, while calling for greater accommodation among its members, had recognized that the existing realities must be taken into account if it was to make progress in its difficult task. In that connexion, his delegation emphasized the special responsibility of those Members of the United Nations which had reserved for themselves the power of the veto. Détente should be translated into a reality within the United Nations. The time had come for the great Powers to recognize that for a large majority of its Members the United Nations was the most appropriate place for the building of a flexible and effective system able to ensure that, when the necessity arose, the Organization would be able to fulfil its peace-keeping functions.

45. Views and suggestions regarding the conduct of peace-keeping operations should be sought from those Governments which were currently participating in such operations.

46. The notion that the Working Group should also devote attention to the consideration of specific questions related to practical implementation of peace-keeping operations was very much to the point. In so doing, the Working Group would improve United Nations peace-keeping activities even further and ensure the requisite speed in that area.

47. Particular attention should also be given to the preparation of contingents, and in particular to the training of personnel to participate in peace-keeping operations. The principle of broad geographical representation should always be applied to the composition of peace-keeping forces, as the Secretary-General had recognized in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization.¹

48. His delegation endorsed the suggestion made by the Canadian delegation that the Special Committee and its Working Group should plan their work in a more functional manner. Consideration should also be given to ways of enabling particularly interested countries to participate more directly in the deliberations of the Working Group, and the latter should report more frequently to the Special Committee. Such an arrangement was all the more relevant in view of the fact that the developing countries, which accounted for two thirds of the membership of the General Assembly, represented only a minority of the 13 members of the Working Group, two of which were super-Powers.

49. Mr. ROSU (Romania) said that his delegation attached great importance to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil the fundamental purposes of the Charter, namely the elimination of sources of conflict and tension and the maintenance of international peace and security. In that connexion, his delegation had recently submitted to the Sixth Committee a number of proposals for the improvement and democratization of the activities of the United Nations and the strengthening of its role in

achieving co-operation among all States, without distinction as to social system, in building a more just and a better world and in securing a durable peace.⁴ As was emphasized in that document, his Government attached major importance to peace-keeping operations as a significant means of ensuring international peace and security. The provisions of the Charter pertaining to such activities, however, had so far not been translated into clear rules and principles governing their effective implementation. Whenever United Nations military forces had been established in the past, their mandates had been agreed upon by the Security Council on the basis of each individual situation and without the benefit of any precise criteria established by the General Assembly.

50. In the light of such considerations, his delegation believed that the Special Committee should move forward with the preparation of specific proposals concerning the method of establishment, the powers and the legal provisions governing the operation of peace-keeping forces. All Member States should have the right, in accordance with the principle of rotation, to participate in the establishment of United Nations military forces. The Charter should confer on the General Assembly the right to lay down guidelines for the utilization of military forces organized under United Nations auspices and should also stipulate that States parties to a conflict should agree in advance as to the national composition of United Nations forces. In view of the fact that one of the functions of United Nations peace-keeping forces was to bring the parties together and thus contribute effectively to a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the prior consent of the parties concerned regarding the composition of the United Nations forces represented a fundamental factor in determining the success or failure of a mission. The experience gained through the establishment of United Nations forces in Cyprus and the Middle East could provide the Special Committee with the means to complete its mandate.

51. In its resolution 3239 (XXIX), the General Assembly had requested the Special Committee to work out guidelines for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations in conformity with the Charter for submission to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session. It was a matter of regret, therefore, that the Special Committee had not been able to fulfil its mandate. It was, moreover, surprising that, instead of emphasizing the necessity of speeding up its work, it had intimated in its report that it might not even be possible to submit the agreed guidelines to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

52. Owing to the existing deadlock, the Special Committee had held only two meetings in 1975. His delegation took the view that the main negotiations concerning agreement on strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes should be conducted in the Special Committee itself, which should meet in normal sessions. The relatively small membership of the Special Committee should enable it to serve as a negotiating body, while working groups could be used to deal with specific aspects which, in the general view, would be best dealt with in that manner.

Participation in such working groups should be open to all members of the Special Committee.

53. Finally, his delegation agreed that the General Assembly should renew the mandate of the Special Committee in order to enable it to complete its work on agreed guidelines for carrying out peace-keeping operations.

54. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) said that, despite the definite progress made in 1974, the Special Committee had been unable to build upon that progress in 1975. At the same time, somewhat paradoxically, the United Nations had enjoyed considerable practical success in the field of peace-keeping with its forces in Cyprus and the Middle East. Why had such practical success not been paralleled by success in the search for an agreed doctrine on peace-keeping? In the view of his delegation, the stalemate in the Special Committee was due to the fact that the roles of various United Nations organs in the field of peace-keeping operations were sometimes portrayed as being in conflict with each other, an approach which was not conducive to a satisfactory solution of the basic problem. The supposed rivalry between the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the area of peace-keeping had given way to the concept of partnership; the functions of the Security Council for policy control and the responsibilities of the Secretary-General for day-to-day operational management should be complementary.

55. His delegation endorsed the opinion expressed by the Special Committee in its report that greater accommodation was required if existing differences were to be overcome and an agreement on guidelines for peace-keeping operations reached. The Working Group might therefore aim at reaching a common denominator by limiting itself to a few principles and by using broad and general wording. After all, such principles had to be not only generally acceptable but also generally applicable to all kinds of situations at different times and in different places. A pragmatic and flexible approach represented the only hope for progress; the Special Committee should therefore continue to work on basic but general guidelines to serve as a framework which could be improved as further experience was gained.

56. The establishment of UNEF, in which his country had participated from a very early stage, had represented the clearest acknowledgement to date of the collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations for peace-keeping operations. The joint financing of the operation and the wide participation in it of troops from every regional group had been major factors in strengthening the operation and the political consensus on which it had to be based.

57. The concept of UNEF would continue to be viable as long as the political consensus existed and the financial needs were met. Unfortunate delays in payments, however, had caused considerable difficulty to the financial management of the peace-keeping operations. Despite its shortcomings, the system of voluntary financing for UNFICYP was based on the recognition of collective responsibility for financing the operation.

58. While the completion of agreed guidelines was a very important task, other aspects of peace-keeping needed to be

⁴ Document A/C.6/437 of 3 November 1975.

thoroughly examined by the Special Committee as well. The latter could consider, for example, specific questions related to the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations, including such ideas as models of arrangements with host countries and potential troop contributors, an inventory of troops and equipment to be placed at the disposal of the United Nations in case of need, and the maintenance of a roster of potential commanders of peace-keeping operations.

59. As a troop contributor, Austria attached great importance to the safety of peace-keeping troops, and had submitted a draft resolution on that subject to the Security Council, which was subsequently adopted as resolution 359 (1974). The matter was perhaps worthy of further consideration with a view to drawing up a catalogue of measures to assure the maximum safety and security of troops.

60. Training was another key to successful peace-keeping operations. Co-ordination and collaboration between different contingents created specific problems, and it might be useful to identify the main areas of friction and devise methods for ensuring smooth operations. Several international seminars had been organized in Vienna to deal with such problems, and special programmes had been developed to prepare Austrian soldiers to meet the particular requirements of international peace-keeping operations. Austria was, of course, ready to share its experience in the field of training and preparation with the Working Group should it decide to examine such questions.

61. Peace-keeping operations represented one of the pillars of the United Nations and often paved the way for the settlement of issues and the establishment of general peace. In view of the close link between peacekeeping and peace-making, his delegation would continue to support the Special Committee and its Working Group in their efforts to ensure maximum efficiency and success for those operations in the future.

62. Mr. HOUNGAVU (Dahomey) said that his delegation considered the preparation of agreed guidelines for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations to be a question of paramount importance. It regretted the failure of the Special Committee to complete those guidelines owing to the important differences between some members of the Working Group concerning the basic political and institutional problems involved. Hobbled by contradictions throughout the 10 years of its existence, the Special Committee had not yet been able to fulfil its mandate. Now

it was said that the Working Group needed more time and greater accommodation to overcome the existing differences and to reach agreement on guidelines for peace-keeping operations.

63. In the view of his delegation, the work of the Special Committee and the Working Group would be advanced by providing an honest answer to the fundamental question: who was responsible for creating breaches of the peace? The answer was: the neo-colonialists and the unrepentant imperialists who openly pursued their selfish interests and did not hesitate to fan local conflicts for their own purposes. An example was the Middle East, where Zionism, the protégé of United States imperialism, denied the Palestinian people the right to exist and prevented the Arab countries from regaining the occupied lands. Thus, a permanently tense situation had been created which required the presence of United Nations forces. Such was also the case in South Korea, where the continuing presence of imperialist forces caused a serious threat to the peace of the region. The hegemony of the super-Powers was the cause of such breaches of the peace as those States sought to consolidate their spheres of influence or gain new ones.

64. Once that fundamental question was answered, certain other questions which currently frustrated the Special Committee, such as the question of financing peace-keeping operations, could be dealt with in a forthright manner. His delegation maintained that those responsible for breaches of the peace should face up to their responsibilities by bearing the entire cost of peace-keeping operations. The responsibility for providing military contingents, on the other hand, could be shared on an equitable basis among all the Members of the United Nations. The acceptance of those principles would give a new direction to the work of the Special Committee and the Working Group and could lead to agreement on guidelines for the carrying out of peace-keeping operations.

65. Mr. N'DESSABEKA (Congo) pointed out that his country had never been the theatre of any peace-keeping operations, since it had always been at peace. When the representative of New Zealand had stated earlier in the meeting that his country had participated in peace-keeping operations in the Congo, he had been referring to the former Belgian Congo, which was now Zaire. His country had good relations with its neighbour, Zaire, but wished to avoid any confusion regarding the identities of the two countries.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.