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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
7th meeting
held on
Thursday, 10 October 1985
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KORHONEN (Finland)

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AGENDA ITEM 77: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 77: 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/SPC/40/L.5)

1. Mr. LODGE (United States of America) paid tribute to all who were serving the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations and who therefore deserved the support - moral, political, practical and fiscal - of all.
2. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations 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 began examining the question of the so-called guidelines. Regardless of claims to the contrary, no progress had been made and the Committee had been deadlocked since the early 1970s. The Security Council, on the other hand, had adopted its own guidelines, contained in the text which established the United Nations Emergency Force (document S/11052/Rev.1 of 27 October 1973), and had followed them in subsequent operations.
3. The United States, which had supported all the resolutions relating to the mandate of the Committee from the beginning, believed that the financial problems needed to be resolved, and a number of practical measures drawn up to improve the effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations. Those matters should be examined also in other forums where the prospects for progress were brighter, such as the Security Council or the Sixth Committee. The consideration of the question of peace-keeping operations should be made dependent on the Special Committee's issuing a report, and should not automatically be included in the agenda for the following session, as called for in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution under consideration.
4. Not enough attention had been given to the need to adopt practical measures aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. The United States itself had made a number of proposals, regarding in particular the earmarking of contingents, the training of United Nations forces and the provision of advanced technology to them, and it strongly supported many of the proposals made by other countries such as the Nordic States and Canada.
5. Past experience did not provide much basis for optimism that progress would be achieved by the Special Committee. The United States was, however, prepared to acquiesce in a continuation of its mandate if that was the wish of most others. His delegation had heard with interest the comment made by the Soviet Union at the 5th meeting on the conduct of certain transnational corporations, but was a typical propaganda remark and added nothing constructive to the debate. There were some transnational corporations that were State trading companies or wholly State-owned, and it had long been suspected that they acted as State agents.

6. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he wished to make a clarification regarding his statement at the fifth meeting. He had referred to multi-national forces and not to transnational corporations, and he read out the passage in which that reference was made. The error proved at least that the United States representative had listened with interest to the Soviet statement.
7. Mr. LODGE (United States of America) said that his reference to the passage in question had been based on the interpretation of the Soviet statement. Regardless, there was really no link between peace-keeping forces and State terrorism.
8. Mr. AL ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) observed that increasing the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations was linked to increasing the effectiveness of the Organization itself and of the role for which it was established. The suggestions to that end by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization (A/40/1) were therefore most welcome.
9. Where the Security Council was concerned, it was vitally important for its permanent members, particularly those which were supporting and protecting racist régimes to which non-observance of the Charter and the use of force and aggression, had become second nature, to take a more responsible and constructive attitude towards international peace-keeping and security. The persistence of conflicts despite the presence of peace-keeping forces showed that the international community was powerless to contain aggressive and expansionist régimes and compel them to respect the provisions of the Charter and the rules of international law. As the Secretary-General said, the United Nations was in no way a super-State. It was an organization of sovereign, independent States, and its function was therefore to harmonize, to encourage and to initiate. At the same time, Member States had to show the necessary collective will and direct it to the key function of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security.
10. The lack of such political will on the part of certain States was, precisely, one of the main reasons for the paralysis of the Special Committee. The Syrian Arab Republic attached the highest importance to its mandate, whose extension it therefore supported.
11. Over and above the diversity of situations which prompted peace-keeping operations, there were common elements on which to base general guiding principles concerning the composition of the forces, their powers, the definition of their mandate, its length, etc. Those elements were, first of all, the temporary nature of the operations, their essential goal being to restore and maintain stability in the region pending a settlement of the political crisis. That being the case, there was need to guarantee that peace-keeping operations did not become a pretext for making a fait accompli of aggression or for giving the aggressor a chance to profit from the consequences of his act by creating a new situation. Secondly, the principle that the aggressor must bear all the consequences of his aggression, in accordance with international law, as well as the entire financial burden of the peace-keeping operations must be reaffirmed. Any departure from that principle would be tantamount to encouraging the aggressor. Thirdly, the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1874 (S-IV) which set forth the general principles to

(Mr. Al Attar, Syrian Arab Republic)

serve as guidelines for the sharing of the costs of peace-keeping operations, and the resolutions guaranteeing implementation of the principle that the aggressor and the victim must not be placed on an equal footing. Fourthly, the need to guarantee that peace-keeping operations did not become a pretext for delaying the settlement of a conflict or for perpetuating the aggression or occupation, or giving the aggressor a chance to profit from the consequences of his aggression. Lastly, it should be stressed that it was the obligation of all parties to co-operate wholeheartedly with the United Nations forces so that they could perform their task, and to protect the members of those forces against aggressions such as those perpetrated by the Israeli troops in Lebanon. It was not enough to condemn violations of those principles; instead every remedy stipulated in the Charter must be used to guarantee that States respected United Nations resolutions.

12. His delegation, expressing the hope that the Special Committee would advance in its work in the near future, praised the peace-keeping efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his colleagues and paid tribute to all those who had laid down their lives in that noble cause.

13. Mr. IRTEMCELİK (Turkey) said that the primary function of the United Nations, which was to ensure the maintenance of peace, symbolized all the hopes invested in the Organization.

14. The regrettable stalemate in which the Special Committee found itself must not discourage those who were genuinely concerned for the maintenance of international peace and security. If it acted with realism and patience, the Special Committee should in time be able to produce a set of guidelines that could enjoy the support of all members of the international community.

15. An objective assessment of the 13 peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations prompted the conclusion that the usefulness and success of such operations depended primarily on several factors. First, peace-keeping operations were meant to be provisional arrangements designed to clear the ground for peace-making initiatives. They were by no means an end in themselves, and would be meaningful only if coupled with sober and result-oriented peace-making efforts. Secondly, they must be undertaken with the consent and co-operation of the parties directly concerned. Thirdly, the terms of reference must be worked out clearly, in full cognizance of the prevailing realities; otherwise they would not only be doomed to failure but could also exacerbate the tensions they were meant to diffuse. Lastly, their success depended directly on the degree of impartiality with which they were carried out, because no crisis was more difficult to overcome than one of credibility. Therefore, the peace-keeping forces and the countries that contributed troops must act with the utmost discretion so as not to lose their credibility in the eyes of either of the parties involved.

16. Mr. THOMSON (Fiji) said that peace-keeping operations were one of the most important functions of the United Nations. The Secretary-General and his colleagues were performing sterling work conducting peace-keeping operations under most trying conditions. Those operations were designed to help limit local or

(Mr. Thomson, Fiji)

regional conflicts and, by establishing a truce, to create a favourable climate for a peaceful solution. Peace-keeping operations were therefore temporary in nature and could not be a substitute for a political settlement of the conflict.

17. It had been repeatedly stated that a number of essential conditions had to be met in order to ensure the success of peace-keeping operations: a clearly defined mandate, the continued backing of the Security Council and the full co-operation of all the parties involved. It was also essential that the Security Council and its permanent members in particular must be able to ensure respect for its decisions. Unless those conditions were met, peace-keeping operations could not achieve their objective, as, unfortunately, was the case with UNIFIL, which had not received the support of all the parties concerned. Nevertheless, UNIFIL was an important stabilizing factor in its area of operations and continued to provide much needed protection and humanitarian assistance to the local population.

18. United Nations peace-keeping operations were the collective responsibility of all Member States, which had the obligation not only to lend it their political and moral support, but also to pay their assessed share of the costs involved. The permanent members of the Security Council had a particular responsibility to bear in that respect. It was regrettable that some Member States failed to honour their financial obligations and thus forced the troop contributing countries to assume a burden which was unfair and increasingly heavy in view of the escalating shortfall. The situation became particularly disturbing when arrears in reimbursements to Fiji, a developing country, amounted to more than \$14 million. Fiji was committed to safeguarding peace, and had contributed troops to UNIFIL since its establishment in 1978, but it might have to cease doing so if it had to continue to bear an increasing financial burden. His delegation therefore appealed to all States concerned to pay their assessed contributions to all United Nations peace-keeping operations and urged the parties in the conflict to co-operate in the search for a political solution to their problems.

19. Mr. GURUNG (Nepal) said that the responsibility of the Organization for the maintenance of peace was greater than ever in the contemporary world, threatened as it was by an unprecedented arms race and by political, economic and social tensions and conflicts which jeopardized peace and security.

20. Nepal, which had always attached great importance to the question of peace and had supported the measures taken by the United Nations in various parts of the world to safeguard peace, had contributed a troop contingent to the peace-keeping force assigned to the task of restoring peace, under difficult conditions, in southern Lebanon. The absence of agreed guidelines made that task even more difficult and dangerous.

21. Peace-keeping operations were the collective responsibility of all Member States, and all should therefore contribute to the success of those operations by facilitating their functioning. It was regrettable that the divergent views among Member States had prevented the Special Committee from drawing up guidelines or agreeing on practical measures, particularly with regard to the financial

(Mr. Gurung, Nepal)

management of the operations. In view of the importance of the question, his delegation favoured the extension of the Special Committee's mandate, and hoped that the Committee would be able to work on substantive matters and formulate practical measures aimed, in particular, at: (1) establishing a permanent peace-keeping force whose composition would be based on the principle of equitable geographic distribution; (2) basing the level of financial obligations on the ability of Member States to contribute, even though the financing of such operations was the collective responsibility of all Member States; (3) organizing peace-keeping operations in strict accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter; and (4) supplementing peace-keeping operations with appropriate political efforts. In that context, his delegation endorsed the views of the Nordic countries expressed by the representative of Finland, particularly those concerning the conditions for the success of peace-keeping operations.

22. Nepal supported and would endorse any measure to strengthen the peace-keeping capability of the United Nations and, in that connection paid tribute to the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat for the efficiency with which they had managed peace-keeping operations over the years, frequently under difficult conditions.

23. Mr. PABON (Venezuela) said that peace-keeping operations were one of the most effective means for action available to the United Nations, because they made it possible to undertake collective efforts to deal with emergency situations and current problems. As was apparent from many cases of international disputes, the mechanism was an indispensable one and should be institutionalized. For that reason, his delegation supported the proposals to extend the Special Committee's mandate and strengthen the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, the better to safeguard peace.

24. Nevertheless, the issue was one not only of facilitating the use of peace-keeping forces in accordance with agreed guidelines, but also of strengthening and developing peaceful relations between States and increasing solidarity among them in order to help them resolve any conflicts that might arise or to eliminate tensions. Emphasis must also be placed on compliance with the provisions of the Charter and other relevant international and regional instruments concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. In that regard, his delegation had studied with interest the suggestions put forward by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization.

25. In that connection, it was important to support the adoption of parallel measures to encourage Member States to support peace-keeping operations by co-operating effectively with the Special Committee in accordance with its mandate as defined in General Assembly resolution 2006 (XIX) and the guidelines laid down by the Security Council in document S/11052/Rev.1. As a member of the Special Committee, Venezuela, which was ready to co-operate at all times in the maintenance of international peace, considered it an honour to pay its annual contribution for the attainment of those objectives.

(Mr. Pabon, Venezuela)

26. He commended the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and their colleagues for the efforts which they had made in recent years to promote the maintenance of peace. Lastly, he expressed the hope that draft resolution A/SPC/40/L.5 would be adopted without a vote.

27. Mr. LASARTE (Uruguay) said that the deadlock since 1985, the year of its establishment, in the work of the Committee of 33, which had not been able to submit the modest report requested in 1982, comprising only a determination of the areas of possible progress, was clear proof of the shortcomings in the collective security system of the United Nations.

28. At the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, his delegation had described the factors which called in question the validity of that system. They resulted from the lack of progress in four fundamental areas of negotiation: disarmament and arms control, the mechanisms established for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the responsibilities of the members of the Security Council for obtaining a minimum consensus and the support of the international community for peace-keeping operations. Those areas constituted an integrated whole in which success and failure were mutually interactive and affected the system of security. For that reason, his delegation had stressed the need to formulate a co-ordinated and far-reaching programme of measures which would enable the Organization to make progress in a large number of areas and limit focal points of international tension. Peace-keeping operations thus affected the active role which the international community required the United Nations to play, particularly at a time when the Organization was preparing to celebrate its fortieth anniversary. Undeniably, too, the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations depended on the manner in which the Security Council carried out its assigned role with regard to the preventive measures set forth in Chapter VI of the Charter. Its permanent members must establish among themselves a climate of understanding and co-operation. If those conditions were not met, the Security Council could not perform its functions under the Charter with regard to preventive measures, and there was a constant risk that focal points of tension would deteriorate into centres of world-wide crisis. That situation limited the scope and effectiveness of peace-keeping operations.

29. With reference to the guidelines to be prepared by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, his delegation considered that agreement could be reached on the following points: peace-keeping operations should be in keeping with the spirit of the Charter and governed by a clearly-defined mandate drawn up in advance, act as a neutralizing and stabilizing force, always be a provisional measure, assist negotiations on substantive issues and be strictly defensive; the financial burden should be shared in accordance with the principle of Member States' ability to pay. The Security Council, at its meeting held on 26 September to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, had recognized the important part that peace-keeping forces had played on many occasions.

30. Uruguay was a small country, strong enough only to uphold morality and the law. It had contributed to peace-keeping operations by providing troops for the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan and wanted the Security Council to lay down a more forceful line of action.

31. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) said that peace-keeping operations were an area of United Nations activity where full use of all the opportunities offered by the Charter was not yet being made. The increasing belligerence of States such as South Africa or Israel, which openly flouted the universally recognized norms of international law, the provisions of the Charter and the wishes of the entire international community, made it particularly important to strengthen the Organization's effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security.

32. It was essential to ensure that peace-keeping operations were not used to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States, or as a cover for aggression or to counter national liberation movements. That meant that they should be conducted in strict accordance with the provisions of the Charter, which, in Chapter VII, clearly set out the fundamental political and legal principles governing the action open to the Organization in the event of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and the measures the Security Council could take in co-operation with Member States. Any distortion of the set of measures provided by the Charter constituted an abuse and a misuse of the Organization for purposes incompatible with the Charter. The Security Council was the only organ authorized to decide on the organization of peace-keeping operations under Chapter VII of the Charter. Furthermore, it was not limited merely to deciding to conduct such operations.

33. Like other States, Czechoslovakia considered that the creation of so-called "rapid intervention" or "multinational" forces was in complete contradiction to the Charter and served only to support the aggressive plans of imperialism in various parts of the world and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

34. He supported the work of the Special Committee responsible for preparing guidelines for peace-keeping operations. Its work was at a standstill at present, but its members could, if they abided by the fundamental principles of the Charter and showed good will on the political front, certainly arrive at a reasonable compromise and complete their work. The Czechoslovak delegation was therefore in favour of extending the Special Committee's mandate and would support the draft resolution.

35. Mr. RUSSELL (Ireland) endorsed what had been said by the representative of Luxembourg on behalf of the ten States members of the European Community and of Spain and Portugal, and wished to make some comments deriving largely from his country's experience as a troop-contributor to peace-keeping operations for almost 30 years.

36. States Members of the United Nations committed to the first purpose mentioned in Article 1 of the Charter, namely that of maintaining international peace and security, must be ready to respond to situations of conflict as they arose in the world. Although the Charter provided for a system of practical response, the political will did not yet exist, regrettably, to enable that machinery to be used fully. One result of that impasse had been the development of United Nations peace-keeping operations, which had enabled the international community to play a

(Mr. Russell, Ireland)

part in helping to defuse certain conflict situations. A peace-keeping operation should be no more than an interim measure to bring about a climate that would enable differences to be settled peacefully.

37. One of the strengths of peace-keeping operations had been their adaptability to very different kinds of situations. Their success, however, depended on the following factors: they must have a clearly-defined mandate, the full backing of the Security Council and a firm financial basis; they must also be acceptable to all parties to the dispute and enjoy their full co-operation; the Secretary-General must have adequate authority to ensure that the mandate of the force was being fulfilled.

38. While the financing of peace-keeping operations was a responsibility to be shared collectively by all Member States, funding difficulties arose because some Member States withheld their assessed contributions. Consequently, the troop-contributors found themselves bearing a disproportionate amount of the running costs and could well refuse to take part in the future. A solution would have to be found if the future viability of peace-keeping operations was to be ensured. Ireland contributed troops to three of the five current peace-keeping operations, UNIFIL, UNTSO and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. As the Irish Foreign Minister had told the General Assembly, Ireland was particularly concerned about the situation of UNIFIL. From the beginning, the Force had not been permitted to carry out its mandate fully and it was often harassed. Ireland called on all the parties concerned to co-operate with UNIFIL on the ground and allow it to carry out its task. The views of the Secretary-General in his forthcoming report on UNIFIL to the Security Council was awaited with interest.

39. He hoped that the Members of the Special Committee would manage to overcome their differences and resume their work. Peace-keeping operations had in the main been successful in spite of their difficulties and sometimes their tragic side. The Irish Government was glad to be able to continue in that way to the maintenance of peace in the world.

40. Mr. BANGO BANGO (Zaire) said that peace-keeping operations were an important subject because they were the logical outcome of the sapping of the moral authority the United Nations had enjoyed at its inception. The Organization had been established to maintain international peace and security and afford all nations the hope of living in peace. The spread of nuclear weapons was clouding that hope and the armed conflicts that had broken out since the Organization's inception had damaged its credibility.

41. The main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security lay with the Security Council. Given the Council's inability to play its proper role, many States had made a habit of threatening or using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States in flagrant breach of the fundamental principles of the Charter. The behaviour of a number of Member States prevented the United Nations from fulfilling its principal function. The Organization's only power was a moral one and it could operate only if Member

(Mr. Bango Bango, Zaire)

States agreed to abide by its decisions or those of the Security Council. On the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, Member States should reaffirm their commitment to the ideals and principles set out in the Charter which, incidentally, provided the machinery for the peace-keeping operations that had for the past 40 years helped to prevent conflicts from spreading, provide humanitarian assistance and create a favourable climate for settling differences peacefully.

42. Zaire had been one of the first countries to benefit from United Nations action and thus to consolidate its independence and national unity. He commended the Secretaries-General who had successively led the Organization for the way in which they had handled peace-keeping operations, paid a tribute to the Governments that had provided troops and equipment and saluted the soldiers that had served under the flag of peace. He paid particular homage to those who had given their lives and to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld.

43. The application of the principles of the Charter would obviate the need for peace-keeping operations. Moreover, if the United Nations membership, which had tripled since the establishment of the Organization, were to develop friendly relations based on mutual respect and trust and if Members were to apply in good faith the relevant provisions of the Charter, the image of the Organization would be refurbished in the eyes of the world. The lack of progress within the Committee of 33 proved that Member States must strive to overcome their rivalries if they wished to restore the authority of the United Nations. The intransigence of certain States was contributing to the persistence of conflict.

44. He urged Member States to pledge, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, to respect the Charter and save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, bearing in mind the Secretary-General's opinion that peace-keeping reflected a consensus and a political will on the part of the international community.

45. Mrs. MARTIN (Canada) said that nearly 10,000 military personnel were wearing the blue beret and more than 75,000 Canadians had served the cause of peace under the United Nations flag. She took the opportunity to pay tribute to the memory of Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, a peace-keeping pioneer who had passed away on 13 September 1985. General Burns had been Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and had been the first Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza and the Sinai. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first United Nations peace-keeping force, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim had presented General Burns with the first Distinguished Peace-keepers Award in recognition of his service to the cause of peace.

46. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it was particularly appropriate that attention should be focused on the two fundamental purposes stated in Article 1 of the Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. For many years the Security Council had not intervened in international conflicts by the use of force as envisaged in the Charter. However, the peace-keeping technique had been applied

(Mrs. Martin, Canada)

many times to limit conflict and save lives. That basic tool of the United Nations was not a panacea and must be accompanied by the political will of the parties to resolve conflicts. The continuing presence of peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world proved that that will was lacking.

47. Her delegation deplored the fact that the Committee of 33 had made such little progress. The broad support for General Assembly resolutions 38/81 and 39/97 was encouraging. The Assembly believed that the Committee of 33 should continue its work and that the conduct of peace-keeping operations should be improved. There was much that could be done in that area, and proposals had been made by some States. For example, good use could be made of the experience already gained. For the past 15 years, the International Peace Academy had been conducting programmes on the settlement of disputes; the Committee of 33 should draw on its expertise. Detailed analysis of the successes and failures of past operations could be useful.

48. Canada had commissioned three films and accompanying literature designed to give Canadians selected for the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force a sense of the culture of the area in which the Force was deployed. Appropriate orientation material would also be available for Canadian troops serving with other United Nations forces.

49. The financial situation of peace-keeping operations, particularly UNIFIL and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, remained critical. Canada believed that supplying troops and matériel without adequate reimbursement was an inordinately expensive burden for certain countries. The gap between contributions and the costs of operations indicated that a reappraisal of their non-contributory status was in order for some Member States. Her delegation was prepared to consider any proposal in that connection. It hoped that the spirit of co-operation recently evident within the Committee of 33 augured well.

50. Canada paid tribute to the courage and dedication of the soldiers of all nations participating in peace-keeping operations.

51. Mr. ABOUASSI (Lebanon) said that his country, which benefited from the stabilizing effect of peace-keeping forces, had already stated its position on the question, for example at the two previous sessions of the General Assembly. Since that position remained unchanged, he would confine himself to making a few comments and recalling certain principles. Peace-keeping operations thus far had been organized after a conflict had broken out, but it should be possible for the Security Council and the parties concerned to consider preventive action. The Council should more clearly define the mandate of peace-keeping forces so that it might be better carried out. At the same time, there should be some degree of flexibility, which was indispensable for the smooth conduct of operations on the ground, especially in an emergency. Peace-keeping forces should of course enjoy the co-operation of all the parties concerned at all times. It should be possible to extend consideration of the question of peace-keeping operations beyond that simple principle and into the broader context of the need for the Security Council, in the very process of discharging its functions, to take action likely to ensure

(Mr. Abouassi, Lebanon)

the implementation of its own resolutions, especially those unanimously adopted. The exercise in which the Council had engaged with the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs on 26 September 1985 deserved to be pursued and taken further.

52. Admittedly, international troops should not resort to force in order to carry out their mandate. Nevertheless, his delegation believed that there was a compromise between dynamic action that would entail excessive risk for international troops and immobility that would make their mandate meaningless. In that connection, the soldier's role should not be confused with the diplomat's; action by the soldier should not depend exclusively on the diplomatic process, although the latter was essential to the success of operations. The peace-keeping force should be able to take appropriate action in exercise of the right of self-defence. The concern of the contributor States to ensure the security of their troops should not lead to immobilization or limit the scope of the mandate as defined in the relevant Security Council resolutions. The mandate of UNIFIL provided for more than mere negotiations, for it was responsible for helping the Lebanese Government to restore its authority, to oppose - with all that the term implied - armed elements that were not authorized by the Government, and to use force for purposes of self-defence.

53. In that connection, Lebanon believed that it would be particularly useful to supply contingents with more significant defence matériel that would have a greater deterrent effect, which would make them far less vulnerable and help to enhance their prestige and authority. Unfortunately, operations designed to intimidate, involving even the kidnapping and disarming of UNIFIL elements, could take place, and that would be totally unacceptable. UNIFIL should be able to take certain risks, calculated risks, as part of its effort to fulfil its functions. That would enhance its credibility. While it was true that peace-keeping forces were not peace-making forces, the fact remained that they were not mere observer forces.

54. In addition to exercising their right of self-defence, peace-keeping forces should be able to exert on the ground some pressure on forces opposed to the will of the international community as expressed by the Security Council, instead of confining themselves to mere attempts at negotiations, which were all too easily rejected. Such an attitude of calculated pressure, on the ground and in terms of relationships, would at least have the positive effect of perhaps forcing the unwilling parties to reconsider their position and make choices. Much work still remained to be done. It was useful, in that connection, to pursue and intensify the efforts to reach agreement on clear guidelines for the conduct of all aspects of peace-keeping operations. The study on that question was the responsibility of the Special Committee established for that purpose.

55. He shared the frustration felt by the countries involved in the peace-keeping operation being carried out in Lebanon, at the lack of progress in achieving the objectives set by the Security Council. UNIFIL had not been able to fulfil the original mandate set by Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) in March 1978. It had not been able to prevent the Israeli invasion in 1982, nor had it been able to counter the Israeli practices affecting the Lebanese civilian

(Mr. Abouassi, Lebanon)

population under Israeli occupation. UNIFIL was still unable to deploy its men along the internationally recognized border of Lebanon because of Israel's stubborn insistence on maintaining what it chose to call a "security zone" inside Lebanese territory, in violation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions and the norms of international law. However, Lebanon did not draw the same conclusions as did other countries, from that partial and temporary set-back. On the contrary, it believed that the various set-backs experienced so far should serve rather as an incentive for greater efforts to attain the desired objective lest a total failure by UNIFIL should lead to a fresh outbreak of violence in south Lebanon and deteriorate into a regional conflagration. Furthermore such a failure would constitute a formal acknowledgement by the Security Council of its inability to have its own resolutions implemented and would undermine its already greatly weakened authority even further. He felt that, despite its shortcomings, UNIFIL had a definite potential role which, he hoped, would enable it soon to establish itself as the best alternative for peace among a number of both unsatisfactory and dangerous choices.

56. He thanked the commanders and men of UNIFIL, and also the countries that had provided troops, for their work and sacrifices in the cause of peace in Lebanon. He welcomed the fact that the countries providing troops had stated in their letter of 28 March 1985 that they were convinced that, despite the circumstances, UNIFIL had been a stabilizing factor in the south of the country, that it had rendered humanitarian services and that its presence had symbolized the will of the international community to restore international peace and security and Lebanese authority in the region, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. In that connection it was important to note that, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers, certain States Members of the United Nations were still prepared to take part in the action of international solidarity that would enable UNIFIL to take up the challenge and succeed. The Government of Lebanon had welcomed the offer, made by the Government of Nepal in November 1984, to provide a battalion of 650 men to replace the contingent of another country that had just completed its assignment with distinction. On behalf of his Government, he thanked the Secretary-General and his colleagues for their untiring efforts in the field, in the capitals and at headquarters to enable UNIFIL fully to achieve its objectives.

57. Although the problems of financing peace-keeping operations were secondary in relation to the goals pursued, they had not become any less acute. His delegation joined those delegations that had expressed the hope that all countries which supported peace-keeping operations politically would also support them by participating in material terms, although to different degrees, because such participation was part of the collective responsibility of Member States, and that they would do so on an equitable basis commensurate with the problems of peace-keeping.

58. The Security Council would soon be asked to extend UNIFIL's mandate for an additional six-month interim period and his delegation hoped that the extension would be made on the basis of the principles already established by the relevant Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Abouassi, Lebanon)

59. He hoped that, in the coming months, the Security Council and the parties concerned would agree on the need to move on from the affirmation of principles to the implementation of measures capable of ensuring UNIFIL's complete success in the field. That objective could be achieved only by implementing all the provisions of Security Council resolution 425, by restoring the authority of the Lebanese Government in the region up to Lebanon's internationally recognized border and by transforming the south into a zone of peace; that would contribute to the establishment of peace and security in Lebanon and in the region.

60. Mr. RODRIGUEZ (Colombia) said that the assessment made by the representative of Uruguay of the impasse in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was both clear and pessimistic.

61. The delegation of Colombia fully shared those concerns and, carrying the Uruguayan delegation's pragmatism a step further, was coming to the conclusion that the only possible way out of the impasse would be to institutionalize the United Nations peace-keeping forces and vest the Secretary-General with the necessary and well-defined powers so that he could act authoritatively and effectively to guarantee peace-keeping in sensitive areas.

62. The difficulties of financing peace-keeping operations were evident in a deficit that had become a cancer in the United Nations budget. The financing of those operations should be ensured by all Member States which, with the assistance of the parties concerned, would thus give tangible proof of their confidence in the collective security system of the United Nations, by covering the deficit.

63. In the absence of adequate and effective instruments for bringing about the peaceful settlement of disputes, peace-keeping operations remained the only way for the Organization to prevent latent conflicts from degenerating into serious regional or world-wide conflicts.

64. The CHAIRMAN asked the Committee to take action on draft resolution A/SPC/40/L.5.

Draft resolution A/SPC/40/L.5 was adopted without a vote.

65. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Committee had completed its consideration of item 77.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.