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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
9th meeting
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Thursday, 16 October 1986
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KOUASSI (Togo)

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The meeting was called to order at 10:40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33: POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Requests for hearing (A/SPC/41/L.2 and Add.1-4)

1. The CHAIRMAN said that, the General Assembly had decided in connection with agenda item 33, which was to be considered directly in plenary, that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question would be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. The Committee would devote two meetings to such hearings on 22 October 1986. The requests received had been distributed as documents of the Committee (A/SPC/41/L.2 and Add.1-4).

2. If there were no objections, he would take it that the Committee decided to comply with those requests.

3. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 73: 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/41/L.6)

4. Mr. WATT (United Kingdom), speaking on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community, said that peace-keeping operations were of fundamental importance to the effective implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Twelve, which had consistently supported efforts aimed at ensuring as sound a basis as possible for the principles governing the conduct of peace-keeping operations, noted with regret that once again the Special Committee had proved unable to make any progress.

5. The majority of the Special Committee's members, including six of the twelve member States of the European Community, were already agreed upon principles which reflected accepted and proven practice in the conduct of peace-keeping operations. It was to be hoped that the four members of the Special Committee who had voted against resolution 38/81 would reconsider their position and would be able to indicate their willingness to co-operate in making genuine progress. Convinced of the importance of the mandate given to the Special Committee, those of its members which were also members of the European Community wished to make known their readiness to participate in whatever consultations might be thought necessary.

6. The main task of peace-keeping forces was to create conditions in which a political solution to the underlying dispute could be sought. Their role was to maintain peace and not to enforce it. The full co-operation of the parties concerned and the full support of the members of the Security Council were therefore required for the success of any peace-keeping operation.

7. It would be intolerable if any party should seek to impede the execution of the mandate of a peace-keeping force by preventing its deployment, hindering its freedom of movement or threatening the security of its personnel.

(Mr. Watt, United Kingdom)

8. The European Community, five of whose member States contributed troop contingents to United Nations peace-keeping forces, considered that only a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council would allow the grave situation facing the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to be resolved. The situation had been aggravated by the recent wholly unacceptable attacks upon the personnel of the Force by elements operating in defiance of the Lebanese Government. The Twelve wished to remind all parties concerned that they were under obligation to co-operate fully with UNIFIL in the execution of its mandate.
9. Those difficulties were not the only ones confronting UNIFIL. The failure of certain Member States to contribute to the financing of the Force seriously endangered its continuing operation and placed an unfair burden on the countries which had provided troop contingents, especially those among them which were developing countries.
10. The United Nations had for long been confronted with the refusal of certain countries to pay their assessed contributions, and considerable arrears had accumulated. The Twelve had been encouraged to learn that the Soviet Union had finally decided to pay its share of UNIFIL's costs. They nevertheless wished to remind certain countries, among them the Soviet Union, that they should settle their arrears. The Twelve noted with regret a serious current shortfall in the United States contribution to UNIFIL, but welcomed the undertakings given by the United States to make good that shortfall and to resume full payment of its annual contribution.
11. The Twelve agreed with the comments made by the Secretary-General in his report of 31 May 1986 (S/18102), and reiterated the importance they attached to the operation of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).
12. Lastly, they wished to express their confidence in the manner in which the Secretary-General had conducted peace-keeping operations and to pay tribute to the soldiers of many countries who continued to serve with courage under the United Nations flag, and especially to those who had suffered injury or had given their lives for the cause of peace.
13. Mr. MARTINEZ MORENO (Uruguay) said that the question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects continued to be of primary importance. Faced with the threat of nuclear holocaust hanging over the planet today, the two super-Powers were showing respect for one another and engaging in top-level exchanges while taking care not to precipitate events. Uruguay, for its part, had long supported the principle of compulsory arbitration, and maintained that only self-defence justified war. It took the view that, despite the deadlock prevailing in the Committee of Thirty-three, efforts should be made to provide the United Nations with a collective security system. The viability of the process of disarmament negotiations, arms limitation, machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the joint responsibility of members of the Security Council for achieving minimum consensus, and the international community's political, military and financial

(Mr. Martinez Moreno, Uruguay)

support of peace-keeping operations were decisive elements in such a system. Efforts made in the field of collective security should enable the United Nations to make progress at those different levels and to reduce areas of tension. The effectiveness of peace-keeping operations depended on the manner in which the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members, performed their task. The situation in the Committee of Thirty-three could hardly improve until the Security Council began systematically adopting the preventive measures provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter.

14. His delegation believed that agreement could be reached on the following points: peace-keeping operations should be conducted in the spirit of the Charter; they should receive the consent of the country concerned; they should be governed by a precise and previously determined mandate; they should exert a neutralizing and stabilizing influence; and they should never be other than provisional. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that peace-keeping operations could not be successful unless there was a modicum of confidence between States.

15. Mr. RUSSELL (Ireland), while subscribing to the statement made by the United Kingdom representative on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community, said that he wished to make some comments deriving from the experience of his country, which had long been a contributor of troops to various United Nations peace-keeping operations.

16. Peace-keeping forces had often been found one of the most practical ways of easing a situation so that parties to a dispute could begin settling their differences peacefully.

17. The effective functioning of a peace-keeping force presupposed a certain number of conditions. The force should at all times have the backing of the United Nations and, in particular, of the Security Council. It should have a clearly defined mandate and a sound financial basis. Moreover, it should have the consent of the countries on whose territories it was stationed, be acceptable to all parties to the dispute, and enjoy their full co-operation on the ground. It should have freedom of movement in its area of operation and adequate security for its personnel. The operation should be recognized as a temporary measure of stabilization and be accompanied by efforts by the parties to the dispute to solve their differences. Lastly, the Secretary-General should have sufficient authority to ensure the continued execution of the force's mandate.

18. The fact that those conditions had not always been met was only one of the aspects of the problem. The financial situation of several United Nations peace-keeping forces was extremely fragile. In Ireland's view, the responsibility for maintaining peace was shared collectively by all Member States. The withholding of mandatory contributions amounted to a breach of obligations under the Charter.

19. His delegation was heartened by the fact that some countries had reconsidered their policy and decided to contribute to the financing of UNIFIL. It hoped that they would continue to honour their obligations and urged countries which were withholding their assessed contributions to discharge their obligations in full.

(Mr. Russell, Ireland)

20. UNIFIL had run into difficulties from the outset because it had been unable to carry out the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council under resolution 425 (1978), namely, to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces, to restore international peace and security and to assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. However, it had to be admitted that UNIFIL had provided a stabilizing influence in southern Lebanon and had played a humanitarian role.

21. The main problem encountered by the Force stemmed from the establishment by Israel of the so-called security zone which had become a focus of resistance and confrontation. That situation had given rise to acts of violence in recent weeks, in which members of the Force had lost their lives.

22. The members of the Security Council must take collective and individual action to break the present impasse, improve the co-operation of the various parties with the Force and reduce tension in the area.

23. Ireland, which had supplied troops to enable the Force to carry out its difficult task, requested the Security Council to ensure that the situation in the field was improved. The Irish Government would continue to monitor developments very closely in the coming weeks and throughout the period preceding the consideration of the extension of the mandate of UNIFIL.

24. In 1986, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had again failed to submit a report to the Committee. The problems that it was facing were undoubtedly difficult but not insurmountable. He hoped that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would soon resume its work and report to the Committee the following year.

25. Mr. ABOUGHEIT (Egypt) pointed out that, in his 1982 report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had rightly stressed that the failure of a peace-keeping operation might be prejudicial to the credibility of the United Nations.

26. His delegation merely wished to make a few observations. Egypt, which had been attacked in the 1950s and 1960s, had received international peace-keeping forces on its territory and had had an opportunity to appreciate their vital role. It was essential that peace-keeping forces should continue to act as a buffer between belligerent parties in situations where the Security Council was unable to defuse a crisis in a given region.

27. Peace-keeping operations must not be hindered by Member States, especially by the parties involved. With regard to UNIFIL, Egypt urged the parties concerned to refrain from all acts likely to jeopardize its presence in Lebanon and to implement in full the decision adopted by the Security Council on that matter.

28. The Egyptian Government considered that all Member States were bound to contribute to the financing of peace-keeping operations. It had therefore been relieved to learn that the Member States which had suspended payment of their contributions had come back on their decision.

(Mr. Abouqheit, Egypt)

29. It was important that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should continue its work. His delegation hoped that all the members of that body would unite their efforts in order to ensure that its work was brought to a successful conclusion.

30. Mr. ENDO (Japan) said that the United Nations peace-keeping operations provided an essential contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. In that connection, the delegation of Japan wished to pay a special tribute to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, which was performing its duty with courage in the face of constant danger. It deeply regretted the killing of several members of UNIFIL in recent months and noted with concern that the authority of United Nations forces was often challenged in the field.

31. Another serious problem besetting peace-keeping operations was their growing deficit. Since peace-keeping operations benefited the entire international community, it was only fair that each Member State should contribute to the financing of those operations. It would indeed be tragic if the mandates of UNIFIL or UNFICYP had to be curtailed due to financial problems. Japan, which was one of the most steadfast and generous supporters of United Nations peace-keeping operations, was pleased to note that a few countries which had not been paying their assessed contributions had recently begun to do so. Countries whose payments were still in arrears were urged to follow their example, and Japan hoped that all Member States would generously support the peace-keeping operations. It was regrettable to note that, in 1986, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had again failed to make genuine progress in the fulfilment of its mandate. However, his delegation supported the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate and pledged its continued co-operation in that respect.

32. Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji) said that the peace-keeping operations were one of the most important functions of the United Nations. Their purpose was to defuse explosive situations, to prevent the widening of local and regional conflicts and, by maintaining a truce, to create conditions conducive to a peaceful settlement. However, peace-keeping operations were not by any means a substitute for political settlement.

33. The success of peace-keeping forces depended on the fulfilment of a number of conditions, namely, they must have a clearly defined mandate, the constant support of the Security Council and the full and preferably active co-operation of all the parties involved. In particularly serious situations, it was essential that the Security Council, and especially its permanent members, should take decisive action to enforce its decisions.

34. UNIFIL had been unable to fulfil its mandate because of lack of support from all the parties concerned. Nevertheless, it unquestionably exerted a stabilizing influence in the area and continued to provide the local population with much needed protection and humanitarian assistance. It was heartening that the recent attacks against UNIFIL positions did not necessarily imply that the local population was less in favour of its presence, because those attacks had been carried out by extremists. His delegation urged the States with influence to spare no means to maintain the fragile peace.

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

35. In addition to the obstacles preventing it from fulfilling its mandate, UNIFIL was also confronting financial difficulties, caused partly by the accumulated deficit and partly by the withholding of assessed contributions by major contributors. Peace-keeping operations were the collective responsibility of all Member States, which therefore had to pay their share of the expenses that such operations entailed. Fiji had contributed troops to UNIFIL since its inception in 1978 because it considered that such a contribution to the maintenance of peace was one of the tangible ways in which a small country could demonstrate its commitment to the ideals of the Charter. Unfortunately, the burden borne by the troop-contributing countries was becoming increasingly onerous, a situation which was particularly disturbing when arrears due to a country like Fiji amounted to \$18 million.

36. Mr. DIAMATARIS (Cyprus) said that the question of peace-keeping operations - one of the most successful innovations of the United Nations - must continue to be regarded as a matter of priority in view of the current deterioration of the international situation. He therefore hoped that the Special Committee would intensify its efforts.

37. Cyprus' indisputable experience in that area enabled it to appreciate the work that had been done and to understand the operational difficulties encountered; yet such difficulties could be avoided if the principles governing peace-keeping operations were clearly defined, taking into account the context in which they were to be carried out. In particular, his delegation expressed satisfaction about the role of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, and wished to pay tribute to those of its members who had been killed while performing their duty and to all the countries that contributed to it. However, he pointed out that, when Cyprus had been invaded by Turkey in 1974, the Force had been unable to intervene, presumably because its mandate did not provide for intervention.

38. He recalled that peace-keeping operations were simply a means of attaining peace and could not serve as a substitute for just and lasting solutions. Such operations must be carried out in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and with respect for the sovereignty of the host country which had the duty of facilitating their progress.

39. His delegation believed that troop-contributing countries could not be prevented from expressing an opinion on the problems which gave rise to the conflict. The impartiality of the troops could not be questioned, since they were placed under United Nations authority.

40. His delegation had been deeply saddened by the death of Irish and French soldiers belonging to UNIFIL and expressed its indignation at such acts of violence.

41. Mr. PABON (Venezuela) said that peace-keeping operations constituted one of the most effective means of action available to the Security Council in any attempt to resolve conflicts. Although the Charter of the United Nations did not expressly mention that type of operation, the maintenance of international peace and security

(Mr. Pabon, Venezuela)

occupied a very important position in its provisions, including article 40, which stated that, in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council might call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deemed necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures were to be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned. Furthermore, the measures which the Security Council might decide upon under articles 41 and 42 constituted the very heart of the system of collective security which had been established to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security.

42. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had once again been unable to submit a report. The virtual paralysis of its work bore witness to the lacunae in the collective security system and the little progress achieved in such fundamental areas of negotiation as disarmament and arms control, machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, the apparent inability of the Security Council to reach the consensus which was essential for the assumption of its responsibilities and the lack of political will with relation to the adoption of guidelines to govern peace-keeping operations.

43. An extension of the mandate of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping, which was favoured by Venezuela, was not sufficient. Member States must be motivated by the necessary political will in order to address the issues included on their agenda in a constructive and realistic manner. Despite the difficulties which it had had to confront since its establishment, the Committee had nevertheless achieved some results, however modest those might be. If its work was to progress, it would have to take note of all the suggestions which had been made in the course of the numerous debates devoted to that question in order that it might be able to work out guidelines and practical measures on a consensus basis. While the situations which gave rise to peace-keeping operations were diverse, there were nevertheless a number of common factors which might serve as a basis for the formulation of guidelines, particularly with regard to the composition of forces, the definition of their mandate and its duration.

44. Venezuela also believed that the chances of success for peace-keeping operations were subject to certain conditions. In the first place, their mandate must be clearly defined and susceptible of practical implementation. They must serve as forces for neutralization and stabilization, enjoy the full co-operation of all parties concerned and avoid intervention in the internal affairs of the host country. They must enjoy the constant support of the Security Council, particularly of its permanent members, be of a provisional and defensive nature and proceed on a fully impartial basis.

45. After emphasizing the important role played by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force and paying tribute to the spirit of abnegation of their members, his delegation affirmed that the financial burden of those operations must be shared equitably among all Member States in accordance with their capacity to pay.

(Mr. Pabon, Venezuela)

46. Venezuela was most honoured to contribute each year to the financing of those forces and declared that it was willing to co-operate at any time to the maintenance of peace, at both the international and the regional levels.
47. Mr. JHA (Nepal) said that his country, with its traditional devotion to peace, attached great importance to the role played by peace-keeping operations in reducing the risks of armed conflicts. It had clearly demonstrated that attitude by putting contingents at the disposal of various peace-keeping forces, and Nepalese troops were currently taking part in the operations of UNIFIL. It was therefore logical that Nepal should be concerned by the resurgence of violence in southern Lebanon. It also appreciated the increasing concern of the Secretary-General to ensure the safety of UNIFIL personnel. Nepal believed that it was necessary to create a permanent peace-keeping force, the composition of which should be based on equitable geographical distribution. Being only too well aware of the financial sacrifices involved in the provision of contingents, Nepal believed that the cost must be shared equitably among all Member States in accordance with their capacity to pay.
48. Peace-keeping operations should be supplemented by political action with a view to bringing about lasting settlements of conflicts, since such operations were capable only of creating an environment conducive to the establishment of peace. In view of the importance of the issue, his delegation favoured an extension of the mandate of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.
49. Mr. GONZALEZ (Chile) noted that there were no legal instruments under which parties to a conflict were bound to resolve their differences by peaceful means and that the United Nations had not been endowed with effective means whereby it might be enabled to play an active role in that connection. Although some bodies had been created in order to prevent armed conflicts, they could act only if they were assured of the political will of States, in accordance with the legal obligations set forth in international instruments. The International Court of Justice could certainly serve as an appropriate authority for the settlement of international disputes. It was therefore necessary, in the near future, to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of world peace and stability.
50. Chile, for its part, had always complied strictly with international law and had rigorously prohibited any recourse to the use or threat of use of force. Evidence of that might be seen in the signature of a treaty of peace and friendship with Argentina.
51. In the light of those principles, his delegation strongly supported the work of the Special Committee for Peace-keeping Operations and its Working Group. It strongly believed that the documents prepared by the latter should not be confined to recommendations on the adoption of directives and agreed guidelines but should also set forth some practical measures. Unless the Secretary-General were to be accorded a primary role in the settlement of international conflicts, the chances of implementing those directives were slight. The issue thus hinged on the good

(Mr. Gonzalez, Chile)

will of the parties and, as a result, the law had not developed to the extent that it should have in that crucial area of international relations. The adoption of practical measures, as well as the strengthening of procedures designed to safeguard international peace and security, were in keeping with the primary responsibility that must be assumed by the Security Council in the field of peace-keeping.

52. In accordance with the Charter, it was essential for the Secretary-General to play an important role and, where appropriate, to have the financial resources he needed to perform his duties and ensure that peace was maintained. If the Security Council did not take appropriate action, it was out of the question for him to remain passive in the face of the crises shaking the world. The fate of thousands of human beings could not depend on the members of the Security Council and on a paralyzing veto. By its very make-up, that body was an expression of limited suffrage, and more often than not, the weakest were left unprotected.

53. In that context, it should not be forgotten that the General Assembly had been given an important role in preserving world peace, a role which complemented that of the Security Council.

54. Chile supported the aspirations of the developing world. Peace, security and development were fundamental conditions for their attainment. Hence, the United Nations must be provided with instruments that enabled it to prevent disputes effectively and swiftly. Peace was indivisible and could not continue to depend on the good will of the parties to a conflict, even when that conflict was regional in scope. Wherever the peace was broken, that had adverse repercussions for the rest of the world and created tensions that generated new conflicts in other areas. The close interdependence of States had been proven thus on numerous occasions. Clearly, a reform of existing instruments was imperative and should aim to give the Organization the means to prevent conflicts and create equitable conditions of existence for all the peoples of the world, in particular the most vulnerable.

55. Although Chile adhered strictly to the principle of non-interference and did not therefore send troops abroad, it had made an exception by sending officials from various national defence bodies as observers to United Nations peace-keeping forces.

56. The United Nations could not remain passive in the face of repeated crises that constituted flagrant violations of the provisions of the Charter. The Organization, and the Secretary-General in particular, must be authorized to take practical preventive measures to preserve peace and security.

57. In order to meet all the challenges of the future, there must be stability and some degree of understanding. Chile was prepared to contribute to creating such conditions.

58. Mr. TITOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that in an increasingly interdependent world, it was indispensable for all States to make collective efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and to use all the resources offered by the Charter to that end.

59. Many Member States had underscored the need to increase the effectiveness of the Security Council with regard to peace-keeping operations. For most of those States, United Nations forces could be used only on a sound and concerted basis. Otherwise, experience had shown that their operations could not be successful. The Charter, which gave a precise definition of peace-keeping operations, specified that the Security Council alone was authorized to take measures to maintain or restore international peace and security, by inviting Member States to make contingents available to it.

60. Clearly, it was in the interest of most Member States, above all the non-aligned countries, that the United Nations be better equipped to curb aggression and guarantee the sovereignty of States. In the present circumstances, it was more necessary than ever for Member States to demonstrate the utmost sense of responsibility by placing the interests of all mankind above selfish national considerations and by attempting to find mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of the Charter.

61. That was, in fact, the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in international relations. His Government attempted to promote dialogue, improve international relations and co-operate constructively with all those who aspired to peace and the security of peoples.

62. His Government believed that it was of the utmost importance to create a comprehensive system of international security and, together with other socialist countries, had proposed that that question should be examined at the United Nations. Needless to say, such a system must be global in nature and must be based on guarantees in all areas of international relations and place considerable emphasis on strengthening the collective security machinery provided for in the Charter.

63. The positive results achieved at Stockholm and Vienna were tangible evidence of the new political thinking that had begun to emerge. The Soviet Union reaffirmed its willingness to work towards an agreement on guidelines for peace-keeping operations and hoped that other States would show the same constructive spirit.

64. Mr. TANOH (Ghana) said that peace-keeping operations represented perhaps the most visible proof of the United Nations capacity and will to lessen tensions and settle disputes peacefully, as the Charter required.

65. He subscribed to the observations made by a number of delegations as to how the effectiveness of those operations might be improved and, in particular, how the many operational and financial difficulties might be overcome and concerted peaceful action promoted between the parties to a conflict. Those difficulties

(Mr. Tanoh, Ghana)

were symptomatic of the erosion of the authority and credibility of the United Nations. In the Middle East, the Security Council was powerless to break the vicious circle of violence brought about by Israel's repeated acts of lawlessness. By dispossessing the Palestinians, Israel had triggered a wave of violence that threatened its very existence. By occupying Lebanon and maintaining the army in south Lebanon, it had only exacerbated the internal contradictions that were tearing that country apart. The failure to reach a just settlement of the Middle East question had led certain armed bands in the region to regard UNIFIL as an undesirable element that obstructed a direct engagement with the enemy. Was that not ultimately what certain circles meant when they maintained that the United Nations was thwarting the unilateral aims of one of the main actors on the international scene?

66. As long as multilateralism remained threatened, the future of peace-keeping operations would be in jeopardy. As a country which contributed troops to the United Nations, Ghana reaffirmed its commitment to UNIFIL and its readiness to help take up the tremendous challenge of creating a world without war.

67. Mr. SCHLICKE (German Democratic Republic) said that the question of peace-keeping operations was very closely connected with that of the strengthening of international security. The general debate had reflected the deep concern of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States at the fact that, in the International Year of Peace, the world was far from being at peace. In view of the imminent danger of nuclear war, the vast majority of delegates were demanding the cessation of the arms race on earth and the prevention of its spread to outer space. In that respect, the proposals of the Soviet Union and the comprehensive programme adopted by the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty at Budapest offered a great chance which must not be missed. His delegation considered the Mexico Declaration to be an outstanding contribution towards improving international relations and welcomed the fact that the same concern underlay the decisions adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare.

68. Peoples' lives and security now depended on peaceful coexistence among States, and disputes could be settled only by political means. In the nuclear and space age, national security was an illusion unless it formed part of a comprehensive system of international security. The latter could be achieved only through bilateral and multilateral negotiations aimed at reaching tangible results. Observance of the principle of equal security for all, the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and their right to choose their own future freely were essential prerequisites for such a goal. In that connection, his delegation considered the results of the Stockholm Conference to be a significant new step on the road towards renunciation of the use of force.

69. Since the settlement of regional conflicts could be achieved only on a step-by-step basis, continued importance must be attached to peace-keeping operations. His Government considered that those provisions of the Charter which gave the Security Council sole responsibility for planning, implementing and financing such operations must be observed. In keeping with the principle of

(Mr. Schlicke, German
Democratic Republic)

international law whereby the aggressor was responsible for his actions, his Government reiterated its position that responsibility for financing peace-keeping operations rested with aggressors. It also believed that UNIFIL could help to reduce tensions in the Middle East and to stabilize the situation in Lebanon.

70. In order to achieve a rapid, just and lasting settlement of regional conflicts, his country advocated the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO, and the establishment of a preparatory committee which would include the five permanent members of the Security Council, as the Soviet Union had proposed.

71. The German Democratic Republic continued to support Cyprus in its just struggle for national independence and territorial integrity. It demanded that the apartheid system be finally eliminated and independence granted to Namibia without delay. It also called for an immediate end to the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the termination of assistance to counter-revolutionary gangs.

72. Mr. GOKTURK (Turkey) said that the inability of the Special Committee to work out guidelines to govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations showed how delicate, complex and sometimes controversial that issue was. His delegation nevertheless hoped that, with political realism, fairness, vision and patience, the Special Committee would be able to complete its task.

73. His delegation was of the opinion that, in evaluating the usefulness and success of peace-keeping operations, four elements were of special relevance. First, it should be understood that such operations were not an end in themselves, and could not redress situations on their own, but could prevent a further deterioration and pave the way for genuine and lasting peace. Second, such operations must enjoy the support and co-operation of the parties to a conflict. Third, they must be carefully adjusted to the intricacies and realities of each situation since otherwise, they would not only be ineffective but might exacerbate the tensions which they were expected to defuse. Finally, they must be carried out with impartiality, because crises of credibility were the most difficult to overcome. In addition, peace-keeping forces and troop-contributing countries must act with discretion so as not to create doubts as to their impartiality vis-à-vis the parties concerned.

74. Mrs. CLARK (United States of America) paid tribute to those who served the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations, who deserved the gratitude and support of all, and expressed the condolences of her delegation to the families of those who in 1986 had given their lives or been gravely wounded in the service of peace.

75. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had been created initially to deal with the financial crisis caused by the failure of some countries to pay their share of the costs of peace-keeping. After fruitless efforts to obtain payment, the Special Committee had begun to examine the question of so-called

(Mrs. Clark, United States)

guidelines. Contrary to what some might claim, no progress had been made and the Special Committee had become deadlocked by the early 1970s. The Security Council had adopted its own guidelines, however, which were contained in the document setting forth the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11052/Rev.1 of 27 October 1973). It had continued to apply those guidelines to subsequent operations.

76. The need for practical measures to enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations had not been as clearly resolved, however. The United States had submitted a number of proposals, both in the Special Committee and elsewhere, concerning the earmarking of contingents, advanced training and the provision of advanced technology to United Nations forces, and strongly supported many of the proposals made by the Nordic States and Canada.

77. It might be useful to examine the question of practical measures in a number of fora, but the prospects for progress were brighter in other fora, for example, the Security Council in connection with the report of the Secretary-General, or the Sixth Committee. Consideration of the item on peace-keeping operations should be dependent on the submission of a report by the Special Committee rather than included in the agenda of subsequent sessions, as had been proposed in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution under consideration.

78. Past experience did not give rise to much optimism that great progress would be achieved by the Special Committee in the future. Her delegation therefore considered that the issues could be dealt with more effectively in other, more appropriate, fora. It was nevertheless prepared to agree to an appropriate continuation of the Special Committee's mandate if, after considering the question of the efficiency of the General Assembly, that was still the clear wish of most other delegations.

79. Mr. SAGHIYYAH (Lebanon) said that his delegation had heard all the prerequisites for the success of peace-keeping operations. When one essential condition was lacking, for instance, the co-operation of all the parties concerned, the question arose as to what remedy might be available. In many cases, it had to be determined whether other conditions were not required. If the peace-keeping force could not use force, how could irregular troops or an irresponsible extraneous party be prevented from challenging the force? In a number of cases, such a situation had led to insurmountable difficulties for one force or another and had prevented it from implementing its mandate. The role played by various States inside and outside the Security Council must be examined. Peace-keeping forces could not implement their mandate in a politically charged atmosphere. If State A used the conflict in the force's area of operations and supported and protected party B and if, at the same time, State C adopted the same attitude, such a situation could only impede the operation of the force.

80. His Government attached great importance to the continued presence of UNIFIL in south Lebanon and to the full implementation of its mandate. It nevertheless recognized that UNIFIL was different from any other peace-keeping force, that its

(Mr. Saqhiyyah, Lebanon)

problems were naturally different and that it was operating in unenviable circumstances. His Government condemned any attack against UNIFIL and was saddened by the loss of life. It especially condemned any obstacles in the way of the full implementation of its mandate.

81. His Government wished to express its appreciation to the troop-contributing countries for their determined efforts in the service of peace. Without the sacrifices of the members of those contingents, the situation in south Lebanon and probably in other countries of the region would be very different.

82. His Government thanked the Secretary-General and his staff for their unstinting efforts on behalf of UNIFIL and its mandate. It also thanked Mr. Urquhart, the former Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, as well as his successor, Mr. Goulding.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.