



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 24th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. EL-CHOUFI (Syrian Arab Republic)

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AGENDA ITEM 52: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 52: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/34/592; A/SPC/34/L.15)

1. The CHAIRMAN said that consideration of item 52 would be completed at the present meeting. A decision would have to be taken on the draft resolution before the Committee.
2. Mr. SHRESTHA (Nepal) said that at a time when the security of the world was constantly being threatened by conflicts arising from political, economic and social issues, the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace was more important than ever for small countries. The support which his country had given, and would continue to give, to United Nations peace-keeping operations was amply demonstrated by its participation in UNIFIL. Such operations helped in large measure to create an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes. He favoured any measures designed to strengthen the role and capability of the Organization in that field and, as he had said before, advocated the establishment of a permanent peace-keeping force. Meanwhile, Member States should consider setting up stand-by forces which would be kept available for the United Nations.
3. Despite the difficulties in evolving agreed guidelines indicated in the Special Committee's report (A/34/592), there was no doubt that the obstacles would ultimately be surmounted, given political will and a spirit of conciliation. The Committee should therefore receive more time and support to enable it to accomplish its task. That was also true of the formulation of specific measures for the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations, on which the Committee had been unable to reach a consensus. The lack of material and financial resources could not be allowed to hinder the United Nations in discharging one of its essential responsibilities.
4. Finally, he reaffirmed his country's support for the principle of collective responsibility of all Member States for equitable sharing of the financial burden of peace-keeping operations.
5. Mr. SURYOKUSUMO (Indonesia) recalled that his country had always attached great importance to United Nations peace-keeping operations, which were an essential element in the maintenance of international security and in efforts to reduce tension and promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. Indonesia had supported several such operations since their inception and thought that they should be strengthened as much as possible.
6. Under Article 43 of the Charter, Member States had to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security by making available to the Security Council, in accordance with special agreements, armed forces, assistance and any facilities necessary for that purpose. If the Security Council determined the existence of a threat to peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression, it

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(Mr. Suryokusumo, Indonesia)

could, under Article 42, take whatever military action it thought necessary to maintain or restore peace. It was widely known that, because of disagreement among its permanent members, the Security Council had never concluded any special agreement with States. Nevertheless, the United Nations had always sought in a pragmatic manner to eliminate threats to peace. In order to do so, the Organization had initiated peace-keeping operations whenever a consensus was obtainable. It should be stressed that the outcome of such operations was more likely to depend on the will of the host State than on the original intention of enforcing peace.

7. After 15 years of efforts to formulate agreed guidelines, the Special Committee remained deadlocked, mainly because of a lack of political will. It had not fulfilled the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly in resolution 33/114, and his delegation was concerned at its inability to arrive at a consensus on such crucial matters as the authorizing organ, the role of the Secretary-General, the composition of the force and appointment of its commander, and, above all, financing. His delegation considered that it was for the Secretary-General to determine the composition of the force and that he should also be empowered to appoint its commander and receive reports from him and should, in addition, exercise day-to-day control over the operation in the interests of the independent functioning of the force. The disagreements which had come to light in that regard had led to financial problems, but it could rightly be said that the problems were essentially political in nature. If the existing deficit should increase, it would be the countries which had hitherto provided contingents that would be the first to feel the effect, and ultimately the United Nations would no longer be able to provide the forces in the field with the minimum facilities. In order to attend to the most urgent matters first, certain practical measures must be taken and the proposals put forward by Canada and others must be closely studied. The absence of a consensus was undoubtedly a reflection of fundamental differences, but that was no reason to give up in despair. In any case, his country fully endorsed the proposal to renew the mandate of the Special Committee.

8. Mr. IPSARIDES (Cyprus) said that the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations had, in particular situations where the circumstances warranted such operations, been a pragmatic substitute for the system of collective security provided for in the Charter. Despite their limitations, they had proved their value.

9. The wish to rationalize those operations and to put them on a firmer foundation on the basis of consensus, given the acute controversies regarding their control and financing in the early 1960s, had brought the Special Committee into being. His delegation would have been happier if the Special Committee had arrived at more substantive results, particularly since recent operations had provided additional useful experience and could have led to progress in the right direction. His delegation nevertheless appreciated the complexity of the problems involved and recognized that there had been progress to the extent that the nature of the discussion and exchanges of views had indicated, as the Rapporteur had said in introducing the report (A/34/592), that the Special Committee was playing a very useful role as a sounding board for views on important and sensitive matters. Progress had certainly been slow, but that did not mean that agreement was

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(Mr. Ipsarides, Cyprus)

impossible. His delegation hoped that the Special Committee, bearing in mind the significance of its task, would persevere in its efforts and, drawing on accumulated experience, would work henceforward in a more productive and comprehensive manner.

10. Experience showed that where there was a will there was a way. In practice, whenever there had been the necessary political, strategic and financial basis for launching a peace-keeping operation, it had come into being regardless of doctrinal differences. Some of the principal matters to which the Special Committee might direct its attention were an improved system of financing, which would make possible a more equitable distribution of the burden, broader geographical representation in the forces used, and clearer lines of authority. The Security Council was the supreme authority for peace-keeping operations, but the precondition for any progress in elaborating the agreed guidelines was the maintenance of a proper balance between policy control and operational management, and the guidelines should not frustrate practical requirements in the field. A peace-keeping force must be large enough to be effective, and it should not be subject to attacks by national forces or hindered in the exercise of the function assigned to it by the Security Council. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the force operated with the consent of the Government of the State concerned and that it must at all times respect the authority of that Government and the sovereignty and independence of the State on whose territory it operated and must act in strict accordance with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions under which it had been set up.

11. His delegation had always supported the efforts to increase operational preparedness and had therefore welcomed the proposal to earmark and train forces for peace-keeping operations, hold training seminars, prepare manuals, etc. at the national level. It paid a tribute to the States, organizations and individuals that had taken initiatives in that regard; such activities must not, however, prejudice the composition of any peace-keeping force, which should in principle ensure equitable geographical representation.

12. One cardinal factor to remember was that peace-keeping was not an end in itself but must be accompanied by peace-making. It should be a temporary measure intended to create an atmosphere in which useful negotiations could be conducted in order to remove the causes of the conflict. If the two parties were not willing to negotiate, the conflict could be prolonged indefinitely. In such cases, enforcement action should be taken under Chapter VII of the Charter to compel the recalcitrant party to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the substance of the problem. It should be remembered that peace-keeping operations were not carried out in a political and legal vacuum but fell within the context of the resolutions of the United Nations. If the resolutions were duly implemented, the problem would be solved and it would not be necessary to continue the operations. Strict adherence to and implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, through voluntary compliance by the parties when that was possible and through enforcement action when it was not, were indispensable both in carrying out the operation itself and in finding a way to solve the problem which had made it necessary.

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(Mr. Ipsarides, Cyprus)

13. It had been pointed out by some that peace-keeping operations could be counterproductive in that, by containing existing conflicts, they removed the incentive for a radical solution. Yet, if the Security Council resolutions launching such operations were properly implemented, they would provide such a solution and the operation would no longer be necessary. As the President of the Republic of Cyprus had stated in the General Assembly on 2 October 1979:

"... peace-keeping operations, no matter how successful they are in containing a potentially explosive situation, cannot advance a just solution of problems unless they are coupled with a tenacious peace-making effort on the basis and in pursuance of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The lack of parallel determined action to implement those resolutions would make peace on the basis of justice impossible. It would only have as a result a mere perpetuation of an unjust status quo"
(A/34/PV.15).

14. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus dated from early 1964. It had been generally and rightly recognized as having functioned well within its mandate. His delegation expressed its gratitude to all the countries and individuals contributing, either materially or by contingents, both on the spot and from afar and in extremely difficult conditions, to the cause of peace in his country. Although the United Nations had been unable to prevent the invasion of the island in the summer of 1974, the Force, despite casualties due to napalm bombing and restrictions on its freedom of movement in the occupied area, had continued to function and to discharge its mandate by adjusting it to the very different circumstances created by the invasion and resultant occupation.

15. His country's painful experience showed that peace-keeping operations carried out by the United Nations could not solve all problems. In many cases those operations would be unnecessary if the collective security system envisaged by the Charter functioned effectively. In any event, peace-keeping operations must be accompanied by a determined effort by all Members of the United Nations to implement the relevant resolutions of the Organization in order to solve the underlying problems. The provisions of the Charter, which were binding on all Member States, provided implementation machinery in the form of enforcement measures when all other means had been exhausted and one of the parties persisted in blocking efforts to find a just solution. Palliatives or interim measures were only useful up to a certain point, and drastic measures might sometimes be warranted in order to bring about a radical solution.

16. His delegation welcomed the spirit of understanding shown by delegations in deciding on a text acceptable to all; at the current stage, the draft resolution before the Committee constituted the preferable approach because it left things to be worked out in practice, as in the past, rather than calling for endorsement of solutions that gave rise to reservations of principle. There was already enough common ground to warrant the required action in specific cases through decisions of the Security Council. Although it was desirable to have a more rational and streamlined system, it appeared preferable to achieve it by consensus in the Special Committee, however painful and protracted that process might be, rather than bring into focus in the General Assembly issues on which there was disagreement and thus risk reviving the differences of opinion that had caused so

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(Mr. Ipsarides, Cyprus)

many problems in the early 1960s and had rightly been referred to the Special Committee. It was with those considerations in mind that his delegation supported draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15.

17. Mr. AHMED (India) expressed regret that it had not been possible to reach a consensus in the Special Committee on any substantive proposal and that, after 15 years of effort, hardly any progress had been made owing to fundamental differences of opinion among certain permanent members of the Security Council as to the nature and modalities of United Nations peace-keeping operations. A concrete and lasting solution to that important problem would be possible only if the permanent members of the Security Council displayed political will in that regard. Pending agreement on guidelines, it was nevertheless necessary to face the crises that flared up and the Security Council had therefore authorized the creation of significant forces on a number of occasions.

18. At the thirty-third session, his country had stated that it would not be averse to setting a time-limit for the Special Committee to formulate the guidelines. If it did not meet that time-limit, its mandate would be terminated and the question would be referred back to the General Assembly. His delegation still held that view and wondered whether it might not be desirable to take that course of action in the event that the Special Committee did not accomplish its task before the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

19. Peace-keeping must not be considered a substitute for peace-making. Too often the mandates of various United Nations forces were extended on an automatic basis without considering alternative means of resolving the dispute that had necessitated a peace-keeping operation. In certain cases, it might be advisable to withdraw the force in order to induce the parties concerned to seek compromises.

20. His delegation also attached great importance to the principle of obtaining the consent of the host country for the conduct in its territory of peace-keeping operations, which must be carried out with due respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It was also of the opinion that, in accordance with the Charter, the Security Council had the primary responsibility in the conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations. However, depending on the nature of the operations, the Secretary-General must retain a certain degree of flexibility in order to be able to implement the decisions of the Council with dispatch and efficiency. Perhaps one way of resolving differences of opinion concerning the respective roles of the Security Council and the Secretary-General would be to assign additional functions to the latter under Article 98 of the Charter in certain situations. In that connexion, a tribute should be paid to the Secretary-General for the efficiency with which he had carried out peace-keeping operations in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Council. His country supported specific proposals for increasing the efficiency of the national contingents serving under the United Nations flag through adequate training, the provision of logistical support and the streamlining of current procedures. It was, however, of the opinion that, in the absence of agreed guidelines, Member States were free to decide whether or not they supported a particular United Nations peace-keeping operation.

21. Mr. KHALID MAHMOOD (Pakistan) said that peace-keeping operations were the pragmatic response of the United Nations to crisis situations that could turn into major conflicts. Although no specific provision of the Charter provided for such operations, they were inherent in the Organization's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

22. The record of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping was praiseworthy; one of the oldest and largest peace-keeping operations was the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan, which was currently supervising the cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir. His country wished to thank Australia and other countries which had contributed to that operation. It also wished to pay a tribute to General Gonzalez, former Chief of the Observer Group, and to welcome his successor, General Waldenstrom.

23. While the peace-keeping operations had in general been successful, they had been launched and executed on the basis of decisions and in the context of arrangements adopted under the pressure of circumstances, which was far from being satisfactory, particularly when the operations were expanded as in the case of UNIFIL. It was absolutely essential that agreement should be reached in advance on all the critical aspects of peace-keeping operations, including their financing, the availability of troops, equipment, training, and administrative and logistical requirements.

24. His country regretted that the Special Committee had not made any significant progress the preceding year or throughout its 14 years of existence, either with respect to the completion of agreed guidelines or the achievement of consensus on any specific substantive proposal, or with respect to the implementation of the peace-keeping operations. Accordingly, his delegation fully supported renewal of the Special Committee's mandate by the General Assembly.

25. Pakistan, which was a member of the Special Committee and its Working Group, wished to outline its position on the matter. Responsibility and ultimate control for peace-keeping operations rested with the Security Council. Within the over-all mandate established by the Security Council, the Secretary-General should, nevertheless, be assured sufficient powers to enable him efficiently to direct the activities and operations authorized by the Council. The Secretary-General would naturally be guided by the directives of the Security Council. Only the Security Council was empowered to terminate a peace-keeping operation or alter its mandate. When the Security Council was unable to exercise primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the authority to establish peace-keeping operations devolved on the General Assembly under its residual powers.

26. The composition of peace-keeping forces should be governed by the principle of equitable geographical distribution, but care should be taken to ensure that the application of that principle did not impair their integrity and impartiality or their ability to function as integrated and efficient military units. The composition of peace-keeping forces should be determined in close consultation with the parties concerned so as to ensure that they did not become vehicles for interference in the internal political situation of the countries concerned.

(Mr. Khalid Mahmood, Pakistan)

27. Peace-keeping was the collective responsibility of all Member States of the United Nations. However, the permanent members of the Security Council bore a special responsibility in that regard, and they and the economically advanced countries which had a greater capacity to pay should assume a greater share of the high cost of such operations. His country therefore supported the formula currently used for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

28. Peace-keeping operations had played a positive role by containing conflicts in various parts of the world, but they should not be considered as an end in themselves, nor should they replace efforts to find a solution to the basic causes of conflicts. While recognizing the usefulness of peace-keeping operations, it was essential, in particular, to continue to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. In the meantime, there was no choice but to continue peace-keeping operations.

29. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) said that the necessity and usefulness of United Nations peace-keeping operations could hardly be overstressed. Armed confrontation had been avoided on several occasions thanks to the presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces, and the Member States which had contributed contingents and financial resources to the various peace-keeping forces had earned the gratitude of the inhabitants of many areas in the world.

29a. Of the five peace-keeping operations still in progress, UNIFIL best illustrated the importance of such activities. For a year and a half, the officers and soldiers of the Force had spared no effort to prevent the outbreak of a conflict which could degenerate into a confrontation of incalculable consequences. It was the duty of all States and armed groups in the area to allow the continuation of the operation. His delegation hoped that the efforts of some countries to transform the fragile cease-fire in southern Lebanon into a more durable armistice would be successful and that those efforts would be the first step towards a final settlement of the question. To that end, measures must be taken to enable the Government of Lebanon to re-establish its authority in the southern part of the country.

30. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus had given the inhabitants of the occupied sector of the island, including some 200,000 refugees, a feeling of relative security, and had enabled them to heal the wounds caused by invasion and war. The presence of that Force, however, should not be used as an excuse for abandoning efforts to reach a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. Negotiations between the two communities should resume and be pursued at an accelerated pace on the basis of the agreement they had reached in May with the active participation of the Secretary-General. His delegation felt, however, that in the meantime the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus was absolutely essential, for it would discourage any new aggression against the part of Cyprus which was still free.

(Mr. Katakodis, Greece)

30a. Owing to the difficulties it had encountered, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had been unable over the years to make any progress on the completion of agreed guidelines or to arrive at a consensus on specific proposals for the conduct of peace-keeping operations. Those difficulties stemmed from the differing philosophies of its members with regard to the very concept of peace-keeping. Nevertheless, if the necessary political will existed, and he had no reason to doubt that it did, the Special Committee would be able to complete its task, for the whole future of peace-keeping operations might depend on its success.

31. Mr. DORON (Israel) noted that peace-keeping operations were in line with the ideals embodied in the Charter. Over the years, the United Nations had carried out a number of peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world with a view to preventing a resumption of hostilities between the parties concerned. Those operations, as pointed out in General Assembly resolution 33/114, could not be a substitute for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and were accordingly of a temporary nature. Unfortunately, however, in some parts of the world they had apparently acquired a form of permanency, because some parties seemed to prefer confrontation to negotiation. The attitude was also reflected in the United Nations, where a diplomacy of confrontation had taken precedence over negotiation.

32. In order to take advantage of the experience gained in peace-keeping operations, the General Assembly had requested the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to work out agreed guidelines on the subject. The task had not been easy, and the report recently submitted by the Special Committee indicated that much work remained to be done before the goal was achieved. It was clear that, as his delegation had stated at the previous session, peace-keeping operations in order to be effective, must be adapted to the circumstances of the area concerned. Guidelines drafted in unduly general terms to meet all possible eventualities would be of limited usefulness. It was also clear that United Nations peace-keeping operations could only be conducted with the consent of the host country and with full respect for its sovereignty. It was essential that all countries participating in peace-keeping operations should be scrupulously impartial. Other relevant factors, including the composition of the forces, should always depend on the general political context in which the operations took place in order to avoid unnecessary difficulties that might aggravate an already delicate situation. Therefore, only countries that maintained diplomatic relations with all the parties to the dispute should be invited to participate in the peace-keeping operations in question.

33. His delegation would join in the consensus on draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15.

34. Israel wished to express its appreciation to the officers and men of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) whose mandate had expired on 24 July 1979, to those countries that had contributed contingents to UNEF and to members of the Secretariat that had worked for it, both at Headquarters and in the field. It wished to pay a tribute to the members of the United Nations peace-keeping units that had fallen in the line of duty: they had given their lives for the highest ideals of humanity.

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35. Mr. TERENSTRÖM (Sweden), speaking on behalf of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, said that it was evident by now that peace-keeping operations played an indispensable role in maintaining peace and preventing conflicts from spreading. Although doubts had been voiced from time to time on the value of those operations, the question was what would have happened if specific peace-keeping operations had not been launched or had been terminated before the situation had stabilized.

36. In 1978, the Nordic countries had supported resolution 33/114, which had been adopted by a large majority and reflected many of their views on the subject. In accordance with the request contained in that resolution, they had communicated to the Secretary-General information on experience gained in peace-keeping operations.

37. The interest of the Nordic countries in those operations was well known. They had from the beginning taken part in almost all the peace-keeping operations, and had organized and trained stand-by forces and observers that were at the disposal of the United Nations if they should be needed. Those forces comprised approximately 5,000 men, of whom more than 2,500 were currently serving in ongoing operations; thus, one out of every four members of the forces was from a Nordic country.

38. The prime task of peace-keeping operations was to stabilize the situation in a crisis area pending the solution of the political crisis. The presence of the peace-keeping forces should allow the parties to the conflict to use that breathing spell to try to resolve their differences and should not serve as an excuse for slowing down the negotiating process. Every effort should be made to avoid unduly prolonging the duration of the operations.

39. The Nordic countries attached great importance to the work of the Special Committee, and deplored the lack of progress in the elaboration of agreed guidelines because it might eventually hamper peace-keeping operations. They urged the Special Committee to exert every effort to bring its work to an early and successful conclusion.

40. With regard to the practical side of peace-keeping operations, the Nordic countries felt that the members of the force should be given complementary training in addition to their basic military background. They conducted continuous training programmes on a national basis for their own stand-by forces, as well as common courses for staff officers, specialists and observers. They would be glad to share their experience with interested Member States.

41. The administration of peace-keeping operations was also of special importance. The United Nations currently had over 10,000 men in the field, and it was a complicated task to lead and support them, especially in the initial stages of an operation and at moments of crisis. In that connexion, the resources available to the Secretary-General to handle day-to-day operations should be strengthened in order to enhance the effectiveness of those operations and ease the task of States which contributed troops.

(Mr. Ternström, Sweden)

42. The formation of a peace-keeping force was a complicated task which could take a considerable time. It was therefore important that Member States should indicate in advance their willingness to provide stand by forces. The Nordic countries constantly maintained such forces at the disposal of the United Nations. They regretted that the appeal made in resolution 33/114 had not met with a wide response.

43. The Nordic countries' views on the financing of peace-keeping operations were equally well-known. All Member States had a collective responsibility for the financing of peace-keeping operations. It was not acceptable for some countries to refuse to pay for some of those operations. It would be increasingly difficult to find Member States willing to take part in such operations unless they could be assured that they would be reimbursed according to the established rules. That problem required a speedy solution.

44. The Nordic countries maintained their interest in strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping capabilities. Continued efforts in that direction would enable the organization to fulfil more effectively its main purpose of maintaining international peace and security. The full co-operation of all Member States - and especially of the States represented on the Special Committee - was essential.

45. Mr. FULI (Ghana) said that his country had participated in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo, in UNEF, and in UNIPIL. Ghana had indicated its willingness to serve in Namibia, because it sincerely believed that by so doing it was serving the cause of peace. His delegation was disappointed that the Special Political Committee - set up during the General Assembly's nineteenth session, in the aftermath of the crisis over the financing of the Congo peace-keeping operation - had once again failed to successfully complete its work as a result of hard-core differences. The political will to succeed was woefully lacking on the part of some of the more important Member States. Nevertheless, his delegation shared the view of the Rapporteur of the Special Committee that the absence of progress so far did not mean that agreement was impossible. It therefore supported a renewal of the Special Committee's mandate.

46. He reaffirmed that the Security Council had primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The importance of the General Assembly's role should also be fully recognized.

47. The financing of peace-keeping operations should be a collective responsibility which Member States should discharge in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter. His delegation thought the scale of assessments used in financing UNEF and UNDOF should be applicable. As a troop-contributing State, Ghana wished to see every Member State shoulder its financial responsibility to forestall the clear possibility of the troop-contributing countries, and particularly the developing States among them, bearing a crippling financial burden. He hoped that the Special Committee would be able to make some progress in its work.

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48. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria) regretted that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had not been able to report substantive progress on agreed guidelines for the carrying out of peace-keeping operations. That was due to a tendency to rehash old positions instead of negotiating on the basis of give-and-take. That arose, perhaps, from what was euphemistically termed a lack of political will, or possibly a reluctance to be bound by strict guidelines, since matters had always been resolved to date on a pragmatic basis. In any case, it was important to accept that peace-keeping operations could only be undertaken in the common interests of all Member States and in order to maintain peace and security.

49. Nigeria had always maintained that the Security Council had primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter. Hence its constant plea that the Council's decisions should be respected by all. When States, like South Africa, defied its prescriptive decisions and some permanent members did not see the need for remedial action, both the legal and the moral authority of the Council were undermined.

50. United Nations troops were currently engaged in maintaining peace and stability in the Middle East and Cyprus, and would have prepared Namibia for independence if South Africa had not consolidated its illegal occupation. There would always be friction and tension which would require United Nations peace-keeping operations. It was therefore urgent for the Special Committee to agree on guidelines and specific measures for the execution of peace-keeping operations. Such an agreement would allow the Organization to undertake measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. He saw no contradiction in Nigeria's interpretation of the Charter if a way could be found to make progress on either the agreed guidelines or the practical measures.

51. To break the deadlock which gripped the Special Committee, where positions on the role of the Secretary-General as distinct from the powers of the Security Council were still further apart, his delegation proposed the establishment within the Special Committee of an expert group which would examine the whole question dispassionately, bearing in mind the legal and practical lessons gained from the various peace-keeping operations. The group's report would then be submitted to the Special Committee for closer study, so that issues would be better clarified.

52. Nigeria had always maintained that, while the Security Council had the primary responsibility, the General Assembly also had a residual responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The Assembly should find a way around the dilemma which had literally blocked any progress in the Special Committee for more than a decade. It should give fresh directives on procedures which would allow the Special Committee to make faster progress in its work. In addition, it could try to find solutions to the political and economic issues which created tensions among States, either on the basis of Chapter VI of the Charter or in the implementation of its relevant resolutions.

53. Peace-keeping operations should be financed from assessed contributions from Member States or, if need be, from voluntary contributions. Once the Security Council had authorized an operation, it was hardly appropriate for some countries

(Mr. Clark, Nigeria)

to withhold their contributions on the ground that it was not a just cause, politically speaking. Unless the financial burden was shared equitably, the poor developing countries were unduly taxed. Moreover, States which had responded to the Security Council's call were penalized for their goodwill. If the Organization wished to encourage third world countries to maintain their current level of contributions to peace-keeping operations, it should improve its system of reimbursing States which had provided contingents.

54. His delegation was greatly concerned by the lack of immunity for peace-keeping personnel. He proposed that a survey of the situation be undertaken, so that a suitable statute guaranteeing respect for the international status of such personnel could be drafted. He acknowledged the noble role and heroic efforts of the United Nations peace-keeping troops, past and present, who frequently operated under difficult conditions.

55. The CHAIRMAN drew the Committee's attention to a corrigendum to the Arabic text of draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15 (A/SPC/34/L.15/Corr.1). The third preambular paragraph should read as follows: "... and the report submitted to the Special Committee by its Working Group".

56. Mr. McMAHON (Ireland), speaking on behalf of the nine Member States of the European Community, said that they were joining the consensus on draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15, although they would have liked it to have contained more substance. That shortcoming reflected the inflexible attitude of some Member States to the matter. Given the fundamental importance of peace-keeping as set out in the Charter, and the present scale of such activities, that attitude had become a cause of concern to many Member States of the Organization.

57. Resolution A/RES/33/114 certainly merited a prominent place in the long line of resolutions on peace-keeping operations. Its positive and pragmatic approach had helped to stimulate further efforts and to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping capabilities. Operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15 repeated invitations to Member States to report and to provide information on experience gained in peace-keeping operations, reiterating the requests of paragraphs 5 and 6 of resolution A/RFS/33/114. It thereby retained elements concerning the practical implementation of peace-keeping to which the Nine attached particular importance. The nine Member States of the European Community also wished to commend those States which had already responded to the earlier invitations by the Assembly, contained in resolution A/RES/33/114. Those replies, together with new replies should enable the United Nations and the Special Committee to deal more thoroughly with problems related to the practical execution of peace-keeping operations.

58. Mr. ZENKEVICHUS (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation did not oppose the adoption of draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15 by consensus. The most important task of the Special Committee and its Working Group was to continue to try to make progress in establishing agreed guidelines governing United Nations peace-keeping operations in strict accordance with the Charter.

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(Mr. Zenkevichius, USSR)

59. He reaffirmed that the Soviet Union's position on General Assembly resolution 33/114, referred to in the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, was unaltered. The Soviet Union had voted against that resolution inasmuch as it was incompatible with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Similarly, the Soviet Union could not accept attempts during the Committee's meetings to distort the meaning of operative paragraphs 2 and 3. He recalled that it had been possible to adopt the draft resolution by consensus precisely because such attempts had been rejected during unofficial talks.

60. Draft resolution A/SPC/34/L.15 was adopted by consensus.

61. Mr. GHAFLOORZAI (Afghanistan) wished to make clear his delegation's position on item 52, and on the draft resolution which had just been adopted. A peace-loving country and a member of the Special Committee, Afghanistan had always whole-heartedly supported the United Nations peace-keeping efforts and would continue to do so. He congratulated the Secretary-General on his efforts to ensure international peace and security, and thanked those countries providing peace-keeping contingents. He endorsed any measure to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping capabilities under the Charter. Nevertheless, in certain circumstances he did not consider Member States to be obliged to assume responsibility for the sending of forces in situations created by acts of aggression by a particular State against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State or violations of the rights of peoples to self-determination.

62. His delegation hoped that the Special Committee would make substantial progress in establishing agreed guidelines. It had joined the consensus on the draft resolution in so far as its wording was in accordance with principles on peace-keeping operations recognized by Afghanistan. Nevertheless, he recalled his delegation's reservations on resolution 33/114, which it had voted against. His delegation's position had not altered.

63. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had concluded its consideration of agenda item 52.

64. He informed the Committee that on 9 November the General Assembly would consider agenda item 47 on the effects of atomic radiation. On 15 November, it would consider items 48 and 49 on the peaceful uses of outer space and item 50 on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.