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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RODRIGUEZ-MEDINA (Colombia)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 71: 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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(Mr. Deniger, Canada)

beginning and, to that end, the strengthening of the military component of the United Nations Secretariat. The Nordic representatives had also called for a further study of practical measures to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations Secretariat in that regard.

11. The various initiatives contained in the papers submitted by the United Kingdom, the Nordic Governments and Canada and in the reports and words of the Secretary-General, as well as the contributions from other Members of the Organization, should provide enough material to keep the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in active discussion the following year. In the private sector, the International Peace Academy and the Stanley Foundation were carrying out a great deal of good work. The conclusions and recommendations of their studies also deserved the Special Committee's careful consideration.

12. The Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada had indicated in his statement during the general debate of the current session of the General Assembly that the time had come to move from generalities on which all could agree to specific measures for strengthening the multilateral system. One such measure would be for the Security Council to meet informally to avert potential crises by examining incipient disputes in closed sessions, attended by the Secretary-General. Another would be to encourage the Secretary-General to make greater use of his authority under Article 99 of the Charter and to bring current or potential crisis situations to the attention of the Council.

13. Canada continued to believe strongly in the importance of peace-keeping as a means of limiting conflicts and urged that the work of the Special Committee should be continued with renewed vigour. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the courage and devotion to duty of the soldiers of all nations serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

14. Mrs. HEPTULLAH (India) said that, despite the efforts of the past 18 years, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had failed to finalize agreed guidelines that would govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter. No substantive document had been submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and there had been no progress since that time.

15. In his report of the previous year on the work of the Organization (A/37/1), the Secretary-General had stressed that peace-keeping operations could function properly only with the co-operation of the parties and a clearly defined mandate from the Security Council. He had recommended that Member States, and particularly the members of the Security Council, should again study urgently the means by which peace-keeping operations could be strengthened. Her delegation shared the view that it was imperative that the permanent members of the Security Council should display a measure of political will which would go a long way towards the fulfilment of the desired objective.

(Mrs. Heptullah, India)

16. In its report to the General Assembly (A/38/381), the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations stated that the Working Group had not been able to agree on a recommendation to the Committee; some members had believed that the problems which the Special Committee dealt with were so important that its mandate should be renewed, while others had thought that that question should be settled by the General Assembly. Her delegation was not averse to the setting of a time-limit for the completion of the Committee's work; if the Special Committee was unable to complete its work, perhaps its mandate ought to be terminated.

17. India's position with regard to the general principles that should guide peace-keeping operations was well known. India believed that peace-keeping operations could not be considered a substitute for peace-making. Too often, the mandates of various peace-keeping forces were automatically extended without any consideration of alternative means of settling the dispute. It was of great importance to obtain consent of the host country for the conduct of any peace-keeping operation, which must be carried out with due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country concerned. The Security Council had the primary responsibility for carrying out peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter, but the Secretary-General must retain a degree of flexibility in order to be able to implement the decisions of the Security Council swiftly and efficiently.

18. Her delegation also supported specific proposals aimed at increasing the efficiency of the national contingents serving under the United Nations flag by means of adequate training, the provision of logistical support and the streamlining of current procedures. It believed that, in the absence of agreed guidelines, each Member State was entitled to decide whether or not it would support a particular peace-keeping operation.

19. In conclusion, she paid tribute to the Secretary-General for the diligence and efficiency with which he had directed peace-keeping operations in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

20. Mr. RAM (Fiji) said that United Nations peace-keeping operations had contributed significantly to international peace and security by preventing the recurrence or escalation of hostilities in areas where they had been deployed. However, the conditions under which the various forces were operating were far from satisfactory. His delegation therefore welcomed the documents submitted by the United Kingdom (A/38/489) and Canada (A/38/499), which merited careful consideration by the Committee, as well as the document prepared by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. He regretted that the Special Committee had been unable to make any substantial progress towards the completion of agreed guidelines which would govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations, and he expressed the hope that the Special Committee would swiftly and successfully conclude its work in spite of the difficulties facing it.

(Mr. Ram, Fiji)

21. The primary purpose of a peace-keeping operation was to bring stability to the area of conflict and facilitate the creation of conditions conducive to a settlement. The presence of peace-keeping troops obligated the parties to the conflict to utilize the time made available to them to settle their differences by negotiation. However, such operations must be viewed as an interim measure and not as a substitute for a political settlement.

22. To be effective, United Nations peace-keeping operations must have a clearly defined mandate, the full support of the Security Council and the full co-operation of the parties to the conflict and the entire international community. It was clear that one United Nations force, UNIFIL, had not received the full co-operation of all the parties concerned. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General indicated in his most recent report (S/16036), UNIFIL had continued to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to the local population and remained an important element of stability in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese Government had also stated that UNIFIL had provided all possible support to enable the Government to restore its legitimate authority in southern Lebanon.

23. Peace-keeping operations were the collective responsibility of all Member States in accordance with the Charter; that implied the sharing of financial obligations under Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter. However, some Member States had failed to pay their assessed contributions, which had resulted in delays in the reimbursement of costs to the troop-contributing countries and had placed a heavy burden on all of them, particularly the developing countries. In the case of Fiji, for example, the amount owed was more than \$9 million. His delegation therefore called on the Special Committee to give urgent consideration to the serious financial situation of peace-keeping operations. If those activities were to continue to contribute to United Nations peace efforts, the Organization must deal with the whole question of peace-keeping operations, paying particular attention to their financing.

24. Mr. ALI SHAH (Pakistan) said that, since its establishment, the United Nations had successfully used the peace-keeping machinery to contain explosive situations in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa and that peace-keeping operations had generally been considered to be one of the most successful innovations of the Organization. Nevertheless, they could not function effectively without the co-operation of the parties and a clearly defined mandate from the Security Council and it was clear that under the Charter all the parties concerned had an obligation to abide by the decisions of the Council. His delegation therefore associated itself with the universal condemnation of the way in which Israel had brushed aside UNIFIL during its invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and of Israel's illegal presence in the operational area of the force, which obstructed it in carrying out its mandate.

25. Pakistan firmly adhered to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. It had therefore hosted one of the oldest United Nations peace-keeping operations, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), which it had fully supported in the implementation of its mandate. The activities of UNMOGIP, which currently consisted of 120 people from

(Mr. Ali Shah, Pakistan)

different countries and had a budget of \$1.4 million, was of the highest standard, and the experience gained during its activities could be of great assistance in the drafting of the guidelines to regulate United Nations peace-keeping operations.

26. In the view of his delegation authority and control over the operations was vested with the Security Council and no bilateral agreement or unilateral action could affect a relevant decision of the Council. Consequently only the Council was empowered to change the mandate, character or duration of a peace-keeping operation. However, in order to facilitate its smooth functioning, the Secretary-General should have sufficient powers to direct the day-to-day activities within the mandate and guidelines laid down by the Security Council.

27. With regard to the composition of peace-keeping forces, his delegation supported the principle of equitable geographical representation. The application of that principle should be flexible, however, and should take into account other equally important considerations, in particular, the integrity and impartiality of the forces and, their ability to function as integrated and efficient military units must be ensured, their composition must be determined through consultations with the parties concerned, and there must be assurances that the forces did not become a factor for interference in the internal affairs of the countries concerned.

28. In order to function effectively, peace-keeping operations must have adequate and timely financing. The financial difficulties that were faced by peace-keeping operations had become acute as was highlighted by the Secretary-General in his recent reports on the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and UNIFIL (S/13812 and S/15863 respectively). His delegation believed that the cost of peace-keeping operations should be borne by all Member States, taking into account the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the paying capacity of countries. It therefore supported the application of the formula used in the apportionment of expenses for the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, UNDOF and UNIFIL, in accordance with the principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 1874 (S-IV). Pakistan, moreover, did not object to the cost of peace-keeping operations being considered as expenses of the Organization. It also accepted the granting of agreed privileges and immunities to the members of peace-keeping forces.

29. As to the question of enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council, his delegation had proposed, inter alia, that consideration should be given to the desirability of declaring any area under the supervision of United Nations forces to be an internationally protected zone, any attacks on which would entail sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against the violating countries.

30. The current arrangements for peace-keeping operations were not at all satisfactory. It was therefore extremely important to complete as soon as possible, the agreed guidelines which would govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations and to consider specific questions related to the implementation of

(Mr. Ali Shah, Pakistan)

operations. It was regrettable in that respect that no progress had been made in regard to the organization of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The importance of the issues concerned was such that the United Nations must continue to work for a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. His delegation therefore supported the renewal of the Special Committee's mandate which could usefully be inspired by the document submitted by Canada (A/38/499) in carrying out its work.

31. Peace-keeping formed only part of the role envisaged by the Charter for the United Nations as a peace-keeping instrument. Peace-keeping operations were only a palliative and not a cure for the situations threatening international peace and security. The parties to a conflict should take full advantage of the opportunities provided by the favourable climate established by peace-keeping operations to resolve their disputes.

32. Mr. ABOUASSI (Lebanon) said that at the request of the Lebanese Government, the Security Council had just decided, in resolution 538 (1983), to renew the mandate of UNIFIL for a further period of six months on the terms laid down in resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) of 19 March 1978. That decision came at a time when the Special Political Committee was examining the question of peace-keeping operations and when it was more than ever necessary for the United Nations to intervene to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

33. Rapidly reviewing the main phases of the mandate of UNIFIL, he recalled that in resolution 425 (1978), adopted five years earlier, the Security Council had decided, in the light of the request of the Government of Lebanon, to establish a United Nations interim force for southern Lebanon for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. UNIFIL had in the beginning been able to ascertain that the Israeli troops were withdrawing, but those troops, in the last stages of their withdrawal, had handed the territory over to local forces which had de facto power. Many incidents - attacks, harassment, infiltration of armed persons into the UNIFIL area of operations, shelling of villages on both sides of the border - had prevented UNIFIL from fully accomplishing its mission. The Security Council, for its part, had failed to agree how to eliminate the obstacles to the proper functioning of the peace-keeping operations. On 14 December 1981, the Lebanese Government had requested the Security Council to extend the mandate of UNIFIL for six months, to define its scope of action more clearly and to increase its size to allow it to fulfil all the terms of its mandate and deploy troops throughout the area of operations, availing itself of the right of self-defence if necessary. The Security Council had agreed to raise the number of troops in the Force from 4,000 to 6,000 but had not been in a position to strengthen its terms of reference, which had remained unchanged. Two weeks before the mandate of UNIFIL was due to end, the Israeli authorities had attacked Lebanon. The occupying forces were still there, despite the explicit requests of Lebanon and the Security Council resolutions enjoining Israel to withdraw them. All those facts prompted Lebanon to make some observations, which could just as well apply to any other peace-keeping operation.

(Mr. Abouassi, Lebanon)

34. So far, peace-keeping operations had been mounted after the start of hostilities. But the possibility should be studied of using them as a preventive measure in areas of potential conflict. Lebanon shared, in that regard, the views of the Nordic Governments, as outlined in document A/38/271, and it also believed that further consideration should be given to the Secretary-General's proposal in his report of the previous year on the work of the Organization (A/37/1) regarding the sending of observers or fact-finding missions to potential conflict areas. As to peace-keeping operations themselves, all Member States were agreed that the Security Council should define the mandates of United Nations forces in extremely clear terms, because any ambiguity made for difficulties when it came to taking concrete action. Clear and precise objectives should be combined with a measure of flexibility. The Secretary-General should have a larger role and more latitude in dealing with unforeseen problems that could be resolved fairly easily, and the mandates of peace-keeping forces should be strengthened to enable them to adapt to events without in any way altering the functions assigned to them by the Security Council. The Secretary-General, after consulting with the parties to a conflict and with the members of the Security Council, could devise universally acceptable solutions to any problems that might arise while peace-keeping operations were being conducted. If new developments threatened the keeping of the peace in general, the Security Council should assume its essential role and make use of the diplomatic means available to it to persuade the parties concerned to respect the mandate of the international forces and the will of the international community.

35. The concept of self-defence should be made more specific and it should perhaps be developed and extended. In that connection, it would be advisable to provide peace-keeping forces with the technical means of forestalling aggression and protecting themselves effectively. The prestige of the peace-keeping forces was put to the test in the first stage of their mission, at the time of their first challenge. They had to display firmness, otherwise the parties would not respect their authority. The forces working to destabilize a region sooner or later found themselves, as was the case in Lebanon, confronting the peace-keeping forces. The scenario of confrontation was always the same: recourse to pressure, intimidation, harassment and even direct aggression, with the aim of forcing the peace-keeping forces to withdraw and thus establishing control over weaker countries, which like all others, had a right to sovereignty and independence.

36. The alternative to the current inability of United Nations peace-keeping forces to fulfil all the terms of their mandate was not to eliminate such forces but to review their role and the practical and diplomatic means of assuring the success of their mission; for doing away with them would confirm that international will had been eroded and the logic of force had triumphed, and also that the Security Council had acknowledged its powerlessness to fulfil its responsibilities.

37. The maintenance of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon reflected the commitment of the Security Council to continue to help Lebanon to deal with the constant violations of its sovereignty and to re-establish its authority over the whole of its territory. The presence of the peace-keeping force in southern Lebanon, at the request of the Lebanese Government and pursuant to Security Council resolutions,

(Mr. Abouassi, Lebanon)

constituted an extension of Lebanese legitimate authority despite the occupation. Peace-keeping forces were the best support of the Lebanese Government. His delegation considered that a review of practical means which would enable UNIFIL to fulfil its mission might appear to members of the Security Council as an urgent necessity and the only means of emerging from the impasse caused by the occupation. He thanked the Secretary-General for his continuous commitment to the cause of peace and stability in Lebanon and paid a tribute to the Force for the sacrifices it was making, despite harassment and pressures and the obstacles in the way of its operation. The Lebanese Government and people were grateful to the troop-contributing States. Similarly, Lebanon shared the satisfaction of the Secretary-General at the decision of the Netherlands to maintain a contingent in Lebanon for an additional period of six months.

38. The question of the financing of peace-keeping operations continued to be examined. In his report to the Security Council (S/16036), the Secretary-General had indicated that the shortfall in the UNIFIL Special Account amounted in the current month to \$173.9 million. Lebanon associated itself with those who deplored the additional burden placed on troop-contributing countries, particularly the developing countries, as a result of the considerable delays in reimbursement.

39. Other subsidiary organizations and organs were also endeavouring to find ways of defining guiding principles to govern United Nations peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter, but that was the responsibility of the States Members of the United Nations. It was necessary, therefore, that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should continue its efforts to that end.

40. Mr. EKAR (Ghana) said that United Nations forces undoubtedly played an essential role in the maintenance of international peace. It was for that reason that Ghana was participating in the current operations of UNIFIL and had, a few years previously, played an active part in the operations of the United Nations Force in the Congo. Those forces had, however, a limited mandate and their success depended entirely on the good will and spirit of conciliation of the disputing parties. The latter should feel themselves obliged to make maximum use, for constructive purposes, of the time, energy and resources invested in peace-keeping operations. The forces could not, however, be a substitute for a settlement: that had never been and would never be their role. Nor were they expected to intervene in disputes in order to try to make intransigent adversaries give in. Rather, their function was to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations likely to result in a peaceful settlement.

41. It could be said that hitherto peace-keeping operations had generally succeeded in lessening tensions. In addition, UNIFIL had done much at the humanitarian and administrative levels to help the local population which considered that the departure of that Force would be disastrous for peace and security in the area. In order to judge the success of United Nations forces, it was necessary to measure their achievements against their mandate, which consisted mainly in facilitating a process aimed at achieving a political solution. The mandate, rightly, went no further than that. It was a matter for regret,



(Mr. Ekar, Ghana)

therefore, that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had never succeeded in working out guiding principles to govern the conduct of such operations; yet, the operations would be strengthened by such guidelines. There was reason to hope, however, that the Special Committee would succeed if its mandate was renewed. Although it was true that primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security lay with the Security Council, the Council did not have exclusive responsibility in the matter. It should show some flexibility which would enable the General Assembly to assume a more important role in the maintenance of peace; that was a question which should continue to occupy the attention of the Special Committee.

42. On the question of the financing of peace-keeping operations, Ghana was gravely concerned at the serious situation of some of those operations, in particular UNIFIL, since certain Member States had decided to withhold their assessed contributions. As a result, an unfair burden was placed on troop-contributing countries, particularly developing countries. The financial burden should be assumed collectively, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter. The reasons given by some States to justify non-payment could not be accepted. Ghana earnestly requested the defaulting States to pay their contributions, in other words, to join in United Nations action to reduce international tensions.

43. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal) said that the United Nations, having been unable to resolve international tensions through the instruments available to it, had resorted to peace-keeping operations, although no such peace-keeping methods were envisaged in the Charter.

44. Peace-keeping had initially seemed a panacea for overcoming the constraints faced by the Security Council in executing its duties prescribed under the Charter. But that euphoric state had soon given way to the harsh realities of power politics, which had nearly brought about the financial collapse not only of peace-keeping operations but of the United Nations itself.

45. The fate of peace-keeping was today caught between two conflicting forces: one sought further to strengthen its apparatus and the other blocked its efficacious operation. If proof was necessary, one had only to observe the Special Political Committee, which, on the one hand, considered measures to strengthen peace-keeping operations and, on the other, benignly neglected principles on which the successful functioning of those operations appeared to depend.

46. His delegation had always considered that appropriate steps should be taken to strengthen that instrument which could enable the United Nations to achieve its goals of maintaining international peace and security. The effectiveness of the peace-keeping operations must be based on a variety of factors: (a) it was necessary to keep in mind that the peace-keeping mandate was not an end in itself but a means to achieve a political settlement of disputes, towards which goal the parties concerned must be encouraged during the temporary presence of United Nations forces; (b) the contending forces should respect the peaceful objectives of

(Mr. Khatri, Nepal)

the peace-keeping operations and should not obstruct their functioning; (c) a clear and concise mandate should be given to the peace-keeping operations in order to avoid any confusion during the discharge of that mandate. Ways of enhancing the role of the Secretary-General in that area should be considered; (d) the possibility of establishing a permanent United Nations peace-keeping force should be fully explored. The creation of a stand-by force in all likely contributing countries could be the first step in the establishment of a permanent force. It went without saying that the proper training of forces, the co-ordination of the activities of different national contingents and the required logistical support should also be given special attention when those issues were examined. In that connection, the views set forth by Canada in document A/38/499 merited attention; (e) lastly, the problem of financing peace-keeping operations should also be re-examined. The fact that certain States refused to pay their share of such operations in a timely fashion had placed, in the words of the Secretary-General (S/15812), "a disproportionate burden on the troop-contributing countries". The costs must be shared by the Members, in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. A special scale of assessments could be applied in order to take into account the different levels of development of Member States.

47. His country was proud of the distinction and valour with which its officers and contingents had served in the peace-keeping roles assigned by the United Nations, which had helped further to reinforce the peaceful objectives of its foreign policy. Nepal stood ready to render assistance whenever called upon by the United Nations.

48. His delegation considered that the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects must be achieved expeditiously. It was dismayed at the little which the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had been able to achieve in 18 years, and it called upon all Members to reach agreement on the strengthening of one of the most important instruments of peace available to the United Nations.

49. Miss CONWAY (Ireland) said that her delegation fully subscribed to the views expressed earlier in the debate by the representative of Greece on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

50. Ireland had participated in most of the peace-observation and peace-keeping missions since joining the United Nations in 1955. It was therefore in a position to appreciate their great importance, and it viewed them as a practical way in which Member States, even the smallest, could contribute effectively to the collective tasks of peace-keeping and peace-making, which constituted the primary goal of the Organization.

51. Peace-keeping operations had evolved in order to make up for the lack of will of the international community to use to the full the machinery established under the Charter for the promotion of international peace and security, and their advantages should not be underestimated. United Nations peace-keeping forces had the backing of the international community through the Security Council. They

(Miss Conway, Ireland)

could draw on the full resources and experience of the United Nations. The presence of a United Nations force reduced the danger of direct confrontation between the great Powers in areas of international tension. Lastly, United Nations forces, although drawn from many nations, had a cohesive and unified command structure which contributed to their efficiency.

52. One of the strengths of peace-keeping operations lay in their flexibility and the fact that peace-keeping was still an evolving concept. The United Nations, by responding flexibly to the specific condition which created the need for a peace-keeping operation, had been able to undertake a wide variety of tasks and had thus accumulated invaluable experience in the practical conduct of peace-keeping operations.

53. However, if peace-keeping operations were to make a useful contribution and function effectively, a number of conditions must be fulfilled. Although they were intended to assist in the control of conflict and in the search for a peaceful solution, peace-keeping operations were no substitute for a political settlement. They must have a clearly defined mandate and have the firm support of the Organization, in particular of the Security Council and its members. They must also have the co-operation of all the parties concerned as well as the consent of the countries in whose territories they were stationed. As a corollary, any United Nations force must have freedom of movement throughout the area assigned to it and must have adequate security for its personnel.

54. A strong and assured financial basis was also important for the success of any peace-keeping operation. Under the Charter, the responsibility for maintaining peace was shared collectively by all the States Members of the Organization. It therefore followed that financial responsibility for peace-keeping operations duly authorized under the Charter should be shared equitably by all Member States. The serious financial situation of certain peace-keeping operations, particularly UNIFIL, as a result of the withholding of their assessed contributions by some Member States, continued to cause grave concern. That practice placed a disproportionate financial burden on other Member States, particularly those which participated in the peace-keeping operations. It also endangered the principle of wide geographical representation in the composition of peace-keeping forces, a principle to which her delegation was particularly attached. Ireland would continue to play an active role in seeking ways of improving the financial situation of United Nations peace-keeping operations and would support all efforts to that end. It welcomed the document on that topic (A/38/489) submitted by the United Kingdom delegation and trusted that it would stimulate discussion and help in the search for solutions in the Committee, as well as in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and in the Fifth Committee.

55. The conditions under which UNIFIL had been obliged to operate had been far from satisfactory and the situation had been exacerbated by the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. It was obvious that the inability of UNIFIL to carry out its mandate had been due to Israel's refusal to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. None the less,

(Miss Conway, Ireland)

UNIFIL, however circumscribed its role, continued to perform useful functions. Her delegation welcomed the decision by the Security Council, in resolution 538 (1983), to renew the mandate of UNIFIL for a further six months. It paid tribute to the courage and devotion shown by all those involved in peace-keeping operations, particularly UNIFIL and UNTSO in the current circumstances.

56. Her delegation regretted that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had failed to reach agreement on the issues it had dealt with, as indicated in its report (A/38/381). While her delegation recognized the problems faced by the Special Committee, it felt that progress could be made if Member States displayed practical political agreement and cohesion.

57. Mr. FISCHER (Austria) said that, in view of the current international climate, characterized by increased tension and military confrontation, it was all the more necessary to possess a means of controlling conflict. The United Nations peace-keeping operations had proved their usefulness in that regard. They should therefore be given the full support of the international community and should even be strengthened. It was to be hoped that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would arrive at a compromise and would be able to complete agreed guidelines for such operations and examine specific questions concerning their practical implementation.

58. Austria noted with satisfaction that it was not alone in seeking an overall improvement in peace-keeping operations: the five Nordic countries had proposed, in a letter of 10 June 1983, addressed to the Secretary-General, measures aimed at strengthening United Nations action (A/38/271-S/15830); Canada had also submitted a document (A/38/499) dealing with the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations. Long-term planning was necessary and suggestions in that connection merited consideration. Moreover, Austria had long supported the organization of regional seminars under the auspices of the United Nations to train military and civilian personnel for peace-keeping operations.

59. Like all troop-contributing countries, Austria was greatly concerned about the financing of peace-keeping operations. The current situation was far from satisfactory; that was especially true in the case of the Force stationed in Cyprus, which was exclusively financed by voluntary contributions. Although UNFICYP had been unanimously approved by the Security Council, half of the Member States - some of them members of the Security Council itself - did not participate in its financing, which put a disproportionate burden on the troop-contributing countries. It was well known that the claims of Governments (which, in some cases, represented only a fraction of their actual costs) had been settled only up to June 1977.

60. Austria urged the Member States to recognize their indivisible collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace and, consequently, to contribute to the financing of UNFICYP. Furthermore, the Governments most interested in the continuation of the Force should consider increasing their share of the costs. It could, however, be asked if the system of voluntary financing was still valid. The

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

time had perhaps come for the Security Council to consider the possibility of putting peace-keeping operations on a sounder financial basis.

61. Austria paid tribute to the military and civilian personnel of the Forces, who were fulfilling their difficult task with great courage and dedication.

62. Mr. DE GEER (Sweden), speaking on behalf of the five Nordic countries, said that the peace-keeping operations had played and continued to play an important role; they were in fact one of the most successful innovations of the United Nations and their record was a tribute to the Organization. However, during recent years, the situation had not been altogether positive. In particular, the Force in Lebanon had come under criticism. UNIFIL was experiencing problems because the basic preconditions for its success had not been met: it did not receive the co-operation of all parties to the conflict; nor was it accorded the unreserved support of the Security Council and the loyal backing of all Member States, in particular in so far as its financing was concerned. Nevertheless, the role of UNIFIL must be seen, on balance, as a beneficial one and the Security Council had shown its desire to maintain the United Nations presence in the very critical situation prevailing in Lebanon.

63. In general, it must never be forgotten that some operations had been or were currently very successful, and the Nordic countries were convinced that the United Nations remained the best framework for peace-keeping.

64. All Member States shared a collective responsibility for the financing of peace-keeping operations. The failure of certain countries to shoulder that responsibility not only impaired the ability of the Organization to carry out those operations as effectively as possible but also placed an inequitable financial burden on the troop-contributing countries. It was regrettable that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had achieved so little progress on the question of guidelines to govern those operations, but that did not mean that it should be abolished. There was a definite need for a forum which could devote its exclusive attention to one of the essential activities of the Organization and the General Assembly should be urged to renew the Committee's mandate. The effectiveness of the United Nations Forces would be enhanced if each could function, from the beginning, as an integrated military unit. That might require the strengthening of the military component of the Secretariat.

65. As suggested by the Secretary-General on several occasions, the Nordic countries had, since 1964, maintained stand-by forces - of approximately 5,000 men - which could be rapidly dispatched to serve in peace-keeping operations. Currently, the Nordic countries supplied more than one fourth of all United Nations troops. Their programme and experience in that respect had been summarized in document A/SPC/33/3.

66. The Nordic countries had made certain suggestions concerning the strengthening of the United Nations and, in particular, the peace-keeping operations (A/38/271). They had proposed, inter alia, that a larger number of countries should be

(Mr. De Geer, Sweden)

encouraged to initiate a system of stand-by forces. Consideration should also be given to ways in which the United Nations and the more experienced of the troop-contributing countries could assist in the establishment of units and the training of personnel for peace-keeping operations. Since, from the outset, the Nordic countries had been providing funds, equipment and, very often, personnel for the United Nations peace-keeping operations, they had acquired experience and were willing to share it in a systematic way with other countries, in particular in the context of their training programme, which was particularly well adapted to current operations. To that end, they intended to invite other troop-contributing countries to send personnel to follow courses, under their programme, on different aspects of the operations. In turn, the participants could train personnel in their own countries. The Permanent Missions of the Nordic countries would provide additional information to interested countries.

67. Mr. VIKIS (Cyprus) said that the very concept of peace-keeping operations was of vital importance at a time of such heightened international tension. It was therefore regrettable that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had been unable to reach agreement on the guidelines which should govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations in that regard and to deal with certain questions regarding the practical execution of peace-keeping operations. The Special Committee was certainly confronted with complex problems, but their solution was vitally important to the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations. He, therefore, expressed the hope that the Special Committee would succeed in making progress in dealing with the substantive aspects of peace-keeping operations.

68. Cyprus could well appreciate the work of the United Nations and the problems encountered in that field because a United Nations Force had been stationed for two decades in its territory. The financing of peace-keeping operations was one of the more urgent problems: the burden should be shared more equitably; authority should be clearly defined; and the geographical representation of the forces should be broadened. On the other hand, the forces must fully respect the sovereignty of the country which had agreed to their presence and they should not interfere in its internal affairs. The forces must act in an impartial manner and in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Security Council's resolutions. At the same time, the Government of the host country must facilitate the task of the forces and ensure their safety.

69. The United Nations Force in Cyprus had played a positive role, and his country was profoundly grateful to the countries which provided contingents and made contributions. Nevertheless, the Force had been unable in July 1974 to protect the territorial integrity of Cyprus and halt the Turkish invasion. That was possibly due to the fact that its mandate did not call for such action, but peace-keeping operations should make it possible, as a first step, to establish conditions for the peace-making process to come to fruition. The Turkish invasion with its attendant evils - the occupation of almost half the area of the Republic, the displacement of two fifths of the population, and hundreds of deaths - had shattered the prospects for a just and peaceful solution of the intercommunal problems. The presence of occupation troops on the island, in violation of General

(Mr. Vikis, Cyprus)

Assembly and Security Council resolutions, would inevitably have negative effects on the mission of the Force and on the intercommunal negotiations. Nevertheless, Cyprus was co-operating fully in those talks in its sincere desire to achieve a just and lasting solution.

70. Mr. LEVIN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled that, according to General Assembly resolution 33/114, the presence of peace-keeping forces was not a substitute for the peaceful settlement of disputes and that such operations could only be of a temporary nature. Many previous speakers had, in fact, mentioned that important principle. Nevertheless, there was a tendency in certain regions of the world to consider that the presence of United Nations forces should be permanent, as certain parties preferred to prolong a temporary solution indefinitely rather than negotiate a permanent settlement.

71. Israel had welcomed the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), the Sinai Observer Group, the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and the current presence of the multinational force in Lebanon. Nevertheless, he felt that in the circumstances the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) had ceased to be useful. Until June 1982 it had been evident that the threat to the Israeli civilian population and the independence of Lebanon, a threat which had been shielded by the Force, had been growing: a terrorist base of operations with a large-scale international infrastructure had been in the process of establishment and had been attempting to function. Attacks in northern Israel and terrorist activity in other parts of the world had been increasing. Preparations had been in progress for a large-scale military assault against his country at an advantageous moment, with assistance from the other enemies of Israel, since it was well known that UNIFIL would no more be able or willing to stop that assault than it had been able or willing to prevent the artillery bombardments, particularly the Katyusha rockets, from hitting the Israeli population.

72. Israel, therefore, had good reason to express some reservations, although it had no objections concerning UNIFIL's capacity to carry out the mission assigned to it under Security Council resolution 425 (1978). His Government considered that the arrangements which it had negotiated with Lebanon were far more likely to maintain peace and were also in keeping with the views expressed by a number of previous speakers.

73. Mr. AKIN (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that although the statement made by the national of Cyprus who had spoken earlier did not deserve any attention, it was a matter for indignation to see a speaker abuse the time and patience of the Committee by uttering such absurdities.

74. Mr. VIKIS (Cyprus), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey had been proved conclusively since it had been condemned in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

75. The CHAIRMAN said that although the debate on agenda item 71 was finished, the Committee could not conclude consideration of the question because it had not yet received the draft resolution on the subject. He also announced that agenda item 74 would be considered on Thursday, 20 October, and Friday, 21 October; speakers should have their names inscribed on the speakers' list well in advance, to facilitate consideration of the question within the allotted time. The draft resolution would have to be ready by the last of the scheduled meetings at the latest because the Committee's timetable could not be changed for any reason.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.