



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 40th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. PIZA-ESCALANTE (Costa Rica)

later: Mr. ORTNER (Austria)

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AGENDA ITEM 56: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS
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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 56: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/SPC/33/3, A/SPC/33/L.19)

1. Begum Afifa HAMDOT (Pakistan) said that her delegation shared the disappointment of other delegations at the limited progress achieved during the past year towards the completion of agreed guidelines for conducting peace-keeping operations. General Assembly resolution 32/106 stated that only through a demonstration of political will and greater conciliation could such agreed guidelines to govern future United Nations peace-keeping operations be completed. The lack of progress during the past year indicated that such a demonstration of political will and conciliation had not been forthcoming to a sufficient degree. Her delegation recognized that the task assigned to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was complex and difficult and that it involved certain basic political decisions to reconcile what appeared to be widely divergent views. Admittedly, those differences involved national interests and institutional questions, but they were not irreconcilable. The Special Committee had done what it could to help to bridge the gulf, but more would obviously need to be done before the existing problems could be solved.
2. The responsibility for and ultimate control of peace-keeping operations must rest with the Security Council. Within the over-all mandate established by the Security Council, the Secretary-General should, however, be assured of sufficient powers and discretion to enable him to direct effectively the activities and the operations authorized by the Council. The Secretary-General would of course be guided in that regard by the directives of the Council.
3. In the determination of the composition of the peace-keeping forces for each operation, due attention must be paid to the principle of equitable geographical representation. While her delegation advocated that principle, it also recognized that there must be a certain flexibility in its application. The integrity and impartiality of the forces, their ability to function as integrated and efficient military units, the need to ensure that the forces did not become a factor in the internal political situation of the countries concerned and the need to determine the composition of the forces in consultation with the parties concerned were some of the factors which necessitated flexibility.
4. Pakistan upheld the principle of collective responsibility of all Member States for United Nations peace-keeping operations but felt that the permanent members of the Security Council had a special responsibility in that regard and that they and the economically advanced countries, which had a greater capacity to do so, must pay a proportionately higher percentage of the costs of such operations. Pakistan therefore supported the formula which was being applied in the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).
5. The proposed guidelines for conducting peace-keeping operations should not be too specific and precise so as to prevent time-consuming delays in tackling problems which might arise but which could not be foreseen when the guidelines were

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(Begum Afifa Mamdot, Pakistan)

formulated. The guidelines should also be framed in the light of the over-all objective, which was to provide an institutional framework to control situations of conflict which might pose the threat of a world-wide holocaust. Article 9 of the draft formulae for articles of agreed guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations (A/32/394, annex II, appendix I) read: "It is essential that throughout the conduct of a United Nations peace-keeping operation it shall have the full confidence and backing of the Security Council. Such forces must operate with the full co-operation of the parties concerned, particularly of the Government of the host country, due account being taken of its sovereignty." That formulation reflected the requirements of peace-keeping operations more appropriately than the formulations used in the fourth preambular paragraph and paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19.

6. Pakistan had had one of the longest experiences of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) had contributed substantially to the maintenance of peace and security in that area. Peace-keeping operations, however, were only one important facet of the functions envisaged for the United Nations. An even more important function was to bring about, by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. Peace-keeping operations, however successful, could not provide political solutions. They must be used to prevent the aggravation of conflicts and to end open armed conflict, so that a climate was created in which the United Nations could assist the parties concerned in arriving at a solution to the political dispute which lay at the root of the armed conflict. Essentially, United Nations peace-keeping operations provided breathing space to allow for the settlement of the basic political differences. The success of a United Nations operation of that nature must not therefore be allowed to divert the world's attention from seeking a solution to the political dispute with the same urgency as would have been attached to it had the peace-keeping mission not been undertaken. There was some concern about the heavy and constantly mounting expenses incurred in peace-keeping. The solution would appear to lie in tackling with a greater sense of urgency the basic political causes of the conflict, thus obviating the need for the maintenance of expensive peace-keeping forces.

6a. Mr. ORTNER (Austria) took the Chair.

7. Mr. ZSOHÁR (Hungary) said that after studying resolution 32/106 a number of Member States had submitted observations and suggestions to the Secretary-General. Before the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations and its Working Group had had the opportunity to consider those observations and suggestions, a group of Member States had suggested that a resolution on item 56 should be adopted at the current session. It would be quite natural if the General Assembly were now requested to adopt a resolution in line with resolution 32/106, in other words, to endorse that resolution and to invite the Special Committee and its Working Group to start considering the observations and suggestions of Member States. His delegation was certain that a non-controversial and traditional approach would obtain the unanimous support of the Special Political Committee and the General Assembly.

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(Mr. Zsohár, Hungary)

8. Hungary, together with many other States, had never ceased to underline the indisputable role of the Security Council in United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Council was the only United Nations organ empowered by the Charter to take action involving the use of armed forces or to apportion finances for them. Draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 did not give an important enough role to the Security Council in peace-keeping operations.

9. The draft resolution referred to the way in which the Secretary-General was carrying out peace-keeping operations. It was well known that the attempt to designate the Secretary-General as an equal partner with the Security Council in peace-keeping matters had been a major, if not the main, source of contention in the debates. The sponsors of the draft resolution, by the addition of an innocent-looking preambular paragraph, sought to prejudge that fundamental issue of peace-keeping operations. His delegation objected to a formulation which sought to have the Special Political Committee endorse an approach to that essential problem which Hungary had always opposed.

10. The draft resolution took a similarly biased approach to the financing of peace-keeping operations. It stressed the responsibility of Member States to share equitably the financial burden of such operations. That position was one of several which had been referred to in the course of the discussions on agreed guidelines in the Special Committee and its Working Group. There were equally worth-while or even more worth-while approaches which might be warranted by the situation surrounding any specific peace-keeping operation. For example, the Cyprus operation had been based on the principle of voluntary financing for more than a decade. Furthermore, a large number of Member States had for years strongly opposed the taking of financial responsibility for situations created by the racists in southern Africa or by the aggressors in the Middle East. To disregard all alternative ways of financing peace-keeping operations, except the one mentioned in the draft resolution, was a clear attempt to prejudge the issue.

11. The draft resolution laid great stress on the training of peace-keeping personnel and related questions, while it played down the role of the Security Council by relegating it to a preambular paragraph and reserving the most detailed operative paragraphs for technical matters. The determination with which the sponsors had sought to exclude consensus, to divide the General Assembly for the first time on a resolution on peace-keeping operations and to impose their one-sided approach raised questions about their intentions. In the light of the foregoing considerations, his delegation would not support the draft resolution.

12. Mr. FOBE (Belgium) said that, in appealing to Member States to support United Nations peace-keeping operations, the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 wished to reaffirm that the entire United Nations membership should be associated in a useful activity which was at the very essence of the Organization's mission. The initiative for the draft resolution had come from the members of the European Economic Community. His delegation had played an active role in the preparation of the draft, and the members of the Community had sought the views, advice and

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(Mr. Fobe, Belgium)

criticisms of many other delegations. Those inputs together gave the draft resolution the balance which was needed in decisions related to the Charter and the respective functions of United Nations organs.

13. The draft was the result of thorough and open discussions. The parties consulted were all convinced of the importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations and were equally concerned to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in that area. The consultations had revealed a general desire to produce a text that would indicate what, according to the Charter, were the different responsibilities of the organs of the United Nations and what was the contribution which could be made by each Member State. The draft resolution sought to promote among delegations, in the countries they represented and among the public at large additional support for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

14. While anxious, as always, to achieve a consensus, the sponsors of the draft resolution would not contend that it was perfect. Some delegations, whose suggestions had been sought at the outset, had engaged in criticism from a distance, only to reject the initiative out of hand. Those delegations were sufficiently skilled in reading between the lines to realize that paragraph 1 of the draft resolution in no way impaired the responsibility of the Security Council and that the draft resolution did not invalidate the work already done by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. As the representative of Sri Lanka had stated, the draft resolution could help to complement the work of the Special Committee.

15. His delegation wondered how the draft resolution could pose an obstacle to subsequent decisions to initiate peace-keeping operations. Perhaps some delegations wished to use the draft resolution as a pretext to increase their opposition to that fundamental function of the United Nations and to continue withholding the necessary financial resources.

16. The draft resolution was not perfect. Nevertheless, his delegation joined the other members of the European Economic Community and the other sponsors in hoping that it would be supported by all who cared about the maintenance of peace in accordance with the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter.

17. Mr. ERELL (Israel) said that the Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs had recently praised current successful peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and emphasized their contribution within the framework of progress towards a peace settlement in the area.

18. Experience had shown that the most effective peace-keeping operation was the one which best suited the requirements and circumstances of the specific situation. Almost every aspect of peace-keeping was subject to wide variations from case to case, such as the political characteristics of the situation, the characteristics of the terrain and the nature of the violence to be prevented. That made it very difficult to prepare standard guidelines for peace-keeping operations in general,

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(Mr. Krell, Israel)

unless one was willing to be satisfied with a small number of very basic and very broad principles. Given the fundamental requirement to base peace-keeping operations on the agreement of the Governments concerned and given the need to suit each operation to specific circumstances, it could not be easy to find guidelines which would be meaningful and acceptable to all and provide real directives for action in a large variety of unforeseen circumstances. His delegation was inclined to believe that it was practically impossible to formulate such guidelines. If the foregoing observations were logical, it might be useful to redefine the problem slightly with a view to determining what preparatory work might be feasible that would facilitate the rapid organization of an effective peace-keeping operation when the need was pressing and there was no time to study and negotiate the matter at a convenient pace.

19. His delegation felt that a good deal could be achieved by a certain change of direction in the current search for guidelines. While it was not possible to construct a model that would suit every situation, it should be relatively easy to prepare, in advance, a good variety of components from which those concerned, in case of need, could quickly select the elements that would form for them the structure they wanted or a structure as near to what was wanted as could reasonably be put together at short notice. One could draw up a list of factors to determine the nature, status and method of operation of a peace-keeping organization. Such a list would include items such as the manner of selecting a commander, the national composition of the force, the method of reporting violations, the scale and type of armaments, the use of force and the question of privileges and immunities. Against each of the items on the list, one would have a variety of options from which those concerned could choose what they needed when the time came. Those groups of options, like the list itself, would be open-ended, offering arrangements which could be adopted as they stood or improved upon, or which could inspire new arrangements that might meet more perfectly the specific requirements of the case.

20. That suggestion of a possible way to move ahead in the review of peace-keeping operations was not a formal proposal but was intended mainly to stimulate new thinking on the question.

21. In line with the position reflected in the foregoing remarks, his delegation would have preferred clearer formulations in draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19. It would have been better to emphasize more the need to consult with the parties to a conflict and to obtain their agreement with respect to peace-keeping activities affecting their peace and security. It would have enhanced the importance of the draft resolution to give more explicit expression to the principle that, in all peace-keeping operations, the impartiality of the United Nations forces should be manifestly seen to exist, in their composition and in other ways. Two delegations had illustrated that problem by demonstrating a hopeless bias with regard to the Middle East situation and a certain reluctance to read relevant Security Council documents.

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(Mr. Erell, Israel)

22. The draft resolution, even if imperfect, did not contain the principles which Israel considered essential, and his delegation would therefore support it. He had noted various statements to the effect that the draft did not necessarily have to be considered the final word. It was simply an important move forward.

23. Mr. JACKSON (Australia) said that his Government was grateful for the opportunity to renew its commitment to the concept of peace-keeping and to pay a tribute to other countries which were equally committed to and provided support for peace keeping operations. Peace-keeping was one field at least in which the United Nations could take justifiable pride in its achievements. It was not, and never had been, an easy field in which to operate.

24. In that connexion, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his address to the General Assembly on 6 October, had made some very pertinent remarks. He had stated that peace-keeping was a sensitive and difficult process and that the machinery which had been forged over the years had become an essential instrument of the Security Council in fulfilling its obligations. That machinery, which depended also on the key role of the Secretary-General and the active support of the General Assembly, was an encouraging example of how the United Nations could respond constructively to the concerns of the international community.

25. The Minister for Foreign Affairs had added that United Nations peace-keeping operations could only be as effective as the parties to a dispute would permit. To be successful in the long term, they must be accompanied by intensive efforts to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict. Peace-keeping was not an alternative but an important contribution to the negotiation and settlement of disputes. There was a responsibility on the parties to a dispute to work actively to resolve their differences and remove the need for the continuing presence of United Nations forces. The peace-keeping role was intended to promote solutions, not to perpetuate disputes.

26. The Australian involvement in and support for United Nations peace-keeping operations had existed since the very beginning of those operations. Australia was currently involved in the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), UNEF, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) and UNMOGIP, and it contributed to the budgets of UNIFIL and UNDOF. In the financial year 1978-1979, Australia's voluntary contribution to UNFICYP had been \$100,000, and it had also contributed approximately \$1.5 million in assessed payments to UNEF and UNDOF and approximately \$812,000 to UNIFIL for the first six months of 1978. In addition, Australia provided 20 Commonwealth police officers to UNFICYP, a helicopter contingent to UNEF, six military observers to UNMOGIP plus a Caribou aircraft and a crew of 12, and nine military observers to UNTSO.

27. Australia was a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Admittedly, the Special Committee's progress towards agreement on guidelines for peace-keeping operations had been very slow. Nevertheless, Australia regarded the Special Committee's work as an important contribution to the ongoing debate on the basic purposes of the United Nations.

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(Mr. Jackson, Australia)

28. His delegation, as a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19, wished to endorse the remarks made by other sponsors and to thank them for their efforts. Australia felt that the draft resolution fulfilled its purpose, which was to stimulate, not hinder, the work of the Special Committee, and hoped that it would be adopted by consensus.

29. On behalf of his delegation, he wished to pay a tribute to those who had died in active service for the United Nations. The debt owed to those who had fallen for the cause of international peace and security and to those who were currently involved in peace-keeping operations should never be underestimated or forgotten.

30. Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his Government attached great importance to increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of peace and security in strict compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In that regard, he pointed out that the Charter provided for a number of measures, including the use of United Nations armed forces, which could be taken by the Organization in seeking to achieve its primary goal - the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. Unfortunately, those possibilities had so far not been utilized to the fullest possible extent.

31. In his delegation's opinion, the favourable changes in the international climate over the past few years and the continuing reduction in tension were creating good conditions for the formulation of agreed guidelines for the conduct of peace-keeping operations. It was essential that all decisions relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations should be taken by consensus. The work of the Special Committee should serve as an example to the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19. Decisions concerning the use of armed forces and involving questions relating to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of States should not be taken by mechanical use of the vote.

32. His delegation was firmly convinced of the need to ensure that United Nations peace-keeping operations were carried out in strict compliance with the Charter. In practice, that meant the implementation of the provisions of the Charter under which the Security Council was the only United Nations body empowered to take action relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations. That role of the Security Council was not stressed in the draft resolution under consideration, and the draft was therefore unacceptable. The draft resolution should also have indicated various methods of financing peace-keeping operations.

33. Experience showed that the main obstacle to reaching agreement on guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations was the attempt to impose provisions which violated or by-passed the Charter. Such an approach not only delayed agreement on the guidelines but also jeopardized the peace-keeping operations and reduced the effectiveness of the United Nations itself.

(Mr. Kochubey, Ukrainian SSR)

34. He wished to sound a warning about the danger of attempts to review nastily and in a one-sided manner the basic principles of the Charter relating to peace-keeping operations by the United Nations, and he therefore called on all delegations to make an effort to formulate agreed guidelines for such operations. He was convinced that agreement could be reached in strict accordance with the Charter. Such agreement would strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to act effectively to meet any future need for peace-keeping operations and would enhance the authority of the Organization.

35. Mr. BACHROUCH (Tunisia) said that the complexity of the matters involved in the whole question of peace-keeping operations was illustrated by the difficulties that the Special Committee had encountered in trying to draw up a comprehensive policy that would meet with unanimous approval and thus ensure maximum support for peace-keeping operations. The present impasse was beginning to cause serious anxiety to most Member States. His delegation believed that it was time to resume consideration of the question on a new basis in the hope of arriving at unanimous agreement on all its aspects.

36. Since its earliest years as an independent country, Tunisia had always supported the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. His delegation believed that those operations constituted an important instrument that would gain greatly if its structure could be speedily consolidated. It therefore welcomed draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19, which had been submitted by the members of the European Economic Community. Although the draft did not, as his delegation would have preferred, touch on all aspects of the question of peace-keeping operations, it was nevertheless a praiseworthy initiative in that it would reopen the matter and give new impetus to the debate.

37. His delegation hoped that the discussion would enable the Special Committee to emerge from its present impasse, thus opening the way to a comprehensive and universally acceptable solution of the important question of peace-keeping operations. It would therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

38. Mr. GIBSON (New Zealand) said that peace-keeping had become an essential function of the United Nations. It was an area in which the Organization had been able to make a practical contribution towards creating a climate for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the peace-keeping operations had proved their worth. In an ideal world, such operations would not be necessary. The world was far from ideal, however, and circumstances would no doubt continue to arise in which peace-keeping operations were needed.

39. His delegation regarded draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19, of which it was a sponsor, as timely. It addressed itself to the present, but it also looked to the future, and its operative paragraphs provided a practical framework for strengthening the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations.

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(Mr. Gibson, New Zealand)

40. His Government would continue to keep under review the ways in which it could contribute to fulfilling the aims of the resolution and trusted that other countries would do the same. He hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus.

41. Mr. SHISHOLEKA (Zambia) said that the central purpose of the United Nations was the maintenance of international peace and security. Nevertheless, tension and conflict still reigned in various regions of the world. It was out of concern for international peace and security that the non-aligned movement had come into being, and the non-aligned countries had spared no effort to bring about a new world order based on the principles of freedom, justice and equity as the only basis for lasting world peace and security. Several historic resolutions relevant to the strengthening of international security had been adopted by the General Assembly on the initiative of those countries.

42. The non-aligned countries had always emphasized the need to strengthen the vital role of the United Nations in that area. In the search for solutions to global problems, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General must be regarded as central. The non-aligned movement, therefore, had steadily resisted attempts to deal with problems of international peace and security outside the framework of the United Nations.

43. In the view of his delegation, the concept of peace-keeping could be misleading; it would be more realistic to talk of peace-making. In most situations of potential conflict, the essential ingredients for durable peace and security did not exist. For example, efforts to maintain peace in southern Africa must address the root cause, which was the denial of the rights of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence and their continued subjugation to racist white-minority régimes. There could be no talk of durable peace in the Middle East while Israel persisted in its illegal occupation of Arab territories and its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

44. That did not imply that Zambia was opposed to peace-keeping operations. On the contrary, they could and did serve a useful role, but only as a temporary solution. Permanent solutions must, inescapably, address themselves to the root causes of conflicts. The inherent danger in peace-keeping operations was that they could create an illusory peace. The international community must never relax its efforts to seek genuine solutions to any situation into which peace-keeping forces had been introduced.

45. In case confusion might exist in the minds of some about the potential peace-keeping role of the United Nations in situations such as that in southern Africa, he noted that the conflict there was between right and wrong. The liberation forces were fighting for the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations. The white racist minority régimes, on the other hand, were fighting for racist supremacy and the perpetuation of their repression and exploitation of the black majority. The United Nations could not be impartial or neutral in that situation. Instead, it must join hands with the oppressed and speed the movement to freedom and independence.

(Mr. Shisholeka, Zambia)

46. His delegation was aware of the controversy traditionally provoked by the subject of peace-keeping operations. It was all the more important therefore to be clear regarding the objectives of such operations and the modalities for carrying them out. The Security Council, of course, had the central role and responsibility in launching and overseeing peace-keeping operations, and that role should continue. For practical reasons, however, the Secretary-General should be entrusted with the responsibility for supervising peace-keeping operations on a daily basis. His role should be strengthened as far as possible so as to ensure that he could react speedily and effectively to particular situations. He should, nevertheless, remain accountable to the Security Council and to the General Assembly for his activities in that sphere.

47. The financing of peace-keeping operations was another difficult question. In the view of his delegation, once a decision had been taken to launch a peace-keeping operation, it was incumbent on all Member States, regardless of their position vis-à-vis the conflict, to ensure that financial difficulties did not make the operation ineffective.

48. He stressed his delegation's conviction that peace-keeping operations must be conducted with the consent of the host country and with scrupulous respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. His delegation attached great importance to the work of the Special Committee and fully appreciated the difficulties with which it had been confronted. It was convinced, however, that the Special Committee would do its utmost to fulfil its mandate and thus make a major contribution to the effort to streamline and strengthen the role of the United Nations in the area of peace-keeping. It looked forward to the Special Committee's report to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

49. Mr. BURKE (Ireland) said that his country had always supported the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. Over the years, it had supplied some 17,000 Irish soldiers to nine different peace-keeping operations. In May 1978, it had sent a battalion to serve with UNIFIL in southern Lebanon, and it had recently agreed to augment that force. In addition, Irish soldiers were at present serving with UNFICYP in Cyprus and with UNTSO in Sinai and on the Golan Heights.

50. He wished to congratulate the Secretary-General, the various force commanders and the members of the Secretariat dealing with peace-keeping affairs on the efficient and consistent manner in which they had conducted United Nations peace-keeping operations. It was his delegation's belief that the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council and with the parties concerned, should be allowed a considerable degree of flexibility in the practical conduct of those operations, taking into account their unique aspects, and his Government was pleased with the performance of the Secretary-General in that regard.

51. His delegation had noted the report of the Special Committee and had studied with interest the observations and suggestions made by a number of delegations in

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(Mr. Burke, Ireland)

response to General Assembly resolution 32/106. The formulation of an agreed set of guidelines was a formidable task that would only be achieved when Member States displayed a greater degree of practical political agreement on the scope and goals of peace-keeping. It was unfortunate that certain States still felt unable to show the understanding required in that regard. Despite the failure so far, however, the Special Committee must continue to search for an agreed formulation. The United Nations was at present successfully conducting a considerable number of peace-keeping operations, and there were indications of further operations of that kind, in other areas, where the United Nations might again be called upon to assist in the peaceful transition to independence and majority rule. His delegation believed, therefore, that the Special Committee should continue to study the fundamental question of over-all guidelines for peace-keeping operations.

52. As far as the practical implementation of peace-keeping operations was concerned, his delegation believed that some progress could be achieved at an early stage. There were a number of specific reforms which could improve the practical functioning of such operations. The question of logistical support services should be studied, and the role and responsibilities of the Field Operations Service could well be expanded in that regard. It would also be most useful for the United Nations, possibly through UNITAR, to hold seminars on practical aspects of peace-keeping with the participation of officers from as many countries as possible, particularly the developing countries. Such seminars could draw on the knowledge and experience of officers who had already served in peace-keeping operations. The sharing of that experience by officers of defence forces which had not yet become involved in United Nations peace-keeping could help to ensure equitable geographical balance in peace-keeping forces. In that connexion, he paid a tribute to the activities of the International Peace Academy and commended the Nordic States for the useful study in document A/SPC/33/3.

53. His delegation continued to be concerned over the financial aspect of United Nations peace-keeping operations. It had consistently affirmed that the maintenance of peace was a collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations. Accordingly, financial responsibility for peace-keeping activities, as for all other co-operative activities of the Organization, devolved on the membership as a whole. The letter of the Secretary-General circulated in document S/12928 clearly showed the inadequacy of the system of voluntary funding that had been applied to UNFICYP, which had resulted in an accumulated debt of over \$52 million and had placed a disproportionate financial burden on the States which had contributed troops. Although proper provision had been made for financing the existing United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, it was a cause for considerable concern that a number of Governments continued to refuse to pay their assessed share. The recent report of the Secretary-General (A/C.5/33/45) had now concluded that the money owed to those Governments which had contributed troops to United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East could not be repaid within the normal time-frame and that financial regulations 4.3 and 4.4

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(Mr. Burke, Ireland)

must be waived in the case of those obligations. That was a serious development which placed a considerable burden on those countries, particularly the developing countries, which had contributed troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

54. Ireland, as a member of the European Community, was a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19. That resolution urged support for the peace-keeping role of the United Nations and invited Member States to consider taking a number of positive steps that would enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. In particular, Member States were invited to consider the possibility of training their personnel for peace-keeping operations and to share the experience already gained. They were also invited to provide supplementary assistance to peace-keeping operations and to consider supplying the Secretary-General with information on possible stand-by capacities. All those proposals, though modest, would enhance the practical peace-keeping ability of the United Nations and would encourage the Special Committee to develop further practical proposals regarding the implementation of peace-keeping operations and the broader question of over-all guidelines. He believed that the resolution offered a basis for adoption by consensus.

55. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria) said that his country had always been strongly interested in expanding the role of the United Nations in the prevention of armed conflict. There could be no doubt that the most important aspect of that role was the peaceful settlement of disputes by the means laid down in Article 33 of the Charter. It was a universally recognized principle that the Organization should only intervene when it became clear that the parties to the dispute could not arrive at a solution by themselves or settle their differences in such a way as not to threaten international peace and security. In carrying out its role in the system of collective security under the Charter, the United Nations could resort to peace-keeping operations.

56. His delegation had therefore followed with interest the work of the Special Committee, among whose responsibilities had been the drawing up of agreed guidelines for peace-keeping operations. His delegation had been encouraged by the progress made in the Working Group, as reported to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. At the thirty-second session, however, the Special Committee had expressed regret that it was unable to carry out its mandate, and in resolution 32/106 the General Assembly had expressed the view that only through a demonstration of political will and greater conciliation could agreed guidelines to govern future United Nations peace-keeping operations be completed.

57. Unfortunately, a group of Western countries had now decided to abandon the search for an agreed solution in a spirit of conciliation and to propose a course that would lead to confrontation. His delegation continued to believe that the Charter should be the point of departure for all efforts to strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization.

58. In the area of the maintenance of peace, the Security Council, as the only organ of the United Nations empowered to take steps to maintain and restore peace, had the main responsibility. It alone could decide such matters as the organization, direction, control and financing of operations and their practical scope and implementation.

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(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

59. Strict application of the principles and provisions of the Charter was the only way to guarantee that peace-keeping operations would never be carried out to the detriment of any country, particularly a small country. There had been too many unhappy instances of the use of force undertaken in the name of the United Nations but contrary to the Charter to allow the matter to be disposed of lightly or hastily.

60. It was quite unacceptable, therefore, that the only reference to the primary role of the Security Council should be in the preamble to the draft resolution. The attempt to limit means of financing to the sharing of expenditure among Members of the United Nations was also unacceptable. In that connexion, as in many others, the Security Council, under the Charter, had discretionary powers and could resort to other means of financing which might be more suitable in a specific case. Another, more important question, however, was that of the responsibility of the aggressor for expenditure which was a direct result of its act of aggression. That well-established principle of international law could not be undermined.

61. His delegation shared the disappointment of those who had expressed regret at the lack of progress in the work of the Special Committee. It was strongly in favour of speeding up the work so that the Committee could accomplish its task. At the same time, it realized that drawing up agreed guidelines was a very complex task and that more time, political imagination, and willingness to compromise would be needed in order to overcome differences and reach agreement.

62. His delegation therefore appealed to the sponsors of the draft resolution not to depart from the consensus method. However, if the resolution as it stood was put to a vote, his delegation would be forced to vote against it.

63. Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus) said that United Nations peace-keeping by consent had, in particular situations where the circumstances warranted that kind of operation, evolved as a pragmatic substitute for the collective-security system provided for in the Charter. Though it had many limitations, it had proved its value. It was the wish to rationalize those operations and put them on a firmer foundation on the basis of consensus, given the acute controversies regarding their control and financing in the early 1960s, that had given birth to the Special Committee.

64. His delegation would have been happier if the Special Committee had achieved more substantive results, particularly since recent operations had provided additional useful experience and could have been a stimulus for progress in the right direction. Moreover, new operations, as in Namibia were envisaged for the near future. Nevertheless, his delegation appreciated the complexity and delicacy of the problems involved, and some progress had indeed been made. It sincerely hoped that the Special Committee would be able to proceed in a more productive and comprehensive manner, drawing on the existing wealth of accumulated experience and bearing in mind the significance and magnitude of its task.

65. The key lesson of past experience was that where there was a will there was a way. In practice, whenever the necessary political, strategic and financial basis for the creation of a peace-keeping operation had existed, the operation

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

had come into being to meet the needs of the particular situation, regardless of doctrinal differences. Some of the main matters to which the Special Committee might direct its attention were an improved system of financing making possible a more equitable distribution of the burden, broader geographical representation in the forces used, and clearer lines of authority. The Security Council's authority over peace-keeping operations was paramount, but the key to a breakthrough in the Special Committee lay in a proper balance between policy control and operational management, always bearing in mind that the agreed guidelines should not frustrate practical requirements in the field.

66. A peace-keeping force should be large enough to be effective, and it should not be subject to attack by national forces or hindered in the exercise of the functions assigned to it by the Security Council. At the same time, it should always be remembered that it operated with the consent of the Government of the State concerned, and it should at all times respect that Government's authority and the sovereignty and independence of the State in whose territory it operated and should act in strict accordance with the United Nations resolutions under which it had been set up.

67. His delegation had always supported efforts to increase preparedness, and it therefore welcomed the proposals to earmark and train forces for peace-keeping operations, hold training seminars, prepare manuals, etc. at the national level. It paid a tribute to those States, organizations and individuals that had taken initiatives in that respect. Such activities should not, however, prejudge the composition of any peace-keeping force, which should in principle ensure equitable geographical representation. His delegation also welcomed the recent reorganization and strengthening of the Office of the Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs.

68. It should be remembered that peace-keeping was not an end in itself but must be accompanied by peace-making. It should be a temporary measure, conducive to the creation of an atmosphere in which meaningful negotiations could be freely conducted in order to remove the causes which had brought about the conflict. Unless both sides were willing to negotiate, however, stalemate resulted and the conflict might be protracted indefinitely. In such cases, enforcement action might have to be taken under Chapter VII of the Charter to force 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 or legal vacuum but in the context of United Nations resolutions. If the resolutions were duly implemented, the problem would no longer exist and the need for the prolongation of such operations would no longer be present. Thus, strict adherence to and implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions, by voluntary compliance whenever that was possible or through enforcement measures when it was not, was relevant not only to the conduct of the peace-keeping operation itself but also to finding a way to solve the problem that had necessitated it.

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(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

69. As the President of Cyprus had pointed out in the general debate in the plenary Assembly on 5 October (A/33/PV.22), it was sometimes claimed 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.

70. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) had been in operation since early 1964. It had been generally and rightly recognized as having functioned well within its mandate, and he paid a tribute to all those who had made the operation possible in the interests of peace in Cyprus and international peace and security in the surrounding region. Although the United Nations had not been able to avert the Turkish invasion in 1974, UNFICYP, despite its casualties and the restrictions on its freedom of movement in the occupied area, had continued to function and to discharge its mandate by adjusting the latter to the substantially different circumstances which the invasion and the resulting occupation had brought about.

71. Cyprus's painful experience showed that peace-keeping by the United Nations was not in itself sufficient. In many cases, it could be unnecessary if the collective-security system envisaged by the Charter was made to function 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 United Nations resolutions in order to solve the underlying problems. The Charter, which all Members of the Organization were legally bound to apply, provided machinery for such implementation through enforcement measures when other efforts had been exhausted and the recalcitrance of one of the parties continued to block a just solution. Palliatives or interim measures were useful as far as they went, but more drastic measures might be warranted in order to bring about a radical solution.

72. His delegation had studied the draft resolution carefully. To the extent that the resolution aimed at awakening interest in and increasing support for United Nations peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported its main direction and agreed with most of its provisions. At the same time, it had noted the reservations and objections regarding individual paragraphs expressed by several members during the debate. The present situation had indeed caused practical difficulties, delays and financial problems in particular cases. Nevertheless, experience showed that whenever the political will existed to set up a peace-keeping operation, ways had been found of circumventing doctrinal differences and dealing on an ad hoc basis with the specific issues of composition, financing, etc. in any given case. It might perhaps have been preferable, therefore, to continue to let things be worked out in practice as they had been in the past, instead of asking for the endorsement of positions on which there were reservations of principle. There already existed enough common ground to warrant requisite action in specific cases through decisions of the Security Council. Although it was desirable to have a more rational and streamlined system, it might be preferable to achieve it by consensus in the Special Committee, however painful and protracted the process might be, rather than bring into focus

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(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

through a General Assembly resolution issues on which there was disagreement and thus risk the revival of the differences that had caused so many problems in the early 1960s and had rightly been referred to the Special Committee. Those considerations would guide his delegation in its attitude towards the draft resolution.

73. Mr. MANSOURI (Syrian Arab Republic) said that United Nations peace-keeping operations, although they obviously differed from case to case, had common elements which should be studied carefully. In his opinion, that was the function of the Special Committee, and he supported the proposal by India that that body should be requested to continue its work. However, a deadline should be set for the completion of its task, following which the question should revert to the General Assembly.

74. His delegation could not accept operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19, since it believed that it was the aggressor which should pay compensation and bear the cost of peace-keeping operations; for example, the presence of United Nations forces in the Middle East was the result of Israel's aggression and Israel should pay for the cost of the Organization's peace-keeping operations in that region. He also noted that paragraph 2 made no distinction between aggressors and victims.

75. Mr. SHAMEA (Jordan) said that peace-keeping operations were an essential part of the role played by the United Nations as a keeper of peace and security in the world. They exemplified collective action by Member States with a view to the peaceful settlement of disputes without going beyond the bounds fixed by the Charter. There were at present three types of operations: those which had a purely observational function with no active role, those which had a surveillance mission, with a larger physical presence to deter the belligerents, and a third type which had resulted from Zionist aggression against Lebanon. The function of the latter was to facilitate the withdrawal of Zionist forces from southern Lebanon and to enable the Lebanese Government to restore its sovereignty over its territory.

76. As a neighbour of Palestine, where there existed a Zionist entity that thrived on aggression and expansion, his country was very much interested in United Nations peace-keeping operations. It was unfortunate that such operations were carried out only in times of aggression and not conducted to prevent the commission of aggression.

77. The main role played by United Nations peace-keeping operations was to ensure that the guns of the belligerents remained silent. However, that was not enough. A peace-keeping operation should be immediately followed by an operation designed to make peace. In other words, the Security Council should act immediately to direct the peace-keeping operations to ensure the evacuation of the aggressor's forces from the territories of the victims of aggression. If need be, the United Nations forces should remain in the territory until the political issues were resolved. His Government therefore felt that peace-keeping operations should have the function of ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops and the restoration of the sovereignty of the States victimized by aggression. That would not only ensure the preservation of international peace and security but would also deny the aggressor the fruits of his aggression.

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(Mr. Shamma, Jordan)

78. That kind of peace-keeping operation required specific guidelines that were acceptable to all Members. The draft resolution under consideration (A/SPC/33/L.19) contained no such guidelines, nor did it set forth aims except that United Nations peace-keeping operations must be conducted with the consent of the host country and with respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In that regard, he wished to ask whether respect for the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity extended to all the territories within its international boundaries or only to what remained after occupation by foreign forces.

79. In conclusion, he said that his delegation's understanding of the draft resolution was that the role of peace-keeping operations should in no way undermine or be a substitute for the application of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, in particular Chapter VII, which mandated Security Council action to resolve conflicts without delay and called for recourse to the provisions of that chapter if any of the parties to a conflict refused to comply with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions calling for the termination of aggression against Member States.

80. Mr. KHMELNITSKY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation was seriously concerned at the fact that some delegations had decided to act in an arbitrary and one-sided manner and to by-pass the principles of consensus in the conduct of negotiations on such a complicated and delicate question as that of peace-keeping operations. In his delegation's opinion, the submission of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 had been hasty and not sufficiently thought out, a situation which could make it even more difficult for the Special Committee to achieve agreement on guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

81. In order to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security and achieve genuine progress in the formulation of guidelines, it was essential to avoid arbitrary actions aimed at imposing a unilateral approach to the solution of that important problem by the mechanical use of the vote. His delegation therefore felt that insufficient progress in the Special Committee must not be used as justification for refusing to work out guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations on the basis of consensus.

82. A number of delegations had drawn attention to the fact that the draft resolution under consideration reduced the role of the Security Council with regard to the conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations and sought to entrust the Secretary-General with the functions of the Council, an approach which was not in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter. In that regard, his delegation stressed that no other body, including the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, was empowered to assume the functions of the Security Council with regard to the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security through the use of United Nations armed forces. Under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council took decisions on all aspects of peace-keeping operations, including the question of financing. In that connexion, he noted that the draft resolution stressed only one method of financing such operations, although others existed.

(Mr. Khmel'nitsky, Byelorussian SSR)

83. The draft resolution was therefore unacceptable to his delegation, and if it was put to a vote, his delegation would vote against it. In conclusion, he thought that it would be advisable for the Committee to confine itself to adopting a procedural decision to transmit to the Special Committee all the relevant documents, including the draft resolution under consideration.

84. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia) said that, although the Charter of the United Nations made no specific mention of peace-keeping, the latter was an area of activity where the United Nations had scored some of the most brilliant successes and was a primary reason why the United Nations had remained relevant for an important group of Powers which might otherwise have become disenchanted with the system of collective security under the Charter. Even so, for those Powers the possibility of resorting to United Nations peace-keeping in times of great international tension was not much more than a convenience, but for the small and weak countries, which constituted the vast majority of the membership of the Organization, it was a matter of their very survival. Accordingly, all countries had a genuine wish to see the current ad hoc peace-keeping possibilities of the United Nations made more permanent and rationalized. However, 13 years of praiseworthy efforts by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to work out guidelines to that end had produced few results and firm, though not divisive, action was needed to prevent such a crucial matter from being allowed to stagnate. In the view of his delegation, draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 managed quite skilfully, although to a limited degree, to achieve that objective.

85. His delegation had refrained from becoming a sponsor of the draft resolution because it believed that the Special Committee was the place to seek agreed guidelines on the establishment, command, control and funding of the United Nations peace-keeping operations and that nothing should be done to make its work more difficult. Submitting the draft resolution to a vote could polarize and harden positions regarding the Special Committee and thus hinder its work. If, on the other hand, the draft could be adopted without a vote, such an unfortunate development might be avoided.

86. In his delegation's view, the draft resolution went to great lengths to avoid clashes on fundamental issues. It implied - and United Nations practice bore that out - that, although primary responsibility for peace-keeping lay with the Security Council, residual responsibility for maintaining international peace and security rested with the General Assembly. While it was indeed true that the role of the Security Council under the Charter must not be usurped, all considerations, including overly strict constitutional interpretations, must be subordinated to the overriding objective of the United Nations, namely the maintenance of international peace and security.

87. His delegation found nothing in the draft resolution that violated the Charter, and it was pleased to note the statement in the fourth preambular paragraph that peace-keeping must be conducted with respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the host country and, even more significant, must be of a temporary nature and could not be a substitute for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

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(Mr. Tubman, Liberia)

His delegation also had no objection to make regarding the operative paragraphs, which took the same calm approach to the question.

88. Some scholars had argued that United Nations peace-keeping had served to prevent deadly confrontation between the super-Powers in an era when the cold war had still been intense and the abrupt collapse of colonialism had created power vacuums in many regions of the world. Today, it was argued, that era had ended and with it the heyday of United Nations peace-keeping. However, nothing could be farther from the truth. Rivalry between the super-Powers beneath an ever-thinning gloss of détente and the gathering storm in southern Africa made the need for more effective and institutionalized United Nations peace-keeping machinery an urgent imperative. The draft resolution before the Committee was very timely indeed, and, if it must be voted upon, his delegation would vote in favour of it. Whatever the outcome of the debate, the sponsors of the draft should be commended for having inspired such a conciliatory discussion in which, untypically, more light had been generated than heat.

89. Mr. HAGGAG (Egypt) said that his country was one of those most interested in peace-keeping operations, for a large part of United Nations peace-keeping activities had taken place on its soil. It therefore attached great importance to all measures aimed at enhancing the role of the international community in that field. It wished to emphasize the necessity of consent by the host country in such operations and of respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

90. While the Charter recognized the primary responsibility of the Security Council in peace-keeping operations, it did not confer on that body exclusive responsibility for the maintenance of peace. He was confident that he spoke for most of the small and medium-sized countries, which had often been victims of external aggression, in emphasizing that the entire international community, as represented in the General Assembly, must have a say in such operations, for those countries must not be left at the mercy of vetoes by any Power. To deny the responsibility of the General Assembly would not be consistent with the provisions of the Charter. He noted that in the past the General Assembly had played an active role in peace-keeping operations with the agreement of the super-Powers; for example, General Assembly resolutions 998 (ES-I) and 1000 (ES-I) had established international emergency forces.

91. His country also attached great importance to the role of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, and it therefore strongly urged the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 to include an operative paragraph urging the Special Committee to expedite its work with a view to the early completion of agreed guidelines to govern the conduct of peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Haggag, Egypt)

92. His delegation wished to praise the initiative of the nine European countries reflected in the draft resolution. The latter was the result of long negotiations between the non-aligned countries and the sponsors, who had accepted many of the ideas and proposals submitted by the non-aligned countries. As the representative of Belgium had said, it was sometimes difficult to find a perfect solution, but the draft resolution constituted a step in the right direction and his delegation would therefore be able to support it.

93. Mr. FUENTES IBAÑEZ (Bolivia) said that the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects should be one of the primary standing tasks of the United Nations in accordance with Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter. Since the very existence of the Organization was based on the reaffirmation of fundamental human rights, human dignity and the value of the individual and on creating the necessary conditions for mankind to preserve itself from the scourge of war, any effort in that direction would serve to enhance the historic mission of the United Nations.

94. He congratulated the countries members of the European Community for their initiative in preparing the draft resolution and for the favourable climate that had prevailed in the discussions, for there was no room for suspicion in efforts to maintain peace, and compromise was essential. The draft resolution contained well-balanced provisions and rightly stressed that the duration of peace-keeping operations must be limited. United Nations peace-keeping forces must never be a substitute for the institutions of the host country, except under terms mutually agreed upon and even then only in exceptional cases.

95. His delegation did not share the view expressed by some others that the draft resolution might have an adverse effect on the work of the Special Committee. The great responsibility for peace-keeping rested with all mankind, and everyone must therefore go forward to take up the challenge. He appealed for understanding of the basic purpose of the draft resolution, which was in the interests of all mankind, and hoped that it would be adopted by consensus.

96. Mr. SURYOKUSUMO (Indonesia) said that, while United Nations peace-keeping operations had been controversial, they were in many respects the most constructive and successful of the Organization's efforts to preserve international peace and security. His country had long been associated with United Nations peace-keeping operations, which it regarded as the fulfilment of one of the basic objectives of the Organization, namely, to save mankind from the scourge of war. In that connexion, he stressed that the full co-operation of all the parties concerned was essential to the success of any peace-keeping activity.

97. The financial situation with regard to peace-keeping operations continued to be a cause for concern. Budgetary difficulties would place a disproportionate burden on those countries that had already made contingents available to the United Nations and would affect the Organization's ability to provide minimum adequate conditions for forces in the field. Indonesia fully shared the concern of the Secretary-General that continued military resistance to United Nations efforts

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(Mr. Suryokusumo, Indonesia)

to restore stability in Lebanon would only impede such efforts and erode the Organization's authority. It was therefore essential that the parties concerned should extend their co-operation to the Secretary-General.

98. Peace-keeping should not be regarded as an end in itself but should be accompanied by efforts to find a peaceful settlement, and it was the responsibility of the parties to a dispute to pursue meaningful negotiations while taking advantage of the presence of peace-keeping forces.

99. His country agreed with the view expressed by the representative of Canada on page 4 of document A/AC.121/28 that, although the Security Council should have authority over the establishment and control of peace-keeping activities, such activities should be subject to the over-all responsibility of the General Assembly. Indonesia also believed that an advisory committee, consisting of countries that had provided forces or other services, should be established for each peace-keeping force.

100. Although Indonesia was not a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, it had followed the Committee's work with close attention and great interest. It regretted that progress had been slow on several crucial issues because of a lack of political will and a spirit of conciliation, and, unless substantial concessions were made, no further progress would be possible. His delegation fully appreciated the complexity of the issues and the widespread feeling of frustration.

101. In that context, his delegation supported draft resolution A/SPC/33/L.19 and hoped that agreement could be reached with a view to ensuring the effective functioning of peace-keeping operations.

102. Mr. GÜRAKAN (Turkey), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he had been compelled to take the floor by references to his country made by the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration. As members of the Committee had again witnessed that day, the Greek Cypriots were still abusing international forums to further their sinister propaganda campaigns against his country and, in so doing, were undermining a solution to the problem of Cyprus. Their attitude constituted a serious obstacle in the search for a peaceful solution in Cyprus.

103. Mr. ERELL (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he wished to remove possible sources of confusion regarding his Government's position on peace-keeping. The representatives of Jordan and Syria had confused matters of peace-keeping with matters of peace enforcement. He wished to make it clear that no disagreement existed between his Government and theirs over the fact that the Security Council should be able to defend a country and its borders against an attack by its neighbours, and indeed, if the Council had acted in that manner in 1948 when the armies of Jordan and Syria had marched into Palestine it would have spared the region and the world a great deal of trouble. However, had the Council done so, the Syrian and Jordanian Governments would doubtless have accused the United Nations of aggression against them. According to their view of things, a war in which they were successful could be considered a just war, but a war in

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(Mr. Erell, Israel)

which they were not was, of course, an aggressive war. Accordingly, when in 1967 the headquarters of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization had been attacked and taken by Jordan, that must have been a defensive attack, and when in 1970 Syria had attacked Jordan, it, too, must have been acting defensively. Such notions merely created confusion and would not advance the cause of United Nations peace-keeping.

104. Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Turkey had been out of order in referring to him as the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration. He noted that all Governments represented in the Committee had recognized his own government as the Government of Cyprus and had accepted him as its representative. He had referred to Turkish bases and occupation briefly in so far as that affected the mandate of UNFICYP; he could hardly be expected to refer to peace-keeping without mentioning the peace-keeping operation in his country. In reply to the remark by the representative of Turkey that his Government was undermining a solution to the problem of Cyprus, he referred members of the Committee to the statement made by his Minister for Foreign Affairs earlier that week in the Security Council to the effect that Cyprus was working to find a solution on the basis of Council resolution 440 (1978), adopted by consensus, which the representative of Turkey had repudiated.

105. Mr. SHAMMA (Jordan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the words of the representative of Israel were not worth commenting upon in view of that country's long history of aggression and expansion.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.