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at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

later: Mr. FLEMMING (Saint Lucia)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 78: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/44/301; A/SPC/44/L.6 and Corr.1 and L.7)

1. Miss WILLBERG (New Zealand) said that peace-keeping operations had proven to be a most effective tool for conflict resolution. New Zealand's participation in a number of United Nations peace-keeping operations was a practical demonstration of its commitment to the ideals of the Charter and its determination to assist in the search for a stable global order through support for peace-making and peace-keeping. The wisdom of selecting the United Nations peace-keeping forces for the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize had been underscored by their continuing invaluable service over the past year. New Zealand paid tribute to the exemplary role played by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.
2. UNTAG was proof of the broad support of the international community for peace-keeping operations. It had drawn personnel from a wide range of Member States and had received the political and financial support of the entire membership. Such support had helped it play its part in bringing Namibia to the eve of its first free elections. Another indication of the broad base of support was the set of substantive recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/44/301), reflecting the commitment brought to the discussions by all participants.
3. Referring to draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6, her delegation considered that the establishment of a registry of potential contributions would facilitate the Secretariat's difficult task of identifying sources for needed personnel and equipment. It also endorsed the recommendations for an updated version of The Blue Helmets and the holding of seminars on peace-keeping operations.
4. The plea in the draft resolution addressed to countries hosting United Nations peace-keeping operations and other directly interested parties to extend all possible support to those operations was a timely reminder of the obligations of those countries which most directly benefited from those costly missions. Her delegation agreed that high priority should be given to the early conclusion of a status-of-forces agreement and to the preparation of a model status-of-forces agreement. It further welcomed the emphasis placed on the importance of a secure financial basis for peace-keeping operations. New Zealand endorsed the appeal to all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time.
5. In future discussions, New Zealand would be advancing its own proposal for the establishment of training teams designed to help standardize procedures in a number of areas of peace-keeping operations - based on its experience with such teams in a multilateral peace-keeping force - that should lead quickly to cost savings and enhanced efficiency.
6. Mr. KAGAMI (Japan) said that there appeared to be a consensus that peace-keeping operations had become the major focus of all United Nations

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(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

activities, reflected in the unanimous support for General Assembly resolution 43/59 A. Substantive discussions in the Special Committee had produced a draft resolution deserving of unanimous support.

7. International assessment of the value of the United Nations depended greatly on the effectiveness of its peace-keeping efforts. When they were successful the prestige of the Organization would be enhanced, which in turn would enable it to implement its tasks more effectively. Therefore, the United Nations must consider urgently ways and means to ensure the effectiveness of its peace-keeping operations.

8. In his report (A/AC.121/36 and Add.1-4), the Secretary-General had listed the basic conditions for successful peace-keeping operations. Most important among them was the need for the parties in conflicts to co-operate with the United Nations, the fundamental pre-condition for the launching of any peace-keeping operation. Moreover, the parties in conflict were obligated to co-operate with the United Nations once they had agreed to the deployment of peace-keeping forces. Host countries should conclude status-of-forces agreements with the United Nations as soon as possible after the establishment of an operation. In addition, the international community must be confident of impartiality in peace-keeping operations.

9. It had been learned from experience that new peace-keeping operations must be launched in a smooth and timely manner. In order to do so, the United Nations must firstly be able to recruit personnel, procure equipment and transport them to the area of operations; to that end, the Special Committee had suggested that a registry of personnel, material equipment and technical resources should be established in advance. Secondly, it must have the ability to finance operations immediately following the Security Council's decision; in that regard the Secretary-General had recently established a fund to provide financing for start-up costs and other activities required at the initial stages of such operations. The Government of Japan highly appreciated the initiative and had contributed \$2.5 million to the Fund. Most financial problems, however, could be solved if Member States paid their contributions in full and on time.

10. His delegation recommended study of the possibility of making greater use of civilian personnel in peace-keeping activities.

11. In conclusion, he paid high tribute to the dedicated and invaluable service rendered by countries contributing personnel to peace-keeping operations. The international community owed a debt of gratitude to those who had sacrificed their lives for the cause of peace. The kidnapping, killing or wounding of peace-keeping personnel must be vigorously condemned. The despicable killing of Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins was a repugnant act of terrorism and a direct affront to every Member State committed to the cause of peace-keeping operations.

12. Mr. AMIGUES (France), speaking on behalf of the twelve States members of the European Community, said that they hoped to see the United Nations play a key role in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Twelve fully supported

(Mr. Amigues, France)

the unflagging efforts of the Secretary-General in the resolution of conflicts and had boundless admiration for the personnel serving in peace-keeping operations, sometimes endangering their lives. In 1989 alone, four "blue helmets" had been killed under fire and 15 others, including Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins, had lost their lives while on United Nations service. The international community must preserve the safety of the peace-keeping forces in all circumstances.

13. In demonstration of their support of that principle, the Twelve had committed personnel and logistical and financial support to peace-keeping operations for many years. They were represented in some form in almost all United Nations forces throughout the world, furnishing one fifth of the personnel and one third of the total cost of those operations.

14. The European Community believed that peace-keeping operations were not a substitute for peace itself, or for an appropriate political settlement in a given conflict. Peace-keeping operations should always be provisional, though experience had shown that their duration could not be predicted. Two examples of operations where the Twelve played a major role in seeking political solutions were the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

15. Draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6 reflected a consensus to which the Twelve had contributed. They agreed on the need to improve the efficiency of such operations. A number of proposals made to that end were contained in the reply submitted by Spain on behalf of the Twelve and reproduced in the Secretary-General's report (A/AC.121/36). They included the establishment of a registry of human and material resources, training seminars, the development of standardized operational procedures, use of small observer missions where appropriate, identification of tasks to be carried out by civilian personnel, and the use of local resources as often as possible. They hoped that the United Nations would continue to be pragmatic by adapting its decisions to each specific case; the current balance between reliance on general rules and an ability to improvise should be preserved.

16. Peace had a price, and the financing of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility. Payments should be considered obligatory and should be shared by all Member States. In the future, more precise documentation should be furnished on the financial implications of each peace-keeping operation.

17. Mr. GORAJEWSKI (Poland) said that his delegation supported peace-keeping operations because it sought to make the United Nations more effective in its efforts to prevent armed conflicts. His Government firmly believed in the primacy of law in international relations. Political rather than military means should be used to resolve complex international problems. The United Nations should be expanded from a peace-keeping to a peace-making body. Peace-keeping operations must become an integral part of the overall efforts to enhance the Organization's effectiveness in the peaceful settlement of disputes. Peace-keeping operations could also contribute to alleviating the burden of the arms race.

(Mr. Gorajewski, Poland)

18. Poland shared the Secretary-General's view that many of the financial problems of the past had involved political differences that no longer persisted, but noted that apportionment of the costs of peace-keeping operations continued to pose problems. Poland was particularly affected by inconsistencies in the manner in which countries were grouped for the financing of peace-keeping operations (A/44/605/Add.2).

19. His delegation was gratified by the results of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Of special value were the observations and suggestions submitted by Member States. The conclusions and recommendations in its report (A/44/301), when acted upon, would greatly help in mounting future peace-keeping operations. The establishment of a registry of contributions by Member States, as recommended by the Special Committee, would be particularly useful in that respect.

20. Interesting and imaginative proposals on ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations were contained in the Soviet aide-mémoire on the strengthening of the preventive functions of the United Nations (A/44/602).

21. Poland had consistently supported the United Nations peace-keeping operations. It had contributed personnel for service in a number of United Nations peace-keeping and observer missions, and was willing to do so in the future. That was a testimony of Poland's commitment to enhancing the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and its resolute support of the efforts of the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts.

22. Mr. MADI (Egypt) said that, at its 1989 session, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had made more progress than at any time since its establishment in 1964 by reaching agreement on a number of well-defined recommendations. The question of peace-keeping operations had acquired particular importance since the Special Committee had resumed its work after a five-year interruption. The international community had expressed its growing interest in peace-keeping operations when more than 100 States had participated in the Namibia operation. The implementation of draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6, on which there was general agreement, would make a positive contribution to peace-keeping operations and would enable the United Nations to respond quickly to peace-keeping demands.

23. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/44/1) contained a number of important proposals to strengthen peace-keeping. Despite the support expressed by all Member States, the United Nations continued to encounter such severe difficulties in the financing of peace-keeping operations that its ability to function in that field was in jeopardy. As the Secretary-General had said, the current financial arrangements were not only dangerously limiting during the period in which a complex operation was being mounted, but also put an inequitable financial burden on troop-contributing countries and tended to diminish the perception of collective responsibility that was psychologically essential. A solution to the financial crisis in peace-keeping must be the starting-point for any initiative to increase its effectiveness. The cost of peace, as all were

(Mr. Madi, Egypt)

aware, was much less than the cost of the physical destruction and loss of life caused by war. Some believed that the cost of peace-keeping had become so high that it could not be sustained. Peace-keeping costs were, however, infinitesimal in comparison with national military expenditures.

24. Although peace was a collective responsibility, the permanent members of the Security Council had a special responsibility to assume the greater part of the burden of financing peace-keeping operations. Those States enjoyed special status because of the enormous political, economic and military capacities which enabled them to contribute effectively to the maintenance of international peace and security, and there could be no privileges without responsibilities. One factor in the financial crisis was that some peace-keeping operations had become a permanent aspect of the problems they had been established to solve and which had remained without a comprehensive and just solution. The permanent members of the Council must also meet their responsibilities by going beyond peace-keeping and taking serious and positive action in the field of peace-making. The Charter of the United Nations provided a number of mechanisms for peace-making which only required the political will of States for their effective implementation.

25. The new trend in relations between the two super-Powers must be encouraged in the hope that it would promote dialogue and negotiation as a substitute for conflict and strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and averting armed conflicts. The new trend in international relations would help to define more clearly the role of the United Nations in eliminating the root causes of existing conflicts and preventing the outbreak of new ones. That trend must be utilized in the solution of issues of concern to the international community, and the permanent members of the Security Council had a major responsibility in that regard to co-operate seriously in order to promote the common interest of the international community, support the Charter and show a team spirit by adopting decisive resolutions to address international problems.

26. It was extremely important that the permanent members of the Council should enhance the capacities of the Secretary-General in the field of preventive diplomacy, strengthen his authority to respond rapidly to events and support his initiatives in offering his good offices. The time had come to adopt an approach to Article 99 of the Charter that was in keeping with recent developments and the new situation in international relations.

27. Mr. PULZ (Czechoslovakia) said that United Nations peace-keeping operations were of vital importance in resolving regional conflicts, some of which had persisted for many years. In that connection, the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in 1988 and 1989 had been of particular significance and had led to a number of useful recommendations which were contained in its report (A/44/301).

28. Pre-conditions for effective United Nations peace-keeping operations were strict respect for the Charter and a broad political consensus. Such consensus required the support of the permanent members of the Security Council and the consent and co-operation of all parties to the given conflict. In order to improve

(Mr. Pulz, Czechoslovakia)

peace-keeping operations, it was essential to enhance material and legal guarantees of United Nations impartiality. The Secretary-General's role in implementing Security Council resolutions was also vital. Furthermore, it would be useful for the General Assembly to exhaust all possibilities open to it under the Charter with a view to drafting recommendations on peace-keeping.

29. For peace-keeping operations to be effective, the personnel and units must be properly organized, trained and prepared for action. His Government agreed that international co-operation was required in order to draft standard procedures for mounting such operations. His Government reiterated the proposals it had made in 1964 and 1967 for the conclusion without delay of agreements between the Security Council and Member States in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter. That would enable the Council to take rapid and effective steps to strengthen international peace and security. Analogous action could also be taken in the case of agreements for the provision of military and civilian specialists, units and services for peace-keeping operations.

30. It was important to take a flexible stance on the question of financing such operations. A wide variety of resources could be used, depending on each individual case. A fundamental principle was the need for maximum effectiveness and economy in the use of regular-budget funds. A major problem in that regard was the failure of the majority of Member States to pay their assessed contributions on time and in full. Czechoslovakia regularly paid its assessed contributions towards current peace-keeping operations and had recently paid its contribution in full for the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) operations carried out in the 1950s. Czechoslovak personnel were participating in peace-keeping operations. His Government was prepared to step up its support, and was in favour of extending the mandate of the Special Committee.

31. Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic) said that the conclusions and recommendations in the Special Committee's report reflected the increased emphasis that was being given to enhancing peace-keeping operations. Détente had provided new opportunities for the Organization to expand its peace-keeping potential. His delegation commended the Secretary-General for sparing no effort to avail himself of them.

32. Peace-keeping operations were a valuable instrument for reducing enmity between States and for building confidence. Member States were more than ever aware that military force could not produce lasting solutions to disputes. Experience showed that the gain from armed conflicts could not justify the heavy losses of lives and material resources. Hence, the international community was increasingly inclined to seek peaceful solutions and to avail itself further of the Organization. The achievements of peace-keeping operations could enhance confidence in the Organization's capability to take speedy, resolute and impartial action. The German Democratic Republic thus attached paramount importance to such operations and was participating in UNTAG. It would also consider how the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations concerning the allocation of human and material resources could be translated into reality.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

33. The strengthening, development and rationalization of peace-keeping operations called for short-term measures and longer-term efforts. The political, legal and administrative bases for peace-keeping operations should be developed so as to reinforce the decision-making and implementation process. Moreover, the Special Committee should consider how peace-keeping operations could be more closely linked to the creation or consolidation of political conditions for the settlement of conflicts.

34. The Special Committee's following session should focus on the ideas and proposals pending from its previous session, States' comments on the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations, the draft standard operating procedures, and the relevant sections of the Secretary-General's annual report (A/44/1). He hoped that draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6 would be adopted.

35. Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) said that, given the new prestige of peace-keeping operations, the only points lately at issue had been their mandates and their organizational and operational arrangements. The Special Committee's renewed vigour after a long period of passivity was only appropriate, and very welcome. It had work to do in devising clear guidelines for peace-keeping operations and in reflecting on the future of such operations. The proposals submitted by Member States the previous year had furnished a wide range of possible ways of increasing the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. The Special Committee must continue its comprehensive review of all aspects of peace-keeping, so that the next step - the adoption of concrete measures acceptable to all Member States - could be taken.

36. Mexico agreed with the Secretary-General's statement in his report on the work of the Organization (A/44/1) that the function, capacity and performance, and support of peace-keeping operations must be kept under constant review. By their very nature they had to be constantly adapted to changing circumstances.

37. With regard to basic operating procedures, caution must be exercised in setting up peace-keeping operations within the borders of a State, because such operations lent themselves to political controversy that might reflect on the prestige and effectiveness of all peace-keeping operations. Clear criteria must be established for safeguarding the sovereignty of the State involved in such a situation and ensuring that its acquiescence was not the result of any political or military pressure.

38. The authority of peace-keeping forces to enforce United Nations decisions must also be carefully considered. A basic prerequisite for peace-keeping operations was the agreement and co-operation of the parties concerned, and the operations should therefore be seen in political terms. Peace-keeping should never involve any coercion.

39. Peace-keeping operations should be organized more imaginatively, and Mexico endorsed the idea that Member States should establish civilian and military training programmes for peace-keeping, as one way of redirecting the military capability of many States towards peaceful purposes.

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

40. The problem of financing peace-keeping operations had to be resolved. Despite its own economic situation, Mexico accepted the principle of assessed contributions, but realized that even that was not enough. New ways of funding the operations must be found, and a promising alternative was the establishment of a special reserve fund for peace-keeping, supported by all Member States, as suggested by the Secretary-General in his report (A/44/1). Another possibility was for the States with the highest military budgets to consider allocating a portion of them to United Nations operations, which was quite justified since military expenditure would decline in proportion to the gradual strengthening of international stability and security.

41. The demand for peace-keeping would undoubtedly continue to increase, although that was not necessarily a welcome trend. At times, the parties to disputes were inclined to use peace-keeping forces to contain conflicts that were caused by the lack of a genuine political will to negotiate. Arrangements must be made to elicit a commitment from States agreeing to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation that they would also negotiate in good faith. Those States should also be asked to contribute to the cost of the operation.

42. The current and future mandates of peace-keeping operations deserved special attention. Before expanding the scope of peace-keeping into the maritime field or areas such as terrorism, nuclear piracy, drug trafficking and environmental concerns, as had variously been suggested, it should be determined whether all such cases involved a threat to international peace and security. The United Nations must beware of overextending itself politically and financially or becoming involved in any activity that might threaten the sovereignty of a Member.

43. The prevention of conflicts, a United Nations responsibility under the Charter, was a proper field for peace-keeping, and preventive operations should be governed by the same basic principles as other peace-keeping activities. There again, however, care must be taken to avoid over-reliance on peace-keeping forces as a substitute for the willingness to negotiate. Also, any international data-collection systems that might be set up to assist in making decisions on preventive action must be given specific terms of reference to ensure the scrupulously restricted use of such data.

44. The task ahead was ambitious and sensitive, and the Special Committee must continue to take part in the undertaking to reinforce peace-keeping machinery and reach new global agreement on how the very mandate of the Organization must be carried out.

45. Mr. WOLOSI (Afghanistan) said that the United Nations peace-keeping operations had become an important factor in maintaining international peace and security. The favourable international situation would help to promote such operations, thus bringing peace to conflict areas. His delegation expressed its support for those operations. All necessary measures should be taken within the United Nations system to enhance their effectiveness and to strengthen the peace-keeping mechanism in the field. In that regard, host countries should spare no effort to enable the United Nations teams to fulfil their mandate.

(Mr. Wolosi, Afghanistan)

46. The international community was highly capable of achieving peace and justice. The peaceful utilization of human and technological resources and the enhancement of the Organization's peace-keeping role were essential for maintaining peace and security.

47. Mr. YU Mengjia (China) welcomed the considerable achievements that had been made in peace-keeping operations in 1989. While the international situation was somewhat more relaxed, potential conflict areas called for continued vigilance.

48. UNTAG was a vital operation, with extensive international support and attention. He trusted that it would successfully discharge its mission and looked forward to the emergence of an independent Namibia following free and fair elections. China hoped that the parties to the conflict, particularly South Africa, would co-operate and fulfil their obligations under the relevant United Nations resolutions.

49. The Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations were a genuine achievement, as they reflected the co-ordinated positions of various delegations. They might serve as a new starting-point for a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations that was conducive to discussions and studies on related questions.

50. The Security Council should focus on studying the ways and means of enhancing peace-keeping operations. To that end it should in each case carefully consider the views of all parties, carry out an in-depth study on relevant questions and take a formal decision on a precise and feasible mandate for the operation. The Secretary-General and the General Assembly should play their due parts in preserving the peace. The Organization must continue to implement existing peace-keeping operations and undertake new missions. It should continually determine what measures it could take and the ways and means of implementing them.

51. In recent years, countries had increasingly taken an interest and participated in peace-keeping operations, reflecting their enthusiastic support and sense of responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. That attitude was an important guarantee of the operations' success. The United Nations should apply its experience to subsequent operations; in the meantime it should provide training and take other measures to enhance peace-keeping operations.

52. The financing of the operations was of particular concern to China. Sound finance was essential for successful operations. Financial sources should be diversified. Affluent countries should bear a greater share of the financial burden. The principle of financial economy should be observed. Personnel should be kept to a minimum and equipment should be strictly monitored. The financial burden borne by troop contributors, particularly by developing countries should be alleviated through more vigorous fund-raising and cost-cutting measures. Efforts should also be made to carry out peace-keeping operations within the shortest possible period.

53. China supported the Secretary-General's continued efforts vis-à-vis

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

peace-keeping operations. As a permanent member of the Security Council, it was dedicated to the cause of maintaining international peace and security. To that end it had decided to send a small contingent to take part in peace-keeping operations.

54. Mr. JERKIC (Yugoslavia) said that the atmosphere of constructive dialogue, increased tolerance and understanding and the reaffirmation of the Organization's role were favourable for the consideration of the question of peace-keeping operations, to which Yugoslavia attached paramount importance. His delegation welcomed the concern that the Secretary-General had shown about those operations in his report on the work of the Organization (A/44/1). It also welcomed the revitalization of the Special Committee in 1989. Further efforts should be made so that it could continue its valuable work.

55. Peace-keeping operations were extremely important for maintaining peace through collective security. Yugoslavia had invariably complied when it had been called upon to take part in peace-keeping operations.

56. He noted the proposals concerning, inter alia, the establishment of regional training centres, the preparation of standard training programmes and manuals and the provision of military equipment and spare parts that national contingents could not provide. Such proposals deserved further consideration by the Special Committee, given that in 1989 alone four new operations had been set up and additional operations were being considered. Moreover, the scope of peace-keeping operations was widening, including the supervision of elections and the monitoring of the implementation of complex agreements. The Special Committee should also give serious thought to the preventive role of peace-keeping operations.

57. The serious financial implications of current and future peace-keeping operations were compounded by the Organization's critical financial situation. Moreover, the matter of arrears on payment of assessed contributions for peace-keeping operations was urgent. Developing troop-contributing countries faced enormous financial constraints.

58. The attention that the international community accorded to peace-keeping operations was proof of their importance. Yugoslavia would spare no effort to make them more effective.

59. Mr. BAEV (Bulgaria) welcomed the breakthrough characterized by increased co-operation among Member States in seeking practical solutions to international problems. That situation had enhanced the role of peace-keeping operations.

60. Peace-keeping operations were among the most promising and effective instruments for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and significantly enhanced the role and prestige of the United Nations. Bulgaria fully shared the Secretary-General's views concerning the principles on which peace-keeping operations had always been based (A/44/1, p. 9). It attached particular importance to the need to strengthen the effectiveness and legal foundation of the operations and improve their management functioning and financing.

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

61. The more important proposals put forward by the Special Committee in its report (A/44/301) included reserves of military observers, the sending of observers to conflict areas and use of civilian, military or joint missions for monitoring and collecting information. He noted that States were increasingly highlighting the need to elaborate a solid legal basis for peace-keeping operations and to establish a permanent reserve of observers and forces under United Nations auspices. The proposal to discuss those issues in the Security Council should also be considered.

62. The Special Committee's work would make its work more effective if it analysed in depth the existing peace-keeping mechanism, the proposals to improve co-ordination and co-operation, the increased involvement of States in the operations, the appropriateness of current and anticipated costs and United Nations activities in the planning, implementation and control of operations. The Special Committee should also examine proposals made concerning, inter alia, the elaboration by the Secretariat of training programmes for national military contingents, the establishment of an international centre for training personnel for the United Nations forces and the holding of seminars on such topics. Bulgaria fully supported the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations.

63. Peace-keeping operations were being carried out at considerable expense and were becoming permanent. However, the savings in lives and property outweighed peace-keeping costs. A unified approach should be devised to enhance the peace-keeping role of the United Nations within a reasonable financial framework. A preliminary assessment of the anticipated numerical strength of the forces and quantities of equipment would help in tightening financial control.

64. Bulgaria had officially announced its readiness to participate in UNTAG and would continue to take part in other United Nations peace-keeping operations. It could also provide military and medical equipment.

65. He hoped that draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6 would be adopted by consensus.

66. Mr. WILLIAM (Singapore) observed that super-Power détente might not necessarily lead to global peace because other Powers might seek to fill the political vacuum. The United Nations was a viable third option for small States seeking to avoid domination, but that presupposed effective United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping functions, within their inherent limitations.

67. The United Nations role in the peaceful resolution of conflicts was an essential one. In the case of Kampuchea, for instance, which had been invaded by a bigger neighbour, the United Nations was excellently placed as an impartial, experienced third party that could help implement a comprehensive political settlement through a United Nations international control mechanism and an international peace-keeping force; and it should already begin to prepare for such an eventuality in order not to repeat the Namibian experience of hasty organization of a complex undertaking.

68. The United Nations would need to examine carefully the financial implications

(Mr. William, Singapore)

and the manpower, equipment, transport and training requirements involved in the growing number of peace-keeping operations, and seek to meet those increasing needs in an efficient, just and well-planned manner. Current peace-keeping structures must be improved. Singapore supported the valuable work being done in that regard by the Special Committee and intended to request observer status in it.

69. The most important factor in United Nations peace-keeping operations was the political will of Member States to support them. Singapore was a relative latecomer to United Nations peace-keeping, having participated for the first time in the operations in Namibia.

70. Conflict prevention, however, would certainly be even more effective than conflict resolution, and the United Nations should take up that challenge as an integral aspect of peace-keeping operations. In connection with the Soviet proposal for the establishment of an extensive data collection and data-processing system related to peace-keeping under United Nations auspices, his delegation believed that another source of such information could be the intelligence or foreign services of Member States in a position to alert the United Nations to impending conflicts. The collection, processing and dissemination of information on all aspects of peace-keeping would certainly improve the overall effectiveness of operations.

71. At the national level, countries could assist United Nations peace-keeping efforts by, for instance, making provision for releasing military or police units at short notice for United Nations service. While even small States like Fiji - along with the Nordic States, Canada and others - were among the traditional troop-contributors, Singapore agreed that steps should be taken to increase the number of countries contributing personnel, and found the Nigerian suggestion that any country wishing to participate should have units designated for that purpose to be constructive. Since peace-keeping operations would increasingly require civilian personnel, countries unable to contribute military personnel might consider providing civilian units instead. The Secretary-General should be authorized to exercise the necessary flexibility and initiative in such matters.

72. Peace-keeping operations were, indeed, only a temporary measure to support peace-making initiatives, and it might therefore be useful to set a definite time-limit on them in order to induce the parties to a conflict to reach a settlement.

73. Peace-keeping operations would be viable only with adequate financing. The current arrears of \$600 million had created a serious problem for troop-contributing countries, particularly those in the developing world. That was almost double the figure from the previous year, and the bulk of it was owed by a few Member States which, ironically, were those which had first approved peace-keeping operations. All States had a financial and moral obligation not to fail the peace-keepers, who were risking their lives. Given the growing complexity and number of operations, new methods of funding should be explored; and a number of useful recommendations had already been made by both the Special Committee in its report and by the Secretary-General in his report on the matter (A/44/605 and Add.1 and 2).

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(Mr. William, Singapore)

74. Singapore supported draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6 and hoped that it would be adopted without a vote. It also wished to commend the United Nations peace-keeping forces for the total discretion, integrity and dedication with which they performed their work.

75. Mr. NOGUEIRA-BAYISTA (Brazil) said that recent peace-keeping operations had been among the greatest successes of the United Nations, as recognized by the granting of the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

76. He welcomed the Special Committee's report (A/44/301), which offer practical suggestions to enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. It must be kept in mind, however, that peace-keeping operations were distinct from the means for peaceful settlement of disputes and the enforcement measures envisaged in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. As they were not specifically provided for under the Charter, peace-keeping operations were essentially ad hoc by nature. Any attempt to institutionalize a United Nations peace-keeping role would require a formal amendment of the Charter, in order to define precisely the responsibilities of the Security Council and of the General Assembly in relation to peace-keeping operations and their financing.

77. One question to be examined would be the adequacy of the composition of the Security Council, which no longer reflected the state of international affairs. Improvements were needed in the performance and decision-making capacity of the Security Council. In each case where authority was delegated to the Secretary-General, the strength of the collective support he would be able to draw upon for the execution of his mandate must be demonstrated. In any case, greater and more frequent use of the United Nations in peace-keeping did not appear possible or desirable without a simultaneous strengthening of the Security Council itself through a reformulation of its composition and practices to ensure broader and more effective participation of the membership in decision-making.

78. Though the practical recommendations submitted by the Special Committee were welcome, they must not be construed as a first step towards the institutionalization of peace-keeping operations within the United Nations. A General Assembly resolution incorporating the Special Committee's recommendations would have very little effect when the very concept of peace-keeping had no legal foundation. Such matters ought not to be taken lightly: careful consideration should be given to the future implications of decisions about to be taken that were in contradiction with the Charter.

79. With regard to financing peace-keeping operations, his delegation took the position that contributions should be mandatory for States Members of the United Nations, preferably on the basis of formal Charter amendment. Of course, decisions on apportionment of contributions must be taken on a case-by-case basis to avoid placing too great a burden on some contributors, notably developing countries. He also favoured financing by the host States themselves where appropriate.

80. Mr. NYAMDO (Mongolia) expressed his Government's full support of the enhanced United Nations peace-keeping operations, which represented the will of the

(Mr. Nyamdo, Mongolia)

international community to strengthen peace and eliminate threats to international security. His delegation was pleased that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had arrived at a number of valuable conclusions and recommendations (A/44/301, para. 32) which, if implemented, would improve the efficiency of such operations. It supported the Special Committee's recommendation (para. 32 (h)) that the Secretary-General should prepare a model status-of-forces agreement between the United Nations and host countries. Such agreements must be based on strict respect for the sovereignty of the host country, whose full co-operation was an important condition for success.

81. The implementation of the Secretary-General's initiative to prepare standard procedures would greatly improve the functioning of peace-keeping operations. It was also important to elaborate training manuals as guidelines for Member States in their national or regional training programmes and to hold regional and international seminars to exchange experiences.

82. Mongolia shared the view that peace-keeping operations should have a sound financial basis. Such operations might be financed in a variety of ways, including voluntary contributions. It was important to underline the need for maximum cost-effectiveness. Assessed contributions must be met promptly and in full by all States, but due attention should also be given to the financial constraints of developing countries. In that context, the possibility should be explored of establishing a working capital fund to finance the initial costs of peace-keeping operations. His delegation supported draft resolution A/SPC/44/L.6 and hoped that it would be adopted by consensus.

83. Mr. Flemming (Saint Lucia) took the Chair.

84. Mrs. DIAMATARIS (Cyprus) observed that peace-keeping operations were not an end in themselves but a first step towards peace-making, which itself required the good will of the parties involved. In the absence of good will, the Security Council had the duty to see that its resolutions were implemented by the violating party so as not to leave the militarily weak State at the mercy of its stronger rival.

85. Cyprus, as a host country to a United Nations peace-keeping force for almost 26 years, was particularly interested in the subject and was in a good position to appreciate the positive aspects of peace-keeping and the problems involved. The terms of reference of a peace-keeping operation should be defined clearly in order to avoid difficulties, and account should be taken of the context in which it took place. In the case of UNFICYP, for instance, the argument that it did not have a mandate to protect the territorial integrity of the country at the time of the Turkish invasion while it was stationed there had been used to explain its failure to intervene. In other respects, of course, her Government wished to express satisfaction with UNFICYP performance.

86. Peace-keeping forces must respect the sovereignty of the host countries and maintain complete impartiality. By the same token, the Governments concerned must facilitate the operations.

(Mrs. Diamataris, Cyprus)

87. Adequate financing was a major issue that needed urgent attention. All Member States must meet their obligations. In the case of UNFICYP, which was dependent on voluntary contributions, the financial shortfall was serious and placed a considerable burden on the troop-contributing countries. Her Government would continue to contribute substantially, but within the limits of its capabilities. Generally, there must be a more equitable sharing of the costs involved, since peace was a collective responsibility.

Rights of reply

88. Mr. HOANG VINH THANH (Viet Nam) said that it was a deliberate distortion of reality to allege, as had the delegation of Singapore, that the current situation in Cambodia had been caused by the occupation of that country by foreign troops. The origins of the Cambodian conflict were to be found in the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot régime and its war of aggression against Viet Nam. Responding to appeals from the Cambodian people and in exercise of its right to self-defence, Viet Nam had helped the Cambodian people to overthrow the Pol Pot régime. Having fulfilled its noble internationalist obligations, Viet Nam had withdrawn all its volunteer troops in September 1989, as documented by the international mass media and confirmed by numerous foreign delegations. It was the responsibility of the international community to prevent a recurrence of the genocide brought about by the Pol Pot clique and to help bring about an equitable political solution.

89. Mr. KAUSIKAN (Singapore) pointed out that the international mass media had been unable to confirm that the Vietnamese troops had withdrawn. For example, a recent article in the Asian Wall Street Journal had stressed that it was impossible to determine whether the Vietnamese occupation had been brought to an end. Indeed, there had been many reports that Vietnamese troops were still there. Delegations from a number of countries had found no proof of a total Vietnamese withdrawal. Singapore was therefore convinced that a United Nations-sponsored control mechanism must be created to verify the withdrawal.

90. Mr. HOANG VINH THANH (Viet Nam) replied that his Government had solemnly declared during the recent plenary debate that as from 27 September 1989, not a single Vietnamese soldier, adviser or military employee remained in Cambodia. Allegations to the contrary were aimed at justifying continuation of the war so as to restore the Pol Pot régime and excusing interference in Cambodian affairs.

91. His Government supported an impartial United Nations role in international control and verification in Cambodia, but if the United Nations continued to recognize the Pol Pot clique, it could not adopt an even-handed approach in resolving the problem.

AGENDA ITEM 28: POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA
(continued) (A/SPC/44/L.2/Add.9-11)

92. Ms. ONYONI (Kenya) requested that the Special Committee permit the following individuals to testify at the forthcoming hearings:

(Ms. Onyoni, Kenya)

Mr. Ralph Boyd, former President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Mr. Charles Touhey, Executive Member of the American South African Peoples' Friendship Association (ASAPFA); Ms. Collier Clark, Instructor, Department of African and African-American Studies, State University of New York; Mr. Stedman Aaron, Chairman, African Echoes; Mr. Vuyani Ntintili, Secretary, Organisation of South African Professionals in the U.S. (OSALE); Ms. Danisa Baloyi, President, South African/Azanian Student Movement (SAASM); Mr. David Brothers, Central Committee Member, All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party; Mr. Ahmed Obafemi, New Afrikan Peoples' Organisation (NAPO); Ms. Marcia McBroom, Founder-President, For Our Children's Sake Foundation, Inc.; and Dr. George Edward Tait, Afrikan Nationalist Pioneer Movement.

93. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.