



Chairman: Mr. Abdul Samad GHAUS
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 36

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (continued) (A/8081, A/SPC/L.193)

1. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation maintained its position that United Nations peace-keeping operations must be carried out in strict accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter and in particular with the principle that armed forces must not be used, save in the common interest. It attached the utmost importance to efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and to improve its peace-keeping arrangements. It therefore shared the view that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and its Working Group should accelerate their endeavours to attain agreement on United Nations peace-keeping operations, on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter. In that connexion, he drew attention to the draft declaration¹ on strengthening international security submitted to the First Committee at the current session by the socialist group of countries.

2. The international community was coming to realize that meaningful agreement on the question of peace-keeping operations could be achieved only on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter and that such operations could not be effective if certain States or permanent members of the Security Council were excluded from direct participation in decision-making or control. It was particularly gratifying to note that in the final communiqué of the first periodic meeting of the Security Council,² members had emphasized the importance of reaching early agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations in conformity with the Charter. The importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations and of the need to take effective steps to carry out those operations was also reflected in the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2627 (XXV)), in which Member States reaffirmed their determination to reach agreement on more

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 32, document A/8096, para. 5 (a).

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1970*, official communiqué of the 1555th meeting.

effective procedures for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations consistent with the Charter.

3. Thus the United Nations finally appeared to be moving in the right direction, so far as one of the most important aspects of its work was concerned, why then was the progress made the previous year in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and in its Working Group not sustained? It should be stated unequivocally that the current lack of progress in the Special Committee itself, in its Working Group and in consultations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America could be directly attributed to the fact that practical work on procedures for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations was still not based on a recognition of the fundamental principle that such operations must be carried out in strict conformity with the Charter. Nothing could be gained by paying lip service to that principle while in practical negotiations pursuing a diametrically opposed policy reminiscent of the worst period of the cold war.

4. His delegation shared the concern voiced by many delegations at the Special Committee's failure to make discernible progress in its work. Admittedly, the Special Committee and its Working Group were examining highly complex questions, but the sad fact was that not only had the Working Group failed to reach agreement on the three uncompleted chapters of model I but it had even met with difficulties on formulations which had been agreed upon the previous year. He continued to believe that the Special Committee should move forward on the basis of the progress it had made the previous year. However, some delegations, while officially advocating a speedy solution to the problem, were in fact hampering progress by departing from positions on which agreement had been reached earlier and insisting that existing procedures must not be changed. Experience of United Nations peace-keeping operations showed all too clearly that the adoption of policies and practices which were contrary to the Charter had had extremely unfortunate consequences and had even led to the destruction of those very persons who had requested assistance from the United Nations. Effective action by United Nations forces had been blocked and their presence used as a pretext for intervention in the internal affairs of States in the selfish interests of certain foreign Powers. Such practices were entirely unacceptable to his delegation, since they were contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter.

5. In multilateral and bilateral consultations held over the past year it had clearly emerged that certain States were pursuing a policy designed to ensure that *de facto* responsibility for various aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations remained with those who held key positions in the United Nations Secretariat, while the Security Council,

a principal organ of the United Nations, entrusted under the Charter with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, was to all practical purposes excluded from the administration of such operations. The Charter certainly did not provide that the United Nations Secretariat should assume responsibility for the direction of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Attempts were also being made to exclude the Military Staff Committee from participation in such operations, in spite of the fact that that body had been established to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security and the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal. The fact that such a policy had been pursued thus far was the main reason why the United Nations Charter had been consistently violated in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

6. However, the times had changed. It was clear that the vast majority of the States Members of the Organization now felt that United Nations peace-keeping operations should be based on strict compliance with the principles of the Charter and that only by effective collective measures in which all States participated could the United Nations prevent and remove threats to the peace, acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

7. Thus the lack of progress in the Special Committee could be explained by a direct confrontation between those who advocated the retention of existing United Nations peace-keeping procedures, on the one hand, and those who maintained that peace-keeping operations should be carried out in strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, on the other. Consequently, the task before the Committee was to overcome the opposition of those who advocated practices which were inconsistent with the Charter, to ensure that all efforts to reach agreement on the practical and administrative aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations were based on the fundamental provisions of the Charter and to prevent the recurrence of unilateral action for the benefit of one group of Member States without regard for the rights and interests of others. His delegation hoped that the divergencies in the Special Committee would be resolved as rapidly as possible and appealed to all those genuinely interested in the strengthening of international peace and security to adopt a constructive approach to the question of United Nations peace-keeping operations. If all States Members of the United Nations resolved to seek agreed decisions on that important question, no efforts would be made to take unilateral action of the type which had had such sad consequences in the past.

8. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would renew the mandate of the Special Committee in view of the importance of its task, and would instruct it to accelerate its work on the elaboration of guidelines for carrying out United Nations peace-keeping operations on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter, to enable the Organization to become a truly effective instrument of peace.

9. Mr. FINGER (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in its statement (715th meeting) in the general debate on the item under consideration, his delegation had carefully refrained from detailed reference to the confidential negotiations being conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and from attaching any blame for lack of progress in those negotiations. It was unfortunate that the Soviet Union representative had seen fit to misrepresent the proposals made by the United States during those negotiations. No State, and certainly not the United States of America, believed that peace-keeping operations should be carried out solely in the interests of a certain State or group of States. The United States had never suggested that the Security Council should be circumvented in such matters or relieved of any of its responsibilities for peace-keeping operations. His delegation merely wished to set the record straight and had no intention of violating the confidential nature of bilateral negotiations. It did not feel that the parties to such negotiations should attack one another in a tendentious fashion.

10. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he merely referred in general terms to certain positions of principle which had emerged during bilateral and multi-lateral negotiations. Such matters were no secret and should not be withheld from members of the Special Political Committee. His delegation took note of the statement made by the United States to the effect that it favoured strict compliance with the Charter; if the subsequent actions were in accordance with that statement, progress in the Special Committee and the Working Group would be assured.

11. Mr. FINGER (United States of America) assured the representative of the Soviet Union that the United States had consistently respected the Charter of the United Nations and fully intended to continue to do so. All the proposals made by the United States over the past two years had been consistent with the principles of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.