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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/47/253, A/47/386, A/47/597, A/47/604; A/SPC/47/L.7, A/SPC/47/L.8)

1. Mr. SALIMI (Afghanistan) said that the integrated approach of the Secretary-General in his report (A/47/277) was a valuable and timely contribution towards strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Although he welcomed the positive developments analysed in the report, his delegation was concerned with the spread of nationalistic, religious, social, cultural and linguistic tendencies in the post-cold-war era that could disturb the peace process in many parts of the world. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the amassing of conventional arms on the one hand, and the rise of new racial tensions on the other, had increased the importance of peace-keeping operations and post-conflict peace-building measures.
2. Peace could not be safeguarded and confined by military measures. He therefore wished to emphasize the need for preventive diplomacy. Preventive diplomacy should be broadly defined to encompass political/social, humanitarian and environmental issues if the United Nations was to achieve success in those fields.
3. His delegation fully agreed with the idea expressed in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) to the effect that the formula for apportioning the costs of operations should appropriately reflect the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and take into account the relatively limited financial capacity of developing countries.
4. His delegation believed that the approach of the Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, who held that improvements were needed in four areas of peace-keeping - military and police personnel, transfer of civilian personnel from the Secretariat to peace-keeping operations, supply of basic equipment, and transport of that equipment - provided substantial ground for ongoing consultations.
5. Any ad hoc mechanism to be established for consultation among the Security Council, the Secretariat and Member States regarding peace-keeping operations should be based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination based on the sovereignty and political independence of all nations.
6. Afghanistan attached importance to cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in matters of peace-keeping. The United Nations and its affiliated agencies should concentrate on regional cooperation to

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(Mr. Salimi, Afghanistan)

strengthen peace and confidence-building measures in the different regions of the world by applying the different models of regional and international cooperation, South-South cooperation and continuation of North-South dialogue.

7. Mr. WAQANISAU (Fiji) observed that with the expansion of peace-keeping operations there was a need to look again at the current conception of such operations and where necessary modify them to ensure their success. His delegation welcomed the initiative taken by the Security Council earlier in the year and the Secretary-General's comprehensive Agenda for Peace. In his delegation's view, the Secretary-General's recommendation concerning preventive diplomacy, involving confidence-building measures, an early warning system, fact-finding missions, preventive deployment, and in some instances demilitarized zones, might offer a solution to the current financial crisis of peace-keeping. If successful, it could obviate the need to deploy troops and hence save money and lives, but to succeed it would require the fullest cooperation of regional and international organizations.

8. Confidence-building measures were for the most part the responsibility of national Governments, but they must have the will to employ them, as well as the cooperation of regional bodies and non-governmental organizations. Fact-finding missions, while useful, could not succeed unless they could rely on an efficient information and early warning system in the region concerned and the full cooperation of the parties to a conflict. The latter should therefore feel obligated to render every assistance to such a mission.

9. The concept of preventive deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces and their composition must be thoroughly studied before any operation was implemented. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of States must at all times be respected and the consent of the parties to the conflict obtained wherever possible. In his report, the Secretary-General had raised the possibility of a preventive deployment on only one side of a border at the request of a threatened State, but the United Nations could then be viewed by the other party to the conflict as having forfeited its role as a neutral third party. Peace-keepers could then become targets. Perhaps the presence of major Powers in a preventive deployment force would enhance its deterrent capacity.

10. Conflicts that had remained unresolved despite the application of techniques for peaceful settlement were intractable because the parties to the conflict lacked the political will to seek a peaceful solution. The lack of political will, the reluctance of those with the power to exert influence to bring pressure to bear and the absence of follow-up action by United Nations agencies had been costing the Organization far too much in maintaining peace-keeping missions. Perhaps it was time to end those operations that were not making any headway for lack of cooperation from the parties to the conflict.

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(Mr. Waqanisau, Fiji)

11. His delegation understood that peace enforcement was called for when a cease-fire broke down or a revolt broke out or peace-keepers lost the support of one party to a conflict and became targets. The United Nations then had two options, neither of them acceptable: to escalate peace enforcement into a war with the hope of restoring peace or to withdraw without completing the mission. Although the concept had been applied in the Congo crisis in early 1960, his delegation was adamant that if not properly thought out, it would accomplish little aside from tempting the United Nations into places it should avoid and, needless to say, costing more lives. Moreover, in the light of the current financial difficulties of peace-keeping, and the requirement that peace enforcement troops should be thoroughly trained and heavily armed, there could well be difficulties in acquiring troops for such missions in the future.

12. More than 800 United Nations personnel, including 25 Fijian soldiers and police, had been killed since the inception of the first peace-keeping operation and, with the expansion of operations and the increasing vulnerability of United Nations personnel, that number was expected to increase before the turn of the century. Not enough emphasis had been placed in the Agenda for Peace on the safety of United Nations peace-keepers. Fiji strongly supported the proposal by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations concerning effective international legal instruments to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel and to hold the host States responsible for the use of force against them or for any loss of life. Fiji also strongly supported the draft resolution on the protection of peace-keeping personnel of which it was a co-sponsor.

13. The Secretary-General's report, the Agenda for Peace, had introduced some elements of simplicity and flexibility into the whole concept of peace-keeping operations. However, for peace-keeping to succeed, it needed to be adequately financed, and the solution was for Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time; failure to do so constituted a breach of their obligations under the Charter.

14. Mr. TAY (Singapore) said that the Agenda for Peace had identified the present era as one of regionalism, subnational tribalism, advances in information technology, transnational crises of population growth and environmental decay and nuclear and chemical weapons proliferation. Those emergent forces were modifying the parameters of sovereignty, and the resultant tensions and contradictions were the defining features of the era. The United Nations, torn between high expectations and inadequate resources, was expected to play a greater role in managing the increasing number of disputes and, in one view, had become a dumping ground for intractable conflicts. However, there was also a growing acknowledgement that its peace-keeping role had become fundamental to international security.

15. In the post-cold-war era, peace-keeping operations no longer served to contain local conflicts involving the proxies of the two super-Powers, but aimed at pacifying intra-State factional conflict, as in Yugoslavia, and

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(Mr. Tay, Singapore)

inter-ethnic or inter-clan conflicts, as in the Caucasus and Somalia. That change presented opportunities, but also dangers: the United Nations was being overburdened with responsibilities without commensurate resources or manpower, and its credibility could be damaged by a backlash of unfulfilled expectations and general disillusionment. Member States needed to summon the political will to commit adequate resources to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

16. His delegation believed that the Agenda for Peace and the reports of the Special Committee offered some workable ideas, and supported inter alia a peace-keeping reserve fund, a stockpile of peace-keeping equipment, standardized training and peace-keeping fellowship programmes. It further supported consolidation of the United Nations departments dealing with peace-keeping issues, thus establishing a unified command structure.

17. The United Nations needed to establish a reliable and impartial information system before it could devise political solutions or engage in preventive diplomacy. Because fact-finding was the sine qua non of any peace-keeping effort or early warning system, the Organization must have the power to gather objective and timely information regarding any existing dispute.

18. Certain States had voiced reservations about the United Nations adopting a fact-finding role. Singapore, like many smaller States, believed it was necessary to respect national sovereignty, particularly during periods of uncertainty like the present. However, as the Secretary-General had correctly noted in his Agenda for Peace (A/47/277-S/24111), absolute and exclusive sovereignty had become an obsolete concept. It could be necessary for the United Nations to intervene in situations of absolute chaos and total collapse of government in order to provide humanitarian assistance. Elsewhere, the United Nations might have to act quickly to defuse conflicts which threatened the survival of entire regions. In all cases, fact-finding was the Organization's first line of action in defusing or containing crises.

19. Under the United Nations Charter, all States had an obligation to fulfil their financial responsibilities with respect to peace-keeping. However, any effort to reconfigure the basis of contributions for peace-keeping budgets must be based on equitable and just criteria. Scales of assessments should recognize the complex set of factors that determined the extent of a country's influence and its capacity to contribute to peace-keeping operations, whether in terms of money or manpower.

20. With an ever-growing workload and financial burden, there was a need for the United Nations to institute an oversight system for peace-keeping operations which would provide for realistic goal-setting, clear mandates and fixed starting and termination dates based on informed estimates of need.

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(Mr. Tay, Singapore)

21. Singapore deplored the growing physical threat to United Nations peace-keepers and other personnel who were performing their duties in remote areas of the world at great risk to their lives. As peace-keeping efforts evolved to include protection for humanitarian assistance efforts, the United Nations would be faced with the new dilemma of working to alleviate suffering while remaining vulnerable to the hostile actions of recalcitrant parties in host countries. Singapore would continue to support an active role for the United Nations in ending conflict and extending humanitarian assistance through deployment of observers, civilian and police personnel and stronger protective measures for United Nations personnel. His delegation therefore fully endorsed resolution A/SPC/47/L.8 on the protection of peace-keeping personnel.

22. Though preventive deployment was a progressive idea, it might be ahead of its time inasmuch as the stationing of preventive forces or observers in a country could increase, rather than reduce, the level of tension in a crisis. In view of the many sensitive issues involved, preventive deployments should be given careful study before being carried out.

23. In the post-cold-war world, sovereignty and international responsibility were two sides of the same coin; thus the very concept of sovereignty was subject to delimitation by international standards. Keeping the peace and extending humanitarian assistance in today's world could require overstepping the bounds of the narrow legal definition of absolute sovereignty. Discussions among Member States regarding the development of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building were leading to new definitions of peacemaking and new practices which would be more responsive to the needs of the post-cold-war world.

24. Mr. Alsaïdi (Yemen), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

25. Mr. KA (Senegal) said that the prevailing favourable political climate should motivate the international community to create mechanisms for preventing the outbreak of conflicts and intervening in order to bring about a settlement. By building up the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations system, the Organization could strengthen its authority and credibility in the peace-keeping area.

26. To understand the crucial importance of a United Nations presence in areas of conflict, it was sufficient to consider the case of the former Yugoslavia, where, in the face of a vicious policy of ethnic cleansing by one of the parties, the United Nations had provided new hope to the victims of those inhumane practices. The United Nations presence had also been making a difference in Somalia, where every day a civil war was taking the lives of hundreds of innocent victims. Not only was that war the bloodiest and most tragic that Africa had known in recent times, but it also threatened Somalia's very existence as a State. The world community had an obligation to put an end to the situation in Somalia, as future generations would pass judgement on its ability to react effectively in crisis situations.

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(Mr. Ka, Senegal)

27. In that context, every effort should be made to act on the proposal of the Acting President of OAU to hold an international conference on Somalia as soon as possible in order to bring about a quick end to the Somalian tragedy.

28. As a country which had been participating since 1960 in various United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo, Lebanon, the Persian Gulf, Angola, Liberia and Rwanda, Senegal was in a position to recognize the precariousness and sensitivity of the United Nations position in other areas of the world. Whether in the Middle East, Asia, Europe or Africa, the Organization's peace-keeping forces had always made a laudable effort, though there had also been occasions when their presence had been sorely missed. The possibility of deploying United Nations forces in other areas of extreme tension at the present time should be seriously weighed by the Committee, since unfortunately, because of logistic, equipment and personnel problems, the intervention mechanisms of regional organizations were not always an effective substitute. The dramatic situation currently prevailing in Liberia was a clear demonstration.

29. Senegal attached great importance to the recommendations of the Committee concerning peace-keeping, and took particular interest in the recommendation regarding the revised questionnaire circulated by the Secretary-General in 1990, as well as the recommendation on the creation of a reserve fund for financing the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations. The recommendation that host countries should be asked to provide logistic and material support for peace-keeping operations was particularly positive because it would generate greater involvement by host countries and, at the same time, reduce the costs of such support to the United Nations.

30. Effective organization, coordination and flexibility in the planning of peace-keeping operations were crucial prerequisites to success. In that connection, Senegal supported the recommendation to create a liaison service which would permit Member States to obtain information regarding all operational aspects of ongoing and future peace-keeping missions. Moreover, the establishment of a unified and integrated structure within the Department of Peace-keeping Operations would make it possible to clearly demarcate areas of responsibility - an indispensable feature of any effective and economical arrangement for managing peace-keeping operations.

31. Mechanisms for prevention and early warning of conflict should be built into any approach to peace-keeping operations. His Government was pleased to note that the "Agenda for Peace" had addressed the issue of preventive diplomacy, particularly the possibility of invoking Articles 34, 35 and 99 of the Charter in support of preventive action. He welcomed the agenda's emphasis on cooperation between the Organization and regional bodies in activities to promote peace. He also endorsed the two draft resolutions (A/SPC/47/L.7 and A/SPC/47/L.8) and expressed the hope that the Committee would remain faithful to its tradition of high quality work in the peace-keeping field.

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32. Mr. KOHOUT (Czechoslovakia) said that his Government considered the Organization's peace-keeping institutions to be an effective tool for the peaceful settlement of regional crises and conflicts.

33. He expressed his Government's full support of the proposals for strengthening the Organization's ability and capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping.

34. Czechoslovakia was of the opinion that new opportunities were emerging for making better use of the United Nations capability to prevent conflicts. His Government endorsed the proposal to establish a pool of resources - including military units, military observers, civilian police and key staff personnel - to ensure that the United Nations could respond flexibly to situations requiring the rapid deployment of peace-keeping forces.

35. The basic prerequisites for the success of United Nations activities in the field of peace-keeping and peacemaking were adequate financial resources and mechanisms by which those resources could be used effectively and meaningfully. For its part, his Government upheld the principle that expenditures relating to peace-keeping operations should be considered the collective responsibility of all Member States. Nevertheless, the possibility of other sources of funding should not be excluded. His Government was therefore considering with favour the proposal to establish a special peace-keeping reserve fund (A/SPC/47/L.7, para. 15).

36. His delegation commended the work of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and believed that by implementing the related proposals in the report of the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the Secretariat would be able to significantly expand its capacity to cope with a range of new demanding tasks.

37. Czechoslovakia's confidence in the potential of the United Nations to contribute effectively to the settlement of conflicts had been demonstrated by his Government's participation in the missions of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM), the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), the United Nations Guard Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI) and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. The practical experience gained by Czech soldiers and observers in United Nations peace-keeping missions was being used in the curriculum of the peace-keeping operations training centre which the Government had established in 1990.

38. In conclusion, he endorsed the two draft resolutions and expressed the hope that they would be adopted by consensus.

39. Mr. MALONE (Canada) said that Canada supported the establishment of an operations centre for early warning and day-to-day operations. He noted that the President of the Security Council had also endorsed that proposal in his statement of 29 October (S/24728). His delegation also supported the decision by the President of the General Assembly to establish an informal open-ended working group to coordinate and guide discussions and actions by other United Nations forums in their own areas of responsibility.

40. On the question of the establishment of an annual peace-keeping fellowship programme (A/47/604), he recalled a previous Canadian proposal that the funds accruing from the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize should be allocated to the financing of the fellowships.

41. He welcomed the report of the Secretary-General providing information on training (A/47/597). Recalling that at the forty-sixth session, his delegation had tabled a paper on peace-keeping training conducted in Canada, he said that such training was potentially open to all interested parties. Canada particularly welcomed the appointment of a training officer in the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, and trusted that the Department would now have the capacity to develop a long-term strategy on doctrine and methodology with emphasis on training the trainers.

42. His delegation looked forward to proposals from the Secretariat in response to the recommendation made by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations regarding the need to define logistics doctrine and standard operational procedures (A/47/253, para. 113).

43. In response to the suggestion made by the Secretary-General in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), Canada was in the process of preparing information on the kind and number of skilled personnel it would be willing to offer the United Nations as the needs of new peace-keeping operations arose. His Government believed that the Security Council should make every effort to involve current and potential troop-contributing States in consultations above the mandates of peace-keeping operations as they were planned and discussed by Council members.

44. His Government attached great importance to the principle of universality in the financing of peace-keeping operations. In that connection, he wished to point out that in its report, the Special Committee had reaffirmed that the financing of peace-keeping operations was the collective responsibility of all Member States (A/47/253, para. 113). None the less, in its operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United Nations had called on the participating States to pay their own way. Canada and others had made a similar decision in 1964 regarding Cyprus, and delegations were well aware of the burden borne since then by the Organization and the participating States. Canada was a participating State in the expansion of UNPROFOR, but was extremely unhappy about its financial features, and would not accept similar arrangements for peace-keeping financing in the future.

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45. Mr. SOH (Republic of Korea) said that his delegation would carefully review the recent statement by the President of the Security Council (S/24728) on the matter of stand-by forces. In view of the need for equipment and logistical supplies for rapid deployment of peace-keeping personnel, his delegation supported the proposal to stockpile the most basic items for the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations.

46. His delegation welcomed the efforts made by UNITAR in the field of training, and looked forward to seeing an extensive training programme for new and potential participants in peace-keeping operations.

47. The Korean delegation supported the Secretary-General's suggestion regarding the augmentation of the strength and capability of military and civilian staff dealing with peace-keeping operations in the Secretariat. In that regard, he stressed the importance of applying the principle of geographical distribution as a means of ensuring balanced representation of different regions.

48. Since the rapid and smooth launching of peace-keeping operations depended primarily on adequate financing at the crucial start-up phase, all assessed contributions must be paid in full and on time. He hoped that the proposal submitted in the Fifth Committee would lead to much-needed progress on that question during the current session. Regarding the current special scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations, he said that his delegation shared the view that until and unless there emerged a consensus for a new format, it would be desirable to maintain the present scale.

49. The concepts of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building must be viewed together as an integrated approach towards the achievement of global peace and security. His delegation would continue to provide full support to United Nations activities in the field of preventive diplomacy.

50. The operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia and Somalia reflected the willingness of Governments to hand over the task of peace-keeping to the United Nations, but they had also demonstrated the urgent need for changes in the way the United Nations confronted its new and heavy responsibility. The credibility of the United Nations would depend to a considerable extent on the success of its peace-keeping operations.

51. Mr. GAUTAM (Nepal) stressed that any decision the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations might take in connection with the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) should be in harmony with the work of the informal open-ended working group of the General Assembly on agenda item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization".

52. His delegation agreed that the strength of the military and civilian staff dealing with peace-keeping operations in the Secretariat had to be

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(Mr. Gautam, Nepal)

augmented. Member States should support the Secretary-General's efforts in the restructuring process by offering services of experienced civilian and military staff. His delegation welcomed the statement made by the President of the Security Council in that regard on 29 October (S/24728).

53. His delegation supported the Secretary-General's proposal on the establishment of a pre-positioned stock of basic peace-keeping equipment. As peace-keeping operations were manpower intensive, it also believed that all those who were deployed under the United Nations flag should receive some degree of standardized training. Nepal had been providing national training to personnel assigned for peace-keeping duties, and had designed a flexible manual for that purpose. The fellowship programme envisaged in document A/47/604 could form the nucleus of a standard national training programme for peace-keeping personnel.

54. His delegation agreed that the cost of peace-keeping operations should be regarded as a collective responsibility. As a matter of principle, however, he would like to underscore the need to institutionalize the special assessment scale in order to give the required stability and predictability to peace-keeping finances. His delegation endorsed the opinion of the Japanese delegation on the financial requirements of major operations at the start-up stage. Likewise, it endorsed the Japanese proposal for the establishment of a mechanism for consultations among permanent members of the Security Council, countries providing large contingents, the major sources of financial resources and the countries of the region concerned. He supported the proposal of the Secretary-General for the immediate establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund. In the final analysis, it was not enough for Member States to express support for peace-keeping operations. The best way to express support was payment of all assessed contributions in full and on time.

55. Changes in the international situation made it necessary to take a serious look at the Secretary-General's proposals for possible uses of peace-keeping operations in preventive diplomacy, and enhanced the prospects for making effective use of the Charter provisions for pacific settlement of disputes, including those under Chapter VIII.

56. His delegation fully shared the concerns of the Secretary-General on the safety of personnel, and supported his call for the Security Council to consider what action should be taken towards those who placed the lives of United Nations personnel in jeopardy. His delegation was therefore a sponsor of the draft resolution on protection of peace-keeping personnel (A/SPC/47/L.8).

57. The CHAIRMAN announced that El Salvador and Luxembourg had become sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.