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at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 25th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka)

later: Mr. CHIRILA (Romania)

later: Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS ($\underline{continued}$) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1, A/48/403/Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605 and A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

- Mr. OTHMAN (Joint Inspection Unit), introducing the report of the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) on the staffing of United Nations peace-keeping and related missions (civilian component) (A/48/421), said that the Inspectors had studied the way in which different departments and units of the United Nations Secretariat managed peace-keeping operations and related missions; in particular, they had studied organizational structures and functions at Headquarters and in the field with a view to making management more coherent, avoiding duplication, enhancing coordination and sharpening the processes of early warning, planning, deployment, monitoring and evaluation. The Inspectors had also looked into the measures recommended or adopted by the Secretariat to improve its management and had submitted a number of conclusions and recommendations that could be summarized in the following manner: the Department of Peace-keeping Operations should become the central organ dealing with such operations. It should be strengthened by the addition of military and civilian staff and experienced and qualified administrative personnel. It should be the lead department for operations, with other departments continuing to provide substantive support. The Inspectors also proposed that the Field Operations Division should be attached to the Department - a step that had already been taken - and that a core team responsible for operations should be set up within the Department. The personnel of the core team could carry out reconnaissance missions and also act as "fire brigades" which could be deployed speedily for purposes of crisis management. The Inspectors had also recommended the strengthening of the round-the-clock Situation Room, the establishment of a post of "Police Commissioner" and the designation of one or more focal points to answer queries from Member States.
- 2. As far as field operations were concerned, there was a need for clearer lines of authority and coordination among the heads of the three main components of a force. Lines of communication and the flow of information between the field and Headquarters should be better focused. The establishment of a joint operations centre functioning on a 24-hour basis would be a sound managerial tool for that purpose.
- 3. The Inspectors had also examined sources and procedures for the recruitment of civilian staff and the briefing, training, and conditions of service of such personnel. They had recommended establishing a roster of pre-certified candidates, more extensive use of United Nations Volunteers, retirees and local staff, and contractual arrangements. In their view, it was necessary to institutionalize briefing and training, to develop special training programmes for different types of personnel, and to use the facilities and human resources of Member States and regional organizations in such training. With regard to conditions of service, mission assignments should continue to be voluntary, and the principle of rotation between the relevant departments at Headquarters and

(Mr. Othman)

the field should be adopted. Security of personnel should be included in mission planning, briefing and training.

- 4. The implementation of those recommendations would allow the United Nations to adapt itself to the new circumstances of peace-keeping operations and to manage them with the human and financial resources at its disposal as economically as possible. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Organization's capacity to handle existing and new missions successfully depended not only on well-organized structures with proper planning and highly qualified personnel and on good management, but also on the continued support of Member States, both political and financial.
- 5. In conclusion, he said that peace-keeping was one of the four priority areas in the Joint Inspection Unit's 1994 work programme and that the Unit would welcome any suggestions from Member States regarding specific studies on that topic.
- 6. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine) noted that the Committee was carrying out a comprehensive review at the current session of an important set of issues relating to peace-keeping at a time when international relations were changing profoundly. Increasingly, the United Nations was being called upon to perform its role of maintaining international peace and security in dangerous conditions, in areas where no Government existed and where the consent and cooperation of the parties to the conflict could not be relied on. Such circumstances called not only for a re-examination of the traditional approach to peace-keeping but also for a collective effort to establish a conceptual basis for multilateral intervention in crisis situations.
- 7. After stressing the need to clarify the concept of peace-keeping and to formulate clear guidelines for peace-keeping operations, he noted that the Security Council had recommended that all Member States should make peace-keeping a part of their foreign and national security policies. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should address a number of specific issues, including the legal status of national contingents, clearly established lines of command with due regard for the competence of national authorities, problems of deployment without the explicit consent of Governments, and the grounds for recalling national contingents. Those questions, which were of paramount importance to the troop-contributing countries, should be considered by the Special Committee, which might prepare a declaration of principles regarding peace-keeping operations for adoption by the General Assembly.
- 8. The concepts of universality and impartiality were the key elements of a successful peace-keeping operation, since they alone could ensure the necessary degree of mutual trust among the parties concerned. In that connection, he emphasized the important role that regional organizations and arrangements should play in the settlement of disputes, and he expressed support for the involvement of Member States through those regional organizations based on the provisions of the Charter. However, Ukraine could not accept any country's claims to take on the role of guarantor of peace and stability in a particular region. Nor could it accept the attempts by certain States to obtain from the

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

United Nations or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) an open mandate to conduct peace-keeping operations in areas affecting their "vital interests". Any decision to deploy an operation in the CSCE region should be based on an explicit request from the Government of the country concerned.

- 9. His delegation supported the principle of redeploying United Nations forces for preventive purposes or establishing demilitarized zones to avoid conflict and encourage efforts at peaceful settlement. The Organization would succeed in doing so only if it possessed well-equipped stand-by forces. Ukraine was ready to cooperate with the Secretary-General in that regard.
- 10. Of particular concern to his Government was the question of the safety and security of United Nations forces and personnel. Despite the heavy losses that his country had already sustained, it intended to increase its military contingent in the Sarajevo sector. His delegation welcomed the report of the Secretary-General on the question of security and recommended that it should be kept under review.
- 11. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States. At the same time, it believed that the specific modalities for the mobilization of additional resources should also be defined. It also wished to emphasize the urgent need to address the question of the composition of the groups for the apportionment of the costs of peace-keeping operations and expressed the hope that all delegations would support the proposal by Belarus and Ukraine that they should be reclassified in Group C.
- 12. The omnibus resolution, which at the current session comprised 83 operative paragraphs, had grown out of all reasonable proportions and had become practically unmanageable. He suggested that it should be replaced by several draft resolutions on the various questions on which consensus had been reached in the Special Committee. Lastly, he expressed the hope that all interested delegations would be able to participate in the work of the Special Committee the following year in order to enhance its prestige and authority.
- 13. Ms. LEACH (United States of America) welcomed the remarkable progress achieved thanks to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the fact that so many proposals contained in the previous year's resolution of the Special Committee had been implemented and had led to the strengthening of peace-keeping operations. Referring to the widening scope and growing complexity of the operations, she emphasized that, while the Security Council had retained the primary role in that area, there was now a clear need for a complementary, constructive and credible forum which would ensure wider participation and a greater contribution on the part of delegations.
- 14. Despite their diversity, the members of the Special Committee had generally avoided political or ideological divisions and had reached agreement on various questions. Thus, the draft resolution on the question under consideration contained highly relevant recommendations on such matters as the safety and security of personnel, the strengthening of training, the enhancement of the

(Ms. Leach, United States)

information component of peace-keeping operations and the strengthening of the Headquarters structures. The draft resolution also underscored the fact that peace-keeping personnel must respect local and international laws, stressed the importance of clear rules of engagement for operations, and emphasized the need for the provision of adequate funds for peace-keeping start-up operations.

- 15. Her delegation also wished to support the draft resolution dealing with command and control capabilities and consultations with troop-contributing countries. It joined other delegations in stressing that peace-keeping operations must be provided with financial support commensurate with the obvious importance which Member States appeared to attach to them. In that regard, it wish to make clear its support for an increase in the resources allocated to peace-keeping, as proposed in the budget proposals currently being reviewed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ).
- 16. Mr. MARKER (Pakistan) said that his country, which had been host to one of the oldest peace-keeping operations, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), was firmly committed to the concept of peace-keeping as an important mechanism for the prevention of conflicts and had been an active participant in many operations.
- 17. His delegation was of the view, however, that a peace-keeping operation was not an end in itself but should be viewed as an essential part of efforts to achieve conflict resolution. Emphasis should, therefore, be placed on resolving problems rather than on the imposition of artificial time-limits. The international community should persuade the parties to a conflict to cooperate in the implementation of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation, as approved by the Security Council, and should not allow one party to the conflict to alter the mandate unilaterally or to renege on its commitments. His delegation felt that preventive diplomacy and the establishment of demilitarized zones were important means of preventing existing or potential disputes from escalating into conflicts.
- 18. The United Nations could not discharge its responsibilities with regard to peace-keeping effectively unless it had resources commensurate with its mission, including the necessary personnel and equipment. His delegation welcomed the recent initiative of the Secretary-General to establish a stand-by forces planning team and reiterated Pakistan's offer to designate specific units of its armed forces for peace-keeping operations.
- 19. As for the financing of such activities, all Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. His delegation believed that the existing scale of assessments should be institutionalized. It shared the concern which had been expressed with regard to the inadequate financing of the Reserve Fund.
- 20. Troop-contributing developing countries encountered difficulties arising from the non-reimbursement of costs. If the present situation was allowed to continue, those countries would find themselves unable to participate in peace-

(<u>Mr. Marker, Pakistan</u>)

keeping operations and that would jeopardize the important principle of universal participation.

- 21. On the question of the protection of personnel and the loss of human life suffered by various countries, he expressed his concern with regard to the system of compensation for national contingents. Irrespective of nationality, all troops performed the same tasks and confronted similar dangers. The United Nations should therefore apply a uniform equitable system of compensation in the event of death or injury.
- 22. As a troop-contributing country, Pakistan shared the concern of the international community over the dangers confronted by United Nations peace-keeping personnel. His delegation welcomed the consideration of that question in the Sixth Committee, as well as the Secretary-General's intention to institute a number of measures with a view to improving the security of missions.
- 23. Pakistan endorsed the measures to streamline and strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. In view of the crucial role that public information could play in a peace-keeping operation, his delegation supported the various measures that had been taken to strengthen the Department's capacity in that regard. The media component should be deployed with effect from the initial phase of operations.
- 24. He expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would, in due course, submit the periodic reports on peace-keeping operations which he had been requested to provide. He welcomed the initiative of the Nordic countries with regard to the strengthening of United Nations command and control capabilities. Lastly, he paid tribute to those who had sacrificed their lives in the service of peace.
- 25. Mr. AL-ZARRH (Qatar) said that United Nations peace-keeping operations placed a heavy financial and human burden on the Organization. Some countries, including the super-Powers, were therefore somewhat hesitant to participate in those operations, or laid down political, military or financial conditions in return for their support. Certain peace-keeping operations, particularly in the Middle East, Cyprus, Cambodia, Angola and Mauritania, had undeniably been a success, but it was clear that such operations were being resorted to far too often. As a result, the United Nations and heads of government were turning their attention to ways of averting disputes and preventing them from escalating. Since the end of the cold war, at a time when many nationalist and ethnic movements were encouraging serious violence and conventional weapons continued to proliferate in several parts of the world, preventive diplomacy had played a vital role. That type of diplomacy called for the adoption of confidence-building measures, the establishment of an early-warning system based on information-gathering and fact-finding, and sometimes the creation of demilitarized zones.
- 26. The two prerequisites for the establishment of peace in the Middle East, namely, mutual confidence and openness among the States in the region, were

(Mr. Al-Zarrh, Qatar)

likely to encourage the relinquishment of territorial claims, in addition to respect for national sovereignty and the right of all States to base their independence on cooperation and understanding.

- 27. The Iran-Iraq war, which had lasted almost eight years, had had devastating effects, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait had further heightened instability in the region. In compliance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, Qatar therefore advocated strengthening the role of regional organizations in peacemaking and possibly peace-keeping; the experience of organizations which were fully knowledgeable about local situations should be put to good use.
- 28. Qatar welcomed the decision of the Secretary-General to establish an integrated centre of operations covering United Nations peace-keeping operations worldwide and to appoint an adviser on mine clearance. It reaffirmed that peace-keeping mechanisms should be made more dynamic in accordance with the United Nations Charter and that recourse should be had to preventive diplomacy with a view to averting armed conflicts. He approved the Secretary-General's proposals contained in paragraphs 34 to 44 of "An Agenda for Peace", particularly concerning peace-enforcement units, and believed that the proposals for financing peace-keeping operations should be examined.
- 29. He concluded by paying tribute to the personnel who had been killed while taking part in peace-keeping operations.
- 30. Mr. CHIRILA (Romania) remarked that the dramatic increase in the number of peace-keeping operations presented the United Nations with a new type of problem. The main issues concerned the decision-making process involved in defining the mandate of an operation, allocation of the resources needed, the establishment and progress of the operation, particularly in terms of command, coordination and control, and the question of a United Nations presence once the operation was completed. Consideration of all those elements of United Nations intervention in the handling of conflict situations had become a major concern of Member States in seeking the most appropriate means of enhancing the efficiency of peace-keeping operations.
- 31. A new generation of multifaceted peace-keeping operations, which often departed from the conventional model, presented serious risks. Romania therefore welcomed the in-depth consultations taking place within the Sixth Committee aimed at concluding an international agreement on the status and security of United Nations personnel throughout the world.
- 32. Romania, one of the 70 countries contributing to peace-keeping operations, was prepared to increase its participation. The experience acquired and the widening of bilateral contacts with the States that were major contributors to that type of operation offered considerable potential for Romania to diversify and raise the level of its future participation. In their current form peace-keeping operations called for military and civilian personnel with highly specialized training. Accordingly, a special programme had been introduced, which was intended to strengthen Romania's capacity to respond to requests from the United Nations and from other organizations relating to peace-keeping. A

(Mr. Chirila, Romania)

first Romanian military battalion was undergoing the training required for that type of operation and would become operational in the early spring of 1994. While recognizing that primary responsibility for training lay with Member States, Romania supported the initiatives aimed at establishing a mechanism which would provide for standardized training, using the best available resources and methods.

- 33. Draft resolution A/C.3/48/L.18 provided a sound basis for the future and for the institutional development of peace-keeping operations. It contained firm guidelines for establishing and defining the concept of peace-keeping operations in political, military, practical and theoretical terms.
- 34. As for the long-term approach to peace-keeping operations, Romania wished to emphasize various points which, in its view, called for particular attention. First, there was a need to ensure that the mandates for peace-keeping operations were clear and attainable and that contingents from different regions received standard training. Secondly, the Department of Peace-keeping Operations should be allocated the personnel and resources it needed to accomplish its task. Thirdly, the growing number of complex and often large-scale operations should be better planned and managed, and fourthly, information intended for the public and the media regarding the objectives, mandate, operation and outcome of peace-keeping missions should be better prepared.
- 35. In a broader political context, Romania was concerned about stability and security in the central and East European region and believed that the support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was necessary in order to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to carry out its peace-keeping functions. The contributions of the other regional agreements and organizations, particularly the activity of the North Atlantic Council, were extremely important in that respect. At the same time, in order to secure the confidence of the international community, peace-keeping operations must be based on principles and criteria which had hitherto ensured their success. In that context, it was necessary to exercise caution with regard to any authority which some countries might be tempted to assume unilaterally in regions where they had specific interests. That was particularly true when there were any doubts as to the impartiality of the troops engaged or when there was a possibility of pressure being used to secure the needed consent from the host country.
- 36. The political, legal and practical basis for peace-keeping operations must come from full implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the establishment of the collective security system, full exercise of the functions and responsibilities of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General, and from recourse to regional arrangements and agencies in the context specified under articles 52 to 54 of the Charter. Romania was willing to lend its support and to make a specific contribution in that area, which was so vital to international security and stability.
- 37. Mr. EL AMRANI (Morocco) said that the exponential growth in the number of peace-keeping operations in the world and the diversification of their mandates

(Mr. El Amrani, Morocco)

had caused an unprecedented evolution of the traditional concept of peace-keeping, now seen as multidimensional activity spanning such fields as humanitarian assistance, electoral assistance, human-rights monitoring, border monitoring, sanctions enforcement monitoring and sometimes even assistance in nation-building and the establishment of State institutions and transitional authorities. Mandates ranged from the restoration of peace by the peaceful means provided for in Chapter IV of the Charter, through the consolidation of peace in order to reestablish trust and cooperation between former belligerents, to the delicate task of imposing peace under Chapter VII, which implied a certain degree of coercion, when all peaceful means had failed. That evolution called for a conceptual and structural change in the United Nations that would enhance its effectiveness and its ability to respond appropriately to the challenges before it.

- 38. While his delegation supported the various peace-keeping ideas and proposals advanced by the Secretariat and Member States, it wished to stress the need for the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat to incorporate in their approach an in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural component of the intended intervention zone. Regardless of the nature of a peace-keeping operation's mandate, ignorance or misunderstanding of the human dimension could delay the establishment of a just and lasting peace, and would thus prove costly to the Organization in human and financial terms.
- 39. The expansion of the number of peace-keeping operations and the nature of their mandates called for considerable human, logistic and financial resources. His delegation was concerned at the Organization's precarious financial situation, reflected inter alia in the resulting delays in the reimbursement of troop-contributing countries, from which the developing countries suffered the most. It was therefore imperative for all Member States to pay their contributions on time and in full, in accordance with their capacity to pay. His delegation hoped that the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund established by General Assembly resolution 47/217 would be adequately supplied and that a study would be done of how to put peace-keeping start-up costs on a sound financial footing.
- 40. With respect to the effective management of peace-keeping operations, his delegation welcomed the major reforms undertaken by the Secretariat, especially the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of an around-the-clock situation room, which would help to centralize information and would permit a rapid response when necessary. Those operational and structural reforms would allow effective, coordinated management of all peace-keeping operations.
- 41. His delegation supported the efforts made under Chapter VIII of the Charter to encourage and strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. However, it hoped that the principles of impartiality and neutrality that should govern any United Nations peace-making operation would also guide the regional organizations in their supporting role.

(Mr. El Amrani, Morocco)

- 42. Assaults on the safety and security of personnel operating in the context of a peace-keeping operation were a source of constant concern, and energetic measures must be taken against those who threatened United Nations personnel and prevented them from carrying out their duties. It was encouraging to note that security had become a component in the planning of peace-keeping operations.
- 43. His delegation endorsed the Special Committee's recommendation to record the names of those who had given their lives for peace in a public area at United Nations Headquarters, and reaffirmed Morocco's support for future peace-keeping operations.
- 44. Mr. EKOUMILONG (Cameroon) said that the proliferation of conflict in every region of the world had led the United Nations to take on ever-greater peace-keeping responsibilities. It was necessary to reflect on the underlying reasons for that proliferation and on the conditions that needed to be created to encourage peace. In that regard, the ideas put forward by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace" provided useful guidelines for action by the international community.
- 45. The United Nations should react cautiously to broadening its definition of the concept of peace-keeping operations, which could undermine the principles consecrated in Article 2 of its Charter, such as national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Furthermore, States must be brought to accept a new idea of peace-keeping incorporating novel aspects such as humanitarian assistance, promotion of democracy and respect for human rights. Efforts were also needed to dispel apprehensions regarding such operations, which would permit, at least in part, the resolution of other problems linked to those apprehensions, including in particular the safety of personnel in the field, which could not be ensured without the cooperation of the parties to the conflict. In that connection, his delegation wholeheartedly supported the Sixth Committee's work on the elaboration of a legal instrument to improve the safety of peace-keeping personnel, and hoped that the vast majority of Member States would cooperate in that exercise.
- 46. To ensure the success of its peace-keeping operations, the United Nations must be convincingly impartial in both its actions and its decisions. To that end, every operation should receive a clear and specific mandate and should be placed under the absolute authority of the Secretary-General. A careful study of the appropriateness and goals of operations should be made prior to their launching, taking into account the underlying causes of the conflict to be resolved.
- 47. His delegation welcomed the importance attached to the role that regional organizations could play in peacemaking, and thanked the United Nations for its assistance to the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa. Such assistance was also vital for the Organization of African Unity, which had recently established a mechanism for the prevention and management of crises in Africa.

(Mr. Ekoumilong, Cameroon)

- 48. Regarding the question of personnel training, his delegation supported the initiatives taken or envisaged and hoped that trainer training fellowships would be awarded soon. Further consideration should be given to establishing both stand-by forces for rapid deployment and a reserve stock of equipment.
- 49. His delegation attached great importance to preventive diplomacy, which should also be based on the dissemination of objective, educational information. Particularly in the third world, the many ongoing conflicts were also caused by poverty, ignorance, intolerance or xenophobia. Developing an early warning system for conflict prevention would also provide an effective tool and would be less costly than attempting to impose peace.
- 50. With respect to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation found the current system of determining the scale of assessments generally satisfactory, and invited the States members of the Security Council to continue to assume greater responsibility, given their pivotal decision-making role in peace-keeping operations.
- 51. Lastly, Cameroon paid tribute to all those who had given their lives for peace and endorsed the idea currently under consideration of putting up a plaque or monument in their memory in a public area of the United Nations Headquarters buildings.
- 52. Mr. Chilila (Romania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.
- 53. Mr. ELTINAY (Sudan) said that if Bosnia was an example of the biased application of Security Council resolutions, then Somalia was an illustration of a peace-keeping operation where the command had exceeded its mandate, which had resulted in bloodshed and the exacerbation of the problems, thereby proving that the mandate of missions should be clearly defined and adhered to.
- 54. All were agreed that the United Nations peace-keeping operations had reached a turning point in their history; there were 17 such operations under way throughout the world, and costs exceeded US\$ 3 billion. The scope of the Organization's activities in the context of such operations was being broadened, ranging from the organization of elections and monitoring of the observance of human rights to the establishment of State institutions all arduous tasks that prolonged what should essentially be temporary missions. That proved costly and could have negative consequences for the country intended to benefit from the peace-keeping operation. For those reasons, an overall review of peace-keeping operations was justified.
- 55. Peace-keeping operations came within the scope of collective security, but many local factors should be taken into consideration, by assigning the principal role to the regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. There must be cooperation with the regional organizations concerned before United Nations forces were deployed in a given country. Attempts made in the name of preventive diplomacy without heeding the basic rules laid down with regard to peace-keeping operations and in defiance of

(Mr. Eltinay, Sudan)

the sovereignty of States were unwise and unreasonable. Any preventive deployment or the establishment of demilitarized zones was a form of interference in the internal affairs of States, whereas an essential condition of peace-keeping was that a United Nations presence could only be established in the territory of a State with its consent.

- 56. Moreover, it was important to draw a distinction between peace-keeping operations and peacemaking, which, as had been seen in Somalia, was an infringement of the right of populations to choose freely their Government and future.
- 57. In applying Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization had applied different criteria in different situations. The major Powers wished to apply Chapter VII vis-à-vis the countries whose policy did not meet with their approval, yet decided not to take action in Bosnia, where the Muslim population risked annihilation on racial and religious grounds. Moreover, the deployment of several peace-keeping forces was used as a pretext for not launching air raids against the Serbian aggressors and overlooking the crimes perpetrated by the West's allies in Bosnia. The operation certainly constituted a failure on the part of the United Nations, which had decreed an embargo on arms that hit the Bosnian people hard, while those committing aggression against them had no difficulty in securing supplies.
- 58. The change in the Security Council's position with respect to the situation in Somalia, as reflected by resolutions 885 (1993) and 886 (1993), offered the hope that priority would be accorded to a political solution involving the States in the region, which were best acquainted with Somalia and its people, with a view to reconstructing what had been destroyed by the war and allowing the people to decide on their political future. He was glad that the international community had finally heeded the appeal launched by the Sudan and the States of the region in that connection.
- 59. The safety of personnel responsible for peace-keeping activities was an important matter. The safety of the staff of the Organization was governed by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 1946. While it was possible to examine the matter in a new legal context covering the new aspects of peace-keeping operations, it could not be said that the responsibility for the safety of United Nations personnel lay entirely with the host State. In certain cases, the host State was not consulted before United Nations personnel, and in other cases it did not have control over the entire territory in which they were deployed, as was the case in wartime. For those reasons the Special Committee must continue its work and seek the views of States on all aspects of peace-keeping matters.
- 60. Mr. PALYA (Hungary) said that peace-keeping operations were indispensable for maintaining international peace and security, and in many cases constituted the last chance for parties to a conflict to reach a peaceful settlement. They played an important role in Eastern and Central Europe, where almost every State was facing ethnic tensions, and helped to preserve the stability of those

(Mr. Palya, Hungary)

regions. Hungary hoped that most of the proposals contained in the draft resolution would be put into practice in the near future.

- 61. In the last few years, political conflicts had changed radically and had become more serious and complex. Given the increased complexity of the tasks to be carried out, there was an urgent need for permanent staff to plan and conduct the peace-keeping operations. Hungary therefore welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations; it also considered that the respective roles of the United Nations Headquarters and its field operations should be more clearly defined. Furthermore, clear mandates were required for the different missions in order to maintain the necessary level of support of the parties concerned, and such mandates should be subject to periodic review by the Security Council.
- 62. It had often become necessary to launch preventive operations rapidly, and the availability of the necessary material and human resources was thus the most important factor. Hungary welcomed the establishment of a planning team for the rapid detachment of personnel according to availability. It also approved of the other measures envisaged in the area, such as contracting out support services, but considered that the financial implications of such arrangements should be taken into consideration. The personnel involved in such activities required training, and his delegation hoped that a training centre would shortly be set up in Hungary. As to the financial aspects, it was important to rationalize the resources currently at the disposal of the Organization and to improve financial control mechanisms as well as the cost-effectiveness of operations. Hungary, which had supported the establishment of a Peace-Keeping Reserve Fund, hoped that sufficient contributions would be received to allow it to fulfil its function and that the available resources would be used for launching new activities rather than covering the expenses of current operations.
- 63. Hungary believed that political dialogue was the best means for parties to settle their conflicts since the Organization was unable to impose peace on them and considered that the peace-keeping missions should work along those lines. Moreover, regional organizations had a useful role to play in the search for a peaceful solution to disputes, as had been demonstrated in Somalia.
- 64. Hungary paid tribute to those who had lost their lives during peace-keeping activities. It welcomed the efforts made by the Fourth and Sixth Committees to establish a legal framework for ensuring the safety of peace-keeping personnel, but considered that the primary responsibility lay with the host Governments.
- 65. Humanitarian assistance was a fundamental part of peace-keeping operations, and Hungary attached great importance to improving the coordination of such activities with regional and non-governmental organizations.
- 66. Mr. ABDERAHMAN (Egypt), after recalling the concern that had arisen over peace-keeping operations, said that all Member States should assume their share of the cost of such operations, paying their contributions in full and on time.

(Mr. Abderahman, Egypt)

It was important that the United Nations should be able to reimburse troop-contributing States without delay; otherwise the developing countries would be unable to participate, which would jeopardize the universal nature of peace-keeping operations.

- 67. With regard to the question of the resources available to the United Nations, his delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative of establishing a stand-by forces planning team.
- 68. Although the Security Council bore the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly should also share some responsibility and could play a more active role in assessing the effectiveness of operations, coordinating the activities of the relevant United Nations bodies and formulating guidelines and principles.
- 69. His delegation supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, which provided both for improved consultation the importance of which could not be overemphasized between the Secretariat, the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council and for strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities. He also welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of an around-the-clock situation room.
- 70. His country was concerned by the increasing numbers of casualties among United Nations personnel and urged the Secretary-General to review the current arrangements of compensation for death, injury, disability or illness, in order to develop more equitable arrangements and ensure expeditious reimbursement.
- 71. Lastly, he reaffirmed the importance of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.
- 72. Mr. LEPESHKO (Belarus) noted that the cold war had long poisoned international relations, one instance being the way it had hindered the proper functioning of the United Nations. Currently, however, for many peoples the absence of a national consciousness, a tragic social and economic situation and environmental problems had created centres of tension which lay at the source of innumerable local wars. It was that which made the question of peace-keeping operations so important: on the one hand, the international community had been offered an unprecedented opportunity for mutual understanding and fruitful cooperation, while on the other hand there had been an explosion of local conflicts and wars between nationalities and faiths, which had resulted in an unprecedented expansion of United Nations peacemaking activities which far exceeded the Organization's capacities.
- 73. With its firm belief in the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, Belarus was convinced that the use of armed forces to keep the peace was an extreme and provisional measure which should be reserved for situations where peaceful means for settling disputes had been exhausted. He fully shared

(Mr. Lepeshko, Belarus)

the Secretary-General's view that "the most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict".

- 74. In its peace-keeping operations the United Nations should be guided above all by the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, such as respect for the sovereignty of States and non-interference in internal affairs. A peace-keeping operation could not be successful unless it was conducted with the consent of the Governments concerned or the parties to the conflict. His country felt, moreover, that the success of any such operation required meticulous preparation, including an in-depth study of the situation in the conflict area, a clear understanding of the resources available to the United Nations to settle a given conflict, taking into account the stage it had reached, and a massive media information campaign. In that connection he welcomed draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, which aimed to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping capacities.
- 75. The experience of the previous years showed that the possibilities and resources available to the United Nations in that field were far from unlimited. It could not jeopardize its own authority or the lives of the military and civilian forces under its authority by undertaking a peace-keeping operation without being sure of its success. Any such operation should be preceded by open multilateral consultations between the Secretary-General, the members of the Security Council and the relevant States Members of the United Nations. Extensive cooperation with regional organizations, which could play a more active role in the settlement of conflicts, would also be useful. It was important that civilian and military participants in peace-keeping operations should receive the required training and that a database should be set up on civilians whom Member States could put at the disposal of the United Nations for peace-keeping operations.
- 76. In accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter, the funding of peace-keeping operations was the collective responsibility of all States, so Belarus welcomed the decision taken by the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session to create a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It shared the Secretary-General's concern that many Member States did not pay their contributions in full and on time, but he was convinced that the situation would improve only if there were a fairer division of financial charges among Member States.
- 77. In recent years the political and economic situation of many countries had changed radically. Yet the scale of assessments and the composition of the groups established for the purpose of apportioning the expenses relating to peace-keeping operations had not changed. At the forty-sixth session the General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to submit a report on the anomalies in the division of countries into four groups as indicated in General Assembly resolution 43/232. The Secretary-General's report (A/47/484) had been considered by the Fifth Committee at the forty-seventh session, when his delegation, along with many others, had supported the practical proposals there formulated, but in the absence of the necessary political will no decision had

(Mr. Lepeshko, Belarus)

been taken. Consideration of the matter was being unduly prolonged at the current session, too, despite the clear need to eliminate the anomalies in question. It was particularly important to take a decision regarding Belarus and Ukraine, which for purely political and ideological reasons had been classified under group (b), consisting of economically developed Member States that were not permanent members of the Security Council. Those two States, which, together with the former Soviet Union, had been founder Members of the United Nations, continued for inexplicable reasons to be in a group which did not correspond with their level of economic development. It should be recalled that all the other republics of the former Soviet Union had been correctly included in group (c), consisting of economically less developed States. It was a matter of urgency to resolve the matter at the current session. The economic and financial crisis that Belarus was going through meant that it could not wait for a comprehensive solution, while the reclassification of Belarus and Ukraine in group (c) was entirely justified.

- 78. His country was ready to contribute in any way to strengthening peace and security throughout the world. It had always done everything and would continue to do everything in its power in the service of such a noble cause. Its sincerity could be judged by its disarmament policy. Most notably, it had voluntarily and unconditionally given up its nuclear weapons and had acceded to the relevant international treaties.
- 79. Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) recalled that his country had already provided a contingent to the United Nations Force in the former Belgian Congo and was currently participating in the operations in Western Sahara, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. It had also participated in UNTAG in Namibia and in UNTAC in Cambodia. Second-generation peace-keeping operations had evolved beyond the traditional role of separating combatants and now involved new tasks, such as the delivery and protection of humanitarian assistance and the monitoring of boundaries. Because their scope and complexity rendered peace-keeping operations difficult, it was essential that they should be carried out in strict compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.
- 80. Given the critical financial situation of the United Nations, Member States should pay their assessed contributions to the peace-keeping budget in full and on time. The resolution of that problem was all the more important because it held up the reimbursement to troop-contributing States of the amounts owed to them by the Organization for their participation in peace-keeping operations and for compensation for disabilities suffered by their nationals in the course of service in United Nations operations. In that regard, mention should be made of the special responsibility borne by those States which were permanent members of the Security Council. Moreover, the financial capacity of countries with limited resources should be taken into account in the assessment of contributions.
- 81. Tunisia, whose nationals had given their lives during United Nations operations, was concerned about the problem of the safety of United Nations

(Mr. Abdellah, Tunisia)

personnel. It therefore noted with interest the Secretary-General's proposals in that regard and welcomed the consultations under way in the Sixth Committee on the elaboration of an international legal instrument for the protection of peace-keeping personnel. In that regard, Tunisia wished to pay tribute to the many United Nations personnel who had died in the line of duty.

82. Tunisia wished to see the strengthening, or even the institutionalization, of consultations with troop-contributing States. It would be useful to involve those States in the Security Council consultations when future operations were being planned. Similarly, his delegation would welcome closer consultations between the Secretary-General and those same States on the question of the management and conduct of such operations.

83. Mr. Kalpagé (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

- 84. Mr. MELENDEZ-BARAHONA (El Salvador), speaking on behalf of the Central American group of countries, said that, given the experience gained in missions in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Haiti, it was essential to carry out an in-depth review and re-evaluation of the operations under way in order to take the corrective measures necessary to enable the Organization to cope with threats to international peace and security, while fully observing the provisions of the Charter. The United Nations should be careful not to become the policeman of the world or a tool of any given Power. It was therefore important, before envisaging even the smallest peace-keeping operation, to determine whether a particular crisis situation was likely to degenerate and threaten international peace and security. Indeed, before reaching that point, efforts should be made to resolve the crisis by recourse to the various international mechanisms and instruments currently available. The Organization should explore more fully the possibilities of preventive diplomacy and spare no effort to address the economic and social origins of crises.
- 85. Recalling that the maintenance of international peace and security was the collective responsibility of Member States in terms of both financing and decision-making, he said that the Central American group of countries supported all initiatives aimed at strengthening the Secretariat's capacity to manage and administer peace-keeping operations. Likewise, they were convinced that the planning and implementation of all operations should be under the control of the United Nations and that the General Assembly should play a greater role in decision-making in the area of peace-keeping. No operation should be undertaken without the consent of all the parties to the conflict, in the case of Central America, the peace process had moved along in the right direction because all the parties directly concerned had demonstrated the necessary willingness to resolve existing problems by political means.
- 86. The cessation of hostilities did not mean that the conflict had been resolved, in so far as all conflicts had after-effects which exacerbated the classic economic and social problems. It was therefore important to consolidate peace. In that connection, much remained to be done in Central America, despite the results obtained with the help of the international community and the United

(Mr. Melendez-Barahona, El Salvador)

Nations system. The principal task at hand was to halt the decline of the markets for the region's export products, which prevented it from implementing its priority programmes: the reintegration of displaced persons and former combatants into economic life, agrarian reform, the struggle against poverty, and the consolidation of democratic institutions, in particular.

- $87. \ \underline{\text{Mr. TAYLHARDAT}}$ (Venezuela) said that the unprecedented increase in the number and scope of peace-keeping operations raised many political, conceptual and operational questions.
- 88. At the political level, even though all Member States were invited to participate in United Nations operations and contribute to their financing, the vast majority of them had no role in the decisions authorizing such operations. In addition to the problem of the representativity of the Security Council, there was no mechanism by which troop-contributing countries could be kept informed of the progress and prospects of a particular operation.
- 89. At a more theoretical level, the question might be asked whether certain operations were in conformity with the principles of national sovereignty and whether there had been excessive recourse to force and to sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It might also be asked, whether the Security Council was competent to deal with questions concerning humanitarian law and human rights, and whether it was prudent to progress from peace-keeping to peacemaking, with all the political, military or even legal risks which such a move entailed. Furthermore, at the operational level, many problems of command, control and planning, not to mention organization and financing, had to be faced.
- 90. Nevertheless, the United Nations remained the only organization possessing the moral and political authority necessary for the consolidation of peace, and its presence was essential, whether the purpose was to provide humanitarian or electoral assistance. Venezuela therefore supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and felt that further consideration should be given to the measures which the new operations would necessitate.
- 91. Venezuela was very concerned about the safety of United Nations civilian and military personnel and vigorously condemned the deliberate attacks of which they had been victims. It was glad that the Sixth Committee was considering the preparation of a legal instrument to ensure that those responsible for such attacks were brought to justice. Nevertheless, it was also necessary to study the link between the rapid increase in such attacks and the relationship between the United Nations and the parties to the conflicts concerned.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.