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New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 21st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. HOLOHAN (Ireland)
(Vice-Chairman)

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In the absence of Mr. Muthaura (Kenya), Mr. Holohan (Ireland),
Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 86: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/49/875-S/1995/235, A/49/876, A/49/866-S/1995/276, A/50/137-S/1995/295, A/50/215-S/1995/475, A/50/230, A/50/254-S/1995/501, A/50/437, A/50/572, A/50/702, A/50/711-S/1995/911; A/C.4/50/L.10)

1. Mr. ABDERAHMAN (Egypt) said that pending the enlargement of the membership of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, it should continue to be open to the participation of all observers on an equal footing with its members.

2. In view of the financial crisis which threatened the very existence of the Organization, the payment of assessed contributions was the most important step in providing the resources needed for peace-keeping operations. Under Article 17 of the Charter, the payment of assessed contributions was a legal obligation for all Member States, not simply a voluntary political commitment.

3. His delegation hoped that the ongoing peace negotiations on the former Yugoslavia would lead to fair agreements which would be respected by all the parties and that the international community would continue to play a prominent role in restoring and keeping peace in that region. The lessons learned in the former Yugoslavia should serve as a guide for future activities. Peace-keeping was based on different political and military premises than those underlying enforcement. When the Security Council authorized an operation under Chapter VII of the Charter, it should be very clear that it was not a traditional peace-keeping operation, based on the consent of the parties. When the Security Council adopted enforcement measures, it should strictly follow the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Expanding the definition of what might constitute a threat to international peace and security in order to justify enforcement measures could have a negative impact on the credibility of the Organization. The same was true when the political will to put a stop to aggression was lacking, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. In accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, the role of regional arrangements and organizations could be crucial to the success of preventive diplomacy. His delegation welcomed the report of the Secretary-General on improving preparedness for conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa (A/50/711-S/1995/911), which included various proposals that could help to mobilize financial and logistical support for the peace-keeping activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to develop training programmes on the settlement of disputes. The Government of Egypt had established, in Cairo, a training centre for conflict resolution and peace-keeping in Africa, which might participate in the implementation of some of the proposals included in the report. His Government was confident that the Centre would receive assistance from the Department of Peace-keeping Operations (DPKO) and countries with experience in that field. Egypt supported the Secretary-General's proposal to

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establish a trust fund dedicated to preparedness for conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa.

5. His delegation recognized that the training of troops and officers was primarily the responsibility of national Governments; however, the United Nations had developed training tools to assist in that task, including the regional peace-keeping workshops. An African peace-keeping workshop would be held in Egypt in February 1996. His delegation valued the efforts of DPKO to promote standardized peace-keeping training and the role of the Training Unit in the field of peace-keeping.

6. While his delegation supported the principle of the unity of command and recognized the necessity for a peace-keeping operation to function as an integrated whole, it felt that it was also important to consult with the troop-contributing countries on decisions that might affect the safety of their troops. The Security Council should act in accordance with the spirit of Article 44 of the Charter by institutionalizing such consultations as an integral part of the decision-making process on any peace-keeping operation. Furthermore, the General Assembly should play a more active role in areas such as assessment of an operation's effectiveness in implementing its mandate, coordination between competent United Nations bodies, formulation of guidelines and principles and provision of support for the Secretary-General.

7. With regard to the development of a rapidly deployable headquarters team, his delegation wished to be certain that such a team would include representatives of troop-contributing countries from the developing world. Lastly, his delegation was confident that the negative image of United Nations peace-keeping operations could be corrected.

8. Mr. YUDIN (Russian Federation) said that a dangerous tendency to downplay the role of United Nations peace-keeping operations, or to act in circumvention of the Charter and the collective will of the Security Council, had recently emerged. In recent years, the simultaneous conduct of numerous multifunctional operations had practically led the United Nations to a "saturation point". The United Nations peace-keeping potential must be drastically modernized and, above all, uniform criteria must be established for organizing and conducting such operations. The greatest importance should be attached to the following: determination of real threats to international peace and security; political guidance by the Security Council; inadmissibility of the creeping transformation of peace-keeping operations into enforcement operations by circumventing the decisions of the Security Council; development of feasible mandates and adequate financing; setting of reasonable time-frames for carrying out operations and inadmissibility of the automatic extension of mandates and the linkage of operations to efforts aimed at a political solution; availability of an efficient military command reporting to the Secretary-General and under the control of the Security Council; and sharing of responsibility with regional organizations.

9. The Security Council sometimes applied double standards in approaching different situations, and artificially divided crises into categories of greater or lesser importance. It had also been seen that "traditional" and "enforcement" mandates were incompatible within a single operation, and that it

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was necessary to clearly define the tasks entrusted to States and regional organizations. His Government supported measures aimed at improving command and control structures and encouraged interaction with the contingents of other countries. In order to improve the efficiency of the Organization's efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, interaction between the United Nations and regional organizations should be strengthened, although the diversity of situations on the ground must be taken into account.

10. His delegation attached particular importance to the establishment of working relations between the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in various regions of Europe and Asia. His Government had a particular interest in United Nations assistance in the settlement of conflicts in the territory of States members of CIS. Unfortunately, repeated calls for such assistance, including the launching of full-scale United Nations peace-keeping operations, had not met any response, as a result of the aforementioned double standards.

11. In general, it would be useful to study thoroughly the proposals for increasing the Organization's rapid response capability. Putting them into practice would require answers to be found to serious questions regarding organization, composition, training, and command and control of such forces, and the modalities of their use. At the same time, work should be continued on the standby agreements system, which could become an efficient means to make available promptly the necessary resources for newly established or existing peace-keeping missions. In addition, a database on national contingents, logistic support and other services should be established in the Secretariat. In order to ensure a more rapid response to emergency situations, it would no doubt be useful to improve national legislation on the participation of the international community in peace-keeping activities.

12. Peace-keeping operations had always involved risks for their personnel, but that danger had become much greater in recent times, as could be seen from the statistics. In that regard, his delegation welcomed the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel (contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 49/59).

13. Regarding the problem of the financing of operations, he recalled that despite its difficult economic situation, the Russian Federation was contributing to the budgets of various operations. Issues related to the information component needed to be solved, and that important aspect should be taken into account at the planning stage.

14. Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) said that it was important that peace-keeping operations should be carried out within the framework of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the consent of the States in which they were taking place. In order for such operations to achieve their objectives they should have a clear mandate and a well-defined command and control structure. They should not, however, take the place of measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, nor should they lead the international community to overlook the importance of development, which was the most appropriate means of preventing and avoiding social and political tensions and conflicts.

15. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations should be increased, especially in matters concerning the continent of Africa, where the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was endeavouring to prevent the repetition of conflicts and to promote development. When Tunisia had occupied the chairmanship of OAU in 1994, it had done everything possible to draw the international community's attention to the problems of the African continent and to obtain support for the organization. His Government was grateful to all those States outside Africa which had responded to its appeal by contributing to the OAU peace fund or by organizing seminars on ways of increasing the ability of African countries to deal with conflicts.

16. In that connection, his Government supported the proposal of the Secretary-General to appoint a United Nations liaison official at OAU headquarters to work towards efficient coordination of the two organizations' conflict prevention, management and solution activities. He also agreed with the proposal to establish, with the help of the United Nations, an operations centre within the OAU to improve its early-response system.

17. His delegation supported the stand-by forces agreements and felt that the seminar on conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa to be held in Dakar would be a propitious occasion for examining all the proposals which had been made concerning those agreements.

18. Regarding the consultations which were taking place between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries, he said that, before the Security Council determined the mandate of a mission, consultations should be held with those countries which could contribute troops to that mission. Also, the Secretariat should submit periodic reports to the countries, particularly to those which contributed troops, on the progress of peace-keeping operations.

19. All Member States should pay their contributions on time, in full and unconditionally; the Organization's financial crisis was having negative effects on those countries which contributed troops and equipment, particularly developing countries which might prove to be unable to continue participating in further operations.

20. His Government was in favour of improving the safety of the personnel of peace-keeping operations, and had therefore acceded to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel. The safety issue should be taken into account in the planning of missions. The provisions for death and disability compensation should be standardized.

21. In conclusion, his delegation supported the expansion of the membership of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations as proposed in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects (A/C.4/50/L.10). Tunisia wished to participate as a full member of the Special Committee and to contribute thereby to activities in the interest of peace.

22. Mr. AL-OTAIBI (Kuwait) said that peace-keeping operations were not restricted to settling disputes but involved broader and more complex tasks,

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such as humanitarian aid and the establishment of governmental institutions, which in turn gave rise to administrative and financial problems calling for immediate solutions. The Special Committee and the Secretariat had endeavoured to resolve those problems and ensure the smooth running of operations, but the task also required the full cooperation of the international community.

23. Firstly, it was essential that States should pay their assessments in full and on time. All Member States were responsible for financing peace-keeping operations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In addition, the Secretariat, the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries should continue their consultations at every stage of every peace-keeping operation. Finally, after establishing the mandate for operations, the Security Council and the Secretariat should furnish them with the necessary means to carry out their task. It was also worth mentioning the potential role of the Department of Public Information in supplying information to all countries participating in peace-keeping operations and in making that information available to the general public. Such information would help to forestall administrative problems during the operations.

24. Kuwait had supported the United Nations Observer Mission in Iraq and Kuwait (UNIKOM) and had decided to pay two thirds of its budget. He commended the Mission's work in monitoring violations by Iraq and thanked all countries which had contributed troops to the Mission.

25. Unfortunately, some peace-keeping operations had not achieved their objectives on account of late deployment of troops, inappropriate administration or insufficient resources. The United Nations should use the experience acquired during those operations to improve the situation. In that connection, Kuwait supported the Netherlands proposal for a rapid deployment brigade at the disposal of the Security Council.

26. Mr. BAKHIET (Sudan) said that there were certain prerequisites for mounting a peace-keeping operation. All parties to a conflict should agree on the operation, and the peace-keeping personnel should act in an impartial manner. Decisions regarding peace-keeping operations should be taken not by the Security Council alone but also by the General Assembly. Peace-keeping operations should help to settle disputes by political means and to further the social and economic development of the countries involved. The international community should respect the territorial integrity of countries in which such operations were carried out and should not intervene in the internal affairs of States. A mechanism for recording expenses relating to operations should be established.

27. All United Nations Member States were responsible for financing peace-keeping operations. Mandates for operations should be established in accordance with recommendations contained in the report of the Joint Inspection Unit entitled "Investigation of the relationship between humanitarian assistance and peace-keeping operations" which the Secretary-General had transmitted to the General Assembly in document A/50/572.

28. He agreed that measures should be taken to enhance the safety of personnel involved in peace-keeping operations. Non-governmental organizations should

respect sovereignty and territorial integrity and comply with current agreements concluded with the national authorities.

29. Finally, he emphasized the importance of the role which regional organizations played in peace-keeping and urged the Security Council to cooperate with such organizations, which were better acquainted with the nature of the conflicts and with the culture and social conditions of the region in which peace-keeping operations were carried out.

30. Mr. OMOTOSO (Chief, Division of External Relations of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)), referring to the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) report A/50/572, and to recommendation 8 in particular, said that in recent years, the number of peace-keeping operations and major complex emergencies had increased considerably. Mr. James Gustave Speth, Administrator of UNDP, had lamented that situation, since the financial, material and human resources allocated to such operations could have been devoted to programmes of economic, social and sustainable human development.

31. UNDP fully shared the view of JIU that the task of coordinating humanitarian activities should be assigned to the United Nations resident coordinator who, in accordance with several General Assembly resolutions, was almost invariably the resident representative of UNDP. Paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 48/209, of 21 December 1993, reaffirmed that the resident representative of UNDP should normally be designated as the resident coordinator and that the resident coordinator should normally coordinate the humanitarian assistance of the United Nations system at the country level. The role of the UNDP resident representative stemmed from the multisectoral and integrative mandate of UNDP, its size and central funding capacity, its historical experience in providing the coordination function at the country level, and its role in financing the costs of the resident coordinator system. No other organization had a network comparable to the 136 field offices of UNDP or to the wealth of experience and knowledge of countries before, during and after emergencies and peace-keeping operations.

32. Both UNDP and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs concurred with the aforementioned JIU recommendation in the belief that joint leadership in the field was the ideal. The Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee shared the UNDP Administrator's opinion that a separate humanitarian coordinator should be appointed only in the most exceptional circumstances. Currently, the functions of resident and humanitarian coordinators had been consolidated, with the support of the Department and the Standing Committee. The Administrator considered that when the resident coordinator/humanitarian coordinator required special assistance, he or she should be given adequate support by the United Nations system through a humanitarian adviser or a support unit with the necessary resources.

33. In recent years, UNDP, with support from its Executive Board, had tackled the difficult task of operating and strengthening the resident coordinator system. The quality of resident coordinators had been upgraded through the selection mechanism, the training process, resource allocation and headquarters support. Special terms of reference had been developed for the resident coordinator/humanitarian coordinator which were aimed at giving direction to and

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facilitating their functions. Revised procedures concerning financial and administrative actions during emergencies or natural disasters had been issued.

34. Through expanded pool arrangements, the recruitment of United Nations resident coordinators/UNDP resident representatives had been opened to other United Nations organizations. Several resident coordinators had been directly recruited from other United Nations organizations. As of May 1995, a total of 45 of the 115 Resident Coordinators had come directly from or had worked in an agency other than UNDP and, currently, several others were involved in the reassignment exercise for 1996. The assignment exercises provided a clearer definition of country-by-country needs. Special emphasis had also been put on the selection of more women as resident coordinators. In collaboration with the International Training Centre of the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNDP had begun preparing a training package designed specifically for resident coordinators and had implemented a series of training activities. In addition, UNDP had developed a roster of qualified staff with relevant training and experience who were ready and willing to be designated as humanitarian coordinators or to serve as advisers to incumbents if required.

35. UNDP supported the views of the Joint Inspection Unit concerning the possible contributions of the "White Helmets" and the safety of United Nations personnel.

36. Mr. MASARWEH (Jordan) said he was concerned that apparently the Department of Peace-keeping Operations had recently been giving preference to staff members from countries that were prepared to finance their posts and functions. Notwithstanding the Organization's financial crisis and the fact that all countries which put their military personnel at the disposal of the United Nations were owed a debt of gratitude, there were many disadvantages to such a practice since the countries with the capacity to pay would end up dominating the entire gamut of peace-keeping operations and would prevent the large majority of troop-contributing countries from occupying posts in the Department. While many of the troop contributors had highly qualified military personnel, they could not afford the luxury of sending such personnel to New York. The practice could undermine the international nature of peace-keeping operations. While the richer countries could not be prevented from making military personnel available to the United Nations without charge, his delegation felt that some norms and percentages should be respected in order to ensure that the personnel of countries which were not able to pay could also offer their services.

37. Mr. MARTINI HERRERA (Guatemala), speaking also on behalf of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama, said that Central America attached great importance to peace-keeping operations. Since the end of the 1980s, the peace process in the region had benefited from peace-keeping operations which had carried out various functions and had contributed to overcoming internal crises in several Central American countries.

38. The objective of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), which had operated from April 1989 to March 1990, had been to verify the fulfilment by the five Central American countries that were located north of Panama of their commitment to refrain from assisting irregular forces in the region and using the territory of a particular State to launch attacks on

neighbouring States. ONUCA had also participated in the demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance and supervised the cease-fire in Nicaragua.

39. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), whose mandate had begun in July 1991, had ended in April 1995. The objective of that mission had been to verify compliance with the San Jose Agreement on Human Rights and the Chapultepec Agreement. ONUSAL had performed a multidisciplinary function which had included inter alia supervising and verifying commitments with respect to human rights, implementing demobilization, supervising reforms of the judicial and electoral systems, and establishing and strengthening the new national civilian police. Currently, a smaller component of the new United Nations Mission in El Salvador (MINUSAL) was implementing the task of verifying compliance with the remaining commitments.

40. He welcomed the fact that personnel from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala were serving with the United Nations Mission in Haiti. The Central American countries supported the recommendations of the Special Committee that peace-keeping operations should observe the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, namely, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Peace-keeping operations should not be financed by using resources that the Organization had earmarked for development activities. Partnerships should be established between Governments that required equipment for missions and those willing to provide it and the United Nations should play a coordinating role in such arrangements. Uniform compensation arrangements should be established in respect of death and disability benefits based on the principle of equality of all Member States. The Central American countries supported the Special Committee's recommendation that consultations between the United Nations Secretariat and potential troop-contributing countries should be held sufficiently in advance in order to give such countries time to decide on their participation. Equal opportunities should be ensured to facilitate the widest possible participation of all Member States, particularly developing countries, in peace-keeping operations.

41. Mr. FROMUTH (United States of America) praised the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which reaffirmed the support of Member States for peace-keeping operations and their determination to continue to improve such operations. In particular, the recent initiative to form a rapidly deployable headquarters team for future field operations was welcome, as was the Secretariat's work on a United Nations code of conduct for peace-keeping personnel. Another positive development was the first annual report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS), which underscored the usefulness of the Office as a potentially powerful management tool. The report had also emphasized the need to respond promptly and effectively to emergencies in Africa and his delegation welcomed the recent report of the Secretary-General thereon.

42. His delegation had concerns in two areas. First, the serious management issues which had been covered in the OIOS report should be promptly and effectively addressed. Second, it was regrettable that, despite repeated requests to the Secretariat, there had been little discernible progress with respect to the establishment of an effective public information capacity as an integral part of peace-keeping operations and coordinated Headquarters support.

He once again exhorted the Secretary-General to review the resources at his disposal with a view to correcting that situation as soon as possible.

43. Mr. CHANTHAVILAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that, in the fiftieth anniversary year of the United Nations, it was important to continue re-examining and re-evaluating United Nations peace-keeping operations in all their aspects so as to take necessary corrective measures to render them more useful and effective. He took note with great interest of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and drew attention to some aspects of peace-keeping which he felt were important. Firstly, peace-keeping operations should strictly observe the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity of States and non-intervention in their internal affairs. Secondly, the United Nations could and should do more through preventive diplomacy and peacemaking so that new conflicts might be avoided. Thirdly, all Member States should be encouraged to pay their contributions in full and on time in compliance with their obligations under Article 17 (2) of the Charter. Fourthly, such operations should be given a clear mandate, time-frame and secure financing and be guided by certain basic principles, namely, the consent of Member States or the parties involved, impartiality and non-intervention. Lastly, cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations could, in certain circumstances, contribute to safeguarding international peace and security.

44. While peace-keeping operations helped to resolve conflicts, more attention should be given to the root causes of conflicts, such as poverty, critical economic situations and inadequate social development. Therefore, peace and development were mutually complementary and deserved equal consideration. Resources should not be allocated to peace-keeping operations at the expense of resources for United Nations development activities.

45. Mr. AHMED (India) said that peace-keeping activities had passed their peak and that, as particular operations were wound down or came to an end, it was possible to foresee significant reductions in assessments for peace-keeping expenses. It was his delegation's hope that Member States would contribute a major portion of those savings to economic and social development.

46. India recommended that all Member States should adopt the guiding principles governing peace-keeping operations, which had been endorsed by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cartagena, Colombia, in September 1995, and which had previously been adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement in Cairo in 1994. The cardinal principles included: (a) peace-keeping operations were no substitute for political solutions; (b) they should be of a temporary nature and be based on the consent of the parties concerned; (c) the use of force as a means of maintaining international peace and security should be undertaken only as a last resort, when all means for the peaceful settlement of disputes had been exhausted; (d) peace-keeping operations should strictly adhere to the purposes and principles of the Charter, should be non-interventionist, and should be mandated at the request of the Member State involved; (e) operations should be distinct from other types of United Nations field operations, which did not, however, preclude the need for overall coordination; (f) operations must be established with a clear mandate,

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time-frame, clear objectives, secure financing and adequate resources; and (g) peace-keeping activities should not be financed at the expense of United Nations development activities.

47. Although regional arrangements and agencies no doubt had a role to play under Chapter VIII of the Charter in matters pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations must have complete control of peace-keeping operations which it approved, and should have the capacity to carry them out.

48. As to the future, there was a need to exercise caution in assessing proposals for a United Nations rapid-reaction capacity. They should be assessed against the yardstick of, *inter alia*, need, accountability, effectiveness, financial impact and the attendant legal and political consequences. Instead of trying to create something totally new, the focus should be on improving the system of United Nations stand-by forces.

49. The question of compensation for death and disability continued to cause concern. The recent non-aligned Conference at Cartagena had highlighted the need for the urgent establishment of a uniform United Nations scale of compensation for death and disability in respect of peace-keeping personnel.

50. His delegation supported the proposal to expand the size of the Special Committee and to make it more representative and more effective, particularly in view of the expansion in the membership of the United Nations and in the number of countries contributing troops. India was firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter and was determined in its support for the cause of international peace and security.

51. Mr. GOGSADZE (Georgia) said that the situation prevailing 50 years earlier at the founding of the United Nations had been drastically altered by the disintegration of the bipolar world and the emergence of new relationships, problems and challenges to world security. An analysis of peace-keeping operations in various countries led to a number of conclusions. The successful operation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia proved that preventive deployment was one of the most effective steps in that effort. Consequently, Georgia supported the idea of establishing a pool of special representatives and small field missions for the purposes of preventive diplomacy, provided, of course, that the host country so requested. Given the nature of current conflicts, any attempts to return to "traditional peace-keeping" would mean to limit the new role the United Nations was currently playing in world affairs.

52. It was necessary to improve some aspects of planning, managing and financing of peace-keeping. A mechanism was needed to ensure the introduction of a peace-keeping mission into the conflict zone immediately after the adoption of the corresponding decision. His delegation supported the Secretary-General's proposal to create a United Nations regular stand-by force of approximately 5,000 members subordinated to the United Nations Military Staff Committee. Military stand-by forces could be deployed and trained in the territories of contributor States and could be provided upon request by the Secretary-General. That would require the establishment of a databank in the Office of the

Secretary-General. In certain cases, the mandate of peace-keeping forces should be expanded to include police functions.

53. The Security Council had adopted 13 resolutions and statements by the President concerning the conflict in Georgia. The measures taken in cooperation with the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) and the peace-keeping forces in the Commonwealth of Independent States had raised hopes for a peaceful settlement. UNOMIG, whose work his delegation commended, should double or triple its efforts to accelerate the return of displaced persons.

54. The time had come to combat all forms of aggressive separatism. As the President of Georgia had stated recently, peace-keeping operations should not be replaced by appeasement of aggressors or the restoration of trampled rights by the neutrality of international observation. The new characteristics of regional and ethnic conflicts called for greater flexibility by the United Nations in the exercise of its own discretion when the time came - only in exceptional cases, of course - to use coercive means. It was necessary to draw up a new, universally acceptable set of rules and decision-making procedures which could be applied without unnecessary delays. Peace-keeping operations needed to confront challenges more vigorously and directly.

55. Mr. MURIITHI (Kenya) said that his country attached great importance to peace-keeping operations and had always contributed and would continue to contribute to them to the extent of its capacity. There was a growing realization that the resolution of conflicts entailed wider approaches than limited military operations. His delegation was convinced that more emphasis was needed on support for development and the peaceful settlement of disputes at the regional level through political and diplomatic means, with the support of the United Nations and the international community. In that connection he cited the Secretary-General's report on conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa (A/50/711) and noted the need to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, the primary role for the maintenance of international peace and security lay with the United Nations.

56. In his delegation's view, it was unacceptable that troop-contributing countries should continue subsidizing the countries which failed to honour their financial obligations to the Organization. There should be no linkage between the reform of the United Nations and payment of assessed contributions. It was imperative that Member States should honour their financial obligations through timely and full payment of assessed contributions as well as clearance of arrears, which in some cases had accumulated to an unacceptable level.

57. Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan) said that since the end of the cold war, the maintenance of international peace and security had become more important than ever. The increase in the number of peace-keeping operations in recent years clearly underlined the confidence of the international community in the United Nations. Unfortunately, the results of peace-keeping operations had been mixed. The concept of peace-keeping must be thoroughly reviewed in order to ensure its viability. That entailed a comprehensive analysis of a broad spectrum of issues ranging from political direction and strategic planning to the rules of engagement and the training of peace-keepers. In addition, the evolution and

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characteristics of each operation, the marked differences between relatively settled zones and war zones and the role of the United Nations in peacemaking and peace enforcement must be taken into account.

58. Preventive diplomacy was the cornerstone of United Nations peace efforts. It was very important that the United Nations should act before the outbreak of conflicts and establish an early warning mechanism for that purpose. That would enhance the effectiveness and reduce the cost of peace-keeping operations. Furthermore, as far as possible, attempts should be made to resolve conflicts by political means, through recourse to mediation, arbitration and good offices, as envisaged in Chapter VI of the Charter, and through the appointment of special representatives of the Secretary-General.

59. Pakistan was the beneficiary of one of the oldest peace-keeping operations, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), and expressed profound gratitude for the dedication and commitment with which UNMOGIP was performing its duties in adverse conditions. For its part, Pakistan was participating in various operations and was one of the troop-contributing countries.

60. Peace-keeping operations exemplified the political commitment of Member States to the concept of collective security and the maintenance of international peace and security. In order to function in an efficient manner, peace-keeping operations must have a clear political direction, a precise mandate, an effective command and control structure and well-defined rules of engagement. There should be no "sunset" clauses: peace-keeping operations must remain in place until the conflict was resolved. The problem of command and control was inherent in the multinational structure of peace-keeping operations. A system of prior consultation between the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat should be institutionalized before deciding on the mandate of a mission. In that way, countries could decide whether or not to participate. Additionally, command and control arrangements and groupings for various sectors or regions must be made available ahead of time in order to prevent objections once the troops were actually deployed. Furthermore, the force commander and deputy force commander must be appointed at an early stage, with the concurrence of the parties concerned, and must determine the operational aims and supervise the deployment of troops. In multinational peace-keeping operations, there should be no country groupings based on the level of development.

61. In order to ensure the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations, it was essential that there should be no alteration in their mandate, character and duration and that the Security Council should be informed of all their aspects. Peace-keeping operations should be commenced and terminated with the explicit approval of the Security Council. Moreover, the Secretariat should ensure a smooth transition from preventive diplomacy to peace-keeping. Pakistan welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General to improve management. In that respect, it stressed the importance of improving the capacity for rapid deployment and reinforcement. However, that subject raised a variety of important and complex issues, since at best those arrangements could be very useful, but at worst, they could become a tool of intervention in the hands of a few select countries.

62. Pakistan welcomed the proposal for the establishment of a reserve stock of equipment and the creation of partnerships between Governments which needed equipment and those which were ready to provide it. In order to reduce the reaction time for deployment, the United Nations should have several logistics bases, preferably at the regional level.

63. His delegation looked forward to the implementation of all the proposals, conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and placed on record its concern with regard to the system of compensation for death or disability. Regardless of nationality, all troops performed the same tasks, confronted similar risks and had the same value for their countries, and should therefore receive the same compensation.

64. The financial crisis of the Organization posed a threat to the continuation of peace-keeping operations and it was therefore essential for all Member States to pay their contributions in full and on time. On the question of training, Pakistan was already providing specialized training in peace-keeping to its troops. There was an urgent need to develop specialized training facilities, perhaps at the regional level, with the assistance of the United Nations and drawing on the experience of the field officers of Member States.

65. Mr. NUÑEZ MOSQUERA (Cuba) said that his delegation supported the position of the Non-Aligned Movement regarding peace-keeping operations. Peace-keeping operations should be governed by the principles of respect for the sovereignty and sovereign equality of all States and their territorial integrity, and by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It was essential for the parties to a conflict to have requested or consented to a peace-keeping operation before such an operation was deployed in their territories. It was also essential to maintain the impartiality of all United Nations peace-keeping operations. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that peace-keeping operations were only an instrument of last resort and that the preferred mechanism of action of the United Nations was mediation.

66. It was disturbing to note that there was growing resort to the use of force on behalf of the United Nations and that peace-keeping operations were being undertaken that had not been requested or consented to by the parties. It was natural that such operations had been rejected by the population of the countries in which they had been carried out because, although they were announced as humanitarian operations, they actually amounted to armed intervention. Peace could not be imposed by military means or with supposedly humanitarian interventions.

67. The tendency to include within peace-keeping operations other types of activities such as activities involving humanitarian assistance or human rights, which fell within the purview of other United Nations bodies and were outside the scope of activity of the Security Council, was also unacceptable. With regard to the command of peace-keeping operations his delegation believed that they should at all times be under the operational command of the United Nations. It was also important for peace-keeping operations to have a clear, well-defined and specific mandate and for the end of their mandate to be determined in an unequivocal and precise manner.

68. In order to ensure that peace-keeping operations were carried out in a transparent manner, permanent consultations must be held between the Security Council and the States concerned in such operations for their entire duration.

69. Since peace and development were indivisible, resources for development must be increased, and the real causes of conflicts must be addressed. Peace-keeping operations must not become permanent instruments replacing firm and lasting peace.

70. Mr. SANGARE (Mali) said that peace-keeping operations were one of the most important instruments available to the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. The scope of peace-keeping activities had expanded appreciably during recent years and involved new tasks such as protecting emergency assistance, addressing the needs of refugees, monitoring and implementing embargoes, carrying out mine-clearance operations and disarming warring parties. In addition to the military component, peace-keeping operations included a sizeable civilian component whose tasks included acting as election observers, monitoring respect for human rights, providing humanitarian assistance, setting up institutions, re-establishing services and restoring damaged infrastructure.

71. Mali, which was currently contributing to the peace-keeping operations in Angola, Burundi, Haiti and Rwanda, believed that peace-keeping operations should comply rigorously with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As the Secretary-General had indicated, the success of peace-keeping operations depended on respect for certain fundamental principles, above all the consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force, except in self-defence. Success also depended on the transparent conduct of such operations and guarantees of financing and support for activities to bring about the peaceful settlement of conflicts, as well as the speed with which they were implemented. To that end, the international community should establish a rapid reaction force as soon as possible.

72. His delegation believed that the most important element of any peace-keeping operation was the presence of competent and well-equipped personnel on the ground. That presupposed the organization of training activities and the provision of equipment for such personnel. In that context, he welcomed the holding in 1995 of two practical courses at the regional level and hoped that the practical course for the African region scheduled for 1996 would bring together the largest possible number of African countries. He welcomed the idea of establishing bilateral links between countries which were in a position to supply troop contingents and those which could provide equipment. He also noted with satisfaction the new mechanisms for consultation and exchange of information between troop-contributing countries.

73. His delegation was convinced that conflict prevention would cost the international community less than having to face the consequences of such conflicts. To that end, Mali had readily and fully espoused the Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa, the concept of which had been floated for the first time in 1982 at the Dakar summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Mali urged the international community to

provide assistance to OAU and its member States so that the mechanism could operate as it was intended to.

74. Mr. SUAN (Myanmar) endorsed the view that peace-keeping operations should strictly observe the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference in their internal affairs. In recent years, the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations had played an important role in settling conflicts. The increasing number and complexity of peace-keeping operations necessitated an assessment of the experience that had been gained. Although many peace-keeping operations, such as those in Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique and El Salvador, had been accomplished successfully, others, such as those in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Somalia, had had to contend with significant constraints and had not been effective. The Security Council should be much more conscious of when and under what mandate to begin peace-keeping operations. Moreover, agreement among major Powers must carry with it the support of the majority of Member States if the desired results were to be achieved.

75. Despite financial difficulties, Myanmar had always paid its assessed contributions for peace-keeping operations in full and on time. Myanmar had been one of the first countries to participate in such operations; it had sent military personnel to the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in 1958, the United Nations Observer Group in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in 1965 and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) from 1967 to 1969. His Government also welcomed the strengthening of the system of stand-by arrangements and had already informed the Secretary-General of its decision to contribute military personnel and equipment under those arrangements.

76. His delegation noted with concern the recent increase in the number of fatalities in peace-keeping operations and agreed with the Special Committee that the Secretariat should intensify its efforts to improve the safety and security of those participating in such missions and ensure the physical well-being of United Nations personnel.

77. Mr. Yang LEE (Republic of Korea) said that owing to the proliferation of regional conflict and violence since the end of the cold war, the United Nations had been obliged to focus on peace-keeping activities, which had produced mixed results. Successes could be attributed to greater understanding of the concept of peace-keeping among Member States, continued enhancement of the capabilities of the Secretariat and reinforced coordination and cooperation between the United Nations system and regional organizations. On the other hand, the setbacks experienced by the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Somalia could be explained by a lack of proper resources and an absence of cooperation from the parties concerned.

78. In order to contribute to the enhancement of United Nations rapid deployment capabilities called for by the Secretary-General, the Government of the Republic of Korea had decided to provide approximately 800 men in the form of infantry battalions, engineering units, medical units and military observers as part of the United Nations stand-by arrangements system. However, in order

for that system to function properly, the Secretariat should be strengthened. His delegation endorsed the establishment of a rapidly deployable headquarters capability in the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. The stand-by arrangements system was one of the most promising avenues for bolstering United Nations rapid reaction capability.

79. Regarding command and control of peace-keeping operations, he agreed with the definition given by the Secretary-General, in particular the distinction drawn between the three levels of authority: overall political direction, executive direction and command, and command in the field. In order to ensure their effectiveness, it was important to establish proper consultation and coordination mechanisms between troop-contributing countries, the Security Council and the Secretariat. His delegation also agreed with the Secretary-General that effectiveness in command and control depended on the willingness of troop-contributing countries to fulfil the essential requirements of the United Nations operational command and to provide national contingents under the authority of a United Nations commander. However, it was equally important that contingent commanders should be kept fully informed of the force commanders' operational plans.

80. It was vitally important for the international community to champion the security of peace-keeping personnel, who were often the targets of hostile and direct threats, such as armed attack and hostage-taking, or indirect threats, such as the new land-mines laid in violation of peace agreements. As a country which contributed troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations, the Republic of Korea called upon all parties to conflicts to end acts of hostility against personnel involved in such operations and to cooperate fully so that the personnel could carry out their tasks in safety.

81. His delegation endorsed expanded membership of the Special Committee, as set out in draft resolution A/C.4/50/L.10*, so as to duly reflect the concerns and interests of all troop-contributing countries. Finally, he wished to pay homage to all United Nations peace-keepers across the globe for their valuable role in maintaining peace and security.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.