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**81**st plenary meeting Thursday, 12 December 1996, 10 a.m. New York

President: Mr. Razali Ismail . . . . . . . . . (Malaysia)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Agenda item 38

**Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe** 

Report of the Secretary-General (A/51/489 and Add.1)

Draft resolution (A/51/L.52)

Amendment (A/51/L.54)

**The President:** I call on the representative of Denmark to introduce draft resolution A/51/L.52.

Mr. Kimberg (Denmark): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/51/L.52, on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on behalf of the sponsors listed in the document, as well as Switzerland, the current Chairman of the OSCE. In addition to the countries listed in the document, the following countries are sponsoring the draft resolution: Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Poland, the Republic of Moldova, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkmenistan and Romania.

The draft resolution acknowledges the increasing contribution of the OSCE to the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security in its

region through its activities in early warning and preventive diplomacy. This includes the activities of the High Commissioner for National Minorities, crisis management, arms control and disarmament, post-crisis stabilization and rehabilitation measures, its efforts in supporting the economic dimension and its crucial role in the human dimension.

The continued importance of enhanced coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE has, according to the draft, a high priority, and the meeting held between the United Nations and the regional and other organizations, on 15 and 16 February 1996, on the Secretary-General's invitation, was important in this context.

The report of the Secretary-General is therefore welcomed, together with progress in common work in the field between the United Nations and the OSCE. The Summit Declaration and the decisions adopted by the Heads of State or Government of the OSCE on 3 December 1996 in Lisbon constitute another important step in this direction.

In the draft the OSCE is commended for the fulfilment of the role assigned to it by the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the decision of the OSCE to continue its engagement is welcomed.

Furthermore, the draft resolution supports the activities of the OSCE aimed at contributing to stability

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and the maintenance of peace and security within its region and stresses the importance of the work done in this respect.

The Secretary-General is therefore requested to continue to explore with the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE possibilities for further enhancement of cooperation and to submit to the General Assembly at its fifty-second session a report on cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE.

Let me conclude by expressing Denmark's sincere appreciation for the excellent work carried out by the Swiss delegation in drafting and negotiating this draft resolution. I would like to add that my Government has followed Switzerland's handling of its responsibilities as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE with the greatest admiration and respect.

Finally, allow me to express the hope of all the sponsors that this draft resolution will attract broad support and will be adopted by consensus.

**The President:** I now call on the representative of Azerbaijan to introduce the amendment to draft resolution A/51/L.52 contained in document A/51/L.54.

**Mr. Kouliev** (Azerbaijan) (*interpretation from Russian*): I would like to take this opportunity to express the position of Azerbaijan on the agenda item under consideration and the reasoning that compelled us to put forward the amendment to the draft resolution just introduced by the representative of Denmark.

The Azerbaijani Republic attaches great importance to the multilevel cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Today, in a world of radically changed geopolitical realities, the international community, while rid of the ruinous global confrontation of two systems, is faced with a score of new and equally complex challenges to the security and sovereignty of States. We face aggressive separatism, racism, chauvinism, international terrorism and illegal drug trafficking, to name but a few of these phenomena.

In these circumstances, the effective coordination of efforts and the gradual development of increased cooperation between the United Nations and the European organization are crucial if international peace and stability are to be maintained in the OSCE region.

The General Assembly has on numerous occasions acknowledged the ever increasing contribution of the OSCE in the maintenance of international security in the region, covering the entire area from Vancouver to Vladivostok, giving due credit to the activities of the OSCE in early warning, preventive diplomacy, crisis management, arms control and disarmament and post-crisis stabilization and rehabilitation measures. The first tangible fruits of the effective coordination of efforts by both Organizations in this area can now be seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Increasing cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE in two other areas — the protection of human rights and economic cooperation — also deserves every support.

In particular, I would like to mention one of the basic aspects of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE: interaction between these two organizations with regard to the peaceful settlement of conflicts. In accordance with the informal understanding that there should be a certain division of labour between the two organizations, which the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, referred to in his report (A/51/489), the OSCE continues to play the leading role in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. At the same time, we attach great importance to the work already done to try to settle the conflict by the United Nations, in particular, by the Security Council, which has adopted four resolutions — 822 (1993), 853 (1993), 874 (1993) and 884 (1993) — and seven presidential statements on the issue. Regular briefings by the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference to the Security Council on progress in the ongoing negotiation process are further proof of the constant attention the United Nations is paying to this conflict. Similarly, in this regard, we applaud the continued readiness of the Secretary-General to provide technical assistance for the OSCE peacekeeping operation in the region of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, which will begin once a political agreement has been reached between the parties.

Azerbaijan has on many occasions reiterated its commitment to the peaceful settlement of the conflict within the framework of the OSCE Minsk process. In this connection, the Head of State, President Heydar Aliyev, said that Azerbaijan will continue to respect the ceasefire that has now been in force for more than two and a half years until a political agreement is concluded between the parties to the conflict.

We set great store by the OSCE Summit, held recently in Lisbon, in terms of settling the conflict. A special paragraph proposed for insertion in the final Summit Declaration by the Chairman-in-Office and Co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference contained principles upon which the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict should be based. These principles include respect for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the highest degree of self-rule for Nagorny Karabakh within Azerbaijan and guaranteed security for that region and its entire population.

The adoption of such a paragraph would have given a much-needed boost to the negotiation process, which is bogged down and would have brought a comprehensive settlement closer. However, one can only regret that the adoption of the paragraph was blocked by one of the 54 OSCE member States - namely, Armenia, which used its veto.

Nevertheless, I should like to note with satisfaction that the principles for the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict suggested by the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference and the OSCE Chairman-in-Office were fully supported by 53 OSCE member States. In this connection, the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE made a special statement before the Summit in which he set forth the aforementioned principles, underlined support for those principles by the entire European community and expressed his regret that the decision on the issue had been undermined by the stance taken by Armenia. As was also pointed out by the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, that statement is an official document of the OSCE Summit and has been annexed to the Lisbon Summit Declaration. It is also worth mentioning that authoritative statements expressing support for the principles of the settlement were made by the head of the delegation of Ireland, who spoke on behalf of the European Union, by the President of Finland, the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and other speakers at the Summit.

Allow me to turn now to Azerbaijan's amendment contained in document A/51/L.54 to the draft resolution entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe".

The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is one of the basic problems facing the OSCE in the field of peaceful conflict resolution. The activities of the OSCE in this area include, primarily, two OSCE Summits in 1994 and 1996, efforts by the OSCE Chairmen-in-Office from 1992 to date and the efforts by the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE

Minsk Conference and the entire Minsk Group, which is directly involved in the negotiation process.

As mentioned before, the United Nations, both in the General Assembly and the Security Council, has also been seized of this matter since 1992, kept a close eye on developments with regard to finding a solution to the problem and made its position on the issue quite clear. Moreover, both the United Nations and the OSCE are purposefully cooperating directly in drawing up and implementing the aforementioned OSCE operation.

All this shows the expediency of including a separate paragraph on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in the text of the draft resolution of the General Assembly, as in General Assembly resolution 49/13, entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe". I feel I should stress in particular that in language and substance the proposed amendment is not only in conformity with the text of that resolution, it is also a considerably watered down version of it. Last but not least, General Assembly resolution 49/13 of 15 November 1994 was adopted without a vote, by consensus, a consensus that included Armenia.

The territorial integrity of Azerbaijan has been unequivocally confirmed by the international community, *inter alia*, in Security Council resolutions. At the recent OSCE Lisbon Summit, all European States, with the sole exception of Armenia, once again reiterated their adherence to this principle. The delegation of Azerbaijan believes that the General Assembly should not allow a situation in which the destructive stance of one Member State can cause the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of a United Nations Member State to be called into question.

I appeal to all States to treat our position with understanding and to support us in this matter that directly affects the highest national interests of my country.

**The President**: In accordance with General Assembly decision 50/423 of 18 December 1995, I now give the floor to the observer of Switzerland as the State holding the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**Mr. Manz** (Switzerland) (*interpretation from French*): I am addressing the Assembly today as

representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The office of Chairman of the OSCE is a great honour for Switzerland, and it is proof of its willingness to contribute to the solution of the problems of our day in a spirit of openness and solidarity.

The Secretary-General of the OSCE, His Excellency Ambassador Giancarlo Aragona, will speak at a later stage. In the meantime, allow me to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his excellent report on the cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE, as well as to highlight the most important aspects of OSCE activities in 1996.

The main focus of OSCE activities was on the implementation of the Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Monitoring the general elections and the preparations for them was the greatest operational challenge faced by the organization. The elections of 14 September were far from perfect, but we should look upon them as a first step on the long road towards democracy and as the first signs of greater political openness and tolerance.

Assistance to the democratic rebuilding of Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain one of the principal items on the OSCE agenda. The highest priority will be accorded to the postponed municipal elections and their preparation. Furthermore, the OSCE will continue to pursue its activities in the area of promoting respect for human rights and regional stability.

In addition to its tasks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the OSCE has also been able to make a fundamental contribution to the peace process in Chechnya through its Assistance Group in Grozny, whose presence there was authorized by the Russian Federation in April 1995. The OSCE involvement has thus been an expression of the serious interest of the international community in finding a peaceful resolution of that conflict.

The OSCE continued to pursue its activities in preventive diplomacy through the activities of the High Commissioner for National Minorities as well as through its various long-term missions in Tajikistan, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Latvia and Estonia.

We regret the absence of further progress towards resolving the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, notwithstanding the efforts made. During the Summit of Heads of State and Government at Lisbon on 2 and 3 December, all the participating States, with one exception, supported the principle of territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan and of self-determination for Nagorny Karabakh, allowing it the highest degree of autonomy. These two elements constituted the foundation for a political resolution of the conflict.

The Summit of Heads of State and Government at Lisbon adopted a Declaration in the first stage of the discussions on a common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the twenty-first century. The purpose of this model is to create a common security space free of spheres of influence and dividing lines, covering the OSCE region from Vancouver to Vladivostok. That cooperation in the field of security will be laid down in a future European security charter, which has yet to be drafted.

Switzerland, as Chairman-in-Office, has set as a priority goal the achievement of a rational division of labour and efficient cooperation between international organizations. This is particularly relevant to the United Nations, since the OSCE considers itself to be a regional agreement in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. We welcome the fact that the Declaration on the security model confirms the OSCE as the comprehensive organization for consultation, cooperation and joint action and also assigns to it a special role in promoting cooperation and complementarity between international organizations. Switzerland considers that the OSCE, by applying the principle of subsidiarity, will be able to alleviate the burdens on the United Nations. In this context, the chairmanship has maintained close contacts with the Secretary-General. The draft resolution now before the General Assembly for adoption on cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE is a step in the right direction, albeit a modest one.

Speaking as representative of the Swiss chairmanship, I should like to express my gratitude to the Permanent Representatives of the OSCE member States for their fruitful cooperation and to wish Denmark, through its Permanent Representative, success as Chairman-in-Office for the coming year.

**Mr. Campbell** (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The following associated countries align themselves with this statement: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia

and Slovenia. Iceland and Norway have also aligned themselves with this statement.

I should like to take this opportunity to welcome Mr. Giancarlo Aragona, Secretary-General of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). His presence with us today testifies to the growing and ever closer cooperation that exists between the United Nations and the OSCE. The European Union fully supports the draft resolution contained in document A/51/L.52. It has been sponsored by all the members of the European Union.

In his statement to the second meeting between the United Nations and regional organizations in February of this year, the Secretary-General said that the international community must find ways of using the experience, capacities and resources of universal and regional organizations in as effective and cost-efficient a manner as possible. The European Union believes that the objective to which the Secretary-General referred is a very appropriate description of the nature of the relationship that has developed between the United Nations and the OSCE.

The OSCE, the only pan-European and transatlantic security organization, has become a key forum for the management of the changes that have occurred in Europe over the past seven years. In areas such as early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, the OSCE has developed a range of skills that complement those of the United Nations itself.

The European Union, as a central pillar of integration, stability and prosperity in Europe, has played a leading role in the development of the OSCE. Through its future enlargement, the Union will continue to protect stability and security in Europe. We remain committed to the enhanced political effectiveness of the OSCE and to the strengthening of its operational capability. We support the enhancement of the role of the OSCE as a primary instrument of preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation in the OSCE region. The European Union therefore wishes to reaffirm its support for the work of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and for the long-term missions.

Strengthening the role of the OSCE in these areas will enable it better to assume its responsibilities as a regional organization in the sense of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Consequently, the reaffirmation

and operationalization of the "OSCE First" principle, including the possibility for OSCE States jointly to refer a dispute to the Security Council, notwithstanding the position of the States parties to the dispute, is an approach that is under active consideration. Of particular importance in the relationship between the United Nations and the OSCE is the high level of mutual support that each Organization has provided to the other. In those activities where the OSCE's comparative advantage lies, the OSCE coordinates closely with all other organizations that are engaged in the same mission or operation and, in particular, the United Nations.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina — one area that highlights the intensity and effectiveness of this cooperation — the OSCE has played an important role in various central aspects of the peace process, where its activities in support of the recent elections, in arms control and in human rights monitoring have been essential to the positive developments in those areas. The OSCE, at its Summit in Lisbon on 2 and 3 December, confirmed that it would supervise the preparation and conduct of elections for the municipal governing authorities in 1997, having already decided to extend its Mission's mandate to Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1997. Areas where future actions by the OSCE are envisaged include support for, and monitoring of, human rights as well as democratization and assistance for regional stabilization.

The work accomplished by the OSCE mission in Georgia is another example of the role that both organizations can play in helping to resolve conflict. A programme for the protection and promotion of human rights in Abkhazia is to be carried out in cooperation with the OSCE. The European Union is gravely concerned at the so-called elections held in Abkhazia and in South Ossetia, which have undermined the efforts for a political settlement of these conflicts. We are convinced that the international community should continue to search actively for a comprehensive solution.

The conflict in Nagorny Karabakh, where the United Nations has been providing technical and political support to the OSCE Minsk process, is yet another example of practical cooperation, although, regrettably, there appears to be little willingness by the parties concerned to conduct meaningful negotiations. Recently, the co-Chairmen of the Minsk process paid a visit to the region, where they held meetings with the

Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia and with the Nagorny Karabakh leader, all of whom reiterated their support for the Minsk process. The European Union deeply regrets that it was not possible to achieve consensus on the inclusion in the Declaration of the Lisbon Summit of the principles outlined by the Chairman-in-Office and the co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference for the settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. These principles are: territorial integrity of the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijan Republic; legal status of Nagorny Karabakh defined in an agreement based on self-determination that confers on Nagorny Karabakh the highest degree of self-rule within Azerbaijan; and guaranteed security for Nagorny Karabakh and its whole population, including mutual obligations to ensure compliance by all the parties with the provisions of the settlement.

The European Union appeals to the parties to continue the negotiations within the OSCE's Minsk process on the basis of these principles.

We also welcome the implementation of the decisions of the 1994 Budapest ministerial meeting on the relationship between the non-participating Mediterranean States and the OSCE, which has resulted in the intensification of dialogue on issues of common interest and has contributed to the identification of opportunities for cooperation.

The European Union welcomes the conclusions of the OSCE Summit held in Lisbon on 2 and 3 December, which took place at an important time in the development of European security architecture. The Summit Declaration gives substantial direction and impetus to further work on the creation of a common security space that responds to the security concerns of all European States, based on the OSCE's comprehensive, inclusive and indivisible concept of security and on full respect for, and implementation of, OSCE principles and commitments, building on the network of mutually reinforcing institutions.

The Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century will strengthen security and stability in the OSCE region and will aim to provide a framework within which all States, security-related organizations and regional and subregional arrangements can work together in a constructive and mutually reinforcing way.

The human dimension remains a priority focus for OSCE action, as it has been from the beginning of the Helsinki process. Respect for, and the promotion of, human rights, the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and free and independent media are basic requisites for a viable democracy, the consolidation of democratic institutions and developing confidence between the government and the people.

Finally, the European Union expresses its appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the Observer Mission of Switzerland and his delegation for his excellent work as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, and we look forward to working closely with the incoming Chairman-in-Office, the Permanent Representative of Denmark.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine): Consideration of the question of cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at the current session is taking place at a very important stage for both organizations. This stage is characterized by the formation of a vision of the place and the role of these two organizations within the framework of the comprehensive security model for the twenty-first century currently being developed; by an intensification of the process of determining innovative ways effectively to implement the principles and obligations set forth in the United Nations Charter and in the basic documents of the OSCE; and by the search for new forms of cooperation aimed at finding acceptable formulas for the solution of existing regional problems.

Under these circumstances, the strengthening of coordinated and complex interaction between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at all levels, as well as the practical implementation of the agreements reached, acquire particular significance.

During the past year the level of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE has significantly increased. We believe this is the result of the close political contacts established between the current Secretary-General of the United Nations and the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, and the active dialogue between the relevant structures aimed at settling the important problems of the continent.

The active participation of these organizations in the process of implementation of the humanitarian

aspects of the Dayton Agreement could serve as a vivid example of the complementarity and rational division of labour between them. The delegation of Ukraine commends the OSCE's role in preparing and conducting free and democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this regard, it would be appropriate to mention the important role played by Ukraine, which, besides providing observers for the OSCE mission, made a financial contribution to the trust fund for the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite the difficult economic situation.

We also hope that the high level of cooperation reached between the United Nations and the OSCE in the process of implementation of the Dayton Agreement will be maintained during the period of post-conflict peace-building aimed at creating a genuine civil society in that country. In this connection, I would like to emphasize that Ukraine is ready to enhance its participation in United Nations and OSCE activities in this important area.

The delegation of Ukraine welcomes the results of the Lisbon Summit held from 2 to 3 December 1996, in particular the elaboration and adoption of the Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century, which reflects the basic principles of cooperation among States aimed at creating a common security space free of dividing lines in the OSCE region.

In our opinion, the security assurances for neutral and non-bloc States, as well as strict observance by all OSCE member States of the obligations under the agreements reached, should be an integral part of such a security architecture in Europe. In this regard the United Nations and the OSCE have an exceptional role to play. We think that it is necessary to establish the practice of convening regular meetings between the official representatives of these organizations, in order to exchange opinions on a future security model for Europe, to divide their responsibilities properly within the framework of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security in the OSCE region, and to elaborate relevant arrangements for coordinating their activities and decision-making.

An objective analysis of the political situation in the OSCE region makes it clear that conflicts are emerging where one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Helsinki Final Act — the principle of the territorial integrity of States — is

violated. The current conflicts in Georgia and Azerbaijan are unequivocal proof of this.

Especially disturbing is the fact that we have recently witnessed an increasing number of precedents wherein the principle of territorial integrity of newly independent States is neglected and irresponsible allegations are made that the principle of inviolability of frontiers is not applicable to those States.

In this connection, I would like to caution unambiguously that neglect of the principles of territorial integrity and the inviolability of frontiers, which form a basis of the comprehensive security system, as well as ungrounded territorial claims to the States of the region, whoever makes them, represent a dangerous precedent that undermines security and stability in Europe.

This is why, in our opinion, the serious consideration of this problem should be a priority issue on the agenda of the United Nations and the OSCE. The time has come to institute a reliable machinery to prevent and suppress any attempts to fuel separatism and to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, now and in the future. We think that the practical implementation of the initiative put forward by the President of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kuchma, concerning the necessity to adapt the position of the international community on the phenomenon of separatism to today's realities could greatly contribute to the solution of this problem.

We believe that the coordination of activities aimed at protecting human rights and freedoms, resolving the problem of refugees and displaced persons, as well as settling the urgent problems of migration, should constitute another important element of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE. It is obvious that a single State could not effectively respond to the long-standing problems that are responsible for the tension and instability in the region. It is therefore necessary to develop actively and further strengthen the cooperation between the relevant structures of the United Nations and the OSCE. The holding of the Regional Conference to Address the Problems of Refugees, Displaced Persons, Other Forms of Involuntary Displacement and Returnees in the Countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Relevant Neighbouring States represents an important step in this direction.

We find it necessary to further the interaction between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. We also consider it appropriate to explore ways of strengthening contacts between the United Nations and the OSCE with regard to the human dimension.

Finally, I would like to underline that unsolved problems in the European continent, as well as new challenges and threats to regional peace and security, clearly prove that the establishment of a comprehensive security system in Europe is impossible without the active participation of the United Nations, which possesses all the necessary resources, capabilities and experience. That is why enhancing and strengthening the cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE could and should become an important factor in the successful establishment and operation of such a system in a new Europe. Ukraine, for its part, will do its best to make sure that this cooperation further develops and strengthens.

Mrs. Fritsche (Liechtenstein): Since Liechtenstein has been a long-standing supporter of the activities of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), I should like briefly to share some thoughts with the Assembly on the future role of the OSCE and the potential of enhanced cooperation with the United Nations system.

While the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lies with the United Nations, and more specifically with the Security Council, recent experience has made it very clear that the OSCE and other regional organizations can make a very useful contribution in this respect and that Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations is worth exploring further. The decision taken by participating States to establish the possibility of jointly referring situations to the Security Council on behalf of the OSCE is an element that gives additional momentum to the cooperation between the two organizations. Liechtenstein supports this enhanced and ever-growing cooperation and has therefore co-sponsored the draft resolution before us.

The comparative advantages of the OSCE lie in the fields of preventive diplomacy, crisis management, conflict prevention and conflict rehabilitation, as well as in its capacity to respond and react quickly and efficiently to crisis situations. The OSCE can certainly play an independent and important role that complements

the efforts undertaken by the United Nations in these areas. One of the main fields in which such complementary activities have taken place during the period reflected in the report before us is the implementation of the relevant parts of the Dayton Framework Agreement. These activities, particularly in the areas of monitoring elections and of human rights, have been of crucial importance for positive developments. The supervision of the preparation and the conduct of municipal elections and further support for the monitoring of human rights and democratization, as confirmed at the Lisbon Summit on 2 and 3 December, will ensure the consistency of the OSCE involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Likewise, the activities carried out in Chechnya have contributed considerably to creating a basis for peace and a lasting political solution.

With regard to situations in other areas, progress has been difficult to achieve, and we have noted with particular regret the stalemate in the process conducted by the Minsk Group. Given the increased role of the OSCE in the monitoring of elections, it is of vital importance that the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights focus the human and financial resources available to it to carry out these monitoring processes in a coherent and credible manner.

Its political effectiveness and operational capabilities can and must be further strengthened, developed and enhanced. We see particular potential in the field of preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention. The establishment of the office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities was a very important step in this respect, and we commend the High Commissioner for the work he has done so far. Some of his activities, such as those carried out in the Baltic States, have been of immediate and direct relevance to the work of the United Nations.

We see great merit in the Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century and in the importance given in that document to the protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities. According to the Declaration, ethnic tensions, aggressive nationalism and violations of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities are among the main security concerns in the OSCE region. We welcome in this context the emphasis placed by the Declaration on the preventive elements to combat these threats to regional security, and we are of the view that designing

ways and means to seek solutions to conflicts among communities living within States could be a positive element in the development of a European security architecture. Liechtenstein is prepared to make a contribution in this field, which should also be a priority for human dimension issues: the promotion and protection of human rights and a steady process of democratization.

In conclusion, we wish to commend the Government of Switzerland for its outstanding work as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE and to pledge our full support to Denmark as the incoming Chairman-in-Office.

Mr. Jusys (Lithuania): I am honoured to address the General Assembly on agenda item 38, entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe". We have associated ourselves with the statement just made by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the European Union. In addition to that statement, allow me to share some thoughts on today's subject.

The continuous review of this item by the General Assembly reflects a growing understanding that the appropriate regional institutions should be mandated with the primary responsibility for outstanding regional issues before they are referred to the United Nations. Such an approach would also streamline the activities of the United Nations. It also allows regional issues to be addressed with precision, speed and the most flexible and cost-effective organizational structures.

The benefits and achievements of improved cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) — utilizing comparative advantages, increasing efficiency and better use of scarce resources — are reflected in the Secretary-General's report. However, there is still room for improvement. We encourage the United Nations Secretary-General to explore all possible ways to further advance United Nations interaction with the OSCE, as a regional arrangement in the sense of the Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

I should like to reiterate our gratitude to Switzerland for its outstanding chairmanship of the OSCE during such an important year for Europe.

We fully endorse the draft resolution introduced by Denmark. It reflects the progress made in this interinstitutional cooperation and notes the adoption in 1996 of the Lisbon Declaration, which is an important step towards a more cooperative European and transatlantic security. We are confident that the OSCE, under the incoming chairmanship of Denmark, will continue to play a central and results-oriented role in the building of a more secure, stable and prosperous Europe, and will be in a better position to contribute to the goals of the United Nations.

The OSCE has a unique mandate and membership. In his address at the Lisbon Summit, the President of the Republic of Lithuania, His Excellency Mr. Algirdas M. Brazauskas, stressed that the OSCE

"will continue to be a unique forum that unites the States of Europe and maintains important transatlantic relations".

One of its most important features is its inclusive membership of 54 States of Europe, Central Asia and North America. The OSCE's high standards on inter-State relations, regional security, democracy and human rights are applicable to over a third of the world's land surface and extend to nearly one fifth of the world population. Their legitimacy is ensured through the political consensus of the participating States, and they are based on the universal principles of international law and those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The OSCE promotes the protection of the aforementioned universal principles and serves as an instrument for their implementation at the regional level, including in areas such as Tajikistan, Nagorny Karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Moldova, Chechnya and the former Yugoslavia.

One example of this cooperation is the joint action of the United Nations Mission of Observers and the OSCE Mission in Tajikistan, where the United Nations conducted peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts, and the OSCE promoted human rights and democratic institutions. That experience is one on which we can build. Another example is that of Chechnya, where dialogue among the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the OSCE Chairman-in-Office and the Russian Government, whose cooperation has been commendable, contributed recently to a peaceful settlement. This process has not yet exhausted its full potential. The United Nations High Commissioner should give his valuable support to the OSCE Assistance Group.

Mr. Minoves-Triquell (Andorra), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The OSCE deserves a special tribute for laying the groundwork for democratic institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the United Nations has also been playing a key role in the maintenance of peace and security in the region. The Implementation Force (IFOR), led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), has demonstrated its ability, under new and quickly developing circumstances, to make a crucial contribution to regional peace and stability.

On the one hand, there are many lessons to be learned by international institutions involved in early warning and conflict prevention activities in the former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, there are examples of successful cooperation, including the sharing of expertise in conflict management and post-conflict rehabilitation. The United Nations and the OSCE, in cooperation with other authoritative international institutions, can and should apply their strengths and comparative advantages towards overcoming what at times seem like insurmountable odds, even in instances where a cooperative spirit may be lacking among the conflicting parties, in order to save lives and help rebuild warravaged countries.

Almost every European country assisted in the resolution of this conflict. For Lithuania, the soil of the former Yugoslavia was the starting point for our contribution to United Nations peacekeeping operations. It has since increased fourfold. A company-size Lithuanian unit is now deployed north of Tuzla within the Danish battalion, as part of the NATO-led IFOR mission guarding the peace agreed upon in Dayton. We responded to the invitation from the Secretary-General of NATO, Mr. Javier Solana, to be a part of the Stabilization Force (SFOR) from the very beginning. Lithuania has also contributed personnel to the International Police Task Force and to other post-war efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Together with other countries at the international conference held last week in London, we pledged our continuous concrete support to rebuild Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Security issues today are still crucial for a new and united Europe. We have embarked upon creating a Europe with no dividing lines and with security built not at anyone's expense, but rather for everyone's benefit. The principle of the indivisibility of security is one of the foundations of the Lisbon Declaration on a Common and

Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century, as adopted at the Lisbon Summit. The success of this new European security architecture will be of global importance — both for maintaining peace and stability on the continent and by serving as a model for the entire world.

In this quest, we emphasize another crucial principle of the OSCE: the right of a State to belong or not to belong to defence treaties or alliances. I would like to repeat the words of my President who said at the Lisbon Summit that there is no alternative to European integration; nor is there any other comparable example of successful voluntary and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples of Europe. No one has the right to veto Lithuania's integration into European and transatlantic structures. The right to enter into security arrangements, including treaties or alliance, has been reiterated once again by the leaders of OSCE States in their Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century. Based on these premises, Lithuania is striving for membership in the European Union, the Western European Union and NATO.

Since its birth, NATO has always been the major defender in the region of universal values enshrined in the United Nations Charter and other international legal instruments. NATO membership is an understandable goal of many Eastern European countries. The opening of the alliance eastwards by accommodating the wishes of all those democratic States which seek full membership is a process which contributes to the goals of the OSCE and complements those of the United Nations.

Our vision of mutually reinforcing and interlocking institutions whose aim is to safeguard universal principles and values calls for greater cooperation on a practical level. There are many areas where organizations such as the United Nations and the OSCE could reinforce one another. Although some duplication is natural and unavoidable, it is important to minimize the unnecessary overlap of activities and to build on each other's strengths and areas of competence.

Thus, we warmly welcome increased contacts between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman-in-Office and the Secretary-General of OSCE. Similarly, given this blessing from the very top, working-level contacts between the specialized

institutions of the United Nations and the OSCE in appropriate areas should be encouraged.

The establishment of good-neighbourly relations through confidence-building between States has been a pillar of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)/OSCE process as well as of Lithuanian foreign policy. Today, OSCE's security dimension is still based on confidence-building measures such as conventional arms control, transparency in arms, information-sharing, the Code of Conduct on Politicomilitary Aspects of Security, and the mechanisms of the Vienna Document 1994 on confidence and securitybuilding measures. The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) is another confidence-building measure operating as an arms control instrument. Although it applies to a more limited membership, it affects the security of non-parties to the Treaty. For this reason, we feel it is important to involve all States participating in OSCE in discussions and decisions on the adaptation of the CFE Treaty.

The recent adoption of the Framework for Arms Control by the Forum for Security Cooperation, as well as the Forum's determination to complement the international community's efforts to address the issues of anti-personnel landmines and to fight terrorism are practical steps towards a comprehensive disarmament approach. Concurrently, the United Nations is attempting to elaborate universal instruments for confidence-building, such as the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and military expenditure reporting. In extending confidence-building measures to other regions of the world, the United Nations could utilize relevant OSCE experience.

With regard to the information contained in the Secretary-General's report (A/51/480) on regional arrangements for the promotion and protection of human rights and the provisions of the draft resolution on that subject, to be adopted during this General Assembly session, we value steps taken by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Centre for Human Rights with regard to the possibilities for broader utilization of regional arrangements in the field of human rights. Nevertheless, we are convinced that practical cooperation between the United Nations and European regional organizations, in particular the OSCE and the Council of Europe, for the promotion and protection of human rights, should be strengthened.

We fully support the regular exchange of information between the United Nations, the OSCE and the Council of Europe on the human rights programmes being carried out by them. We encourage the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to participate in the activities of these organizations when essential issues on the protection of human rights are being considered. Regular consultations among the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights/Centre for Human Rights and the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, and the relevant bodies of the Council of Europe would ensure the submission to the United Nations of comprehensive and objective information on the human rights situation in the region. They would also allow more effective planning of joint undertakings to solve problems.

I would like to encourage the leaders and structures of both organizations to continue the exploration of common goals and the building on respective advantages of each organization, to foster further complementarity and mutually reinforcing efforts, and, where appropriate, to take joint action. We look forward to great progress and success in the year to come.

**Mr. Sychou** (Belarus) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the past few years, cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has become more active, both at the political and at the organizational levels. This interaction has encompassed spheres such as peacemaking, humanitarian activities, human rights monitoring, the monitoring of elections, the implementation of the sanctions regime and other OSCE mission activities in conflict areas.

The trend towards expanding this type of interaction is logical in view of the growing influence of the OSCE in European affairs, and of its coordinating role in the formation of the future structure of European security. The great potential for coordination between the activities of the United Nations and the OSCE in ensuring European security and the ability of the OSCE to coordinate its activities with respect to all regional organizations and associations in Europe, including the European Union, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Western European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and others, were confirmed at the OSCE

Summit, which took place in Lisbon at the beginning of December 1996, and in the decisions that were taken there: the political Declaration and statement on the model of European security for the twenty-first century, and other documents. This potential was confirmed by an agreement reached at the Lisbon Summit on adapting the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe - the cornerstone of a future pan-European security system - to the changed military and political conditions in Europe. This agreement also specified directions, limits and time-frames for the updating of that Treaty.

The importance of the role of the OSCE has been strengthened by the fact that the organization provides the most adequate structure for a pan-European dialogue on various issues in order to prevent potential conflicts. The results of the work undertaken by participants in the Lisbon Summit should be considered to be of unquestioned and direct concern for the United Nations, and they should be actively utilized by the United Nations and the Security Council. That is why Belarus attaches such great importance to its part in carrying out measures under the auspices of the OSCE, including bilateral, multilateral and international agreements.

We believe cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE to be important for issues relating to the institutional reform of the OSCE, and we advocate the preparation of a treaty document setting out the new system of security in Europe. Security is universal and multi-faceted in nature; it is comprehensive and indivisible. No single State or group of States can strengthen its security at the expense of others. There should be no spheres of influence or demarcation lines within a common area. The new model for European security developed within the OSCE should be based not on mutual deterrence, but on the concept of cooperation and mutual security guarantees. This will be possible only if we rely, in one form or another, on all international organizations involved in the field of security in Europe: the United Nations, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, NATO as a whole — with its Partnership for Peace programme — the European Union, the Western European Union and the Commonwealth of Independent States. In so doing, the OSCE, acting as an effective instrument to ensure peace, has repeatedly proved, in practice, that it should be given the central coordinating role.

The OSCE played a leading role in overcoming the split on the European continent, and we therefore share the view that building a united Europe should take

priority over the integration into NATO of individual countries, at a time when new borders are taking shape on the continent. A new model should be geared towards defining and guaranteeing existing borders in Europe. European security should, as a priority, be universal in nature; that is precisely why the building of a new European architecture can be accomplished only by the OSCE, which includes, on equal terms, the majority of European States, as well as Canada and the United States.

The alarming notes that have been sounded in statements made by many delegations during the present session of the General Assembly are symptomatic. On the eve of the twenty-first century, the world has still not rid itself of certain threats. If, in the context of Europe, global conflict has in general been relegated to the realm of hypothesis rather than of reality, the European continent unfortunately has not been able to rid itself of the tragic and periodically renewed experience of regional conflicts — even in the period following the cold war. From that point of view, the OSCE has worked on effective machinery for settling conflicts and creating an atmosphere of trust between countries. We should support measures to harmonize actions between United Nations missions and the OSCE in relation to Georgia and Tajikistan, emphasizing preventive diplomacy. The signing of a declaration on reconciliation between Germany and the Czech Republic is an important event that should have a positive effect on the future strengthening of European security.

The great importance of questions of arms control as a main means of ensuring security and stability in all continents, especially Europe, has prompted the OSCE to attach great importance to problems relating to the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, conventional arms and the production of dual-use materials and technologies. Belarus advocates the continued implementation of all treaties on disarmament and arms control and the conclusion of new agreements, including regional ones.

As the Assembly knows, after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Belarus was the first country in the world voluntarily to reject the possession of nuclear weapons and to proclaim a denuclearization policy. An expression of the commitment of Belarus to these obligations was its ratification of the Treaty on the Reduction and

Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Lisbon Protocol to it; its accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT); and its signing of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

It gives me great pleasure to state, from this rostrum, that, in November 1996, before the established deadline, the Republic of Belarus withdrew the remaining two missile units equipped with strategic nuclear weapons from its territory. We must acknowledge, however, that there are certain problems involving compensation for the financing of this operation, which complicated the matter. Through concrete practical actions, which are very important for maintaining the dynamic of the entire process of eliminating nuclear weapons from the world, we have tried to cooperate and make our own contribution to international efforts to establish a stable European security system.

It is clear that our actions fully comply with our words. They also logically develop the initiative of President Lukashenka of Belarus with regard to the creation in Central and Eastern Europe of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. As the Assembly is aware, at the Lisbon Summit Belarus, together with many other interested countries, supported this desire to create in Central and Eastern Europe an area free from nuclear weapons. As a State that has completed the withdrawal of strategic nuclear missiles from its territory, we believe that it is extremely important to make joint efforts to lay the foundations for a firm and peaceful future for Europe.

In a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, dated 30 November 1996, President Lukashenka of Belarus stated:

"The successful realization of the idea of creating in the centre of Europe a zone free from nuclear weapons could become one of the most effective ways of reducing tension in Europe and in international relations as a whole, removing concern with regard to the planned expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to the statements by some countries of Eastern Europe that they are ready to deploy NATO nuclear weapons on their territory. The idea of creating a nuclear-free zone is an important step towards the strengthening of the international non-proliferation regime, is not in conflict with present-day military and political realities in Europe, and threatens no one's national interests." (A/51/708, eighth paragraph)

The implementation of this idea would be in the interests of both the United Nations and the OSCE, as it would promote the process of disarmament, exclude the possibility of the renewal of nuclear confrontation in Europe, consolidate existing nuclear-weapon-free zones, enhance regional security and stability and strengthen trust within Europe. The initiative might also promote a solution to the acute problem of the expansion of NATO. The importance of this issue is clear from reading the documents of the Lisbon Summit.

Increasing recognition is being given to the need to step up the activities of the OSCE in the sphere of economic cooperation. In that context, we propose that thought be given to specific security threats linked to the negative consequences of systemic transformation. The severe disintegration of the system has provoked an acute intensification of the economic, social and political contradictions in transitional societies. To ensure a societal transformation that is as smooth and painless as possible, it is essential to focus the efforts, resources and influence of the United Nations on reducing the part played by existing threats on the European continent.

All this requires the reorganization of the activities of the international organizations. Among the priority tasks facing European cooperation is to determine the principles for a new architecture for European security, in which the OSCE would play a key role and duplication with other structures would be avoided. For our part, we intend to intensify cooperation with the United Nations, OSCE and other European organizations on all questions of democratization and the reform of society.

Mr. Cassar (Malta): Born amid the division of the cold war, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) set unique negotiating parameters. It contributed to the consolidation of an otherwise fragile stability on a continent in which bloc antagonism and ideological confrontation reigned supreme. Through a process of confidence-building, it developed three distinct but interrelated forums. Negotiations on the security, economic and human dimensions helped establish common ground and were later to yield that precious dividend of cooperation we now enjoy.

The CSCE not only witnessed the collapse of totalitarianism, but also the birth of new States, some under agonizing circumstances. Throughout these

turbulent years, the CSCE, and later the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), continued to consolidate achievements and to address emerging threats, aware as it was of the difficulties bound to be encountered in a region that spread from Vancouver east to Vladivostok.

The rapidly evolving dynamic of international relations in our time provides the opportunity and imposes the need to promote and enhance cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE. This was the basis of Malta's proposal at the Helsinki follow-up meeting in 1992 which led to the CSCE Summit in Helsinki, declaring the CSCE a regional arrangement in terms of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

That declaration opened new avenues of cooperation between the two organizations and has since led to a number of important developments. The framework agreement between the United Nations and the OSCE provides the basis for cooperation both at the institutional level and in the field. The time has now come to find a lasting and practical formula. Further discussion on this cooperation requires that we take into account both the specific and complementary roles of the two organizations, as well as their separate and distinct tasks in the contexts in which they operate.

Addressing the Lisbon Summit, my Prime Minister, Dr. Alfred Sant, stressed the need for participating States to redouble their efforts to

"reach a consensus on the commitment to use OSCE mechanisms as the instruments of first resort in our common effort at preventive diplomacy within the OSCE, without in any way prejudicing the provisions of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations".

Just over a week ago, the Heads of State or Government of the States participating in the OSCE adopted the Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century. The model aims to establish a cooperative foundation for common security in order to build a peaceful OSCE region in which all nations and individuals feel secure.

Rather than being disheartened by the turbulence of tension and conflict which have spread through the region in recent years, our Heads of State and Government have again responded to the challenges of change, drawing strength from diversity and inspired by shared values of common security. Their document states:

"Freedom, democracy and cooperation among nations and peoples are now the foundation of our common security. We are determined to learn from the tragedies of the past and to translate our vision of a cooperative future into reality by creating a common security space free of dividing lines, in which all States are equal partners."

In Lisbon, Malta declared its readiness and preparedness to continue pursuing a policy directed at the attainment of peace, security and stability within the OSCE space. It reiterated the assurance that the use of its territory would be allowed only, and exclusively, for diplomatic and political initiatives aimed to promote peace and stability. Within this comprehensive approach, Malta will be effectively participating in confidence-building that contributes concretely to a reduction of tensions in the Mediterranean and to the strengthening of common security.

Mediterranean security is closely linked to European security and thus also to international peace and security. This concept, which Malta has assiduously promoted since the early 1970s in Helsinki, is now acknowledged as the point of departure for all initiatives of which the final objective is the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. The twofold objective of Malta's Mediterranean policy is to consolidate the Euro-Mediterranean concept in order to create a more meaningful partnership, complemented by our efforts to strengthen and enhance the OSCE Mediterranean process. My Government remains firmly determined to contribute effectively to all reasonable options that would serve to enhance a Mediterranean identity and commitment to regional cooperation and unity.

Regarding the adoption of the OSCE Lisbon document of 1996, the delegation of Malta made a statement in which it interpreted the paragraph in the Summit Declaration concerning the OSCE's relations with the Mediterranean partners for cooperation and its other partners for cooperation as a commitment and a mandate to continue to develop such relationships. Malta also noted that the current relationships, based on existing CSCE and OSCE documents and decisions, could have been improved upon by a separate decision in Lisbon, and that the relationship between the OSCE

and the Mediterranean partners for cooperation might have been upgraded to a permanent one. The delegation of Malta was similarly prepared to consider consolidating and improving the OSCE's relations with Japan, as well as to consider developing on a more permanent basis the organization's relations with the Republic of Korea.

As a follow-up to its initiatives at the Lisbon Summit, in the past days Malta has presented two draft decisions, one at the OSCE's Forum for Security Cooperation and another at the Permanent Council. The latter, if adopted, decides

"to invite the Mediterranean partners for cooperation and the partners for cooperation to all its plenary meetings and to the appropriate subsidiary meetings as informal observers".

These decisions would give these partners the opportunity to contribute to such meetings on the subjects in which they have a direct interest and/or on which they wish to cooperate actively within the OSCE.

The Mediterranean, with its history of being at the crossroads of cultures and traditions, has also been the stage for innumerable conflicts and wars. This millennial tension has left its mark to the north, south, east and west of this middle sea still beleaguered by numerous political, economic, social, humanitarian and environmental problems. The positive measures, programmes and initiatives being undertaken by the European Union within the Euro-Mediterranean process are noteworthy. It is of paramount importance that the OSCE assume a more direct and enhanced role in this evolving scenario. Commitment to the Mediterranean contributes to peace, stability and social justice for the peoples inhabiting its shores and beyond.

Institution-building has assumed particular importance in the life of the OSCE, particularly with regard to tackling the challenges in regions ravaged by tension and conflict. The recent general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina are a tribute to the OSCE's efforts and success in contributing to democracy-building and to the consolidation of stability and security. Malta has participated regularly in election monitoring and intends to continue its contribution to this important facet of the OSCE's work.

Throughout these past years of cooperation, the United Nations and the OSCE have shared moments of hope and frustration. Both organizations have witnessed

with distress the tears of joy at the consolidation of global peace mingling with the tears of sorrow of the survivors of regional conflict. In this alternating landscape, our determination has never faltered. Difficulties were not always surmountable. Acts of terror by the few in defiance of the rule of law, often overshadowed the efforts of millions to build a better world for present and future generations. Persistent and persevering, our two organizations should continue to consolidate and enhance their cooperation as the threats to security continue to evolve. The security of States is today imperilled not only by the threat or the outbreak of war. Terrorism, organized crime, drug and arms trafficking, uncontrolled migration and environmental damage are of increasing concern to the entire OSCE community. These threatening phenomena that have an impact on the stability of our societies, together with the more conventional forms of military threats to the security of States, underline the need for a lasting and practical formula for enhanced cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE.

Finally, allow me to express Malta's appreciation to the Permanent Observer of Switzerland, Ambassador Manz, and to his delegation for Switzerland's excellent work as Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE. Malta looks forward to working closely with Denmark, the incoming Chairman-in-Office.

**Mr. Gorelik** (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Our consideration of the subject before us today is particularly timely because regional factors are becoming increasingly important in the multi-polar world that has emerged since the cold war. The key question today is how best to combine and link global and regional efforts to strengthen international security and improve the living conditions of people.

The Russian Federation is a consistent advocate of strengthening and improving interaction between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which is a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. From that standpoint, we commend the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/51/489, and in particular its main conclusion regarding the need to continue to promote cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE.

In our view, the basic areas for partnership between the United Nations and the OSCE should reflect the key priorities of the international community, foremost of which are the settlement of crises through negotiations and peacemaking and humanitarian tasks relating to security and development, including questions of human rights, national minorities, refugees and displaced persons. The nature and concrete forms of the two organizations' interactions should be regulated by the legal norms for cooperation between the United Nations and other international regional organizations, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

Russia actively advocates strengthening the OSCE and expanding its potential as a central institution for security and stability on the European continent. The last year has been marked by tangible progress in this area, although we would have liked to see more. The latest milestone was the decisions of the OSCE Summit in Lisbon, in particular the Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century, adopted on the initiative of Russia. This Declaration reflected the central goals of a common, comprehensive, indivisible security zone free from demarcation lines; security; cooperation between the OSCE and other international organizations to achieve these goals; recognition that no single organization, State or group can bear the predominant responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and stability in the OSCE region; and recognition of the importance of States complying with their obligations regarding national minorities. The decisions taken at Lisbon also set forth the idea of renewing the conceptual basis of a Europeanwide process, giving it a legal basis, which is to be promoted by the preparation of a charter of European security. Generally speaking, that Summit was instrumental in preparing the OSCE to take on the role of coordinator of the efforts of all European and Euro-Atlantic organizations to ensure European security.

The United Nations should make a significant contribution to the work in building a new structure for European security and architecture. The Organization's political and expert support could be useful in achieving this common European goal. One of the priority areas for interaction between the United Nations and the OSCE should be enhancing the European potential for peacemaking, in particular strengthening its normative basis, including the preparation of a sort of charter for the activities of OSCE peacemaking missions. The United Nations has an interest in enhancing the effectiveness of the OSCE as an instrument of early warning, conflict prevention, crisis regulation, arms control and post-conflict rehabilitation. A more energetic and confident OSCE would reduce the burden of the United Nations in

these areas and would supplement its efforts. Joint efforts or a division of labour between the two organizations has clear political advantages. It would be a good idea to help in every possible way to implement the agreements between the United Nations and the OSCE, including the framework agreement of 1993. It is also of great importance to strengthen contacts between the two organizations at various levels, including their high-level structures, secretariats and field missions.

We note with satisfaction the deepening of cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE in regulating conflicts involving the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), in particular in Abkhazia, the Republic of Georgia, and Tajikistan. Russia is actively participating in OSCE efforts to deal with the conflict in Nagorny Karabakh. As co-Chairman with Finland of the Minsk Conference, and with the support of other participants in the Minsk Group, we are continuing efforts to intensify negotiations in that process to find promptly a political agreement. Interaction between the United Nations and the OSCE in these efforts is ongoing. In a matter of days the Security Council will again hear information from the co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference.

Russia, together with its partners in the CIS, intends to continue this policy of strengthening the peacemaking potential of the CIS in interaction with the United Nations and the OSCE under terms acceptable to both sides. We are convinced of the need for the United Nations and the OSCE to provide the CIS tangible material and financial support for its peacemaking efforts.

Russia commends the important role played by the OSCE in implementing the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly its role in organizing elections for higher governmental offices in Bosnia. It is gratifying that the OSCE will continue to attach great importance to implementing the Agreement for Peace in Bosnia, and in particular to the holding of municipal elections. We expect the OSCE mission to have a resourceful and impartial approach to the preparations for these elections. However, in our view, the overall responsibilities of the OSCE in this area are significantly broader, encompassing such serious issues as helping establish high standards for the protection of human rights and national minorities and preventing new inter-ethnic clashes, migration flows and refugees.

The United Nations, with its extensive experience and capacity in this area, can provide support to OSCE efforts.

Russia intends to continue to help to enhance practical cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE. We hope that the draft resolution before the General Assembly on this issue, of which the Russian Federation is a sponsor, will provide important additional momentum.

Mr. Náthon (Hungary): Hungary, as a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Troika, has had the opportunity during the past three years to play a particularly honouring role in the organization. During this period, the organization itself has changed a lot. Since the Budapest Summit in 1994, when the Conference obtained its present status as an organization, its agenda has grown, enabling it to face a number of old and new challenges in our region.

After the historic changes in Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s, one of the most fundamental tasks was the elaboration of a new approach to security in the region and the creation of a new cooperative security system, the participants of which would be able to enjoy all the benefits of a comprehensive and indivisible security. The shaping of this new system has taken place at a very difficult time, when many countries in the region are facing the hardships of the transition to market economy, with all the unwanted consequences of social and economic problems.

Another serious source of tension is, very regrettably, the great number of ethnic conflicts. In recent years, questions relating to the observance of minority rights have become one of the greatest challenges for the OSCE. Unfortunately, we have several examples in the OSCE region in which, in striking contrast to the aspirations of nations and ethnic communities to seek to promote those rights by democratic and parliamentary means, some have wished to have their intentions recognized by means of violence and arms. These actions have resulted not only in the loss of lives, economic devastation and the poisoning of future generations with hatred, but have also left many people without a home and created hopeless, uprooted refugees. The OSCE is committed to strengthening the stability of the region, contributing to the peaceful settlement of tensions through diplomatic means, helping to remedy the situation in crisis-ravaged areas and facilitating the return, in safety and dignity, of refugees and internally displaced persons in conformity with international standards.

Some days ago at the Lisbon Summit, the Heads of State or Government of the participating States of the organization gathered to take stock of the OSCE's achievements and to set up its future agenda, while assessing the situation in the region. Their Declaration emphasized that the organization should focus on security-related economic, social and environmental issues. To this end, the OSCE should concentrate its efforts and means on identifying the risks to security arising from economic, social and environmental problems, discuss their causes as well as potential consequences and take preventive action, if possible. The Declaration also stressed the importance of the protection of human rights and the strengthening of democratic institutions to further eliminate the possible sources of tension, as well as the necessity of enhancing the organization's conflict-prevention arsenal, with special regard to a reliable early-warning system.

During the past couple of years, there were ample lessons we were forced to learn before being able and ready to set up such priorities. Undoubtedly, the saddest of all was the one taught by the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia that followed. In the wake of the Paris Peace Agreement that brought peace to Bosnia after a long, savage war, the OSCE was entrusted by the international community to take up a major role in the peace-building process. The most important element of these tasks was to organize and monitor the elections in the country. The OSCE performed this role among extremely difficult circumstances. Though we cannot say that these elections were fully free and fair, we are assured that they helped open up the road for the Bosnians towards real democratic values. The Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council recently requested the OSCE to take up a new role in the municipal elections to be held next spring in Bosnia. The OSCE is ready to contribute to the efforts of the international community to bring peace, stability and prosperity to Bosnia. However, in order to preserve the organization's credibility, we deem it essential that the organization have enough time and all the necessary resources at hand to be able to prepare and organize these municipal elections successfully.

My delegation fully supports draft resolution A/51/L.52 now before us. Hungary has consistently devoted particular attention to the development of

cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements. We welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General to invite regional organizations last February to discuss the possibilities of further enhancing their relationship with the United Nations and to find new and concrete forms for cooperation, as well as to identify those areas of common interest in which this kind of cooperation can produce maximum results.

Undoubtedly, regional organizations have a greater role in international relations than ever before. The world has changed since the United Nations, the only universal Organization, was established. Within the context of the emerging new types of conflict and the diversity of economic, social, humanitarian and environmental problems, a regional organization can act, in many cases, promptly and effectively to detect needs and find appropriate solutions. On the other hand, the international community can make good use of the specific experiences, capacities and resources of these regional organizations while dealing with regional and local conflicts. We should emphasize that this kind of division of labour can spare both financial and valuable human resources, which can be used more effectively to meet other needs.

The constructive working relationship between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has already attested to the advantages of an international division of labour. There is room for further strengthening the existing partnership, since a broad spectrum of possibilities has yet to be exploited. The two organizations should make better use of their comparative advantages and complementary features and have a more effective coordination to avoid unnecessary duplications.

Bearing in mind the objectives of the United Nations and of OSCE, it is obvious that the most important field for their cooperation is the maintenance of peace and security in our region. The United Nations and OSCE have the same commitments to promoting confidence to avoid conflicts. To this end, the further elaboration of common early-warning systems, joint efforts in preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building are areas at which our future efforts should be aimed. Monitoring human rights and coordination in the field of the safe return of refugees and displaced persons also give ample opportunity for cooperation.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to the Permanent Observer and the delegation of the mission of Switzerland, representing the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, for their devoted and efficient work during the whole year. I also wish much success to the delegation of Denmark, which will be assuming the chairmanship for 1997. Lastly, I would like to welcome the delegation of Poland as the incoming member of the Troika, to whom we proudly pass the torch.

Mr. Kulla (Albania): The General Assembly is considering agenda item 38 just a few days after the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Lisbon Summit in early December. The documents that were adopted, such as the Summit Declaration, the decisions and in particular the valuable results achieved by OSCE on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century are very important for our continent.

Albania was admitted as a full member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe only five years ago. Since that time, tremendous changes have occurred in Albania, Europe and all over the world. The end of the cold war and the spread of democracy opened a new era in the world, especially in Eastern and Central Europe. Of course, these rapid and positive changes have been accompanied by a lot of new problems and challenges, which need to be addressed by the individual States and international organizations.

Our common goal is to ensure that, while keeping and promoting this positive trend, we are vigilant and active in order to contribute together to the maintenance of peace, the establishment and consolidation of democratic societies based on the rule of law and respect for human and minority rights, social development and the promotion of international cooperation. In this regard, cooperation between OSCE and the United Nations is particularly important.

The Albanian delegation is of the view that current and future challenges cannot be successfully faced without an active role for regional organizations, such as OSCE. It is a fact that regional organizations are an important integral part of international instruments for promoting peace and security, cooperation and development. The past and present of the European

continent prove the many links between regional and international security.

Experience to date shows that OSCE is making an increased contribution to maintaining peace and security and promoting cooperation and development in the OSCE area. This has been based on activities related to early warning and preventive diplomacy, including the activities of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, crisis management, arms control and disarmament, post-crisis stabilization and rehabilitation measures and efforts to support economic and human dimensions.

Albania welcomes OSCE and United Nations activities in crisis areas, such as Tajikistan, Nagorny Karabakh and Georgia. We have actively participated in supporting the OSCE and the United Nations in their common efforts to stabilize these crisis zones and restore peace and stability. We will remain fully committed to continuing this policy in the future.

The events of recent years have been pivotal for OSCE and the United Nations in the Balkans. The ethnic tensions that, incredibly, culminated in the crisis in the former Yugoslavia required both organizations to be present and to play a role. Cooperation between OSCE and the United Nations played a fundamental role in Croatia and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In particular, the closer cooperation between OSCE and the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been and remains very important. In the framework of the Dayton Accords, OSCE played a positive role in the elections of 14 September 1996 and is continuing to do so in the preparations of local elections. Cooperation between both organizations will also be important with regard to future activities aimed at monitoring human rights, establishing democratic State institutions, supporting the Human Rights Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina, taking confidence-building and securitybuilding measures and promoting the negotiating process on subregional arms control.

The Albanian State and all Albanians living in their own land in the Balkans welcomed the Dayton Accords, since we are driven by the sincere wish that peace and stability may prevail in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also appreciate what has been achieved so far. But Albania is of the view that the Dayton Accords could not be responsible for solving the Balkan crisis as a whole. This Agreement put an end to the war provoked by the primitive idea of a "Greater Serbia", but peace in Bosnia

and Herzegovina, and even in the whole region, is still at a crossroads. This is due, first of all, to the fact that people cannot go back to the homes from which they were barbarously expelled.

Second, peace in the Balkans is not at stake only because of the Bosnia issue. The question of Kosovo is still one of the most serious issues influencing the maintenance of peace and security in the Balkans. All OSCE member States already know that the Belgrade authorities refused the OSCE mission in Kosovo, in defiance of the resolutions the organizations had passed on this matter. On the other hand, all United Nations Member States are aware of the resolutions adopted by the Organization on the situation in Kosovo. We sincerely appreciate the stand taken by these two outstanding organizations on the question of Kosovo.

My Government thinks that the time has come for the question of Kosovo to take priority in all initiatives and developments relating to the Balkan peninsula. In a recent speech to the OSCE Lisbon Summit, the President of the Republic of Albania said:

"Two million Albanians are the most recent inhabitants of this continent to experience violence, repression and a police regime. With their peaceful attitude, they have made a valuable contribution to avoiding conflict in the southern Balkan peninsula and beyond."

But the situation in Kosovo still strongly calls for action and sounds a real alarm for the international community in terms of its serious commitment to preventing conflict and finding a just solution to the question of Kosovo.

The Acting President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/5 of 13 October 1993, I now call on the Secretary-General of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, His Excellency Mr. Giancarlo Aragona.

Mr. Aragona (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe): As was reflected in the statement of Ambassador Manz, the representative of the Swiss Chairman-in-Office, the greatest challenge for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1996 was its involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The general elections took place there on 14 September and progress has been made in democracy-building projects and in the implementation

of arms-control and confidence- and security-building measures. Recently, the Mission's mandate was extended until the end of 1997.

The Lisbon Summit Declaration of 3 December confirms that OSCE will continue to play an important role in the promotion and consolidation of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having secured the support of the parties, and following the guidance of the Peace Implementation Council, which met last week in London, OSCE will supervise the preparation and conduct of the municipal elections as early as is feasible in 1997. The organization will also continue to assist in the implementation of the other tasks mandated to it under the Dayton Accords.

Our work in Bosnia, as in other areas such as Chechnya, has clearly demonstrated the flexibility and resourcefulness that allow regional arrangements like OSCE to deal effectively with the types of challenges that confront us in the post-cold-war environment. This is acknowledged in the Lisbon document.

The Lisbon document contains a Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century. As other speakers have recalled, it is an expression of the endeavour by participating States to strengthen security and stability in the OSCE region. Its central philosophy is that security is comprehensive and indivisible and that shared values are constitutive elements of a stable security environment. Confirming OSCE as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration encourages OSCE to serve as a forum to enhance cooperation and complementarity among European and transatlantic organizations.

The report by the United Nations Secretary-General notes that the idea of promoting greater inter-institutional cooperation is already in evidence in many areas where OSCE and the United Nations share common interests.

Significantly, the Lisbon Declaration states that

"in exceptional circumstances, the participating States may jointly decide to refer a matter to the United Nations Security Council on behalf of OSCE whenever, in their judgement, action by the Security Council may be required under the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations."

The tripartite consultations between the United Nations, the OSCE and the Council of Europe are bearing fruit and we shall have the next round of consultations in Geneva on 24 January 1997. We are also promoting the principle of a pragmatic rationalization of activities in the field to maximize the use of resources. As a concrete example, I would mention that the United Nations Centre for Human Rights at Geneva and OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights at Warsaw maintain close contacts on matters relating to the human dimension. At Lisbon, the participating States highlighted the importance of the implementation of OSCE human-dimension commitments, particularly in the field of the media, where the appointment of an OSCE representative on freedom of media is now foreseen.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe continues to support OSCE economic-dimension priorities in an efficient and cost-effective way. Perspectives in this field will improve, since the Lisbon Declaration strengthens the role of OSCE by planning for the establishment of a coordinator on economic and environmental activities.

The Lisbon Declaration reiterated the importance of facilitating the return in safety and in dignity of refugees and internally displaced persons in accordance with international standards. We look forward to continued cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in making this possible.

OSCE, particularly through its missions, also works closely with the United Nations Development Programme on a number of projects in Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Moldova, Ukraine and in Central Asia. Missions are one area in which there is potential for coordinated action. The adoption of United Nations Security Council resolution 1077 (1996), which dealt in part with the establishment of a human rights office at Sukhumi, Georgia, with which OSCE will have a close association, has opened up possibilities for concrete cooperation between our organizations there. A memorandum of understanding is now being finalized to second an OSCE expert to the Sukhumi office.

OSCE feels confident that it can take a leading role in preventive diplomacy in the Vancouver-to-Vladivostock area, for it now has several well-established permanent structures, such as the Permanent

Council and the Forum for Security Cooperation, that offer a unique platform for early consultation. I feel comforted by the expressions of support I have heard this morning and I thank those who expressed them.

General Assembly

Fifty-first session

Consultations on arms control are an important element of OSCE's work. At Lisbon, the participating States agreed to create a framework for arms control with a view to putting in place a web of interlocking and mutually reinforcing arms-control obligations and commitments. That framework is designed to link past, present and future arms control in a comprehensive frame and can establish a flexible agenda for the future by reinforcing the long-held tenets of transparency, mutual reassurance and confidence-building.

Still with regard to arms control, OSCE participating States signatories of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) decided at Lisbon to begin negotiations in early 1997 with a view to adapting the Treaty to the changing security environment in Europe.

OSCE is sensitive to the changes in that security environment. The High Commissioner on National Minorities is a proven instrument of preventive diplomacy in addressing national minority issues at an early stage. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights has introduced a wide range of democracy-building projects and plays an increasingly active role in election observation. The Parliamentary Assembly, in addition to its established position as a forum for OSCE parliamentarians, is playing an increasingly active role in election observation and in generating ideas for the future development of many aspects of OSCE's work.

OSCE missions play an important role in those OSCE countries in which they are deployed. A new mission was established in the Republic of Croatia in April of this year to assist the Croatian authorities in the field of protection of the human rights of persons belonging to national minorities. That brings the current number of OSCE field missions to 10, in addition to the Assistance Group in Chechnya.

In conclusion, OSCE has further developed its potential to act as a mechanism for preventive diplomacy, conflict settlement and post-conflict rehabilitation. Building on the progress already made during the Swiss chairmanship, the Secretariat at Vienna will also continue to provide its support next year during the forthcoming

Danish chairmanship to increase cooperation and coordination with the United Nations.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

I call on the representative of Armenia on a point of order.

**Mr. Abelian** (Armenia): My delegation would like to make a motion of no-action, under rule 74 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, on the proposed amendment submitted by the Azerbaijani delegation, contained in document A/51/L.54, to the draft resolution entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe", for the following reasons.

The common interpretations and definitions used by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) are based on the decisions taken by consensus by OSCE member States during meetings at various levels, namely, OSCE Summits, Council of Ministers and Senior Council/Committee of Senior Officials, among others. They express the common position of all member States of OSCE and are based on an awareness of the necessity to guarantee balance and objectivity in the mediation efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group. Based on such an approach, the OSCE Lisbon Summit, held on 2 and 3 December 1996, did not include in its final Declaration any paragraph on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. It is precisely for that reason that the 39 sponsors did not find it appropriate to include the Azerbaijani proposed amendment in the draft resolution.

The delegation of Armenia fully supports the draft resolution entitled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe", contained in document A/51/L.52. We regret to state that Azerbaijan has failed to take into account the aforementioned arguments. The delegation of Armenia disassociates itself from any language which contradicts the decisions agreed upon by consensus among the members of OSCE.

Therefore, Armenia would like to make a motion of no-action and calls upon members to give their positive vote to the proposed motion.

**The Acting President:** The representative of Armenia has moved, within the terms of rule 74 of the

rules of procedure, that no action be taken on the amendment contained in document A/51/L.54. Rule 74 reads as follows:

"During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote."

Does any member wish to speak?

**Mr. Kouliev** (Azerbaijan) (interpretation from Russian): We are against the procedural motion on no action proposed by the delegation of Armenia. As a State Member of the United Nations, Azerbaijan should not be deprived of its legitimate right to protect its interests.

Azerbaijan did not and does not make claim to anybody else's territory, but it will not allow any infringement of its own territory.

We call on Member States to vote against the motion of no action proposed by Armenia.

**Mr. Sacirbey** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): As we understand it, and as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution as a whole, this amendment was part of previous consensus resolutions.

Problems such as the one that is persisting in Azerbaijan should be resolved consistent with the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States within whose borders the issue arises. From our own experience, we cannot endorse solutions based upon the acceptance of ethnic divisions. We are ourselves beneficiaries of cooperation between the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations and other relevant multilateral organizations.

Finally, we believe that, in this matter, we should have the support of Azerbaijan, the country most directly affected by this conflict. In this context, we support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region — of course, including Azerbaijan and Armenia — as well as a resolution of this problem based on the appropriate highest level of self-rule.

Once again, we in Bosnia and Herzegovina have first-hand experience of such a solution. We would urge

Member States to reject the no-action motion and to proceed to a vote on the amendment.

**The Acting President:** I shall now put to the vote the motion submitted by the representative of Armenia that no action be taken on the amendment circulated in document A/51/L.54.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Armenia, Nicaragua

### Against:

Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Chile, Comoros, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Kazakstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Morocco, Mozambique, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sudan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, Uzbekistan

# Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Samoa, San Marino, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, the former Yugoslav Republic of

Macedonia, Togo, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe

The motion was rejected by 38 votes to 2, with 106 abstentions.

The Acting President: We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/51/L.52 and the amendment thereto, contained in document A/51/L.54.

I shall now call on those representatives wishing to make statements in explanation of vote before the voting. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Mr. Campbell** (Ireland): The European Union regrets that no consensus has been possible on this draft resolution.

This draft resolution is one of a series of technical, almost procedural, resolutions that deal with cooperation between the United Nations and a variety of international organizations. It has been the practice of the General Assembly to adopt these resolutions by consensus and to refrain from introducing contentious issues of substance on which there is no agreement and which may result in a divisive vote.

It is therefore a matter of regret to the European Union and, I believe, to the vast majority of the members of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), that on this occasion and on a draft resolution that deals with an international organization with which the United Nations has established very considerable, effective and worthwhile cooperation, it has been necessary to call for a vote.

Turning briefly to the substance of the issue referred to in the amendment that has been put forward by the Republic of Azerbaijan, the OSCE has established a mechanism agreed by all the parties within which to negotiate on the issue of Nagorny Karabakh. The OSCE Minsk Group, ably co-chaired by Finland and the Russian Federation, is the appropriate forum for detailed consideration of this issue.

The European Union has made clear its support for the principles outlined by the Chairman-in-Office and the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Group for the settlement of this issue. These are the territorial integrity of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan; the legal status of Nagorny Karabakh as defined in an agreement based on self-determination that confers on Nagorny Karabakh the highest degree of self-rule within Azerbaijan; and guaranteed security for Nagorny Karabakh and its whole population, including mutual obligations to ensure compliance by all the parties with the provisions of the settlement.

The European Union regrets that no substantial progress has been achieved in reaching a political settlement and has appealed to the parties to continue the negotiations within the Minsk process on the basis of the principles to which I have just referred.

In the view of the European Union, the outcome of the voting that will take place on this amendment, and on which consensus cannot be expected, will be to the advantage of neither party. For these reasons, the member States of the European Union will abstain on this amendment, as we did on the no-action motion.

Mr. Breitenstein (Finland): The position of my delegation has been reflected in the explanation of vote just made by the presidency of the European Union. We have voted and shall vote accordingly. However, as Finland is the Co-Chairman of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk conference until the end of this year, I wish to make the following additional comments in explanation of our vote.

Let me first reiterate that Finland fully supports the statement that the OSCE Chairman-in-Office made in Lisbon on 3 December as well as the principles outlined in the statement for the settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict.

We hope that a political settlement will be achieved on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, in particular the principles of territorial integrity of States and equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

As the outgoing Co-Chairman of the Minsk conference, Finland wants to emphasize that a political settlement is possible only if the parties are ready to compromise. A fundamental prerequisite to the resolution of any conflict is that the parties must be able to live with whatever is agreed. We regret that it is not possible to adopt the draft resolution on cooperation

between the OSCE and the United Nations by consensus because of the lack of willingness to compromise. In our view, disputed elements should not be included in these types of draft resolutions, which are traditionally adopted by consensus.

**The Acting President**: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the voting.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/51/L.52 and on the amendment thereto, contained in document A/51/L.54.

In accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure, the amendment is voted on first. The Assembly shall therefore first take a decision on the amendment circulated in document A/51/L.54.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

### In favour:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei Darussalam, China, Croatia, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jordan, Kazakstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, Uzbekistan, Yemen

# Against:

Armenia

#### Abstaining:

Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of),

Monaco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

The amendment was adopted by 43 votes to 1, with 103 abstentions.

**The Acting President**: I now put to the vote draft resolution A/51/L.52, as amended.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

#### In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian

Federation, Saint Lucia, Samoa, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Tajikistan, Thailand, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of merica, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Armenia, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nepal, Papua New Guinea

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 158 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (resolution 51/57).

**The Acting President**: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to move statements in explanation of vote. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Abdel Aziz (Egypt): Egypt voted against the no-action motion, proposed by Armenia, on the amendment contained in document A/51/L.54, due to its firm belief that every Member State has the right to present proposals and amendments with regard to any draft resolution or draft decision under consideration; these should be voted on in accordance with their substantive merit. On the substance of the amendment, despite the fact that the Lisbon Declaration did not include a similar paragraph, Egypt voted in favour of the amendment because the language proposed is a slightly modified version of the language of paragraph 8 of resolution 49/13, on the same item, adopted by consensus in 1994.

We firmly believe that the Minsk Conference is the appropriate forum for substantive consideration of this particular question, and would have hoped that that fact would have facilitated reaching consensus on the draft resolution as a whole, which would have better reflected the status of cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Mr. Gorelik (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation regrets that intensive consultations were not held with all delegations and that the traditional consensus nature of General Assembly resolutions on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) was not maintained.

We hope that today's vote on this resolution will not create an undesirable precedent for the future. The Russian delegation supported the amendment (A/51/L.54) submitted by the delegation of Azerbaijan, because its text relies on the relevant provisions of resolution 49/13, which was adopted by consensus. It also reflects one of the main principles for the settlement in Nagorny Karabakh, confirmed by the OSCE at the Lisbon Summit. These are also principles that the Russian Federation, as a co-Chairman of the Minsk Conference, fully endorses. We therefore abstained in the vote on Armenia's procedural motion that no action be taken on the amendment submitted by Azerbaijan.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 38?

It was so decided.

## Agenda item 7

Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations

Note by the Secretary-General (A/51/521)

The Acting President: As members are aware, in accordance with the provisions of Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations and with the consent of the Security Council, the Secretary-General is mandated to notify the General Assembly of matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security that are being dealt with by the Security Council and of matters with which the Council has ceased to deal.

In that connection, the General Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General issued as document A/51/521.

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that document?

It was so decided.

## Programme of work

The Acting President: Discussion of agenda item 56, entitled "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina", originally scheduled for tomorrow afternoon, Friday, 13 December, is postponed until next week. On Friday. 13 December, in the afternoon, in addition to the items already scheduled for that meeting as announced in today's Journal, the General Assembly will also take up agenda item 17 (c), entitled "Election of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme", as well as the reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 12, entitled "Report of the Economic and Social Council"; agenda item 123 (a), entitled "United Nations Disengagement Observer Force"; agenda item 123 (b), entitled "United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon"; and on agenda item 125 (a), entitled "United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission".

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.