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at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka)
later: Mr. SENGWE (Zimbabwe)
(Vice-Chairman)

CONTENTS

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

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26538, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1 and A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19)

Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18: Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

1. Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, introducing draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, said that United Nations activities in the field of peace-keeping had undergone substantial changes as a result of the increase in the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations. The Secretariat had made significant progress in the implementation of many of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, as well as those pertaining to the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111). Issues relating to peace-keeping operations were under discussion not only in the formal organs of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council, where they continued to receive close attention, but also in the many informal and semi-informal groups in which Member States participated.

2. The report on the work done by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations at its regular annual session in the spring of 1993 had been issued as document A/48/173 of 25 May 1993. The conclusions and recommendations contained in that report formed the basis for the draft resolution on agenda item 87. The work of the members of the Special Committee in drafting the draft resolution had been enriched by contributions from Member States which had participated in the Committee's work as observers. Since the conclusion of the Special Committee's session, questions relating to peace-keeping had been considered in other United Nations forums. They had also been addressed in other important documents, in particular General Assembly resolutions 47/120 A of 18 December 1992 and 47/120 B of 20 September 1993. All those developments had been taken into account during the drafting of the draft resolution.

3. The draft resolution before the Committee had been the subject of thorough and extensive discussion among Member States and reflected their desire to ensure that peace-keeping operations, which were constantly growing in number, size and complexity, contributed in the most effective manner possible to international peace and security and played a role in the overall betterment of mankind.

4. The draft resolution also reflected the recognition by Member States of the need to provide adequate financial and other resources to enable the United Nations to carry out complex operations in an effective manner. The draft resolution invited the Secretary-General to review the applicable regulations, to improve financial control and to delegate appropriate authority to Force Commanders and Special Representatives while strengthening overall

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(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

accountability. The draft resolution also addressed the issues of effective planning, coordination, training and public information, as well as the need for regular consultations with Member States and between the various United Nations organs involved in peace-keeping operations. It also addressed questions relating to the role of regional organizations and agreements.

5. The draft resolution also dealt with the question of the status and safety of personnel participating in peace-keeping operations. It was very important for individuals participating in peace-keeping missions to know that the question was of the utmost concern to the Organization and its Member States. In conclusion, he paid tribute to those who had given their lives in the service of peace and noted that the Sixth Committee was currently considering the adoption of a binding legal instrument to ensure the safety and protection of United Nations peace-keepers.

Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19: Strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities

6. Mr. HUSLID (Norway), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway, said that the rapid growth in the number, size, complexity and cost of United Nations peace-keeping operations was creating serious difficulties for the Organization in the effective management of those operations. Despite some successes - for example, in Cambodia - the operations in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia revealed weaknesses in the existing structures and organizational arrangements at United Nations Headquarters, which were responsible for the operational management of large-scale peace-keeping operations.

7. The Nordic countries believed that there was an urgent need to mobilize efforts to strengthen the capacities of the United Nations system in the areas of command, control and coordination of peace-keeping operations. That was one reason why the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries had decided to submit a draft resolution on that important question.

8. Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution stressed the need to strengthen the capabilities of the United Nations Secretariat, for the operational management, command and control of peace-keeping operations based on unity of instruction and clearly established lines of command.

9. In paragraph 2, the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the members of the Security Council, troop-contributing States and other interested Member States was called upon to review thoroughly and take urgent steps to strengthen current arrangements for political direction, military command and control and to improve coordination with humanitarian and civilian aspects of peace-keeping operations, both at United Nations Headquarters and in the field.

10. The Nordic countries viewed that exercise as a process aimed at the identification of practical proposals which could be implemented. In conclusion, he noted that the Nordic countries had held consultations with a

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(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

broad range of delegations and their views had to a large extent been reflected in the draft resolution. He expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus.

11. Ms. FRECHETTE (Canada) said that her country was very pleased that consultations had been launched within the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly on a binding agreement with respect to the protection of United Nations personnel throughout the world.

12. Canada had for many years contributed troops to multilateral United Nations peace-keeping operations. It had participated effectively in peace enforcement missions in Kuwait and Somalia mandated by the United Nations. There was, however, a need to review carefully in what circumstances such missions were best launched, whether they were compatible with each other, and how to ensure better communication among decision makers, both between the peace-keeping forces and Headquarters and between the Secretariat, the troop contributors and the members of the Security Council.

13. Her delegation strongly supported the proposal for a review of the command and control requirements for the management of United Nations operations and favoured making more extensive use of meetings of troop-contributing countries.

14. United Nations peace-keeping operations could succeed only if their objectives were clear and if the resources needed to achieve them were available. The rapid and significant increase in the number and size of peace-keeping operations had led to the participation of many new troop-contributing countries. One lesson to be drawn from such large peace-keeping operations was that the integration of a large number of national contingents into a smoothly functioning and efficient force required training on the basis of a common curriculum. Canada supported the proposal for the establishment of a permanent United Nations staff college to prepare officers from all nations.

15. With regard to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, she stressed the need to meet its staffing and resource requirements. Moreover, outdated budgetary rules and regulations which stifled the ability of the United Nations to take on new responsibilities rapidly and effectively needed to be adjusted or eliminated. She also welcomed the Department's plans to increase the capacity of United Nations Headquarters to plan and manage a growing number of sometimes extensive peace-keeping operations. The Secretariat should have the capability simultaneously to oversee and direct the activities of the various peace-keeping operations for which it was responsible. Her delegation would be delighted to participate in informal consultations on the matter.

16. Mr. SUCHARIPA (Austria) said that the Secretariat increasingly encountered serious difficulties in finding troop contributors. His country believed that the trend was not unrelated to the fact that owing to the large volume of outstanding contributions, reimbursements to troop-contributing countries had been delayed. There could be only one solution to the problem: to make sure that such financial obligations were met. His delegation believed that it would be appropriate to develop a set of incentives and penalties for timely and late payment, respectively.

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(Mr. Sucharipa, Austria)

17. Another decisive factor in the perception of peace-keeping operations was the role of the media. The United Nations should try to shape a positive image of peace-keeping operations. At the start of a peace-keeping operation there should be a professional media outreach programme and wide media coverage.

18. At a time when Member States evinced a growing reluctance to enter into new peace-keeping operations or to deploy personnel in substantial numbers, the United Nations should increase cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations and make more frequent use of preventive deployment. His delegation therefore strongly advocated that the United Nations should provide advice and assistance, share information and cooperate fully in the field. On 25 May 1993 the Austrian Government had decided to strengthen Austria's participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations. Austria would thus be able in the near future to comply more quickly and efficiently with requests from the United Nations and regional organizations.

19. With the rapid increase in the number of States contributing personnel and the manifold growth in the numbers of personnel deployed, training had become a priority. In an effort to make proper training available, Austria had developed institutions and programmes for training in both the military and the civilian fields. It had established the first training centre for civilian peace-keeping personnel. In cooperation with the United Nations, it would offer its programmes once again in 1994, covering such peace-keeping components as electoral monitoring, repatriation of refugees, human rights and democratization, and humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation.

20. Austria also welcomed the new practice of meetings of the Secretariat with troop-contributing countries. It constituted a first step towards the realization of his delegation's proposal concerning arrangements for consultations between troop contributors, the members of the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat.

21. Mr. DAGOH (Togo) said that it emerged clearly from any consideration of the whole issue of peace-keeping operations that particular attention should be paid to preventive diplomacy, which was discussed in "An Agenda for Peace". It was generally accepted that the lasting settlement of internal and international conflicts could not be achieved by force. An analysis of the outcome of all wars and other manifestations of force plainly showed that they were not the best means of resolving a crisis. On the contrary, they did more harm than good.

22. The positive developments in the Middle East situation were eloquent testimony to the fact that only dialogue and concerted efforts based on understanding and political courage could lead to a satisfactory outcome to the conflict in that region. In his delegation's view, preventive diplomacy, which was largely predicated on dialogue and coordinated action, was, by its very nature, one of the most effective ways of preventing armed conflicts.

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(Mr. Dagoh, Togo)

23. The international community, and in particular the parties to conflicts, should make every effort to engage in a responsible search for peaceful ways of settling disputes and conflicts. In that context, it was desirable that the United Nations should give greater attention to bringing together the parties to a conflict, with the aim of finding a political settlement of their disputes by negotiation.

24. Maintaining peace also meant restricting the spread of the means to wage war or to use force of any kind. In that connection, his delegation urged that further steps should be taken towards arms limitation and disarmament, so that an unrestrained arms race did not become yet another element in stirring up conflicts which required the launching of numerous peace-keeping operations.

25. His delegation considered that the proposals in the Secretary-General's report relating to the safety of United Nations forces and personnel deserved attention and would contribute to the success of peace-keeping operations. With regard to cooperation between regional organizations and the United Nations, he noted that the crisis management machinery for Africa, established at the latest Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, needed the support of the United Nations if it was to perform its role properly and achieve its stated objectives.

26. Mr. ZEGHIB (Algeria) said that the significant increase in the number and scale of peace-keeping operations since the end of the 1980s, and their transformation from the traditional type of operations into missions where large numbers of personnel were deployed, afforded ample proof of the need to strengthen the Organization's potential in that area. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should step up its efforts with a view to making an appropriate contribution to the process of evaluating and amending the conceptual bases for and practical aspects of peace-keeping operations, taking into account the wide range of responsibilities involved in carrying out such activities.

27. Peace-keeping operations would not achieve their intended purpose unless appropriate political and organizational conditions for them were established. Given the complexity and diversity of the tasks involved in peace-keeping activities, and in the light of the experience gained from the operation in Somalia, it was essential to examine carefully the various stages of each operation so as to obtain an overall picture of the situation. Each stage must represent a further step towards a political solution. Attention could thus be focused on the key problem, thus allowing headway to be made in the political process and reducing the cost of the operation. However, certain political and conceptual problems would first have to be resolved, and steps should be taken to ensure the effective cooperation of States with the United Nations.

28. The basic principles of peace-keeping operations should be observed with regard to future as well as current operations. Principles such as cease-fire arrangements, the consent of the parties to the conflict to the deployment of such operations, non-use of force except in cases of self-defence, and impartiality, must continue to remain vitally important elements in ensuring the success of peace-keeping operations.

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(Mr. Zeghib, Algeria)

29. In that connection, it should be recalled that the provisions of Article 2 of the Charter must remain the cornerstone of the Organization's activities. Respect for the sovereignty of Member States and non-interference in their internal affairs were unshakeable principles which should not be called into question through the establishment of a peace-keeping mechanism in Member States. Such principles must form an integral part of the review of the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace". During the consideration of that document, a number of promising ideas had been put forward on extending enlargement of the mandate and range of tasks traditionally assigned to peace-keeping missions. A case in point were the proposals relating to preventive deployment - an approach already implemented before its modalities had even been discussed. There was a risk of preventive deployment of peace-keeping forces missions extending beyond traditional peace-keeping activities and violating the principle of neutrality of the United Nations if troops were deployed on one side of a potential line of conflict without the agreement of all parties concerned.

30. With regard to financing of peace-keeping operations, the cost of such operations should be governed by the provisions of Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations, and the traditional method for calculating contributions should be maintained. However, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council in that connection and the ability of developing countries to pay should also be taken into account.

31. Steps must be taken to organize basic training on peace-keeping matters for all troop-providing countries. Algeria supported the efforts by the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research to develop training courses along those lines. It was also essential to develop training methods for special groups of civilian personnel, particularly those who supervised elections, and to implement the Secretary-General's proposal aimed at establishing an annual fellowship programme for national peace-keeping trainers, as provided in paragraph 30 of General Assembly resolution 47/71 of 14 December 1992.

32. Recent events in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia had highlighted the problem of the safety of United Nations personnel. The difficult situation in that respect required the adoption of practical measures aimed at creating the political and legal conditions necessary for an effective solution to the security problems of United Nations staff in conflict areas. His delegation considered that the idea of drafting an international convention on the subject would be well received by the international community.

33. Algeria was doing its utmost to support the implementation of the Settlement Plan adopted by the Security Council regarding the organization of a referendum for the self-determination of the people in Western Sahara. Algeria had provided the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) with a number of aircraft and motor vehicles, as well as accommodation, equipment, medical supplies, heating and other goods to meet the needs of MINURSO and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in connection with operations for the repatriation of Saharan refugees.

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(Mr. Zeghib, Algeria)

He emphasized the fact that his Government, under its agreement with the United Nations, had undertaken to grant MINURSO the privileges and immunities required to facilitate its activities and to fulfil its mandate freely and without hindrance. The scope of the application of the agreement had been broadened and the Government of Algeria had also granted comparable privileges and immunities to the Blue Helmets and to the observers of both parties, as well as those belonging to the Organization of African Unity, who, in accordance with the provisions of the Settlement Plan, were invited to participate in the process of its implementation.

34. In conclusion, he observed that the United Nations peace-keeping activities could be improved in two ways: first, by making United Nations efforts more effective, and secondly, by establishing a mechanism for cooperation with regional organizations which, in collaboration with the United Nations, might assume responsibility for the prevention and settlement of conflicts in their respective regions.

35. Mr. WAQANISAU (Fiji) said that the lessons to be learned from the Somalia operation should serve as a warning for future peace-keeping activities. It had been thought that the problem could be resolved through aggressive peace enforcement, but the realities of the situation in Somalia had been overlooked. Aggressive intervention by the United Nations in such a civil conflict made the Organization no longer neutral, but one of the parties to the conflict. Moreover, no steps had been taken to encourage negotiations between the parties to the conflict. It was important that the United Nations should become involved only in situations where there was a serious threat to international security or where humanitarian assistance was absolutely necessary. The involvement of the United Nations must be for a limited period of time only. In that connection, the mandates for operations must include clearly defined transitional periods and a phasing-out process for the peace-keeping forces. The operations must serve as a catalyst for active negotiations among all parties concerned with a view to reaching a universally acceptable solution.

36. The United Nations should review its current peace-keeping operations with a view to discontinuing those which would not achieve success due to the lack of political will on the part of the parties to the conflict to resolve their differences. If two civilized States which were parties to a conflict could not resolve their differences within 10 years, then it was unlikely that they would achieve success even in 20 years, and the Organization should not continue to spend time, money or resources on such operations.

37. With the growth in number and scope of United Nations peace-keeping operations, increasing importance attached to the safety and protection of peace-keeping personnel. The United Nations had the primary responsibility to protect its personnel, and should therefore continue to search for practical means of creating the necessary political and legal environment for dealing effectively with the problem of the growing vulnerability of United Nations personnel deployed in conflict areas. The safety of United Nations personnel deployed under a Security Council mandate must be ensured by the States in whose territory they were deployed.

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(Mr. Waganisau, Fiji)

38. The sharp rise in demand for peace-keeping operations, as well as the expansion of their scope, had created an urgent need to develop uniform standards for peace-keeping operations. A key factor in attaining that goal was professional training, which should be based on a standardized curriculum and should aim at creating an international peace-keeping personnel with comparable skills, knowledge, discipline and code of conduct and able to work together effectively.

39. The current financial situation of peace-keeping operations remained a source of serious concern. The amount of outstanding assessed contributions was even greater in 1993 than in previous years, owing to the sharp rise in overall peace-keeping expenditures. Peace-keeping was the collective responsibility of all Member States under the Charter, and all assessed contributions should therefore be paid in full and on time.

40. Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand), speaking on behalf of the six member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), said that ASEAN recognized the central role played by the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. ASEAN attached great importance to preventive diplomacy, and considered that it should be further developed through the adoption of such measures as confidence-building, fact-finding and early warning. It was vital that potential conflicts should be identified and contained before they erupted. ASEAN supported various efforts to establish an effective early warning mechanism, and considered that regional organizations could play an important role in early warning.

41. ASEAN recognized that a solid and stable financial foundation was a vital precondition for the effective implementation of all United Nations programmes and activities. It once again urged all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time and, stressed the importance of reimbursing troop-contributing States without delay. ASEAN also believed that personnel offered for peace-keeping activities must be extremely competent, experienced and well trained and that their training should be based on agreed United Nations standards and concepts of operations.

42. While it accepted that the Security Council should remain the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, ASEAN believed that the General Assembly, as a universal body, should also be utilized where necessary in pre-empting or containing situations which threatened international peace and security. That could be achieved by improving coordination between the Security Council and the General Assembly on issues affecting international peace and security, so as to enable the General Assembly to exercise its functions and powers.

43. Speaking on behalf of his own country, he said that, as a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and as a troop-contributing country, Thailand was following United Nations peace-keeping operations with close attention.

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(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

44. Although his delegation believed that United Nations peace-keeping operations were a vital element in United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security, it was concerned by the growing expenditure on peace-keeping, and believed that it would be more cost-effective, in the long term, to focus efforts on strengthening the Organization's potential in the field of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter. In addition, his delegation believed that further cooperation and coordination should be encouraged between the United Nations and regional organizations.

45. His delegation attached great importance to the questions of planning, control and coordination of peace-keeping operations and, in that regard, noted with satisfaction that the Secretary-General had implemented the Special Committee's recommendation regarding the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Thailand would support efforts by the Secretary-General to strengthen and reform units of the Secretariat concerned with peace-keeping.

46. As a troop-contributing country, Thailand shared the concern expressed by other delegations at the increasing number of casualties incurred during United Nations peace-keeping operations. Since the task of United Nations peace-keeping personnel was to maintain international peace and security, they should be adequately protected. In his report, the Secretary-General had stated that, while the primary responsibility for the safety of United Nations personnel rested with the host Government, developments over the previous year had revealed certain gaps in the existing system. His delegation therefore welcomed the initiatives proposed by New Zealand and Ukraine in that area, as well as the decision to establish a working group within the Sixth Committee to study those proposals.

47. His delegation believed that, to ensure the effective and smooth running of a peace-keeping operation, the Security Council and the General Assembly should carefully analyse a given situation before launching a peace-keeping operation. In each case, a realistic, clear and precise mandate should be formulated. Furthermore, the Security Council should periodically review the effectiveness of each operation.

48. Mr. Sengwe (Zimbabwe), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

49. Mr. KOO (Singapore) said that the Non-Aligned Movement constantly maintained that the United Nations should not become involved in any situation where there was a power struggle between opposing factions in a country. That problem was the internal affair of a sovereign State, and the Organization should remain impartial even if one or another faction appealed to it for help. Specific provisions to that effect were contained in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. That did not mean, however, that the Organization should not offer its good offices to mediate and help achieve a peaceful political solution. Non-governmental organizations could also assist in resolving humanitarian problems caused by civil wars. As for massive refugee flows

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(Mr. Koo, Singapore)

generated by internal conflicts, assistance to those refugees and to the countries in which they sought refuge should be furnished by humanitarian organizations and the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

50. Internal conflicts could lead to the collapse of effective, central government or the creation of two rival "governments", each of which claimed to be the legitimate government. One of them might appeal to the Organization to intervene and restore order. Intervention by the Organization in such situations should be limited to fact-finding and/or mediation and good offices, especially when it had been established that there was no threat to international peace and stability.

51. The situation could worsen even further, in association with such phenomena as chaos, famine, massive refugee outflows, and the absence of effective government. In such cases, the Security Council should debate the necessity and wisdom of humanitarian and/or peace-keeping operations and carry out the necessary consultations with neighbouring countries and relevant regional associations. It was only after it decided that there was a valid threat to international peace and security that the Security Council should authorize the establishment of an appropriate United Nations operation with a clear mandate, an accurate assessment of costs and fixed time-limits.

52. Political factors undoubtedly influenced decisions on United Nations involvement. For instance, a veto by a permanent member of the Security Council could block a proposed United Nations operation in a conflict in which that State's security interests could be affected. On the other hand, there could be conflicts that were so complex and intractable that the United Nations might hesitate to get involved, especially if those countries on which the United Nations depended to provide vital peace-keeping resources were unable or reluctant to provide support.

53. The situation could arise wherein the United Nations became one of the participants in a conflict and unintentionally lost its impartiality and credibility. That could happen, for instance, if the mandate had been imprecisely drafted because of a confused political situation. In such cases the Security Council should carefully analyse the situation and, if necessary, decide to revise the mandate. The Council might even decide to withdraw the operation or to suspend it temporarily until conditions improved.

54. Because of the complexities of the challenges currently confronting the United Nations, the doctrine of United Nations peace-keeping operations needed to be revised. In the decision-making process, the United Nations must remain steadfast to the principles laid down in the Charter. It appeared that the United Nations was increasingly being asked to become involved in internal conflicts where the traditional guidelines became blurred or obsolete. In obvious cases of aggression by one country against another, the path for United Nations involvement was clear, but in situations of internal conflict, the United Nations must exercise wisdom and political judgement in deciding on whether to become involved, through peace-keeping or enforcement action.

55. Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

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56. Mr. BROUHNS (Belgium), speaking on behalf of the European Union, stressed the importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations and said that to date the European Union had assigned over 26,000 military personnel and civilian police to peace-keeping operations, which represented slightly less than one third of the total number of persons currently engaged in such operations. Its financial contributions amounted to over 30 per cent of the budget for those operations.

57. Peace-keeping operations had undergone qualitative and quantitative changes. His delegation commended the role played by the staff of the Secretariat in that respect. In addition to peace-keeping as such, peace-keeping operations now aimed to resolve new problems and involved, in particular, the delivery of humanitarian assistance, assistance in conducting elections, and monitoring of human rights.

58. The preventive deployment of troops and the establishment of demilitarized zones were of great importance. The success of the preventive deployment of the United Nations Protection Force in Macedonia could serve as an example for the future. Regional agreements and bodies should play a more prominent role in the maintenance or restoration of peace in their own regions. In particular, the development of relations between the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations was to be welcomed. The European Union, for its part, had decided to continue its active cooperation with the United Nations in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

59. The transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations was an important step which should lead to positive results. The European Union welcomed the proposals for the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations put forward by the Secretary-General in the proposed programme budget for the biennium, and also the establishment of a situation centre and of a logistics planning capability, which would help increase the effectiveness of the reforms carried out.

60. The European Union was following with interest the consultations undertaken by the Secretariat on the question of stand-by peace-keeping forces and hoped that they would soon be completed. Special attention should be paid to the training and refresher training of personnel, including military personnel. The specific problems which were encountered during peace-keeping operations gave rise to a need for closer coordination. In that connection, recommendations should be formulated for the standardization of the personnel training process.

61. A single command and control structure was essential. There was no doubt that the contingents which took part in individual United Nations operations should be completely subordinate to the command structure of the United Nations. In that context, the European Union supported the approach put forward in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

62. The European Union paid tribute to the military and civilian personnel who had given their lives in the service of the United Nations, and also to those who were currently serving in exceptionally difficult and dangerous circumstances. In accordance with the Special Committee's recommendation to the

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(Mr. Brouhns, Belgium)

Secretariat, arrangements should be made for the names of the people who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations to be inscribed on the wall of the United Nations Headquarters building in a place that was visible to the public.

63. Increasing concern was being expressed about security problems in peace-keeping operations. It was commendable that emphasis was currently being laid on the need to take security issues fully into account in the planning of operations. In that respect, while decisive and coordinated measures needed to be taken by various bodies of the United Nations, basic responsibility lay with the receiving country. The Sixth Committee was carrying out very important work on an international legal instrument regarding the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel. In the short term, the inclusion of provisions on security matters in the text of status-of-forces agreements should be encouraged.

64. The problem of the perception of peace-keeping operations by public opinion was important. His delegation favoured the adoption by the Department of Public Information of a communications strategy making use of all modern means of communication. Such a strategy would make it possible both to inform populations regarding the nature of United Nations peace-keeping operations and provide the mass media with objective information which would prevent the formation of misconceptions about them.

65. It must again be noted that the financial situation of the peace-keeping operations remained precarious: over the past two years arrears for peace-keeping contributions had almost doubled. One of the most serious aspects of the problem was the delay in the payment of compensation to the countries contributing troops. The member States of the European Union were particularly concerned because in the aggregate they were the largest contributors of both money and troops. The European Union considered it of vital importance for all member States to pay their assessed contributions fully, promptly and unconditionally. It was also unfortunate that the reserve fund for peace-keeping operations had not yet reached a satisfactory level, in spite of the relevant decisions, and that it was being used for purposes other than those it had been intended for.

66. The European Union and its member States considered that the time had come to break with the present approach to the problem of managing peace-keeping operations. It was to be hoped that the current session of the General Assembly would be able to take a decision on that question. The European Union and its member States were in favour of establishing a more effective system of financial control of peace-keeping operations, including auditing and inspection.

67. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that in the present circumstances, when preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking were the defining characteristics of conflict resolution, the challenge of constructing a better peace-keeping framework remained before the United Nations and its Member States. Over the past year, the discussions in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had yielded a wealth of constructive views and recommendations making it possible to identify the priorities regarding the future of peace-keeping operations and begin to work towards their realization.

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(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

68. One of the major accomplishments of the recent period had been the integration of the Field Operations Division into the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Under the management of one body, there was sure to be increased cohesion, improved technical and administrative support and better planning and coordination, all of which were essential to effective operations. Another accomplishment furthering effectiveness was the provision of training manuals for military and civilian personnel. The work of establishing an international pool of civilians had begun with the establishment by the Secretary-General of a planning team whose aim was to identify standard components to serve a variety of peace-keeping operations. That work should be expanded to include the development of a standard peace-keeping training curriculum as well as standard training programmes for specific categories of personnel. Enhanced communication between Headquarters and the field should be established. Press and public information must also be given priority.

69. The establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund of \$150 million should make it possible to respond to global emergencies while at the same time cutting costs through early conflict resolution. The physical security of all United Nations peace-keeping personnel was also of critical importance. The Secretary-General had offered several workable proposals, which his delegation supported, intended to fill existing gaps and strengthen current machinery for security monitoring. Most encouraging was the inclusion of safety considerations in the planning of all operations.

70. Lebanon's relationship with United Nations peace-keeping had been long. However, the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and other subsequent resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli occupying forces from Lebanese territory had not taken place because of Israel's refusal to abide by those resolutions. The success of peacemaking and peace-keeping rested on strict adherence to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and compliance with international law concerning the rights and obligations of States. Lebanon had taken the appropriate steps towards strengthening its internal position: full governmental authority had been restored, progress in national reconstruction was under way and the gradual deployment of Lebanese armed forces to UNIFIL areas was continuing steadily. Lebanon had proved its capacity to restore peace throughout the country. The responsibility for the failure to implement Security Council resolution 425 lay squarely with Israel. As the Secretary-General had stated, the success of democracy rested largely on the existence of peaceful conditions, and his delegation hoped that the ongoing peace process would achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, if a mutually agreed upon peace settlement was not forthcoming, the United Nations must seriously consider upgrading peace-keeping to peacemaking in Lebanon. That was the duty of the United Nations and the right of Lebanon.

71. Mr. ZHANG Yan (China) said that peace-keeping operations were one of the most important activities of the United Nations. Analysis of the successes and lessons of the peace-keeping operations in recent years showed that adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter was an important condition for the effectiveness of those operations. Respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States were

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(Mr. Zhang Yan, China)

important principles of the Charter and should also be the guidelines for peace-keeping activities. China considered that at any time and under any circumstances, the consent and cooperation of the relevant Governments or parties must be obtained in carrying out activities of preventive diplomacy of peace-keeping. At the same time, the United Nations must adopt a neutral, fair and impartial approach and in no way involve itself in the internal conflicts of any country. Only in that way could United Nations preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping operations give expression to the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and achieve positive results.

72. The settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means was another important guideline that should be observed in peace-keeping operations. Before a conflict erupted, efforts should be made to bring opposing parties to the negotiating table and solve the problem through peaceful negotiations and consultations. That, in a sense, constituted preventive diplomacy. The indiscriminate use of sanctions or force in the name of the United Nations was neither helpful in resolving problems nor in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, and damaged the credibility of the United Nations. As long as there was still hope for a peaceful solution to a conflict, the effort to achieve it should not be given up. The practice of stopping a war by expanding it was unacceptable.

73. In recent years, there had been a sharp increase in United Nations peace-keeping operations, which involved 80,000 personnel and an expenditure of \$3.7 billion. As a result, the United Nations and its Member States were bearing a huge burden in terms of human, financial and material resources, and the Organization's financial situation was deteriorating. In order to reverse that situation, it was necessary to strengthen management in the preparation and implementation of peace-keeping operations; accurately assess the situation involved and chose the appropriate timing for intervention; and recognize that the United Nations alone could not settle all international conflicts and disputes. While the Organization's leading role should be maintained it was also necessary to encourage regional organizations to assume greater responsibility and play a more positive role in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

74. With the intensification of regional conflicts and wars and repeated violations of peace agreements in recent years, the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel were seriously endangered. Casualties among those personnel had multiplied. Two members of the Chinese engineering detachment had lost their lives in the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cambodia. That situation had caused widespread concern in the international community. It was necessary to adopt urgent, effective and practical measures to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel. Peace-keeping operations would play an increasingly important role in international affairs as long as the guiding principles contained in the Charter were observed. China was ready to make further contributions to United Nations peace-keeping activities and participate actively in them.

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75. Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) said that the United Nations should foster a dynamic and comprehensive dialogue conducive to social and economic development and international peace and security. In keeping with its mandate, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should consider such operations in all their aspects and submit appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly. His delegation had examined the report of the Special Committee (A/48/173) and the reports of the Secretary-General (A/48/349 and A/48/470), which were important contributions to the work of the Committee.

76. More effective coordination was needed among the parties, agencies, bodies and services involved in peace-keeping operations. Moreover, the scale and complexity of modern peace-keeping operations and the conditions in which they were conducted underscore the Organization's need for qualified personnel. It was also necessary to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel, since there had been a considerable increase in the number of casualties in various regions. In the first half of 1993 alone, 97 United Nations staff had lost their lives, as compared with 51 staff in all of 1992. His delegation welcomed the fact that the General Assembly, in its resolution 47/72 of 14 December 1992, and the Security Council, in its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 had taken note of the seriousness of the situation and were considering appropriate measures.

77. It was significant that, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, the concept of preventive diplomacy had become one of the most important aspects of peace-keeping. It was, of course, much easier to prevent crises and conflicts than to eliminate them. Moreover, the international community should endeavour to prevent the disastrous consequences with which conflicts were usually fraught. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional agreements should be perceived as a priority area for developing concrete measures to encourage preventive diplomacy.

78. Every effort should be made to put in place reliable means to prevent the spread of potential conflicts and mitigate the consequences of existing crises. However, the reliability of such means would depend on the success achieved in combating the root causes of tension, in particular economic and social inequality, which gave rise to crises and conflicts. Only a just world order was capable of eliminating those causes and guaranteeing peace and stability, which in turn were prerequisites for economic and social development.

79. Mr. OPLE (Philippines) said that the increase in the scope, complexity and cost of United Nations peace-keeping operations necessitated greater participation by all Member States in the decision-making process. That would entail more transparency and openness than currently existed, particularly on the part of the Security Council. While the Security Council had the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, the General Assembly also had a key role to play in that regard. An important way to achieve that would be through greater coordination between the Assembly and the Council. It was also important, for purposes of transparency and coherence, that all issues involving peace-keeping operations were considered in a single body in a comprehensive manner.

(Mr. Ople, Philippines)

80. His delegation supported the view that the increase in the complexity and costs of United Nations peace-keeping operations in general required the timely provision of financial, human and material resources. It was necessary to ensure that demands for conflict resolution did not outstrip the Organization's material capacity and did not adversely affect other United Nations priorities such as the promotion of development. However, while fully aware of the need for payment of assessed contributions in full and on time, many delegations questioned the need to reimburse all outstanding dues to troop-contributing States, including the Philippines, without delay, as well as improved procedures for reimbursement for depreciation of contingent-owned equipment deployed at the request of the United Nations. Those concerns were especially critical to developing countries, such as the Philippines, which despite financial and development problems, had participated in peace-keeping operations because of their commitment to the principle of collective responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In spite of the financial burden, the Philippines was currently evaluating its approach to peace-keeping operations. Recently, the President of the Philippines had informed the Secretary-General that the Philippines might form a properly trained stand-by battalion to be made available upon request, especially for deployment in its own region. It had been agreed that such steps would require the prior approval of the Congress of the Philippines. With regard to the issue of command control, which was a key aspect of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the proposal to strengthen the Secretariat's specific ability to manage, command and control United Nations peace-keeping operations.

81. His delegation noted with interest the recent proposals relating to the mandates of peace-keeping operations. Resolutions establishing peace-keeping operations should indicate a precise mandate and a clear objective. The United Nations should develop a means for distinguishing between, for example, peace enforcement, preventive deployment and post-conflict peace-building. In addition, the mandate for peace-keeping operations must be in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions. The time-frame of each mandate should also be clearly defined.

82. With regard to the issue of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations in the post-cold-war period, his delegation considered that it was necessary to develop an operational and conceptual framework consisting of elements and coherent criteria for the establishment of United Nations peace-keeping operations in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter. That framework would make it possible to decide when to deploy peace-keeping operations as a means of settling conflict, pre-conflict or post-conflict situations, which posed or could pose a threat to international peace and security, and to address the questions of time-limits, methods and the scope of such operations.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.