At the same meeting the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council is deeply concerned about the grave situation in the Republic of the Congo and calls for an immediate end to all hostilities. It deplores the loss of life and the deteriorating humanitarian situation and calls upon all parties to ensure the safety of the civilian population and the safe and unrestricted delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The Council calls upon all States in the region to support a peaceful resolution of the conflict and to avoid any actions which could exacerbate the situation. It condemns all external interference in the Republic of the Congo, including the intervention of foreign forces, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces, including mercenaries.

The Council reiterates the importance of a political settlement and national reconciliation and calls upon the parties to cooperate with the International Mediation Committee chaired by the President of Gabon and with the joint United Nations/Organization of African Unity Special Envoy in reaching rapid agreement on peaceful transitional arrangements leading to the holding of democratic and free and fair elections with the participation of all parties.

The Council remains ready to consider how the United Nations can further contribute to a political settlement, including the possibility of a United Nations presence, on the basis of recommendations to be provided by the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

14. The situation in Africa

Initial proceedings

Decision of 25 September 1997 (3819th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3819th meeting, held on 25 September 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the item entitled “The situation in Africa” in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, and in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council invited Mr. Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of that Organization, to take a seat at the Council table.

The President (United States) stated that the Security Council was holding its first ministerial meeting on Africa, an unprecedented event taking place at a time when there was a new partnership in global responsibility, which was shared by all Council members and by the international community as a whole. Her delegation firmly believed that the discussions would spur common efforts to assist African peoples and nations to lay the foundations for a peaceful and prosperous future. She then drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 22 September 1997 from the representative of Argentina addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a letter of the same date from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship of Argentina addressed to the President of the Security Council, supporting the initiative to convene a meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the members of the Council to promote peace and security in Africa.

Opening the debate, President Mugabe of Zimbabwe thanked the Council for convening a special ministerial-level meeting to launch a new partnership between OAU and the United Nations. Security Council meetings and debates on African issues had been in the past often convened on an ad hoc basis to address crises and armed conflicts afflicting one country after another. The special meeting was, however, different in a unique way because it was being held against the backdrop of an African renaissance that was reshaping not only its societies but also the relations of the continent with the rest of the world. In the area of peace and security, Africa’s determination to take greater responsibility to resolve its own crises, including armed conflicts, was being pursued in full cognizance of the relationship between African countries, OAU and the United Nations. He noted, however, that the Council was endowed with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of
international peace and security, and thus there could never be an exclusively African agenda for peace; it would be the United Nations agenda, to which the entire international community subscribed and lent support. That was the understanding of OAU of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter on cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. The OAU members attached special value to the establishment and maintenance of peace and security, at all levels, for the achievement of sustainable economic growth and development. Conversely, they strongly believed that their aim could not be attained in the conditions of abject poverty prevailing in the region and that a politically stable and prosperous Africa would best contribute to greater global peace and security. He stated that through subregional groupings, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Africa had activated subregional mechanisms in the search for solutions to subregional crises. The Organization of African Unity too had endeavoured to play its part in such efforts. However, international support for such efforts, including in the area of capacity-building, was needed for those institutions and mechanisms to play their role. He further emphasized that although the majority of African countries had embarked on and were pursuing economic structural adjustment programmes, the need for investment in infrastructure development was critical. The success of those policies would be greatly enhanced by improving support from the international financial institutions and the donor community. He recalled that, since 1990, free and fair elections had been held in over 20 African countries which, however, had not proved to be the panacea that some had hoped for, due in large part to the prevailing economic conditions on the continent. In that context, he stressed that regimes which had assumed power through undemocratic and unconstitutional means could no longer be tolerated. The United Nations and the international community at large must assist African countries to ensure that democracy became an irreversible process. In conclusion, President Mugabe maintained that Africa was not asking for charity but for a new partnership which was mutually beneficial. There was a growing worldwide interest in investing in and trading with African countries, which was welcomed and encouraged. As the frontiers of peace, democracy and stability broadened, a favourable environment for secure and lucrative investments in Africa would also undoubtedly grow.2

The Secretary-General of the United Nations stated that Africa and its relations with the rest of the world were changing. It was therefore timely to examine how the international community could support and assist African countries at that juncture. Noting the new consensus that Africans needed to bear the primary responsibility for the solution of regional problems, he pointed out that it also placed responsibilities on the shoulders of both African Governments and those outside Africa. The Secretary-General noted that Africa was the only region in the world where poverty was expected to increase and that, despite all the advances made, armed conflict and political instability were still preventing some countries from moving forward. Economic development remained fragile, and in some parts of the continent, vast movements of refugees and displaced persons continued. In addition, nationalism was on the rise, with cleavages between ethnic groups as they battled for economic and political power. Internal conflicts were threatening the cohesion, and even the survival of those countries. The Secretary-General further noted that although African Governments and people shared the primary responsibility to mobilize and maximize their internal resources, external financing, from both public and private sectors, remained essential. The Security Council, the United Nations and the international community, as a whole, needed to therefore respond promptly and effectively to Africa’s call. For his part, he would continue to bring to the attention of the Council developments relating to peace and security that required timely action to prevent the escalation of conflicts. The Secretary-General stressed that after the unprecedented humanitarian crises of recent years, preventive diplomacy was no longer an option – it was a vital necessity. He therefore asked the Council to support the efforts of OAU and strengthen its capacity in the field of preventive diplomacy.3

The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity stated that peace, security and stability issues, as well as economic development problems, needed to be addressed simultaneously. The conflicts that continued to rage in some parts of the continent

2 S/PV.3819, pp. 2-4.
3 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
had caused irreparable loss, damage and destruction and had created acute humanitarian tragedies, by forcing millions into a life of exile. The international community needed, therefore, to pool its resources and work closely together to address those crises and to promote peace, security, and stability in the region. He pointed out that although Africa, like any other region, had the responsibility to address its own problems, the United Nations could not exonerate itself from its Charter responsibilities towards the continent. With respect to cooperation between the United Nations and OAU, they need to build a new partnership, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter and the Agenda for Peace. Such cooperation needed to focus on addressing current outbreaks of violence and conflicts. It needed to also pay more attention to preventive diplomacy, action and deployment, and be reoriented towards building a joint capacity for post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.4

The representative of China stated that his delegation supported the decision of African countries to choose their own political system, and opposed any external interference in their internal affairs. It also supported their efforts, as well as those of OAU, the League of Arab States and other regional organizations, to resolve conflicts through peaceful means. The international community, including the United Nations, needed to pay more attention to African issues; seriously consider the proposals and demands of African countries; support and coordinate their efforts to safeguard regional peace and security; and fully respect their sovereignty and territorial integrity.5

The representative of Costa Rica stated that the Council devoted most of its time to the African issues on its agenda, namely the socio-economic crises which gave rise to armed conflicts. Each one of those issues illustrated to what extent the Council’s concepts and working practices had changed, and the interpretation of its powers, obligations and duties under Chapters VI and VII of the Charter.6

The representative of Egypt stated that Africa had taken serious steps to address three main issues, namely, the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and the solution to the refugee problem; economic and social development; and democratization and respect for human rights by African communities. Such developments highlighted the need for enhancing the Organization of African Unity’s role and providing it with the necessary political, material and technical support to improve its capabilities to resolve conflicts and problems within an African framework. While acknowledging that Africa needed to assume a greater role in security issues, he noted that the Council had the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. What was needed was a partnership that would enhance African capabilities in the field of conflict prevention and peacemaking within the continent. In conclusion, he stated that African States also sought democracy at the international level; hence their collective support of the process of reforming the United Nations and restructuring of the Security Council and of the attainment of a more just representation of all regions, including Africa, in terms of both the permanent and the non-permanent seats in the Council.7

The representative of France stated that the reduction of international development assistance to Africa, at a time when it was engaged in structural adjustment processes, could exacerbate tensions and crises on the continent. African nations had already demonstrated the will to prevent and settle their own conflicts, and regional groups, such as the OAU, continued to play an increasing and positive role in many sensitive situations. Those positive developments needed to be encouraged. The international community needed to not, however, relinquish its responsibilities towards the continent but, on the contrary, had to become involved and intervene in conflict situations, as soon as conditions would allow for an effective presence. For its part, his Government was working tirelessly to help prevent crises, increasingly favoring a multilateral approach to security issues, but without being drawn into internal conflicts or interfering in the internal affairs of its African partners.8

The representative of Kenya noted that African issues constituted 65 per cent of the current work of the Security Council. Africa’s socio-economic situation, characterized by poverty and underdevelopment,
remained precarious, and in fact, it was the only continent unable to feed its rising population without outside support. However, despite those problems, African countries were striving to lay a solid development foundation, and deserved the support of the international community. His delegation reiterated the importance of the United Nations role as the central forum for dialogue and negotiations in matters of international peace and security, as well as economic and social development. It also stressed the importance of the relationship between the United Nations and OAU, and the need to respect the latter’s resolutions on African issues.9

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the current debate acknowledged the urgent need for a coordinated strategy to maintain peace and stability on the continent. The Council and the United Nations in general had already gained a wealth of experience in resolving disputes between States. However, they had not yet reached the required level of response to the newer conflicts which, although mainly internal in character, could jeopardize regional peace and security. The international community needed to collectively reflect on how it could strengthen the role of African regional organizations, primarily OAU, both in peacemaking and preventive diplomacy, and consolidate interaction between that organization and the United Nations. He emphasized, however, that the Charter of the United Nations, Security Council decisions and relevant international bilateral and multilateral agreements needed to remain the legal basis for peacemaking, and that no coercive action needed to be undertaken by regional structures unless authorized by the Council. Affirming his delegation’s willingness to contribute to Africa’s peacekeeping capability, he stressed, however, that external assistance needed to complement rather than replace the course of action by the African States themselves.10

The representative of Sweden stated that Africans did not want special treatment, but equal treatment in access to markets, cooperation with investors, exchange of experiences and cultural interaction. She pointed out that an important part of the United Nation’s role in Africa was to assist Africans to maintain and restore peace and human security. Greater efforts should, therefore, be directed at preventing armed conflicts and including long-term measures to build an environment conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes, between and within States. The international community, including the Security Council, had an obvious responsibility in African crises, as it had in other parts of the world. The United Nations needed to study how the instruments at its disposal could be used more effectively to prevent and resolve conflicts, in cooperation with regional organizations. However, in cases of self-defence, only the Security Council could legally authorize the use of force.11

The representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that in Africa, while democracy was spreading, good government was taking strong roots in many countries and the peaceful dismantling of apartheid in South Africa was a great success story, progress in some countries could not hide the real problems which remained. Africa was the only continent where there had been no increase in per capita income over recent decades. Africa was the continent which had benefited the least from the opening up of the global economy. Some analysts claimed that sub-Saharan Africa would be a net loser under the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Africa, as the continent with the least economic progress, had also produced the greatest conflicts. Where people were poor and becoming poorer in real terms, tension was bound to thrive. The atrocities that were occurring nightly in Algeria were shocking. The United Kingdom condemned such terrorism and called for improvement in the security of the lives of the ordinary people. He also stressed the need to acknowledge that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) package in Algeria over that decade had had the effect of reducing the standard of living of many of its people. He further emphasized that the war on terrorism needed to be fought on three fronts: better security, political mediation and also economic development. There were three important ways in which the international community could be of help to Africa. First was the eradication of poverty. Africa needed aid. The second way to help was with conflict prevention and peacekeeping. The United Kingdom was pleased by the determination of OAU to tackle Africa’s problems in

9 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
conjunction with the United Nations. The third area in which the international community could help Africa was human rights. The compelling lesson from the recent history of Africa was that honest, open and democratic government was crucial to success. The representative of the United Kingdom noted that although Nigeria and the former Zaire were countries rich in resources their people lived in poverty because of poor government and self-interest on the parts of those who had ruled them. In conclusion, he stated that there were challenges ahead and there were problems for the present, but with a genuine partnership, with the commitment of African Governments and with the international community playing their part, the future could be bright for Africa.\textsuperscript{12}

Several other speakers spoke, noting how the debate highlighted the priorities of the international community towards Africa. Speakers stressed that the underlying causes of conflict in Africa needed to be addressed in a comprehensive manner. A number of speakers emphasized the importance of strengthening the role of regional and subregional arrangements.\textsuperscript{13}

The President, in her capacity as the representative of the United States, stated that the international community needed to listen carefully to the views of African leaders and citizens regarding their crises and solutions. She requested that the Secretary-General report on how they could better identify sources of conflict and help Africans lay the groundwork for peace and prosperity. She further urged support for the Secretary-General’s reform proposals, which provided an important opportunity for the United Nations to use better its resources to address security, humanitarian and development needs in Africa. She stated that the Council’s starting point was peace and security, its traditional responsibility, but the Council also needed to take the opportunity to look at the broad picture of its interactions with Africa. She noted that a decade ago, Africa was the scene of multiple conflicts fueled, in large measure, by cold war rivalries and, in Southern Africa, by the effects of apartheid. She said that the greatest threat to international peace and security in the current times were posed by civil strife caused by ethnic tensions or by straightforward competition for resources and power. These threats were aggravated by lack, in some societies, of strong representative institutions of governance and by poor economic prospects. She stressed that in such an environment, a security strategy needed to include political, economic and humanitarian components. Nevertheless, to implement these components a climate of relative safety needed to be established and maintained. The United Nations was central to meeting those challenges through its peacekeeping operations, good offices missions and emergency relief preparations. She further stated that her Government supported the Organization of African Unity’s role in preventing and responding to crisis, and was assisting the latter to build a conflict management centre to enhance its ability to react quickly to emergencies. She congratulated and commended ECOWAS for their peace efforts in Liberia and Sierra Leone and also endorsed strongly the efforts of the United Nations supported by SADC to ensure full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol in Angola. She warned that her delegation would use the powers of the Council to penalize any party that failed to meet its obligations. She further stated that the United States was also developing working partnerships with Africans and donors to enhance the ability of African nations to respond when peacekeeping was needed. She called special attention to lessons learned during the past in the Great Lakes region and to consider steps for ensuring that refugee camps were not used as safe havens for war criminals or as a base for military operations. She further stated that the United Nations efforts also played a central role in Africa’s plans for development. His country was committed to working with Africa and the international community to help develop durable and effective democratic institutions, such as legislative assemblies, judiciaries and an independent press. While welcoming the increasing contributions of Africa to the solutions of global problems that concerned all, such as the proliferation of crime, terrorism, environmental degradation and the spread of infectious disease, she underlined that the greatest divide in the world was not between East and West or North and South, but was between those trapped by the grievances and preconceptions of the past and those who had the vision and courage to shape the future.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp. 27-28.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., pp. 7-8 (Chile); pp. 16-18 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 18-19 (Japan); pp. 21-22 (Poland); pp. 22-23 (Portugal); and pp. 24-25 (Republic of Korea).
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., pp. 28-30.
Resuming her functions as President, she made the following statement on behalf of the Council:  

The Security Council met on 25 September 1997, at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, to consider the need for a concerted international effort to promote peace and security in Africa.

The Council reaffirms its commitment to Africa in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Council also reaffirms the principles of political independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all Member States.

The Council notes that African States have made significant strides towards democratization, economic reform, and respect for and protection of human rights in order to achieve political stability, peace, and sustainable economic and social development.

Despite these positive developments, the Council remains gravely concerned by the number and intensity of armed conflicts on the continent. Such conflicts threaten regional peace, cause massive human dislocation and suffering, perpetuate instability and divert resources from long-term development.

The Council reaffirms the responsibility of all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and its own primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council welcomes the important contributions of the Organization of African Unity, including through its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, as well as those of subregional arrangements, in preventing and resolving conflicts in Africa, and looks forward to a stronger partnership between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, as well as subregional arrangements, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. The Council supports enhancement of the capacity of African States to contribute to peacekeeping operations, including in Africa, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Council highlights the important contribution of the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty to international peace and security.

The Council fully supports the engagement of the United Nations in Africa through its diplomatic, peacekeeping, humanitarian, economic development and other activities, which are often undertaken in cooperation with regional and subregional organizations. The United Nations makes an important contribution to the efforts of Africa to construct a future of peace, democracy, justice, and prosperity. The Council underlines the importance of the commitment of the United Nations through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian organizations to assist the efforts of African States to address humanitarian and refugee crises in accordance with international humanitarian law.

The Council considers that the challenges in Africa demand a more comprehensive response. To this end, the Council requests the Secretary-General to submit a report containing concrete recommendations to the Council by February 1998 regarding the sources of conflict in Africa, ways to prevent and address these conflicts, and how to lay the foundation for durable peace and economic growth following their resolution. Because the scope of this report may extend beyond the purview of the Security Council, the Council invites the Secretary-General to submit his report to the General Assembly and other relevant bodies of the United Nations for action as they deem appropriate, in accordance with the Charter.

The Council affirms its intention to review promptly the recommendations of the Secretary-General with a view to taking steps consistent with its responsibilities under the Charter.


On 13 April 1998, pursuant to a Security Council presidential statement issued on 25 September 1997, 16 the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa”. 17

In his report, the Secretary-General noted that although Africa as a whole had made significant economic and political progress, conflicts continued to threaten many parts of the continent. That situation posed a major challenge to the United Nations which was being increasingly required to respond to intra-State instability and conflict which sought the destruction not just of armies but also of civilians and entire ethnic groups. Preventing such wars was no longer a matter of defending States or protecting allies, but of defending humanity itself.

He recalled that since 1970, more than 30 wars had been fought in Africa, the vast majority of them of intra-State origin. In 1996 alone, fourteen of Africa’s 53 countries had been afflicted by armed conflicts, which accounted for more than half of all war-related deaths worldwide, resulted in over 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons, and had seriously

undermined the efforts of the region to ensure long-term stability and development.

In terms of responding to conflict situations, the Secretary-General noted that although the United Nations early warning capabilities had been significantly improved, that was of little use without early action. He therefore urged Governments facing situations of potential or actual conflict to consider the appointment of special mediators or commissions to look into the sources of the dispute and recommend practical solutions. As to peacekeeping, the Secretary-General stated that the United Nations had deployed more peacekeeping operations in Africa than in any other region. Stressing the importance of re-examining the Organization’s experience in that field to extract guidance for future operations, the Secretary-General discussed lessons learned; roles for United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa; support for regional and subregional initiatives; and ensuring a consistent approach. Addressing the issue of humanitarian assistance, the Secretary-General noted that crises, particularly in Africa, had become more complex. He maintained that Governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and anti-government forces had an important impact on humanitarian situations. Humanitarian action could also have important political, social, economic and environmental repercussions. Noting the need to maintain the momentum, the Secretary-General called upon the Council to reconvene at the ministerial level on a biennial basis to assess progress in promoting peace and security in Africa. The Council also needed to consider reconvening at summit level within five years, for that purpose. In conclusion, the Secretary-General stated that the report was meant to provide a clear and candid analysis of the sources of conflicts in Africa and the reasons why they persisted. He had recommended realistic and achievable actions and goals, to reduce crises and to promote a strong and durable peace, and had urged Africans and non-Africans alike to summon the political will to rise to that challenge. The time was long past when one could ignore the events on the continent, or what was needed to achieve progress there. The time was also past when the responsibility for producing change could be shifted on to other shoulders; it was a responsibility that must be shared by all. The United Nations, for its part, stood ready to play its role.

At its 3871st meeting, held on 16 April 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and resumed consideration of the item.

Introducing the report, the Secretary-General stated that he had been guided, above all, by a commitment to honesty and clarity in analysing and addressing the challenges of conflict in Africa. Conflict in Africa, as everywhere else, was caused by human action and could be ended the same way. Colossal human tragedies had taken place in the region over the last decade, which could and needed to have been prevented. At that time, in many parts of the continent, efforts to break up those past patterns were beginning to succeed. In that context, he expressed the hope that his report would add momentum to Africa’s renewed quest for peace and prosperity by offering an analysis of conflicts and proposing realistic and achievable recommendations which, over time, could reduce, if not entirely end them. The Secretary-General pointed out that his proposals required, in some cases, new ways of thinking; in others, they required new ways of acting. Whether in peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance or post-conflict peacebuilding, sustainable progress depended on three critical factors: a clear understanding of the challenge; the political will to respond to it; and the necessary resources to provide an adequate response. The Secretary-General maintained that African countries must demonstrate the political will to rely upon political rather than military responses to their problems; they must also take good governance seriously, ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law, strengthening democratization and promoting transparency and the capability of public administration. He stated that the report needed to mark a new beginning in the relationship between the United Nations and Africa on all those issues.18

The President (Japan) stated that the Council had requested the Secretary-General to submit a report on Africa in view of its continuing grave concern over the number and intensity of armed conflicts on the continent.19 That situation threatened regional peace, caused massive human dislocation and suffering.

18 S/PV.3871, pp. 2-4.
perpetuated instability and diverted resources away from long-term development. The Secretary-General’s recommendations were concrete and comprehensive, and provided ample basis for discussions on how the Council could best contribute to peace, stability and prosperity on the African continent. He reaffirmed the Council’s intention to review them promptly and to take the appropriate steps consistent with its responsibilities under the Charter to implement them.20

At its 3875th meeting, held on 24 April 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, the Comoros, Cuba, Cyprus, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Germany, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, South Africa, Tunisia, Ukraine, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. It also extended invitations, under rule 39, to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to Mrs. Sylvie Junod, Head of the Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to the United Nations and to Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, Secretary for Relations with States of the Holy See.

Opening the debate, the representative of Gabon stated that although armed conflicts were not exclusively an African problem, they warranted urgent preventive measures. That concern had led to the establishment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, which was already doing remarkable work and needed to be strengthened and supported. He noted that, whenever possible, African leaders and States had spared no effort to resolve crises before they degenerated into violent armed conflict. However, owing to the diversity of the sources of those disputes, Africa could not bear sole responsibility for their outbreak nor could it resolve them on its own. In that context, he acknowledged the need for cooperation between the Security Council and subregional organizations. He stressed, however, that there could be no delegation of responsibility and that the Council must play a full role in coordinating and reconciling initiatives for the maintenance of international peace and security.21

A number of speakers commended the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on Africa, and supported the recommendations contained therein.22 They echoed the concerns expressed in the statement by the President regarding the consequences of continuing armed conflict on the continent. They stressed that, although African States were responsible for solving their own problems, the Security Council had the primary responsibility, under the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security. In addition, recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter on regional arrangements, they emphasized the importance of strengthening cooperation between the United Nations, OAU and other regional organizations, to enhance their capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts. Moreover, stressing the close linkage between peace and security and sustainable economic development, they expressed the hope that the United Nations and other relevant bodies of its system, and international financial institutions, would consider the report and would take appropriate action within their respective areas of competence to implement its recommendations.

Some speakers supported the Secretary-General’s proposal that the Council reconvene at ministerial level on a biennial basis, to assess progress made in promoting peace and security in Africa, and that it

20 S/PV.3871, p. 4.
21 S/PV.3875, pp. 3-4.
22 Ibid., pp. 4-6 (Portugal); pp. 7-8 (Sweden); pp. 15-16 (Gambia); pp. 17-18 (Slovenia); pp. 23-24 (Bahrain); pp. 25-27 (Kenya); (resumption): pp. 3-5 (Mauritania); pp. 14-16 (Germany); pp. 16-20 (Canada); pp. 20-22 (Tunisia); pp. 28-31 (Algeria); pp. 32-33 (Ukraine); pp. 33-35 (Morocco); pp. 35-36 (Norway); pp. 36-38 (Bangladesh); pp. 38-39 (Pakistan); pp. 39-42 (Indonesia); pp. 42-44 (India); pp. 44-45 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 45-48 (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya); pp. 48-50 (Colombia); pp. 50-51 (Lebanon); pp. 53-54 (Italy); pp. 56-57 (Philippines); pp. 57-58 (Cyprus); pp. 60-61 (Netherlands); pp. 63-64 (Belgium); pp. 64-66 (United Arab Emirates); and pp. 67-69 (Cameroon).
meet at the summit level within five years, for that purpose.\textsuperscript{23}

The representative of the Russian Federation acknowledged the need to step up efforts to prevent and settle conflict situations in Africa on the basis of the Charter with regard to the peaceful resolution of disputes. Noting the fundamental role and responsibilities of the Security Council in peacekeeping operations in Africa, he stressed the need to strengthen the Council’s capacity to monitor the authorized activities of regional and subregional organizations in that field. He also acknowledged the important role of African States in conflict resolution. Referring to the Secretary-General’s recommendations on the traffic of weapons, including the proliferation of small arms, he stated that a clear distinction needed to be made between the legitimate right of countries to ensure their own security and the illegal flow of weapons. He pointed out that the report contained various recommendations which did not lie within the direct competence of the Security Council, particularly in the economic area, and thus required further consideration. The Council and other United Nations bodies to whom the report was also addressed needed to analyse it in order to prepare practical proposals to implement the recommendations.\textsuperscript{24}

The representative of France stated that the report contained a precise and honest analysis of present and past realities in Africa. Although some pessimism persisted, there were also positive and encouraging developments, including the containment of certain crises and the resolution of some conflicts. While success depended on Africans themselves, it did not exempt the United Nations and non-African Member States from supporting their efforts to resolve their own problems. In that context, he stressed the need to strengthen cooperation and coordination with OAU and other regional organizations. Acknowledging the United Nations’ positive peacekeeping role in Africa, he remarked that financial constraints needed to not become a decision-making criterion for conflict prevention, and that Member States must provide the necessary financial, material and human resources to enable the Organization to respond to crises. He also stated that it was important to strengthen the capacities of African States to play their part in peacekeeping in the world, especially in Africa. That was the intent of the initiative presented jointly by France, the United Kingdom and the United States which aimed at coordinating international co-operation in that field under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.\textsuperscript{25}

The representative of China stated that his delegation supported a greater Security Council role in Africa and the timely deployment of peacekeeping operations, in accordance with the Charter and at the request of the African countries concerned. He noted, however, that the Council must respect their views, as well as their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and follow the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. International assistance needed to also be based on actual conditions and truly benefit the African people, without any conditions attached. He acknowledged the important role played by OAU and subregional organizations in both international and regional affairs, as well as their achievements in dealing with African conflicts and “hot spots”.\textsuperscript{26}

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that Africa had been the scene of some of the United Nations’ greatest successes, as well as of its many failures. Intervention could sometimes be difficult and dangerous, but it could often be unavoidable if humanitarian catastrophes and the insidious spread of instability were to be prevented. The Security Council could not shun its responsibilities towards Africa; moreover, although regional and subregional organizations had a key role to play, they could not substitute the role of the United Nations. While agreeing with the Secretary-General that sanctions could be effective in encouraging States to bring their behavior back into line with accepted international norms, he expressed his delegation’s support for the Secretary-General’s call for Member States to adopt

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 6 (Portugal); p. 12 (China); p. 23 (Brazil); p. 26 (Egypt); p. 27 (Kenya); and p. 32 (Zimbabwe); and S/PV.3875 (resumption); p. 3 (United States); p. 4 (Mauritania); p. 23 (Republic of Korea); and p. 48 (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya). At the 3931st meeting, held on 24 September 1998 at the ministerial level to discuss “The situation in Africa”, the representative of Bahrain also endorsed holding biennial meetings on the item (S/PV.3931: p.14 (Bahrain)).

\textsuperscript{24}S/PV.3875, pp. 6-7.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., pp. 8-11.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., pp. 11-13.
legislation which would make the violation of any Security Council arms embargo a criminal offence.\textsuperscript{27}

The representative of Slovenia regretted that the lack of success in one of the United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa had had a disproportionately negative effect on the international community’s perception of peacekeeping. Thus, in order to ensure the Organization’s credibility, the international community must be willing to act to advance peace and security on the continent. His delegation supported the cooperation between the United Nations and OAU and other regional and subregional organizations, in accordance with the framework established by Chapter VIII of the Charter. He noted, however, that some situations required specific measures, including the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII.\textsuperscript{28}

The representative of Costa Rica stated that the report contained a programme of work for the entire United Nations system, with the Security Council playing a central coordinating role on peace and security issues. He noted, however, that current realities had changed the Council’s traditional concepts and practices and the interpretation members placed on its responsibilities, in particular those under Chapters VI and VII of the Charter.\textsuperscript{29}

The representative of Brazil stated that the report contained an objective analysis of the causes of conflict in Africa, as well as recommendations which must be carefully examined not only by the Security Council, but also by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other relevant bodies of the United Nations system. In that context, his delegation would be “particularly interested in looking at ways to activate Article 65”, which dealt with the Economic and Social Council assistance to the Security Council. He noted the constructive role of the Organization in bringing peace and relief to many areas of Africa, either through peacekeeping missions or the various programmes directed at improving people’s lives.\textsuperscript{30}

The President, speaking in his capacity as the representative of Japan, commenting on the aspects of the report which fell within the Council’s purview, stated that instability in Africa, resulting largely from intra-State and regional conflicts, could have a direct and serious impact on international peace and security. In addition, the continent’s economic stagnation would have a crippling effect on the world economic system, while its full integration could have a beneficial impact. He commended the report’s comprehensive coverage and clear analysis, and suggested that the Council needed to establish a working group to study the recommendations contained therein, in order to devise a plan of action, which could then be submitted to the Council for its consideration.\textsuperscript{31}

The representative of Zimbabwe, speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, urged the international community to buttress the capacity of the organization in the prevention, management and resolution of regional conflicts. In that context, he requested the Secretary-General to send a team of experts to OAU headquarters to speed up the establishment of an early warning system there; provide technical assistance and training of personnel, including a staff exchange programme; institutionalize the exchange and coordination of information between the early warning systems of both organizations; provide logistical support; and mobilize financial support for the OAU Peace Fund. As the world’s poorest region, Africa had been disproportionately afflicted by intra-State conflicts, and therefore deserved special attention, he stated.\textsuperscript{32}

The representative of the United States pledged his Government’s commitment to an active partnership with Africa to promote democracy, human rights and to accelerate its integration into the global economy. Africa did not need nor want the world’s sympathy; it needed foreign investment, new trade and commercial links, increased tax revenue and improved infrastructure that came with economic growth, he stated.\textsuperscript{33}

The representative of Nigeria, speaking on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States, noted that three successive years of improved economic performance, beginning in 1994, gave grounds for cautious optimism. The recent upturn in

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., pp. 13-15.  
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 18-19.  
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., pp. 19-21.  
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., pp. 21-23.  
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., pp. 27-30.  
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., pp. 30-32.  
\textsuperscript{33} S/PV.3875 (resumption), pp. 2-3.
sub-Saharan Africa was underpinned by a rigorous implementation of economic reform programmes, as well as reductions in socio-economic and political instability. In that context, he stressed the need for further international action to reduce the debt burden of African States and reinforce their gains from economic reforms. He reaffirmed commitment of ECOWAS to the collective security of the entire subregion through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which deserved the support of the international community.34

The representative of South Africa, speaking on behalf of the member States of the Southern African Development Community,35 stated that the United Nations must strengthen its peacekeeping capacity in Africa in a manner that would inspire confidence in the Organization’s role as custodian of international peace and security. The Southern African Development Community shared the Secretary-General’s concern about the proliferation of arms and endorsed his proposals for strengthening international and regional policies against illicit arms trafficking, as well as the need to divert the expenditure of scarce resources from military to development projects. He affirmed Africa’s determination to demonstrate to the world its readiness to tackle its own problems, and stressed the SADC commitment to the eradication of the causes of conflict on the continent to ensure a sustainable development.36

The representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the European Union,37 stated that the report encouraged the Union to pursue its efforts in the field of peace-building and conflict prevention, management and resolution, and to enhance African capacities in those areas. Expressing support for the recommendation calling for the strengthening of relations between the United Nations and African regional organizations, he noted that the European Union had already established a consultative mechanism with OAU. It also supported the recommendations on restructuring, international aid, reducing debt burdens and opening international markets, and stood ready to play its part to ensure their effective follow-up.38

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees stated that Africa had the largest number of refugees and internally displaced persons, a situation that constituted a grave violation of human rights and posed a threat to the stability, peace and prosperity of entire regions. She drew attention to one of the greatest challenges to her organization’s work, namely the presence of “fighters” and “criminals” in refugee camps, and expressed concern that the situation would get worse, if it was not dealt with. She strongly supported the creation of an international mechanism to assist Governments to maintain the civilian character of the camps, and hoped that the Council would follow-up that recommendation and examine the possibility of creating a stand-by international force to support humanitarian operations.39

The representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reaffirmed the relevance of international humanitarian law and the need to assist victims of conflict. The rich traditions and values of Africa needed to be revived in order to make everyone aware that there were limits to violence. Each State must also incorporate in its national legislation adequate measures dealing with humanitarian law and the prosecution of offenders. She pointed out, however, that nothing could replace the political will necessary to address the root causes of conflicts, and the ensuing tragedies, by all legitimate means available, including force. Humanitarian assistance was not a substitute.40

The representative of Canada stated that collaboration in capacity-building must not have the sole objective of equipping Africans to respond to regional crises in order to absolve the international community of that responsibility. A selective allocation of responsibility would undermine the very notion of collective responsibility and collective action that underpinned the Charter. The credibility of the Security Council, in particular, was linked to its willingness to act decisively and effectively and to make available the

34 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
35 Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Seychelles, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
36 Ibid., pp. 7-9.
37 Ibid., pp. 9-11 (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia; and Cyprus, Iceland and Liechtenstein also aligned themselves with the statement).
38 Ibid., pp. 9-11.
39 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
40 Ibid., pp. 12-14.
necessary resources to counter threats to peace and security. He noted, however, that it was not enough simply to act; Member States must be swift in their response to crises to ensure the effectiveness and credibility of the Organization. The representative further underlined that it was important to be vigilant to avoid the danger of cascading responsibility for peacekeeping from the global level to the regional or even the subregional level. Even by default the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security could not be subcontracted. Regional and subregional bodies needed to respond, not to vacuums created as a result of inaction on the part of the Security Council, but to collaborative programmes developed in close consultation with the Council. Such collaboration needed to be based on Articles 53 and 54 of the Charter of the United Nations and ought fully to reflect the Security Council’s exclusive mandate for authorizing the use of force.

The representative of Egypt stated that the report acknowledged United Nations past errors and failures, and reflected its determination to absorb the lessons of the past. He recalled that, since 1993, Africa had taken positive steps to resolve its disputes. OAU and African leaders had also played an active mediation role in preventing crises. He noted, however, that at a time when the continent was shouldering greater responsibility for the settlement of African questions, there was increasing international reluctance regarding the role of the Security Council in some of those issues. The report dealt with the importance of supporting regional and subregional initiatives as a way to promote collective action to contain crises. At the same time, it had to remain clear that such assistance needed to enable regional arrangements to play a complementary role to the efforts of the United Nations, under Chapter VIII of the Charter, and that it needed to not be used as a pretext for the Council to shirk its primary responsibilities or fail to adopt the appropriate decisions at the appropriate time. He also expressed the support of his delegation for the reform and restructuring of the Organization, including the Security Council.

The representative of Algeria suggested the establishment of an ad hoc working group, in cooperation with OAU, to review the report’s recommendations and to follow up on their implementation. The United Nations needed to go beyond making declarations of intent and expressions of solidarity and truly commit itself, side by side with Africa, through a programme of action that fully addressed the continent’s concerns and expectations.

The representative of India stated that the solution to Africa’s problems — aid, development, trade and cooperation — did not fall within the Council’s mandate. His delegation was therefore pleased that the report was also being submitted to the General Assembly and to other relevant bodies of the United Nations system, including financial institutions.

At its 3886th meeting, held on 28 May 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Kenya) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1170 (1998), which reads:

_The Security Council,

_Recalling the statement by its President of 25 September 1997,

_Having considered

_the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the above-mentioned statement,

_Fully supporting

_the engagement of the United Nations in Africa through its diplomatic, peacekeeping, humanitarian, economic development and other activities,

_Reaffirming

_the principles of political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States,

_Reaffirming also

_the obligation of all Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means, and stressing its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

_Recalling

_the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter on regional arrangements,

_Ibid., pp. 16-20.

_Ibid., pp. 24-26.

Mindful of the Cairo Declaration of 1993, which stipulated that the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity would have as a primary objective the anticipation and prevention of conflicts,

Recognizing that the adoption of the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty, declaring Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone, is an important contribution to the promotion of regional peace and security and to global efforts towards nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament,

Gravely concerned that the continuation of armed conflicts in the continent threatens regional peace, causes massive human displacement, suffering and poverty, perpetuates instability and diverts scarce resources from long-term development,

Recognizing the importance of the commitment of the United Nations through its Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other United Nations agencies, and of humanitarian organizations to assist the efforts of African States to address humanitarian and refugee crises in accordance with international law, including international humanitarian law,

Stressing the close linkage between international peace and security and sustainable development,

Noting that African States have made significant strides towards democratization, economic reform, and respect for and protection of human rights, and stressing the importance of promoting political stability, peace and sustainable development,

Stressing the importance of promoting good governance, the rule of law and sustainable development as essential factors in the prevention of conflicts in Africa,

Expressing concern that the use of mercenaries and the presence of armed militias continue to contribute to instability in Africa,

Emphasizing the destabilizing effects of the illicit transfer of arms, especially small arms, and urging Governments concerned to combat the trafficking of such weapons,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 and the comprehensive recommendations contained therein, and commends the Secretary-General for his efforts to address the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, and for the steps he is taking to reinforce the role of the United Nations system towards these ends;

2. Stresses that the challenges in Africa demand a comprehensive response, and in this context expresses the hope that the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, other relevant bodies of the United Nations, regional and subregional organizations, international financial institutions and other relevant organizations, as well as Member States will consider the report and its recommendations and take action as they deem appropriate within their respective areas of competence;

3. Notes the important role of the Secretary-General in coordinating the work of the United Nations agencies concerned in the implementation of the recommendations in his report, and requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council regularly informed of the efforts being undertaken by the agencies and other bodies of the United Nations system in this regard;

4. Decides to establish an ad hoc Working Group, comprised of all members of the Council, for a period of six months, to review all recommendations in the report related to the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and in that context, to prepare a framework for the implementation of recommendations, as appropriate, and to submit specific proposals for concrete action for consideration by the Council by September 1998;

5. Expresses its intention to convene at the ministerial level on a biennial basis, beginning in September 1998 and subsequently as needed in order to assess progress in promoting peace and security in Africa;

6. Stresses the importance of appropriate consultations and cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on the follow-up to the report;

7. Welcomes the important contributions of the Organization of African Unity to conflict prevention and resolution in Africa, including its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, as well as those of subregional arrangements;

8. Welcomes also the efforts made by Member States, regional organizations and the United Nations to enhance the capacity of African States to contribute to peacekeeping operations in accordance with the Charter;

9. Invites Member States and regional organizations to provide assistance to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity to enhance its capacity in the anticipation and prevention of conflicts;

10. Encourages the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete actions aimed at enhancing the capacity of the Organization of African Unity to anticipate and prevent conflicts in Africa, on the basis of the United Nations — Organization of African Unity Cooperation Agreement of 15 November 1965;

11. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 16 September 1998 (3927th meeting): resolution 1196 (1998) and statement by the President

At its 3927th meeting, held on 16 September 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in
its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Sweden) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations, and to the text of an agreed statement by the President.46

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1196 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 1170 (1998) of 28 May 1998,

Recalling the statement made by its President on 25 September 1997 at the meeting of the Security Council at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs on the situation in Africa,

Having considered the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa”, which was submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the above-mentioned statement, regarding the importance of strengthening the effectiveness of arms embargoes as a means to diminish the availability of arms with which to pursue armed conflicts,

Stressing the principles of the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States,

Mindful of the Cairo Declaration of 1993, which stipulated that the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity would have as a primary objective the anticipation and prevention of conflicts,

Reaffirming the obligations of all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, and stressing the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Recognizing that the International Commission of Inquiry established by its resolution 1013 (1995) of 7 September 1995 and reactivated in accordance with its resolution 1161 (1998) of 9 April 1998 is an example of a useful means for strengthening the effectiveness of an arms embargo established by the Council,

1. Reiterates the obligation of all Member States to carry out decisions of the Security Council on arms embargoes;

2. Encourages each Member State, as appropriate, to consider as a means of implementing the obligations referred to in paragraph 1 above the adoption of legislation or other legal measures making the violation of arms embargoes established by the Council a criminal offence;

3. Requests the Security Council committees established by resolutions imposing arms embargoes in Africa to include in their annual reports a substantive section on the implementation of the arms embargoes, on possible violations of the measures reported to the committees and with recommendations as appropriate for strengthening the effectiveness of the arms embargoes;

4. Encourages the chairmen of the committees referred to in paragraph 3 above to seek to establish channels of communication with regional and subregional organizations and bodies, including in Africa the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity, the Economic Community of West African States, the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, the Southern African Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, in addition to other sources of information, including Member States, already mentioned in the guidelines of the committees, in order to improve the monitoring of arms embargoes through wider and regular exchange of information with relevant parties in the region concerned;

5. Reiterates its request that all States, relevant United Nations bodies and, as appropriate, other organizations and interested parties report information on possible violations of arms embargoes established by the Council to the relevant committees referred to in paragraph 3 above;

6. Requests the committees referred to in paragraph 3 above to make relevant information publicly available through appropriate media, including through the improved use of information technology;

7. Welcomes the initiative of the chairmen of the committees established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 and resolution 1132 (1997) of 8 October 1997 concerning the situations in Angola and Sierra Leone, respectively, to visit countries in the region, and invites other committees to consider this approach, where and when appropriate, in order to enhance the full and effective implementation of the measures specified in their respective mandates with a view to urging the parties to comply with relevant Council resolutions;

8. Expresses its willingness to consider, whenever it establishes arms embargoes, all appropriate measures to assist their effective implementation, and notes, in this context, that measures such as inquiries into arms-trafficking routes, the follow-up of possible specific violations and the deployment of border or point-of-entry monitors may be relevant, in consultation with the countries concerned;

9. Urges Member States, relevant United Nations bodies and agencies and other international agencies to consider the provision of technical and other assistance, in consultation with the States concerned, to facilitate the implementation of arms embargoes;

10. *Stresses* that arms embargoes established by the Council should have clearly established objectives and provisions for regular review of the measures with a view to lifting them when the objectives are met, in accordance with the terms of the applicable Council resolutions;

11. *Requests* all Security Council committees established pursuant to resolutions imposing arms embargoes to consider, as appropriate, the application of the measures contained in the present resolution;

12. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:47

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa”, which was submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

It agrees with the Secretary-General that the credibility of the United Nations in Africa to a great extent depends upon the willingness of the international community to act and to explore new means of advancing the objectives of peace and security in the African continent.

The Council, which has the primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for international peace and security, expresses its commitment to exercising this responsibility in relation to Africa, and affirms that strengthening Africa’s capacity to participate in all aspects of peacekeeping operations, including their military, police, humanitarian and other civilian components, is a key priority.

The Council encourages increased bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of peacekeeping, especially capacity-building, between Member States, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity as well as subregional organizations in Africa. It welcomes the efforts already undertaken by the United Nations and Member States to promote greater transparency and coordination in multilateral efforts to enhance Africa’s capacity for peacekeeping. In particular, it welcomes efforts to implement the recommendations in the report of the Secretary-General of 1 November 1995 entitled “Improving preparedness for conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa” and to follow up the outcome of the meetings organized by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the Secretariat in December 1997 and May 1998. It encourages all States and organizations concerned to work with African States in particular on the basis of African initiatives and proposals.

The Council encourages contributions, financial and in kind, aimed at enhancing Africa’s peacekeeping capacity. In particular, it urges Member States to contribute to the trust funds established by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to improve preparedness for conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa.

The Council affirms the role of the United Nations in setting general standards for peacekeeping, and urges compliance with existing United Nations guidelines, including through the use of the “Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets”, which were elaborated following a request by the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. It encourages all those involved in enhancing Africa’s peacekeeping capacity to ensure that training for and the conduct of peacekeeping give due emphasis to international humanitarian law and human rights, including the rights of the child, as well as to gender issues. It requests all those conducting peacekeeping operations in Africa to pay particular attention to the situation of children in armed conflict, as appropriate, both in mandates for and reports about such operations.

The Council supports the efforts of the United Nations, regional and subregional organizations as well as Member States in the field of training for peacekeeping.

The Council welcomes the readiness of the United Nations to act as a clearing house for information on available training initiatives. It particularly welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a United Nations database on training. With the aim of strengthening Africa’s peacekeeping capacity, the Council requests the Secretary-General to pursue these plans and to include in the database information about African needs in this field, possible regional and extra-regional contributions to assist in achieving this goal, and available expertise on training. It encourages Member States and regional and subregional organizations to contribute information to the database. It encourages the Secretary-General to consider possible further uses and broadening of United Nations databases, for instance in humanitarian crises.

The Council also welcomes the proposal of the Secretary-General to establish an informal working group composed of African and non-African States directly involved or interested in the provision of training assistance.

The Council emphasizes the value of training aimed at improving coordination and cooperation among military, police, humanitarian and other civilian components of peacekeeping operations. It encourages the Secretary-General and Member States to engage international and non-governmental humanitarian organizations, as appropriate, in peacekeeping training activities.

The Council underlines the importance of the availability of appropriately trained personnel and relevant equipment for all components of peacekeeping operations. In this context, it encourages increased participation by Member States, in particular from Africa, in the United Nations standby arrangements. The Council further encourages the use of United Nations Training Assistance Teams as a useful tool in support of national peacekeeping training. It recognizes the value of joint training activities.

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training exercises, as well as the establishment of partnerships between States whose contingents require equipment and States and organizations that are able to assist them. It also encourages the exchange of lessons learned from previous operations.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to study ways to improve the availability of logistics for peacekeeping efforts in Africa.

The Council stresses the need for it to be fully informed of peacekeeping activities carried out or planned by regional or subregional organizations and underlines the fact that the improved flow of information and the holding of regular briefing meetings between members of the Council, African regional and subregional organizations involved in peacekeeping operations and troop contributors and other participating Member States have an important role to play in helping to enhance African peacekeeping capacity. In that context, the Council encourages the Secretary-General to establish appropriate United Nations liaison with regional and subregional organizations and invites those organizations and Member States to provide the Council and the Secretary-General with information on their activities in the field of peacekeeping.


At its 3928th meeting, held on 18 September 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Sweden) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.\(^{48}\) The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1197 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Having considered the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa”, which was submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council, regarding the need for the United Nations to provide support for regional and subregional initiatives and the strengthening of coordination between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the area of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace,

Recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter on regional arrangements or agencies, which set out the basic principles governing their activities and establish the legal framework for cooperation with the United Nations, in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling also the agreement of 15 November 1965 on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity as updated and signed on 9 October 1990 by the Secretaries-General of the two organizations,


Mindful of the need for continued cooperation between the United Nations and its relevant bodies and specialized agencies on the one hand, and the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations in Africa on the other,

Welcoming the high-level meeting between the United Nations and regional organizations held in New York on 28 July 1998, and encouraging the holding of such meetings at regular intervals,

Noting that subregional arrangements in Africa, as well as the Organization of African Unity through its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, are developing their capacities in preventive diplomacy, and encouraging African States to make use of these arrangements and mechanisms in the prevention of conflict and maintenance of peace in Africa,

1. Urges the Secretary-General, through the use of the United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa, to assist in the establishment within the Organization of African Unity of an early warning system based on the model currently being used by the United Nations, and to assist in strengthening and making operational the conflict management centre of the Organization of African Unity and its situation room;

2. Encourages contributions to the Trust Fund and to the Peace Fund of the Organization of African Unity, and also encourages the Secretary-General to develop a strategy for the purpose of enhancing contributions to the Trust Fund;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to assist Member States in the further development of commonly accepted peacekeeping doctrine and concepts of operation with the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations in Africa;

4. Invites the Secretary-General to assist the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations in

Africa to establish logistics assessment teams through the sharing of information on the establishment, composition, methods and functioning of United Nations logistics assessment teams, and also invites the Secretary-General to assist the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations, as appropriate, to determine the logistical and financial requirements of regional or subregional peacekeeping operations authorized by the Council;

5. Encourages the establishment of partnerships between States and regional and subregional organizations involved in peacekeeping operations, in which one or more States or organizations contribute troops and others contribute equipment, encourages the Secretary-General to facilitate efforts to that end, and requests him to consider developing a framework to coordinate such partnerships;

6. Commends the various initiatives taken by several States to enhance African preparedness to participate in the military, police, humanitarian and other civilian components of peacekeeping operations, and in this context encourages joint training and simulation exercises and seminars with African peacekeepers;

7. Welcomes the proposal by the Economic Community of West African States to establish a Council of Elders within its Mechanism for the Prevention, Management, Resolution of Conflicts, Peacekeeping and Security for the purpose of facilitating mediation efforts, and urges the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States, to assist in facilitating its establishment and to help to ensure its effectiveness;

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8. Endorses the establishment of a United Nations Preventive Action Liaison Office in the Organization of African Unity, and urges the Secretary-General to consider ways of making this office more effective and also the possibility of appointing liaison officers to peacekeeping operations of the Organization of African Unity and of subregional organizations in Africa, which are authorized by the Council;

9. Encourages the enhancement of consultation and coordination between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and between the United Nations and subregional organizations in Africa, both at the field and headquarters level, and recognizes that the nomination of joint special representatives may be useful to further these aims;

10. Welcomes the fact that both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have agreed to strengthen and broaden their cooperation on measures to prevent and resolve conflicts in Africa, and in this regard invites the Secretary-General:

(a) To adopt measures for an improved flow of information through systematic mechanisms between the United Nations and Organization of African Unity and between the United Nations and subregional organizations in Africa;

(b) To develop, in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity and with subregional organizations in Africa, common indicators for early warning, and share, as appropriate, early warning information both with their field representatives on the ground and with their headquarters;

(c) To arrange, in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity and with subregional organizations in Africa, occasional visits of staff at working level between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and between the United Nations and subregional organizations in Africa;

(d) To arrange, in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity and with subregional organizations in Africa, joint expert meetings on certain specific areas of early warning and prevention, including joint reviews of potential and existing conflicts with a view to coordinating initiatives and actions;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to implement the present resolution in the course of his ongoing efforts to develop cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations in Africa and, where necessary, drawing on the Trust Fund, and to keep the Council informed periodically, as necessary, on the implementation of the present resolution;

12. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 24 September 1998 (3931st meeting): statement by the President

At its 3931st meeting, held on 24 September 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Sweden) invited Mr. Blaise Compaoré, President of Burkina Faso and, at that time, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, as well as Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of that Organization, to take a seat at the Council table.

The President stated that the Council having before it the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of peace and sustainable development, was holding its second ministerial meeting on Africa. She then drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 18 September 1998 from the representative of Austria addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a letter of 18 September 1998 from the Vice-Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, in his capacity as President
of the Council of Ministers of the European Union, addressed to the President of the Security Council, on the item under consideration.\(^\text{50}\) She recalled that the Council had established an ad hoc Working Group on Africa to review all the recommendations in the report related to the maintenance of international peace and security. On the basis of the proposals made by the Working Group, the Council had recently adopted two resolutions and a presidential statement.\(^\text{51}\)

Opening the debate, the President of Burkina Faso acknowledged the extent and complexity of Africa’s security problems. He drew attention to several areas where crises still persisted, as well as new conflicts which called for concerted action by the United Nations and OAU. Acknowledging that economic development was another dimension of peace, he proposed the convening of a summit conference to address economic questions related to development in Africa.\(^\text{52}\)

The Secretary-General expressed satisfaction at the constructive manner in which the Council, through its ad hoc working group, had begun to address the report’s recommendations. The Council had also shown its commitment to the report’s goals, by setting up working groups and adopting resolutions, and by authorizing new peacekeeping operations. The United Nations was increasingly taking a comprehensive and holistic approach to its peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities, he stated. It was also applying lessons learned, namely, that electoral assistance must be part of democracy building; that securing human rights would ensure political liberty; and that political development must be an integral part of economic development. In addition, the Organization, in partnership with OAU, was actively involved in seeking an end to every crisis in Africa and alleviating the suffering of its civilian population. He stressed, however, that without the determination of the parties concerned, there was little the Organization could do except offer the “band-aid” of humanitarian assistance, often with difficulty and at great risk.\(^\text{53}\)

The Secretary-General of OAU stated that the continent continued to face serious socio-economic problems. On the political front, despite encouraging developments, regional conflicts had caused loss of lives, destruction and human suffering. He noted that although efforts needed to continue to focus on peace, security and stability, they needed to also take into consideration the magnitude of the socio-economic problems, which were at the very core of the issue of peace in Africa.\(^\text{54}\)

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom affirmed his country’s commitment to the main goals of the report. The United Kingdom would help build prosperity by promoting African trade, reducing its debt, promoting development and encouraging sound economic management. It would make it a priority to build peace and prevent conflict in the continent; support the peacekeeping initiatives of OAU; and fund the process of rebuilding peace where war had destroyed it. It would also exercise responsibility in its own policy on the export of arms. In addition, Britain would support Africa’s democratic process through the funding of voter education and the supply of election monitors, and would support human rights through development aid.\(^\text{55}\)

The Secretary of State of the United States stated that conflicts in Africa were taking a tremendous toll — in regional trust eroded, development opportunities lost and, most important, in human lives. African leaders had one choice; they could guide their nations towards a future of cooperation, or they could continue into a past of hatred, violence, instability and isolation. Nobody could make that choice for them. He noted, however, that the international community had a critical role to play. Member States, acting together, could make it harder to solve disputes through violence, or could make it easier for African nations to choose the path of peace. For example, they could curb the transfer of arms to zones of conflict, and support a

\(^{50}\) S/1998/876.
\(^{52}\) S/PV.3931, pp. 3-4.
\(^{53}\) Ibid., pp. 4-6.
\(^{54}\) Ibid., pp. 6-9.
\(^{55}\) Ibid., pp. 9-11.
voluntary moratorium on the sale of arms that could fuel those conflicts.\textsuperscript{56}

The representative of China expressed concern at the increasing number of conflicts in Africa, which not only adversely impacted unity, stability, security and development in the region, but also affected world peace. His Government urged the international community to support the efforts of African regional organizations to prevent and resolve conflicts, by providing the necessary material and financial assistance to their security and peacekeeping mechanism, without any political conditions.\textsuperscript{57}

The representative of Costa Rica noted that his delegation had actively participated in the work of the ad hoc Working Group on Africa.\textsuperscript{58} Since its establishment, the Group had taken important decisions on such matters as support for regional and subregional initiatives; strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the areas of conflict prevention and peacekeeping; enhancement of sanctions regimes imposed by the Council; and availability of peacekeeping resources for Africa.\textsuperscript{59}

The representative of France stated that the number of African conflicts had actually risen. While the contagious effect of those crises warranted a greater role by regional organizations, the Council must retain primary responsibility for international peacekeeping and security operations, in Africa and elsewhere. Remarking that peacekeeping could not depend solely on shifting coalitions and optional financing, he maintained that the United Nations had to be given the financial, material and human resources needed for intervention.\textsuperscript{60}

The representative of the Russian Federation also expressed concern over the increasing number of conflicts throughout Africa and their destabilizing effect on entire regions. He noted that the Charter encouraged regional organizations to take greater initiative in the field of preventive diplomacy and peaceful settlement of disputes. At the same time, it also stipulated that military operations conducted by regional structures, especially those involving the use of force, needed to be explicitly authorized by the Council.\textsuperscript{61}

The President, speaking in her capacity as the representative of Sweden, stated that in defining its responsibility for international peace and security in Africa, the Council needed to look ahead at what it could do differently and better. First and foremost, the Council must be ready to take action, in Africa as elsewhere: from early warning, prevention and political persuasion to peacekeeping and, if necessary, to Chapter VII action, as well as post-conflict and peacebuilding. It must also support African security efforts, without minimizing its own involvement, to ensure regional support for peaceful solutions. In addition, both the Council and the United Nations system had to close the gap between political and humanitarian action. Finally, the Council needed to ensure that the United Nations system as a whole, together with African organizations, gave full priority to conflict prevention.\textsuperscript{62}

Resuming her functions as President, she made the following statement on behalf of the Council: \textsuperscript{63}


The Council reaffirms its commitment to Africa in the areas of conflict prevention and the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations. It also reaffirms the principles of the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

The Council underlines the fact that peaceful societies rest upon respect for fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. It recognizes the close linkage between the promotion of economic and social development and the prevention of conflict. It stresses that the quest for peace in Africa requires a comprehensive, concerted and determined approach, encompassing the eradication of poverty, the promotion of democracy, sustainable development and respect for human rights, as well as conflict prevention and resolution, including peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance. It

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., pp. 11-12.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., pp. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{58} Established by resolution 1170 (1998).
\textsuperscript{59} S/PV.3931, pp. 17-19.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., pp. 19-21.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., pp. 30-31.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., pp. 32-33.
\textsuperscript{63} S/PRST/1998/29.
underlines the fact that genuine political will is necessary, in Africa and beyond, to achieve durable results towards these ends, and stresses the urgent need for Member States, the United Nations system, including the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, the international financial institutions and other relevant organizations to continue to consider appropriate action in response to the comprehensive recommendations set out by the Secretary-General in his report.

The Council recognizes the positive developments in Africa in the past year and welcomes progress achieved by African States in promoting democratization, economic reform, the protection of human rights and sustainable development. It commends efforts by African States and regional and subregional organizations, in particular the Organization of African Unity, to resolve conflicts by peaceful means. It welcomes progress made in Sierra Leone and the Central African Republic, and in the peace process in Burundi. It urges all States and relevant bodies to provide financial and technical support to strengthen African regional and subregional arrangements for conflict prevention, the maintenance of peace and security and dispute settlement. It calls for an enhanced partnership between the United Nations and African regional and subregional organizations in support of these efforts.

The Council expresses its continuing concern over the number and intensity of, and the interrelationship among, conflicts in Africa, and especially at the emergence of new conflicts during the past year. The border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the resurgence of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the impasse in the peace process in Angola, the continued violence in Sierra Leone, and the complex emergencies in Somalia and the Sudan, among others, cause grave concern. These situations, which in some cases threaten the stability of large parts of the continent, called for concerted action by African States, the international community and the United Nations system to prevent further tragedy.

The Council urgently calls upon African States and all parties concerned to demonstrate the political will to settle their disputes by peaceful rather than military means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and to respect international humanitarian law and the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States in the region. It also encourages States in the region to continue to improve the implementation of good governance and undertake the various reforms needed to promote economic growth. It calls upon the international community to assist those efforts initiated by African States and regional and subregional organizations aimed at such goals.

For its part, the Council expresses its renewed commitment to contributing to conflict resolution in Africa. In this context, it recalls its decisions during the past year to authorize two new United Nations peacekeeping operations, in the Central African Republic and Sierra Leone, to assist efforts towards peace and national reconciliation. It also expresses its determination to improve further its ability to prevent conflicts, and to make its responses to conflicts more efficient and effective, and underlines its support for measures taken within the United Nations system to strengthen post-conflict peacebuilding efforts.

The Council, based on the recommendations of its ad hoc Working Group established pursuant to its resolution 1170 (1998), has already begun to take concrete steps as part of a wider, comprehensive response to the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General. It has taken action to help to strengthen support for regional and subregional initiatives as well as to enhance coordination between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the areas of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace. It has also taken action in order to strengthen the effectiveness of arms embargoes imposed by the Council and addressed the need to support the strengthening of African peacekeeping capacity.

The Council encourages the ad hoc Working Group to continue its work, in accordance with its mandate, and to elaborate further concrete recommendations to the Council, in particular on the need to stem illicit arms flows to and in Africa and with regard to measures to assist host Governments in Africa in maintaining the security and neutrality of refugee camps and to enhance the ability of the Council to monitor activities authorized by it but carried out by Member States or coalitions of Member States.

The Council, recognizing that the challenge of achieving peace and security in Africa is a continuous process, will continue to assess progress in promoting peace and security in Africa at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, on a biennial basis, in accordance with its resolution 1170 (1998).


At its 3945th meeting, held on 19 November 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (United States) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of two draft resolutions prepared in the course of prior consultations. He recalled that the Council had already taken action on the first set of proposals submitted by the ad hoc Working Group on Africa. It would now adopt additional concrete measures to implement the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General. The first draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1208 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 1170 (1998) of 28 May 1998,

Reaffirming also the statements by its President of 19 June 1997, 16 September 1998 and 29 September 1998,

Emphasizing that the provision of security to refugees and the maintenance of the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements is an integral part of the national, regional and international response to refugee situations and can contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa”, which was submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the statement by its President of 25 September 1997,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 22 September 1998 on protection for humanitarian assistance to refugees and others in conflict situations,

Recognizing the extensive experience of African States in hosting refugees and in dealing with the effects of refugee camps and settlements,

Affirming the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and in this regard underlining the unacceptability of using refugees and other persons in refugee camps and settlements to achieve military purposes in the country of asylum or in the country of origin,

Noting the diverse causes of insecurity of refugee camps and settlements in Africa, including the presence of armed or military elements and other persons who do not qualify for international protection afforded refugees or otherwise do not require international protection, differences within the refugee population, conflicts between refugees and the local population, common crime and banditry and the flow of arms,

Recognizing the need to take steps to assist African States to improve the security of refugees and to maintain the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements in accordance with international refugee, human rights and humanitarian law,

Stressing the particular security needs of women, children and the elderly, who are the most vulnerable groups in refugee camps and settlements,

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 52/103 and 52/132 of 12 December 1997 regarding, respectively, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and human rights and mass exoduses,

1. Reaffirms the importance of the principles relating to the status of refugees and the common standards for their treatment contained in the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, as modified by the Protocol of 31 January 1967;

2. Underlines the particular relevance of the provisions contained in the Organization of African Unity Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa of 10 September 1969;

3. Affirms the primary responsibility of States hosting refugees to ensure the security and civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements in accordance with international refugee, human rights and humanitarian law;

4. Calls upon African States further to develop institutions and procedures to implement the provisions of international law relating to the status and treatment of refugees and the provisions of the Organization of African Unity Convention, especially those relating to the location of refugees at a reasonable distance from the frontier of their country of origin and the separation of refugees from other persons who do not qualify for international protection afforded refugees or otherwise do not require international protection, and in this regard urges African States to seek international assistance, as appropriate;

5. Recognizes the primary responsibility of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, with the assistance of other relevant international bodies and organizations, to support African States in their actions directed towards the full respect and implementation of the provisions of international law relating to the status and treatment of refugees, and requests the Office of the High Commissioner, as needed, to keep in close touch with the Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity, subregional organizations and the States concerned in this regard;

6. Notes that a range of measures by the international community is needed to share the burden borne by African States hosting refugees and to support their efforts to ensure the security and civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, including in the areas of law enforcement, disarmament of armed elements, curtailment of the flow of arms in refugee camps and settlements, separation of refugees from other persons who do not qualify for international protection afforded refugees or otherwise do not require international protection, and demobilization and reintegration of former combatants;

7. Notes also that the range of measures referred to in paragraph 6 above could include training, logistical and technical advice and assistance, financial support, the enhancement of national law enforcement mechanisms, the provision or supervision of security guards and the deployment in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations of international police and military forces;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to respond, as appropriate, to requests from African States, the Organization of African Unity and subregional organizations for advice and technical assistance in the implementation of international refugee, human rights and humanitarian law relevant to the present resolution, including through appropriate training programmes and seminars;
12. Requests the Secretary-General and Member States, in particular in the Middle East, to consider the application of the recommendations referred to in paragraph 4 above, and to keep its resolutions 1170 (1998) of 28 May 1998, 1196 (1998) of 16 September 1998 and 1197 (1998) of 17 September 1998,

13. Also requests the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with Member States, regional and subregional organizations and other relevant international bodies and organizations and to keep informed about developments in Africa related to the security and civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements which affect the maintenance of international peace and security in the region, and to recommend concrete measures, such as those mentioned in paragraph 7 above, as needed, in this regard;

14. Expresses its readiness to consider the recommendations referred to in paragraph 13 above in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter,

15. Requests all Member States, relevant international bodies and organizations and all regional and subregional organizations to consider, as appropriate, the application of the measures contained in the present resolution to regions other than Africa;

16. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

The second draft resolution was also put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1209 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,


Recalling the statements by its President of 25 September 1997, 16 September 1998 and 24 September 1998,

Having considered the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled “The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa” regarding the importance of stemming the illicit arms flows to and in Africa,

Recognizing the close relationship of the problem of illicit arms flows to and in Africa with international peace and security,

Recognizing with concern that commercial and political motives play an unduly important role in the illicit transfer and accumulation of small arms in Africa,

Stressing the close linkage between international peace and security and sustainable development and the need for the international community to respond to the challenge of illicit arms flows to and in Africa in a comprehensive manner, encompassing not only the field of security but that of social and economic development,

Reaffirming the right of African States to procure or produce necessary weapons to meet their legitimate national security and public order needs in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and other rules and principles of international law,

Welcoming the offer of the Government of Switzerland to host in Geneva, not later than 2001, an international conference on the illicit arms trade in all its aspects,

Welcoming also the negotiation process in Vienna on the elaboration of an international convention against transnational organized crime, including a protocol to combat illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms,

Welcoming further the ongoing work of the Secretary-General on small arms and light weapons pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 50/70 B of 12 December 1995 and 52/38 J of 9 December 1997, including the work of the group of governmental experts nominated by him, and noting the findings pertaining to illicit arms flows to and in Africa in the report on small arms submitted by the Secretary-General on 27 August 1997,

Welcoming the decision of the Secretary-General to coordinate all action on small arms within the United Nations system through the Coordinating Action on Small Arms, for
which the Department of Disarmament Affairs of the Secretariat is designated as the focal point.

Commending the national, bilateral and subregional initiatives being taken in Africa in combating illicit arms flows, such as those that have been taken in Mali and Mozambique, by the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Community,

Welcoming the decision by the Organization of African Unity to prepare a situation report on Africa containing detailed information on the magnitude of the problem of small arms proliferation as well as appropriate policy recommendations,

1. Expresses its grave concern at the destabilizing effect of illicit arms flows, in particular of small arms, to and in Africa and at their excessive accumulation and circulation, which threaten national, regional and international security and have serious consequences for development and for the humanitarian situation in the continent;

2. Encourages African States to enact legislation on the domestic possession and use of arms, including the establishment of national legal and judicial mechanisms for the effective implementation of such laws, and to implement effective import, export and re-export controls, and encourages the international community, in consultation with African States, to assist in these efforts;

3. Stresses the importance of all Member States, in particular States involved in the manufacturing or marketing of weapons, restricting arms transfers which could provoke or prolong armed conflicts or aggravate existing tensions or conflicts in Africa, such as through voluntary moratoria;

4. Encourages African States to participate in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, encourages also the establishment of appropriate regional or subregional registers of conventional arms on the basis of agreement reached by African States concerned, and encourages Member States to explore other appropriate ways to enhance transparency of arms transfers to and in Africa;

5. Urges Member States with relevant expertise to cooperate with African States to strengthen their capacity to combat illicit arms flows, including through the tracking and interdiction of illicit arms transfers;

6. Welcomes the declaration of a moratorium adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States, adopted in Abuja on 31 October 1998, and urges other subregional organizations in Africa to consider taking similar measures;

7. Encourages African States to examine the efforts undertaken in other regions such as by the Organization of American States and the European Union in preventing and combating illicit arms flows, and to consider adopting similar measures as appropriate;

8. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to accord high priority to the United Nations role in promoting better understanding of the direct and indirect consequences of illicit arms flows, and stresses the importance of bringing the negative impact of illicit arms flows to and in Africa to the widest possible public attention;

9. Encourages the Secretary-General to explore means of identifying international arms dealers acting in contravention of national legislation or embargoes established by the United Nations on arms transfers to and in Africa;

10. Also encourages the Secretary-General to promote cooperation among Member States, the United Nations, regional and subregional organizations and other relevant organizations to collect, review and share information on combating illicit arms flows, especially regarding small arms, and to make available, as appropriate, information about the nature and general scope of the international illicit arms trade with and in Africa;

11. Reiterates the obligation of all Member States to carry out decisions of the Council on arms embargoes, and in this context notes the broader implications of the findings and experience of the International Commission of Inquiry established by its resolution 1013 (1995) of 7 September 1995 and reactivated in accordance with its resolution 1161 (1998) of 9 April 1998, and requests the Secretary-General to consider the possible application of such a measure to other conflict zones in Africa with specific emphasis on the sources of such arms and, if appropriate, make recommendations to the Council;

12. Encourages the Secretary-General, in consultation with Member States, to explore means for collecting, sharing and disseminating information, including technical information, on illicit small arms flows and their destabilizing effects, in order to improve the ability of the international community to prevent the exacerbation of armed conflicts and humanitarian crises, as well as means for the rapid exchange of data on possible violations of arms embargoes;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to consider practical ways to work with African States in implementing national, regional or subregional programmes for voluntary weapons collection, disposal and destruction, including the possibility of the establishment of a fund to support such programmes;

14. Recognizes the important contribution of programmes for voluntary weapons collection, disposal and destruction in specific post-conflict situations in Africa, and expresses its intention to consider including, as appropriate, means to facilitate the successful conduct of such programmes in the mandates of future peacekeeping operations it authorizes in Africa on the basis of recommendations by the Secretary-General;

15. Calls upon regional and subregional organizations in Africa to strengthen efforts to establish mechanisms and regional networks among relevant authorities of their Members States for information sharing to combat the illicit circulation of and trafficking in small arms;
16. **Decides to remain seized of the matter.**

**Decision of 30 November 1998 (3950th meeting): statement by the President**

At its 3950th meeting, held on 30 November 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United States) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:  

The Security Council recalls the report of the Secretary-General of 13 April 1998 entitled 'The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa'. While reaffirming its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, it underlines the increasingly important role of regional arrangements and agencies and of coalitions of Member States in the conduct of activity in this field. The Council reaffirms that all such activity undertaken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies, including enforcement action, shall be carried out in accordance with Articles 52, 53 and 54 of Chapter VIII of the Charter. It also underlines the importance of all such activity being guided by the principles of sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all States, and by the operational principles for United Nations peacekeeping operations set out in the statement by its President of 28 May 1993.

The Council welcomes the views expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraphs 42 to 44 of his report, in particular as they relate to Africa. It recognizes that the authorization by the Council of action by regional or subregional organizations, or by Member States or coalitions of States, can be one type of effective response to conflict situations, and commends Member States and regional and subregional organizations which have undertaken efforts and initiatives towards the maintenance of peace and security. In order to enhance its ability to monitor any activities that it has authorized, the Council expresses its readiness to examine appropriate measures whenever such an authorization is being considered.

In this regard, the Council notes that there is a wide variety of arrangements and relationships which have developed in different instances of cooperation between the United Nations, Member States and regional and subregional organizations in the maintenance of peace and security, and that monitoring requirements will vary and should be tailored according to the specifics of the operations in question, including in relation to ongoing peace efforts. But, in general, operations should have a clear mandate, including a statement of objectives, rules of engagement, a well-developed plan of action, a time-frame for disengagement, and arrangements for regular reporting to the Council. The Council affirms that a high standard of conduct is essential for successful operations, and recalls the role of the United Nations in setting general standards of peacekeeping. The Council stresses that missions and operations must ensure that their personnel respect and observe international law, including humanitarian, human rights and refugee law.

The Council is also of the view that, where necessary or desirable, monitoring of such activities could also be enhanced by the inclusion of certain civilian elements, for instance dealing with political and human rights issues, within missions and operations. In this context, the Council also recognizes that the attachment of a United Nations liaison officer or team could improve the flow of information between the Council and those engaged in the conduct of an operation authorized by it but carried out by a coalition of Member States or a regional or subregional organization. It expresses its readiness to consider, in consultation with the Member States and the regional or subregional organization concerned, the deployment of liaison officers to such operations, on the basis of recommendations by the Secretary-General and as proposed in paragraph 8 of its resolution 1197 (1998) of 18 September 1998. In the case of operations conducted by regional or subregional organizations, the Council also expresses its readiness to consider, in consultation with the regional or subregional organization concerned, whether the deployment of liaison officers at the headquarters of the organization would be valuable.

The Council also underlines the fact that the monitoring of such operations could be enhanced by the improved flow and exchange of information, inter alia, through regular submission of reports, as in the case of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements in the Central African Republic, and through the holding of regular briefing meetings between its members and regional and subregional organizations and Member States conducting such operations, and troop contributors and other participating Member States.

The Council shares the view of the Secretary-General that one possible means of monitoring activities of forces authorized by it, while also contributing to the broader aspects of a peace process, is through co-deployment of United Nations observers and other personnel together with an operation carried out by a regional or subregional organization or by a coalition of Member States. The Council agrees with the Secretary-General that, while such collaboration is not applicable in all cases, co-deployment can make an important contribution to peacekeeping efforts, as in the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone where United Nations observer missions have been deployed alongside the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States.

The Council underlines the importance, whenever the United Nations deploys forces alongside forces of regional or subregional organizations or Member States, of establishing a clear framework for cooperation and coordination between the

United Nations and the regional or subregional organizations or coalition of Member States concerned. Such a framework should include specifying objectives, the careful delineation of the respective roles and responsibilities of the United Nations and the regional or subregional organization or coalition concerned and of the areas of interaction of forces, and clear provisions regarding the safety and security of personnel. The Council also stresses the importance of ensuring that United Nations missions maintain their identity and autonomy with regard to operational command and control and logistics.

The Council urges Member States and regional and subregional organizations to ensure the Council is kept fully informed of their activities for the maintenance of peace and security. The Council undertakes to consult regularly with Member States and regional and subregional organizations involved in such activities to facilitate this.

**Deliberation of 21 September 1999 (4047th meeting)**

At its 4047th meeting, held on 21 September 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the item “Briefing by His Excellency Mr. Frederic J. T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia”. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Netherlands) invited the President of the Republic of Zambia to take a seat at the Council Table.

The President of the Republic of Zambia, commenting on the ceasefire agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, stated that the negotiations, as well as the mechanisms for implementing and monitoring it, had involved numerous consultations, taking into account both the internal conflict and external security concerns. Acknowledging the contributions of all parties involved, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Nations, OAU, SADC and Congolese rebels, he expressed hope for the successful implementation of the agreement. He commended the United Nations for its participation at all stages of the mediation process and appealed to Council to send peacekeeping forces to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Its tasks would include the disarmament of Congolese non-statutory forces and relocating foreign militias, tasks that went beyond Chapter VI of the Charter. He expressed the hope that the question of cost would not impede international support for Africa on the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and that the Council would be quick to act on the issue.66

Responding to the briefing, Council members agreed, inter alia, that the time had come for the Council to move ahead with the task of forging greater cooperation with Africa; expressed appreciation for the efforts of everyone who had contributed to the ceasefire agreement; and expressed support for the concept of a peacekeeping mission. Council members also asked a number of questions on the proposed mission and the ceasefire agreement.67

**Deliberations of 29 and 30 September 1999 (4049th meeting)**

On 25 September 1999, the Secretary-General submitted a progress report on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.68 In the report, the Secretary-General observed that despite the many problems still facing African nations, there were also places witnessing dramatic changes for the better. Africans were also taking charge of their political fortunes, and through the sustained diplomatic efforts of African countries themselves, important breakthroughs had been made in the search for negotiated solutions in some of the protracted conflicts, such as those in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A beginning had also been made in the strengthening of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations for the enhancement of African peacekeeping capacity. He noted the ongoing problem of the lack of resources and stressed that with the political will on the part of both Africa and the international community, peace and development in African could be given a new momentum.

At its 4049th meeting, held on 29 and 30 September 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General’s report in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Netherlands)

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66 S/PV.4047, pp. 2-5.
67 Ibid., p. 5 (Bahrain); pp. 5-6 (Canada); p. 6 (France); pp. 6-7 (United Kingdom); pp. 7-8 (China); p. 8 (Gabon); pp. 8-9 (Argentina); p. 9 (United States); p. 10 (Gambia); p. 10 (Malaysia); pp. 10-11 (Slovenia); p. 11 (Brazil); and pp. 11-12 (Netherlands).
68 S/1999/1008.
invited the representatives of Algeria, Australia, Belgium, the Comoros, Cuba, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Japan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Senegal, Slovakia, South Africa, the Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda, Ukraine, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Yemen and Zambia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. It also extended an invitation, under rule 39, to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity. The Secretary-General was also present.

The Secretary-General welcomed the fact that Africans were taking charge of their political fortunes and were willing to acknowledge past mistakes. A majority of Africans lived under democratic systems, and OAU had recently agreed to insist on the principle that Governments which came to power through unconstitutional means could no longer expect to be received as equals in an assembly of elected heads of State. However, he noted that progress would remain tenuous until Africa got a handle on its conflicts, including those in Angola, the Sudan and Ethiopia and Eritrea. He also underlined that while each crisis situation in the world was different, for the Council to retain its credibility, the commitment to peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and other action needed to be applied fairly and consistently, irrespective of region or nation. He also underlined the importance of partnerships with OAU, other regional and subregional organizations, and with civil society groups as well as individuals.69

The Secretary-General of OAU stressed the importance of cooperation with the United Nations and noted the significant development in efforts for the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Africa. He underlined the efforts being made by Africans themselves to resolve conflicts in Angola, Burundi, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and elsewhere. Finally, he stressed the importance of timely action by the international community and the Security Council to support peace agreements promoted by OAU or by the regional economic communities in cooperation with OAU. Noting the plans to establish an African Union, he reiterated that African countries were not shying away from their responsibilities, but maintained that for the process to remain meaningful, Africa needed the active support of the international community.70

During the course of the debate, the speakers touched on, inter alia, the importance of an effective partnership between the United Nations, OAU and other regional organizations in Africa, such as ECOWAS; the need to enhance Africa’s security by helping it resolve and prevent armed conflicts and grapple with transnational threats, such as HIV/AIDS and terrorism; ways to support African peacekeeping; the need to support democracy and good governance; the interrelationship between peace and development; the challenge of dealing with small arms and enforcing arms embargoes; and the importance of the Security Council responding more rapidly to situations in Africa, including by authorizing peacekeeping missions. Speakers referred to a wide variety of situations in Africa, including by those in Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda and the Sudan,71 as well as the sanctions on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

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69 S/PV.4049, pp. 2-5.
70 Ibid., pp. 5-8.
71 Ibid., pp. 8-12 (Algeria on behalf of the Chairman of OAU); pp. 12-15 (United States); pp. 15-17 (Canada); pp. 17-18 (Argentina); pp. 18-19 (Gabon); pp. 19-20 (Russian Federation); and pp. 20-22 (United Kingdom); S/PV.4049 (Resumption 1), pp. 2-4 (Namibia); pp. 4-7 (Slovenia); pp. 7-8 (Bahrain); pp. 8-10 (Malaysia); pp. 10-11 (Brazil); pp. 11-13 (Gambia); pp. 13-16 (France); pp. 16-18 (China); pp. 18-19 (Netherlands); pp. 19-21 (Ukraine); pp. 21-23 (Yemen); pp. 23-24 (Australia); pp. 24-26 (Malawi); and pp. 26-28 (Norway); S/PV.4049 (Resumption 2), pp. 2-4 (Philippines); pp. 4-5 (Rwanda); pp. 5-8 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 8-10 (Togo); pp. 11-13 (India); pp. 13-15 (Slovakia); pp. 15-18 (Sudan); pp. 18-20 (Senegal); pp. 20-22 (Mozambique); pp. 22-23 (Ghana); pp. 23-25 (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya); and pp. 25-27 (South Africa); S/PV.4049 (Resumption 3 and Corr.1), pp. 2-3 (Finland, on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia; and Cyprus, Malta and Iceland); pp. 3-5 (Jamaica); pp. 5-6 (Egypt); pp. 6-8 (Portugal); pp. 8-10 (Indonesia); pp. 10-12 (Republic of Korea); pp. 12-13 (Belgium); pp. 13-15 (Japan); pp. 15-17 (Democratic Republic of the Congo); pp. 17-19 (Morocco); pp. 19-20 (United Arab Emirates); pp. 20-22 (Comoros); pp. 22-24 (Swaziland); pp. 25-26 (Uruguay); pp. 26-27 (Zambia); pp. 28-29 (Uganda); pp. 29-30 (Pakistan); and pp. 30-33 (Nigeria).
Deliberations of 15 December 1999
(4081st meeting)

At its 4081st meeting, held on 15 December 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in the Council’s prior consultations, the Council invited the representatives of Algeria, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Burundi, Cameroon, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Uganda, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The Secretary-General was also present.

At the outset of the meeting, the President (United Kingdom) suggested that the discussion focus on three questions: how coordination could be improved between the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity and the key subregional organizations; how the needs for African peacekeeping could be met more effectively; and the additional instruments the Council could bring to help solve and prevent conflicts in Africa.72

The Secretary-General noted that there was a need for the Council to show sustained and effective interest in African conflicts or potential conflicts. He emphasized that closer cooperation and coordination with the relevant regional and subregional organizations needed to be established. While African States had risen to the challenge of playing a leading role on that continent, through regional operations, there was a great need for assistance to Africa in strengthening the capacity of its regional and subregional institutions. In that regard, the Council should consider urgently how such regional operations could be more fairly and efficiently financed. While such funding was most often obtained through trust funds, such funds did not always attract donations on an adequate scale. He also recommended that the Council make greater use of such diplomatic initiatives as contact groups and joint working groups focused on conflict prevention or containment, as well as Council missions with clear goals, such as the recent one to Jakarta and East Timor.73

During the course of the discussion speakers stated, inter alia, that regular and more structured consultation and coordination between the Council and OAU and the regional and subregional bodies should be instituted; agreed that the Council needed to meet the needs of African peacekeeping more quickly and effectively; suggested increased United Nations assistance to building Africa’s own peacekeeping capabilities through training, personnel exchange and logistics partnership arrangements; underscored the importance of providing the right resources for specific mandates; stressed the need for more use of preventive measures, Security Council missions and other approaches; cited the need for stricter and more targeted implementation of the Council’s other key tool, sanctions and arms embargoes; and called for a greater focus on the problem of HIV/AIDS.74

72 S/PV.4081, p. 2.

73 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

74 Ibid., pp. 4-5 (United Kingdom); pp. 5-6 (China); pp. 6-7 (United States); pp. 7-9 (Canada); pp. 9-10 (France); pp. 10-11 (Argentina); pp. 11-12 (Netherlands); pp. 12-14 (Malaysia); pp. 14-15 (Bahrain); pp. 15-16 (Gabon); pp. 16-17 (Gambia); pp. 17-18 (Russian Federation); pp. 18-19 (Brazil); pp. 20-21 (Namibia); pp. 21-22 (Slovenia); pp. 22-23 (Algeria); pp. 24-25 (Cameroon); pp. 25-26 (South Africa); pp. 27-28 (Finland, on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia; Cyprus and Malta; and Iceland and Liechtenstein); pp. 28-29 (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya); and pp. 29-30 (Republic of Korea); S/PV.4081 (Resumption 1 and Corr.1), pp. 2-3 (Nigeria); pp. 3-4 (Japan); pp. 4-5 (Ukraine); pp. 5-7 (Rwanda); pp. 7-8 (Egypt); pp. 8-10 (Mozambique); pp. 10-11 (Democratic Republic of the Congo); pp. 11-12 (Bangladesh); pp. 12-13 (India); pp. 13-14 (New Zealand); pp. 14-15 (Bahamas); pp. 15-16 (Kenya); pp. 16-17 (Colombia); pp. 17-18 (Sierra Leone); pp. 18-19 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 20-21 (Ghana); pp. 21-22 (Zimbabwe); pp. 22-23 (Burundi); pp. 23-24 (Zambia); pp. 24-25 (Norway); pp. 25-26 (Indonesia); pp. 26-27 (Sweden); p. 27 (Ireland); p. 28 (Belgium); pp. 28-29 (Portugal); pp. 29-30 (Italy); and pp. 30-31 (Spain).