

26. The situation in the Republic of Yemen

Initial proceedings

Decision of 1 June 1994 (3386th meeting): resolution 924 (1994)

By a letter dated 27 May 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates requested that the Council be convened to discuss the situation in Yemen and the resulting loss of civilian lives. By a letter dated 29 May 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council,² the representative of Qatar made the same request.

By a letter dated 31 May 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³ the representative of Yemen stated that his Government considered the request to convene a meeting of the Security Council to discuss the situation in Yemen to be interference in its internal affairs, contrary to Article 2 (7) of the Charter of the United Nations.

At its 3386th meeting, on 1 June 1994, the Council included in its agenda the item entitled "The situation in the Republic of Yemen". Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,⁴ and to several other documents.⁵

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China expressed anxiety over the developments taking place in Yemen. He urged those concerned to cease fighting and to resume negotiations as soon as possible.

China had always maintained that all conflicts should be settled peacefully through negotiation. He stated that, based on that consistent position, the Chinese delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution. Welcoming the efforts made by the countries concerned in the region, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the League of Arab States, the speaker hoped that they would continue to play an active role of mediation. He also emphasized that, in its consideration of any issue of concern, the Security Council should respect the relevant views of the countries or parties concerned. It was the view of his delegation that the consideration of the situation of the Republic of Yemen by the Council under the current special circumstances should not constitute a precedent for the handling of other similar issues.⁶

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 924 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having considered the situation in the Republic of Yemen,

Having regard to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Deeply concerned at the tragic death of innocent civilians,

Appreciating the efforts of the League of Arab States, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the neighbouring States and other concerned States to contribute to a peaceful resolution of the conflict and to ensure peace and stability in the Republic of Yemen,

Considering that the continuance of the situation could endanger peace and security in the region,

1. *Calls for* an immediate ceasefire;
2. *Urges* an immediate cessation of the supply of arms and other materiel which might contribute to the continuation of the conflict;
3. *Reminds* all concerned that their political differences cannot be resolved through the use of force, and urges them to return immediately to negotiations which will permit a peaceful resolution of their differences and a restoration of peace and stability;
4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to send a fact-finding mission to the area as soon as practicable to assess

⁶ S/PV.3386, pp. 2-3.

¹ S/1994/630.

² S/1994/639.

³ S/1994/644.

⁴ S/1994/646.

⁵ Letters addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (S/1994/630); Qatar (S/1994/639); and Yemen (S/1994/641 and S/1994/644); and letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of Yemen (S/1994/642).

prospects for a renewed dialogue among all those concerned and for further efforts by them to resolve their differences;

5. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to report to it on the situation at an appropriate time, but not later than one week after the completion of the fact-finding mission;

6. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 29 June 1994 (3394th meeting):
resolution 931 (1994)**

On 27 June 1994, pursuant to resolution 924 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Yemen,⁷ in which he informed the Council that a fact-finding mission, led by his Special Envoy,⁸ had visited Yemen from 8 to 19 June 1994. The mission had also travelled to Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Jordan and Egypt. The Secretary-General noted that his Special Envoy had been well received by both parties, which had repeatedly expressed support for his mission. The Acting Prime Minister of Yemen had indicated that, despite his country's reservation that the Security Council had discussed the internal situation of his country, which might set a grave precedent, he nevertheless welcomed the adoption by the Council of resolution 924 (1994). He believed that the resolution had affirmed legitimacy within the framework of the Republic of Yemen and linked the ceasefire with a number of steps that his country regarded as an integral part of the resolution. There was a general consensus among the parties that (a) a ceasefire was necessary and urgent; (b) a mechanism to supervise the ceasefire should be organized and; (c) once the ceasefire was effective, dialogue should resume, with the help of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy. With respect to the mechanism for supervising the ceasefire, both sides had already agreed that it should be a joint commission, that it should include a number of officers from both sides, and that it would involve the participation of representatives from Jordan and Oman as well as the military attachés of France and the

United States in Sana'a. However, there were still differences between the two sides concerning representation from other countries. The Secretary-General further noted that it was a matter of serious concern that, almost four weeks after the adoption of resolution 924 (1994), fighting had not stopped in Yemen and repeated commitments to the ceasefire had not been honoured. Indeed, fighting had intensified in Aden with increased casualties. A major humanitarian crisis was imminent unless a political solution was found or a ceasefire was put into force as soon as possible. Neighbouring countries were following developments in Yemen with growing concern. While they had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of their neighbours, they considered the situation to be a serious threat to peace and security in the region and the continuation of the fighting to be unacceptable.

The Secretary-General, stressing the importance of the call made in resolution 924 (1994) concerning the delivery of arms to the warring parties, stated that the most urgent task ahead was to put an end to the fighting and to start providing urgent aid to the people who needed it. He suggested that the Security Council might wish to make it clear that the existing state of affairs could not be tolerated, that the ceasefire needed to enter into force without delay and that the two parties needed to be urgently requested to cooperate with his Special Envoy in the establishment, within the following few days, of the mechanism to supervise the ceasefire.

The Secretary-General also stated that, should the parties so desire, he would be prepared to recommend to the Council the deployment of United Nations military observers, once a ceasefire was in place. The observers could supplement whatever supervisory mechanism might be agreed upon between the two parties. He also suggested that the Council might request the parties to start immediately after a dialogue, which his Special Envoy could organize in consultation with them, at a mutually agreed venue such as Geneva.

At its 3394th meeting, on 29 June 1994, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Yemen, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) drew the attention of the Council members to the report of the Secretary-

⁷ S/1994/764.

⁸ The Secretary-General had informed the President of the Security Council in a letter dated 3 June 1994 of his decision to appoint Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as his Special Envoy and head of the fact-finding mission to Yemen, pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 924 (1994). The President of the Security Council had informed him by a letter dated 3 June 1994 that the members of the Council welcomed his decision (see also chapter V).

General, to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,⁹ and to several other documents.¹⁰

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 931 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 924 (1994) of 1 June 1994 on the situation in the Republic of Yemen,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 27 June 1994 on the fact-finding mission to Yemen,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Envoy and the League of Arab States,

Strongly supporting the call of the Secretary-General for an immediate and complete halt to the shelling of the city of Aden, and condemning the failure to heed this call,

Deeply disturbed that no ceasefire has been implemented or sustained despite several ceasefire declarations by both sides,

Deeply concerned at the situation in Yemen and, in particular, the deteriorating humanitarian situation in many parts of the country,

Alarmed by reports of the continuing provision of arms and other materiel,

1. *Reiterates* its call for an immediate ceasefire;
2. *Stresses* the importance of the existence and effective implementation of a ceasefire covering all ground, naval and air operations, including provisions on the positioning of heavy weapons out of range of Aden;
3. *Strongly deplures* the infliction of civilian casualties and destruction resulting from the continuing military assault on Aden;
4. *Requests* the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy to continue talks under their auspices with all concerned, with a view to implementing a durable ceasefire and to the possible establishment of a mechanism acceptable to both sides, preferably involving countries of the region, to monitor, encourage respect for, help to prevent violations of the ceasefire and report to the Secretary-General;
5. *Reiterates its call* for an immediate cessation of the supply of arms and other materiel;
6. *Reiterates* that political differences cannot be resolved through the use of force, deeply regrets the failure of all concerned to resume their political dialogue and urges them

to do so immediately and without preconditions, thus permitting a peaceful resolution of their differences and the restoration of peace and stability, and requests the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy to examine appropriate ways of facilitating these aims;

7. *Expresses its deep concern* at the humanitarian situation resulting from the conflict, requests the Secretary-General to use the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United Nations agencies, to address urgently the needs of those affected by the conflict, in particular the inhabitants of Aden and those displaced by the conflict, and urges all concerned to provide humanitarian access and facilitate the distribution of relief supplies to those in need wherever they may be located;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide a progress report to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible and in any event within fifteen days of the adoption of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France stated that, in adopting a new resolution, the Security Council had affirmed its determination to contribute to the peaceful settlement of a dispute that was "unleashing a humanitarian disaster and shaking the foundations of regional security". That was why the Council was stressing the immediate cessation of military operations, in particular the shelling of Aden, and the distribution of urgently needed aid. It had also sought to respect the freedom of action of the Secretary-General and of the parties by remaining as open as possible in defining the ceasefire monitoring mechanism. On that point, it had limited itself to extending the mandate of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy and to requesting them to define, in agreement with the parties, a credible mechanism. Accordingly, the mechanism would be under United Nations auspices, but it would be up to the Secretary-General, in agreement with the interested parties, to choose the concrete manifestations of that general principle. Noting that the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy were also requested to facilitate the resumption of political dialogue in Yemen, the speaker stated that there was no military solution to the crisis. It was for the people of Yemen to redefine the conditions of their coexistence. His delegation also stressed the importance of the provision of the resolution by which the Council requested an immediate cessation of the supply of arms and other materiel. The United Nations would continue to lend

⁹ S/1994/772.

¹⁰ Letters addressed to the Secretary-General by the representatives of Yemen (S/1994/761 and S/1994/762); and Saudi Arabia (S/1994/763).

the Yemenis its support, but they needed to refrain from fighting and to resume dialogue.¹¹

The representative of the United Kingdom also believed that the United Nations should take urgent steps to address the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Yemen, and in particular in Aden. He hoped that the adoption of the resolution by the Council would demonstrate to the parties the seriousness with which the international community viewed the situation and that they would draw the appropriate conclusions. The best outcome of all would be if those concerned could reach immediate agreement on three vital points — a ceasefire, the mechanism to sustain it and a resumed political dialogue — and could then set about implementing those agreements.¹²

The representative of the United States stated that those responsible for the conflict needed to seek a resolution of their differences through political dialogue and negotiation. The United States called for a ceasefire and supported the concept of a mutually agreed mechanism of supervision reporting to the Secretary-General. The speaker also underscored that the United Nations was facing a pressing financial situation, at a time of greatly increased peacekeeping efforts throughout the world. The United States looked to the nations closest to the conflict in Yemen, which had the greatest stake in resolving the conflict, as well as to others who might be interested, to offer on a voluntary basis the resources needed to implement such a mechanism.¹³

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his country strongly supported the efforts undertaken by the world community, primarily in the Security Council, with a view to normalizing the situation in Yemen, restoring a peaceful dialogue and establishing an appropriate mechanism for monitoring the ceasefire. He reported that on that same day, in Moscow, a tripartite meeting had been held between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Yemen, and a member of the Southern Yemen leadership, on the initiative of the Russian Government and on the request of the two parties. Attention had focused on the question of a ceasefire. All participants had agreed that the conflict could not be solved militarily and that it was essential

to reach a political settlement on the basis of resolution 924 (1994). It had also been agreed that contacts would continue, with Russian mediation and facilitation.¹⁴

The President, speaking in his capacity as the representative of Oman, stated that his country hoped that the two parties could resolve their differences through dialogue and peaceful negotiations. Oman deeply regretted the continuation of the war, which had brought dangerous and negative consequences, not only for Yemen, but for the region as a whole. The speaker recalled that his country had joined five other countries of the region in calling for the convening of a meeting of the Security Council to address the situation in Yemen. That meeting had culminated in the adoption of resolution 924 (1994), calling for an immediate ceasefire and requesting the parties to go back to the negotiating table, as the most appropriate means of resolving their differences. Oman believed that the resolution was very balanced in its demands and that, if it had been implemented fully by the parties, it could have helped the parties to settle their differences. In the resolution just adopted, the Council reiterated the same calls as those contained in resolution 924 (1994), and, given the worsening of the situation and the intensification of the war, especially the random shelling of Aden, it also expressed its condemnation and called for the withdrawal of the forces surrounding Aden. It also requested the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy to continue their mediation between the parties, with a view to implementing a durable ceasefire and establishing a mechanism for its supervision. He called upon all leaders of Yemen to cooperate with the Secretary-General and his special envoy in the implementation of that resolution.¹⁵

**Decision of 30 June 1994 (3396th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3396th meeting, on 30 June 1994, the Council resumed its consideration of the situation in the Republic of Yemen. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Yemen, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) then drew the attention of the Council members to a letter dated 30 June 1994 from the representative of the Russian Federation addressed to the Secretary-

¹¹ S/PV.3394, pp. 2-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

General,¹⁶ transmitting the text of the agreement on a ceasefire in the Republic of Yemen, signed in Moscow on 30 June 1994, as well as to a letter dated 30 June 1994 from the representative of Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council.¹⁷

He then stated that, after consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁸

The Security Council reaffirms its resolutions 924 (1994) of 1 June 1994 and 931 (1994) of 29 June 1994 on the situation in the Republic of Yemen.

The Council welcomes the agreement on the ceasefire signed by both sides in Moscow on 30 June 1994, which was achieved through the mediation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. The Council demands that all concerned fully implement that agreement.

The Council welcomes the efforts of the international community, including those of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, the neighbouring countries and the League of Arab States, as well as those of States Members of the United Nations, aimed at helping the parties to achieve and implement a durable ceasefire and to prevent violations of the ceasefire.

The Council further demands that both sides fully implement the provisions of Council resolutions 924 (1994) and 931 (1994), and urges all concerned to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, in particular for the possible establishment of a mechanism to sustain the ceasefire.

The Council remains deeply concerned at the situation in the Republic of Yemen and in particular the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Aden.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 18 July 1994: letter from the
President to the Secretary-General**

On 12 July 1994, pursuant to resolution 931 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Yemen.¹⁹ The report described the progress achieved in the resolution of the conflict in Yemen.

The Secretary-General reported that on 7 July 1994 he had been handed a letter from the Acting Prime Minister of the Republic of Yemen in which the authorities in Sana'a had committed themselves to an

immediate cessation of all military activities and a comprehensive amnesty, compensation for lost property and war victims, continuation of respect for democracy and human rights and continuation of national dialogue and promotion of close cooperation with the States in the region. On 8 July 1994, the other side had delivered a letter stating that hostile actions were still being conducted by Sana'a and stressing the necessity, inter alia, to implement Security Council resolutions 924 (1994) and 931 (1994) and effectively cease all military activities and to start negotiations between the two sides under the auspices of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General. On 9 July 1994, both parties had met in the presence of his Special Envoy and had agreed to keep in contact through him.

The Secretary-General further reported that while the phase of an all-out war seemed to have ended, there had, however, been disturbing reports of looting and lawlessness. The war had resulted in loss of life and property, and severe damage upon the infrastructure of the country. Firm action was urgently needed to put an end to such acts. The Secretary-General noted that the people of Yemen expected the international community, through international and regional organizations, as well as through bilateral cooperation, to extend a helping hand to them as they embarked on reconstruction. The international community, for its part, expected the Yemeni leaders to address seriously and urgently the problems that lay at the root of the crisis, and to ensure a lasting solution and credible stability. Such a solution would be achieved only through political dialogue, as had been urgently requested by resolutions 924 (1994) and 931 (1994). In conclusion, the Secretary-General stated that, in the positions publicly proclaimed by the two parties and communicated to the United Nations, there was enough common ground to permit such a dialogue to be initiated. He remained ready to use his good offices and to extend all possible help and cooperation as soon as the two parties agreed to his playing that role.

By a letter dated 18 July 1994,²⁰ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General of the following:

²⁰ S/1994/838.

¹⁶ Ibid., S/1994/778.

¹⁷ S/1994/779.

¹⁸ S/PRST/1994/30.

¹⁹ S/1994/817.

I have the honour to refer to your report of 12 July 1994 on the situation in Yemen. The members of the Security Council welcome this report and are grateful to you and your Special Envoy for your efforts pursuant to Council resolutions 924 (1994) of 1 June 1994 and 931 (1994) of 29 June 1994.

The members of the Council agree that the cessation of fighting in the Republic of Yemen, in itself, will not bring a lasting solution to the crisis in that country and that it is essential to start a process of political dialogue between the parties.

The members of the Council expect the Government of the Republic of Yemen to fulfil the commitments and decisions contained in the letter from the Acting Prime Minister, referred to in paragraph 15 of your report, in accordance with resolutions 924 (1994) and 931 (1994), which have been accepted by the Government of the Republic of Yemen, and international

humanitarian law. Refugees and displaced persons must be allowed to return in safety to their homes.

The members of the Council are concerned at reports of continuing looting in Aden. They agree that firm action is urgently needed to put an end to such acts. They also remain concerned at the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Yemen and look forward to the United Nations inter-agency assessment of the humanitarian needs of the country.

The members of the Council welcome your readiness to continue to use your good offices, including through your Special Envoy, to bring about reconciliation in Yemen and to extend all possible help and cooperation, and urge the parties to cooperate fully with you to this end.

Thematic issues

27. Items relating to an Agenda for Peace

A. An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping

Decision of 28 January 1993 (3166th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3166th meeting, on 28 January 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 17 June 1992 entitled "An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping",¹ which was submitted pursuant to the statement adopted at the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992.² Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Japan) stated that, following consultations with the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:³

The Security Council has continued its examination of the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace".

The Council notes with appreciation the views of the Secretary-General, as presented in paragraphs 63, 64 and 65 of his report, concerning cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations.

¹ S/24111.

² S/23500. See Supplement 1989-1992 to the *Repertoire*, chap. VIII, sect. 28.

³ S/25184.

Bearing in mind the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the pertinent activities of the General Assembly and the challenges to international peace and security in the new phase of international relations, the Council attaches great importance to the role of regional arrangements and organizations and recognizes the need to coordinate their efforts with those of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

While reaffirming its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and being aware of the variety of mandate, scope and composition of regional arrangements and organizations, the Council encourages and, where appropriate, supports such regional efforts as undertaken by regional arrangements and organizations within their respective areas of competence in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council therefore invites, within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter, regional arrangements and organizations to study, on a priority basis, the following:

- ways and means to strengthen their functions to maintain international peace and security within their areas of competence, paying due regard to the characteristics of their respective regions. Taking into account the matters of which the Council has been seized and in accordance with the Charter, they might consider, in particular, preventive diplomacy including fact-finding, confidence-building, good offices and peacebuilding and, where appropriate, peacekeeping;
- ways and means further to improve coordination of their efforts with those of the United Nations. Being aware of the variety of mandate, scope and composition of regional