

## 5. THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

**Decision** of 26 March 1993 (3187<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 813 (1993)

On 12 March 1993, pursuant to resolution 788 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report<sup>1</sup> on the question of Liberia. The report included an update on events in Liberia and a summary of the activities and findings of the Special Representative for Liberia, who had visited the region from 29 November to 22 December 1992 and from 10 January to 2 February 1993.

The report traced the origins of the three-year civil war in Liberia to the breakdown of law and order and civil authority which had accompanied the overthrow in 1990 of the regime headed by President Samuel Doe. The de facto division of the country, as a result of the civil war, into two administrations, with separate economic zones and two different domestic currencies with widely varying rates of exchange, had further aggravated an already difficult situation. At the time of the report, the country remained partitioned, with the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) administering Monrovia and its environs, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in control of ten counties, and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) in control of two counties. War-related casualties among civilians and armed combatants were estimated to be as high as 150,000, with the overwhelming majority being civilians. The number of Liberian refugees located in neighbouring countries was estimated to be 600,000 to 700,000.

The Secretary-General reported that the discussions held by his Special Representative with the parties concerned, including the Executive Secretary and member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), had indicated that there was a general consensus that the United Nations should assume a larger role in the search for peace in Liberia. One proposal, which had the support of all the parties as

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<sup>1</sup> S/25402.

well as ECOWAS, was that the Secretary-General should convene a meeting of the President of the Interim Government and the warring factions, at which they would conclude and sign an agreement reaffirming their commitment to implement the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. The Secretary-General stated in that regard that, while he was ready to extend whatever assistance he could, it would be more appropriate if ECOWAS were to consider the situation in Liberia, preferably at summit level, to bring about the desired reconfirmation of the commitment of the parties to the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. He had asked his Special Representative to return to the region to discuss the proposed meeting with ECOWAS and with others concerned. Liberia represented a good example of systematic cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter. ECOWAS had been involved diplomatically and militarily since the beginning of the conflict, while the Security Council had supported its initiatives and endeavours. The Secretary-General expressed the belief that it would be the wish of the Council to continue to expand, as appropriate, the cooperative relationship between the United Nations and the concerned regional body. If requested, he would be willing to send a few experts who would extend technical assistance to ECOWAS in monitoring the economic sanctions<sup>2</sup>. He also suggested that the Council might consider enlarging the scope of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

At its 3187<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 26 March 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Liberia. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia to participate in the discussions without the right to vote. The President (New Zealand) then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution<sup>3</sup> that had been prepared

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<sup>2</sup> Comprehensive economic sanctions were imposed by ECOWAS Heads of State and Government meeting in Dakar, Senegal, from 17 to 29 July 1992, against the territory controlled by the NPFL. The Security Council, by its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, supplemented ECOWAS action by imposing an arms embargo.

<sup>3</sup> S/25469.

in the course of the Council's prior consultations, and read out a revision<sup>4</sup> that had been made to the draft.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Cape Verde stated that, taking into account the level of mistrust among the various parties, his delegation was of the view that ways and means had to be sought to promote the necessary confidence among the parties to the conflict and to bring them back to the negotiating table. In particular, he felt that the time had come for a meaningful involvement by the United Nations, in close cooperation with ECOWAS, in restoring peace and stability in Liberia. In that regard, the draft resolution addressed the possibility of sending United Nations observers to Liberia in the context of a cessation of hostilities, which would be followed by the immediate encampment, disarmament and demobilization of the parties to the conflict. His delegation also supported the provision of the draft resolution requesting the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the President of the Interim Government of National Unity and the warring factions, within the framework of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. Such a meeting would help to create an environment that would favour a renewed commitment by the parties to the conflict to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accords, in particular of its provisions concerning encampment and disarmament of their forces.<sup>5</sup>

The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 813 (1993). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 12 March 1993 (S/25402),

*Recalling* its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992,

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<sup>4</sup> See S/PV.3187.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-7.

*Also recalling* the statements made by the President of the Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991 (S/22133) and 7 May 1992 (S/23886),

*Reaffirming its belief* that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815, annex) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary climate for free and fair elections in Liberia,

*Deploring* that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

*Noting* that the continuing breach of earlier accords hinders the creation of a climate and conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

*Recognizing* the need for increased humanitarian assistance,

*Welcoming* the continued commitment of the Economic Community of West African States to and the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict,

*Also welcoming* the endorsement and support by the Organization of African Unity of these efforts,

*Recalling* the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

*Determining* that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, particularly in this region of West Africa

1. *Approves* the report of the Secretary-General (S/25402);
2. *Commends* the Economic Community of West African States for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;
3. *Commends* the Organization of African Unity for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;
4. *Reaffirms its belief* that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815, annex) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia, and encourages the Economic Community of West African States to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of that Accord;
5. *Condemns* the violation by any party to the conflict of the cease-fire established on 28 November 1990;
6. *Also condemns* the continuing armed attacks against the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

7. *Reiterates its call upon* all parties to respect and implement the cease-fire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Accord and the final communiqué of the informal consultative group meeting of the Economic Community of West African States Committee of Five on Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992 (S/23863, annex), to which they themselves have agreed;

8. *Welcomes* the appointment by the Secretary-General of Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers as his Special Representative for Liberia;

9. *Calls upon* all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

10. *Demands* that all parties fully cooperate with the Secretary-General and the Economic Community of West African States with a view to ensuring the full and prompt implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord;

11. *Declares its readiness* to consider appropriate measures in support of the Economic Community of West African States if any party is unwilling to cooperate in implementation of the provisions of the Yamoussoukro accords, in particular the encampment and disarmament provisions;

12. *Reiterates its call on* Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict, in particular to refrain from providing any military assistance to any of the parties and also to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

13. *Reaffirms* that the embargo imposed by resolution 788 (1992) shall not apply to weapons, military equipment and military assistance destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States in Liberia;

14. *Commends* the efforts of Member States, the United Nations system and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict in Liberia, and in this regard reaffirms its support for increased humanitarian assistance;

15. *Demands* that the parties concerned refrain from any action that will impede or obstruct the delivery of humanitarian assistance and calls upon them to ensure the safety of all personnel involved in international humanitarian assistance;

16. *Reiterates its call upon* all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Economic Community of West African States, to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the President of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia and the warring factions, after thorough and detailed groundwork, to restate their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord within an agreed timetable;

18. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to discuss with the Economic Community of West African States and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers;

19. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Brazil expressed the firm belief of his delegation in the desirability and usefulness of maintaining a close dialogue and cooperation between the United Nations and appropriate regional organizations in the settlement of disputes, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. Brazil supported the idea of strengthening the cooperative relationship established between the United Nations and ECOWAS, with a view to assisting that regional body in its endeavours with regard to Liberia, as put forward by the Secretary-General in his report, while stressing that the ultimate responsibility rested with the Liberian people themselves.<sup>6</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that the resolution just adopted further strengthened the relationship between the United Nations and ECOWAS, which had taken the laudable initiative to address a regional conflict. As the United Nations strove to meet the demands placed upon it by a contentious world in a time of shrinking resources, such cooperation would be vital and there would be an increasing need to look to regional actors for guidance and support. If the ECOWAS initiative in Liberia were to fail, the ultimate cost to the region and to the international community would be great.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9.

The continued application of sanctions could help bring about a cessation of hostilities, and the Secretary-General's offer, to provide technical assistance to the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group in monitoring sanctions, should be accepted. The United Nations could serve as a valuable catalyst to help the ECOWAS peace-keeping effort succeed. The suggestion in the Secretary-General's report for a limited number of United Nations observers to take up positions alongside ECOMOG merited serious consideration. Such observers could provide an important guarantee that the disarmament process would be conducted fairly and in a manner that offered advantage to none of the warring factions. They would also provide assurance that the political process leading to free and fair elections would take place in strict accordance with international norms.<sup>7</sup>

The representative of Liberia described as "practical and prudent" the Secretary-General's observations that the United Nations should continue to play a role supportive of the efforts of ECOWAS. He contended that United Nations support for the subregional initiative would enable all Liberians, working with ECOWAS, to restore peace, security and stability to their country. He also pledged the continuing support of the Interim Government for, and full cooperation with, ECOWAS and the United Nations in their manifold endeavours to assist the people of Liberia.<sup>8</sup>

**Decision** of 9 June 1993 (3233<sup>rd</sup> meeting): statement by the President

At its 3233<sup>rd</sup> meeting, on 9 June 1993, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the situation in Liberia. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Spain) stated that, following consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement<sup>9</sup> on behalf of the Council:

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-12.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> S/25918.

“The Security Council is shocked and saddened by the senseless killing of innocent civilians which occurred near Harbel, Liberia, on the morning of 6 June 1993. It strongly condemns this massacre of innocent displaced persons, including women and children, which comes at a time when the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, is working diligently, in furtherance of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States, on the basis of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord (S/24815, annex), to arrange a meeting of the warring factions in order to bring the three-year civil war to a peaceful end.

“The Council urges all parties to the conflict to respect the rights of the civilian population and take all necessary measures to secure their safety.

“The Council requests the Secretary-General to commence immediately a thorough and full investigation of the massacre, including any allegations as to the perpetrators, whoever they may be, and to report to it as soon as possible. It warns that those found responsible for such serious violations of international humanitarian law will be held accountable for such crimes and demands that the leaders of any faction responsible for such acts effectively control their forces and take decisive steps to ensure that such deplorable tragedies do not happen again.

“The Council remains firmly supportive of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the Secretary-General to bring peace to Liberia. It urges all Liberian factions and regional leaders to give their full cooperation to current efforts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord calling, *inter alia*, for a cease-fire, the encampment of forces, disarmament and democratic elections.”

**Decision** of 10 August 1993 (3263<sup>rd</sup> meeting): resolution 856 (1993)

On 4 August 1993, pursuant to resolution 813 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report<sup>10</sup> on Liberia. The Secretary-General described

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<sup>10</sup> S/26200.



the negotiations that had led to the Cotonou Agreement<sup>11</sup> of 25 July 1993 and outlined the proposed role of the United Nations in the implementation of that Agreement.

The Secretary-General noted that the two most difficult issues in the negotiations had been the composition and structure of the transitional government and the procedures for the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants during the transition. The Cotonou Agreement itself provided that a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities would take effect 7 days from the date on which it was signed, that is on 1 August 1993. The Agreement also provided that ECOMOG would supervise and carry out the implementation of the Agreement, while the United Nations would undertake monitoring and verification. In order to ensure against any violation of the cease-fire between 1 August and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops and the main body of United Nations observers, the parties had agreed to establish a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, comprising representatives of the three Liberian parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations. The United Nations had also undertaken to consider dispatching thirty military observers to Liberia to participate in the work of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee.

On the political side, the parties had agreed that there should be a single Liberian National Transitional Government and that general and presidential elections would take place within seven months from the signing of the Agreement. The United Nations was ready to assist a reconstituted Electoral Commission in the organization and conduct of free and fair elections. On the humanitarian side, the Cotonou Agreement requested that all efforts be made to deliver humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, using the most direct routes and with inspection to ensure compliance with the sanctions and embargo provisions of the Agreement. The United Nations, and in particular UNHCR, was requested to carry out all necessary planning and mobilization to facilitate the speedy return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities.

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<sup>11</sup> S/26272, annex.

The Secretary-General noted that the future role of the United Nations, while continuing to be supportive, would be crucial to the effective implementation of the Liberian Peace Agreement. It was his intention to commence planning for the dispatch to Liberia of the advance team of thirty United Nations military observers and to send a technical team to Liberia to draw up plans for the establishment of a United Nations observer mission. ECOWAS had also requested that the United Nations establish a trust fund to enable African countries to send reinforcements to ECOMOG and to provide assistance to countries already participating in ECOMOG. The rapid expansion of humanitarian assistance activities throughout Liberia would also be essential in establishing conditions conducive to the successful implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. A consolidated inter-agency appeal would soon be issued, outlining the estimated requirements for Liberia. The Secretary-General expressed the hope that the international community would respond promptly and generously to the needs identified.

At its 3263<sup>rd</sup> meeting, on 10 August 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the further report of the Secretary-General of 4 August 1993 on the question of Liberia. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Benin, Egypt, Liberia and Nigeria to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United States) drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution<sup>12</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. She also drew the attention of the Council members to a letter<sup>13</sup> dated 4 August 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, in which the Secretary-General reported that he had appointed a Panel of Inquiry to undertake a comprehensive investigation into the massacre of civilians that had occurred near Harbel, Liberia, on 6 June 1993, and to a letter<sup>14</sup> dated 6 August 1993 from

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<sup>12</sup> S/26259.

<sup>13</sup> S/26265.

<sup>14</sup> S/26272.

the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Benin addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of the Cotonou Agreement.

The representative of Liberia informed the Council that, since the signing of the Cotonou Agreement, all of the parties were acting in a most constructive manner. The guns were silent and the cease-fire fully observed. There was cause for optimism. He stated that the adoption of the draft resolution would prove a significant milestone on the road to peace. The establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), as envisaged by the Peace Agreement, would constitute an important confidence-building measure in the effort to end the war. The speaker observed that a crucial concern was whether the United Nations would find it possible to help Liberians to have the Transitional Government installed within the following 30 days, concomitant, as required by the Agreement, with the beginning of a process of comprehensive disarmament of combatants. He referred to the ECOWAS request for funds to enable reinforcement of the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and stated that additional troops, together with United Nations observers, were urgently needed for the commencement of the disarmament process. He appealed to the Council to give timely consideration to the request from ECOWAS, so that those countries that were willing to commit their troops could secure the funding necessary to facilitate their deployment.<sup>15</sup>

The representative of Benin stressed that the role of the United Nations had been decisive in introducing a climate of confidence between the parties, without which there would have been no Cotonou Agreement. The Agreement opened the way to implementing the various important provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Peace Accord, namely: respect for the cease-fire; the regrouping, disarming and demobilization of troops; and the holding of general and presidential elections. The implementation of the Agreement would encourage the expediting and distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Liberian population, and the return of the displaced peoples, in order to strengthen the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-7.

social bases for political settlement. He welcomed the provisions in the draft resolution relating to the creation of UNOMIL and the involvement of the United Nations in monitoring the cease-fire. On behalf of the President of ECOWAS, he assured the Council that ECOWAS would cooperate fully with the United Nations in the fulfilment of its mission in Liberia. The civil war in Liberia had hampered the integration Programme – especially economic – of ECOWAS. The restoration of peace, security and stability in Liberia was one of its priorities.<sup>16</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Djibouti expressed the support of his delegation for the dispatch team of 30 military observers called for in the draft resolution, noting that it signaled the inception of formal United Nations involvement in the resolution of the Liberian conflict. The presence of the United Nations in Liberia would serve to give all the parties the assurance of the interest of the international community in the conflict and its willingness to become involved in seeking a fair and equitable resolution. The Cotonou Agreement was framed as a cooperative exercise by ECOWAS, ECOMOG and the United Nations, mirroring the complementary role each had played until then under the lead of ECOWAS. It would serve as a “shining example” of the regional and international division of labour in the maintenance of international peace and security.<sup>17</sup>

The representative of Morocco described the conclusion of the Cotonou Agreement as a good example of sound cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, as advocated in Chapter VIII of the Charter of the Organization. He also expressed support for the Secretary-General’s decision to create a special trust fund for Liberia to furnish assistance to countries of the subregion that had made

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-10.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-16.

sacrifices, as well as to other African countries that might be able to supply reinforcements to ECOMOG.<sup>18</sup>

The representative of China described the Cotonou Agreement as a major contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in Liberia and in the sub-region of western Africa. The achievement of a genuine and lasting peace in Liberia depended, however, on the parties to the conflict cooperating with the United Nations and ECOWAS, adopting practical and effective measures to fulfill their commitments and strictly observing the Agreement and relevant Security Council resolutions. That would ensure a successful general election, thereby creating conditions for an early national reconciliation. He also expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would send the advance group of 30 military observers as soon as possible in order to facilitate the efforts of ECOWAS to achieve a political settlement.<sup>19</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 856 (1993). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*  
*Recalling* its resolution 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993,  
*Welcoming* the signing under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States, on 25 July 1993, at Cotonou, Benin, of a Peace Agreement between the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy (S/26272, annex),  
*Considering* that the signing of the Peace Agreement constitutes a major achievement and an important contribution to the restoration of peace and security in Liberia and in this region of West Africa, and creates the opportunity to bring an end to the conflict,  
*Taking note* of the report of the Secretary-General dated 3 August 1993 (S/26200),

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-23.

1. *Welcomes* the decision of the Secretary-General to send a technical team to Liberia to gather and evaluate information relevant to the proposed establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia;

2. *Approves* the dispatch to Liberia as soon as possible of an advance team of thirty military observers to participate in the work of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, including in particular to monitor, investigate and report cease-fire violations in conjunction with the said Committee, the mandate of said team to expire within three months;

3. *Looks forward* to the report of the Secretary-General on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, including in particular a detailed estimate of the cost and scope of this operation, a time-frame for its implementation, the projected conclusion of this operation, how to ensure coordination between the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States and their respective roles and responsibilities;

4. *Calls upon* all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the cease-fire provided for in the Peace Agreement signed at Cotonou on 25 July 1993 (S/26272, annex) and to cooperate fully with the advance mission and ensure the safety of all United Nations personnel and all other peace-keeping and humanitarian personnel within Liberia;

5. *Urges* the conclusion at the earliest possible stage of a status of mission agreement;

6. *Commends* the Economic Community of West African States for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

7. *Commends* the Organization of African Unity for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;

8. *Decides* to remain actively seized of this matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom described the Cotonou Agreement as an excellent example of cooperation between the United Nations, the OAU and ECOWAS. It was vital, however, that the cease-fire should hold, and his delegation supported the dispatch of an advance group of 30 military observers for the Cease-fire Commission. In order for the process to move further forward and proceed to elections and a new government, ECOMOG would have a crucial role in maintaining internal security. The United Kingdom strongly supported the efforts that had been made by ECOMOG in difficult circumstances. The proposals that had been put forward at

Cotonou, to widen the circle of contributors and to supplement ECOMOG with United Nations observers, represented a valuable opportunity to build confidence.

The representative of France welcomed the fact that it was one of the first times that the United Nations, in the spirit of Chapter VIII of the Charter, had undertaken a peace-keeping operation in cooperation with a regional organization. His Government would watch carefully the way in which the operation was conducted, and, in particular, the coordination between UNOMIL and the ECOWAS forces contributing to the operation. For that first experiment it was important that the competences and prerogatives of the two organizations were strictly respected, with it being understood that the United Nations must maintain its “precedence”. That clearly defined sharing of responsibilities should also apply to the area of funding, where confusion should be avoided. United Nations activities should be funded through mandatory contributions, whereas ECOMOG activities should be financed through the special trust fund, contributions to which would be voluntary.<sup>20</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his delegation had consistently advocated a solution to the Liberian problem on a regional basis. It was therefore significant that the Cotonou Agreement had been achieved under the aegis of a regional organization, ECOWAS. A positive precedent had thus been established for seeking ways to solve military conflicts and crises on the African continent, within the framework of African efforts. The Russian Federation had voted in favour of the resolution just adopted as it was aimed at promoting a settlement to the conflict and at effectively ensuring compliance by the parties with the conditions for a cease-fire. His delegation was prepared to support the activities of African States aimed at finding ways to settle military conflicts and crisis situations on the continent within the context of regional efforts.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-29.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-32.

The President, speaking in her capacity as the representative of the United States, stated that her Government welcomed the Council's decision to dispatch an advance team of monitors to Liberia to participate in the monitoring of the cease-fire. It noted that the cease-fire had taken effect on 1 August, and she accordingly urged that the advance team be sent as quickly as possible to reinforce the cease-fire and increase the confidence of the Liberian parties in the international monitoring effort. The speaker referred to the deteriorating humanitarian situation in the interior of the country and urged the United Nations to find on an urgent basis some mechanism to allow cross-border relief shipments from Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea to resume, until such time as the full observer contingent referred to in the Agreement might arrive. As the prospective UNOMIL would work closely with peace-keeping forces of ECOMOG, the United States noted that the ECOWAS States would require outside assistance to deploy additional peace-keeping forces. The United States encouraged the Secretary-General to consider setting up a trust fund to facilitate the collection of international contributions to the ECOWAS/ECOMOG peace-keeping effort. She also stated that while the support for the United Nations and the international community was crucial for implementing the Agreement, only the Liberian parties themselves could make it work and effect a transition to democracy.<sup>22</sup>

**Decision** of 27 August 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

By a letter<sup>23</sup> dated 27 August 1993, the President informed the Secretary-General that the Council would support the establishment by the United Nations of a voluntary trust fund for Liberia to finance the implementation of the Agreement, including the deployment of ECOWAS peace-keeping troops, demobilization of combatants, elections

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>23</sup> S/26376.



and humanitarian assistance, as called for by ECOWAS at its summit meeting held in Cotonou from 22 to 24 July 1993.

**Decision** of 22 September 1993 (3281<sup>st</sup> meeting): resolution 866 (1993)

On 9 and 17 September 1993, pursuant to resolution 856 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on Liberia<sup>24</sup> in which he outlined a plan for the establishment and deployment of the proposed United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).

The Secretary-General informed the Council that the planning mission dispatched to Liberia to gather data relevant to the proposed establishment of UNOMIL, had visited the country from 6-13 August 1993. The mission had met with the three parties to the Cotonou Agreement and had reported their strong commitment to its implementation. As UNOMIL would be the first instance where the United Nations would undertake a major peace-keeping operation in cooperation with another organization, the planning mission had paid attention in its discussions to the respective roles of, and relationship between, UNOMIL and ECOMOG in implementing the Agreement. Since UNOMIL's foreseen role would be to monitor and verify the implementation of the Agreement, its concept of operation must be parallel to that of ECOMOG. UNOMIL and ECOMOG were to have separate chains of command. UNOMIL would be under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council, and ECOMOG would operate under the auspices of ECOWAS. The missions were to consult on decisions affecting them both.

The Secretary-General outlined detailed proposals relating to the structure and concept of operations for the proposed UNOMIL.<sup>25</sup> The mission would be composed of military and civilian components, including an electoral component. It should comprise an estimated 303 military observers. As far as ECOMOG was concerned, 4,000

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<sup>24</sup> S/26422.

<sup>25</sup> For further details relating to the structure of UNOMIL, see chapter V of this supplement.

additional troops would be necessary to fulfil the requirements of the Peace Agreement. The Secretary-General, in that regard, informed the Council, that, in response to a letter<sup>26</sup> from the President of the Security Council of 27 August 1993, strongly endorsing the establishment of a voluntary trust fund, he had taken the necessary steps to set up the trust fund in order to finance ECOMOG operations. The fund would also cover demobilization and elections.

Under the Cotonou Agreement, elections were to take place seven months after the signing of the Agreement, in February/March 1994. Several factors might undermine that target, however, including the fact that representatives of the Electoral Commission had not yet been nominated, the difficulty of incorporating into the electoral rolls refugees and internally displaced persons, and the need to ensure that demobilization was completed before the elections were held. While the peace process was already behind schedule, the establishment of the Transitional Government was crucial to reinforcing national reconciliation. The Secretary-General therefore urged ECOMOG to move quickly in commencing the disarmament process, with monitoring provided by the advance team of UNOMIL, even before full deployment of the expanded ECOMOG and UNOMIL. He also expected the Liberian parties to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and UNOMIL and to work together in a spirit of national reconciliation. Only under those conditions would it be possible to hold the elections on schedule.

The Secretary-General noted that the role foreseen for the United Nations in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement was predicated on the assumption that the ECOMOG force would be in a position to perform the wide-ranging tasks entrusted to it by the Liberian parties. Should the additional troops not be deployed or should some of ECOMOG's troops be withdrawn prematurely, the successful implementation of the Agreement would be in jeopardy. In such an event, the Secretary-General would bring

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<sup>26</sup> S/26376.

the situation to the attention of the Security Council and might recommend the withdrawal of UNOMIL.

The Secretary-General stated that the fundamental prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace and stability in Liberia was that the leaders and people of Liberia adhere to and implement faithfully the Cotonou Agreement. He also stated that the United Nations must supplement the efforts of the Liberian people to establish peace. He therefore recommended that the Security Council approve the establishment and deployment of UNOMIL.

At its 3281<sup>st</sup> meeting, on 22 September 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 9 and 17 September 1993. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Venezuela) then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution<sup>27</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations, and read out revisions<sup>28</sup> that had been made to the draft resolution.

The representative of Liberia noted that since the signing of the Cotonou Agreement there had been no significant violations of the terms of that Agreement. Most of the political components of the Agreement, including the selection of a five-member transitional Council of State, had been implemented, and Liberians were optimistic that peace was finally at hand, but the situation in Liberia was still unsettled. The crucial military components of the Cotonou Agreement, were yet to be implemented. As long as the combatants remained armed, the situation in the country would continue to be unpredictable. His delegation therefore welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal that the disarmament process be undertaken as soon as possible. It would allow the

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<sup>27</sup> S/26477.

<sup>28</sup> See S/PV. 3281.

installation of the transitional Government which, according to the Cotonou Agreement, was to be seated concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process. He further observed that the deployment of some members of the advance team of UNOMIL pursuant to resolution 856 (1993) had served as an important confidence-building measure. It was therefore most important that the remaining members of UNOMIL be deployed as soon as possible. The disarmament of the combatants would also be greatly enhanced by the deployment of additional troops to augment ECOMOG. The funding for those additional troops would depend, *inter alia*, on voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund by Member States. His delegation echoed the request already made by the Secretary-General for Member States to make generous contributions to the Trust Fund. The continued provision of humanitarian assistance also would complement the efforts of the Liberian people to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict. The speaker concluded by stating that, by adopting the draft resolution, the Council would be acting in accordance with its mandate under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Additionally, by endorsing the draft resolution, the Council would be taking a bold step in undertaking peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-monitoring in concert with the subregional organization that had initiated the process. By exerting its best efforts to ensure that UNOMIL was successful, the Council could provide a model for future cooperation between the United Nations and other subregional organizations.<sup>29</sup>

The representative of Djibouti stated that the creation of UNOMIL established an important precedent for the United Nations – that of a peacemaking mission set up after one was already in place through another organization. Consequently, the issues of coordination, command and responsibilities were significant and would require careful monitoring and assessment. The supportive but independent role of the United Nations needed to be safeguarded, particularly where hostilities might resume and peacemaking

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-10.

action would be required against one of the parties. His delegation therefore supported the draft resolution.<sup>30</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote, as orally revised in its provisional form, and was adopted unanimously as resolution 866 (1993). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*  
*Recalling* its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993 and 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993,  
*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 and 17 September 1993 (S/26422 and Add.1) on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,  
*Noting* that the Peace Agreement signed by the three Liberian parties at Cotonou, Benin, on 25 July 1993 (S/26272, annex) calls on the United Nations and the Military Observer Group of the Economic Community of West African States to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,  
*Emphasizing*, as noted in the report of the Secretary-General of 2 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns the Military Observer Group the primary responsibility of supervising the implementation of the military provisions of the Agreement and envisages that the United Nations role shall be to monitor and verify this process,  
*Noting* that this would be the first peace-keeping mission undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case the Economic Community of West African States,  
*Recognizing* that United Nations involvement would contribute significantly to the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement and would serve to underline the international community's commitment to conflict resolution in Liberia,  
*Commending* the Economic Community of West African States for its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,  
*Commending also* the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in support of the peace process in Liberia,  
*Stressing* the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and the Military Observer Group in the implementation of their respective mandates,  
*Taking note* of the deployment of an advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia as authorized under resolution 856 (1993),  
*Welcoming* the establishment of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee composed of the three Liberian parties, the Military Observer Group and the United Nations,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

*Welcoming also* the formation in Cotonou on 27 August 1993 of the five-member Council of State representing all three Liberian parties, which, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, shall be installed concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the transitional government,

*Noting* that the Peace Agreement calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place approximately seven months after the signing of the Peace Agreement,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 and 17 September 1993 (S/26422 and Add.1) on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia;

2. *Decides* to establish the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia under its authority and under the direction of the Secretary-General through his Special Representative for a period of seven months, subject to the proviso that it will continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress has been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement signed at Cotonou on 25 July 1993 (S/26272, annex) and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

3. *Also decides* that the Mission shall comprise military observers as well as medical, engineering, communications, transportation and electoral components, in the numbers indicated in the Secretary-General's report, together with minimal staff necessary to support it, and shall have the following mandate:

(a) To receive and investigate all reports on alleged incidents of violations of the cease-fire agreement and, if the violation cannot be corrected, to report its findings to the Violation Committee established pursuant to the Peace Agreement, and to the Secretary-General;

(b) To monitor compliance with other elements of the Peace Agreement, including at points on Liberia's borders with Sierra Leone and other neighbouring countries, and to verify its impartial application, and in particular to assist in the monitoring of compliance with the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment to Liberia and the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants;

(c) To observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement;

(d) To assist, as appropriate, in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in the field in conjunction with the existing United Nations humanitarian relief operation;

(e) To develop a plan and assess financial requirements for the demobilization of combatants;

(f) To report on any major violations of international humanitarian law to the Secretary-General;

(g) To train the Military Observer Group engineers in mine clearance and, in cooperation with the Group, coordinate the identification of mines and assist in the clearance of mines and unexploded bombs;

(h) Without participation in enforcement operations, to coordinate with the Military Observer Group in the discharge of the Group's separate responsibilities both formally, through the Violation Committee, and informally;

4. *Welcomes* the intention of the Secretary-General to conclude with the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States an agreement defining, before deployment of the Mission, the roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Community in the

implementation of the Peace Agreement, in accordance with the concept of operations outlined in chapter IV of the report of the Secretary-General, and requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on the progress and outcome of the negotiations leading thereto;

5. *Encourages* African States to provide the additional troops requested from them by the Economic Community of West African States for the Military Observer Group;

6. *Welcomes also* the steps taken by the Secretary-General to establish a Trust Fund for Liberia, which would facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to the Military Observer Group, assist in supporting troops of participating Group countries and also assist in mine-clearing, humanitarian and development activities, as well as the electoral process, and calls on Member States to support the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund;

7. *Urges* the Liberian parties to commence the encampment, disarmament and demobilization process without delay;

8. *Welcomes* the decision to establish the transitional government and urges also the Liberian parties to begin the exercise of that government's responsibilities concomitantly with the process described in paragraph 7 above and consistent with the Peace Agreement;

9. *Calls on* the transitional government to conclude expeditiously, and no later than 60 days after its installation, a status of mission agreement with the United Nations to facilitate the full deployment of the Mission;

10. *Urges* the Liberian parties to finalize the composition of the Elections Commission so that it can promptly undertake the necessary preparations for legislative and presidential elections by March 1994, at the latest, in accordance with the timetable foreseen in the Peace Agreement;

11. *Calls on* the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Peace Agreement;

12. *Welcomes* the stated commitment of the Military Observer Group to ensure the safety of observers and civilian staff of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and urges the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of Mission personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit progress reports to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution by 16 December 1993 and by 16 February 1994;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States observed that the role of ECOMOG would be pivotal. His delegation trusted that adequate and appropriate coordination between all levels of command of ECOMOG and UNOMIL would enable both groups to operate in the complementary manner foreseen by the Council and the parties to the Agreement. The precedent of side-by-side operations by the United Nations

and a regional group might have reverberations in other conflict areas, which could perhaps be tackled in a similar manner if it were to work well in Liberia.<sup>31</sup>

The representative of France stated that the resolution just adopted attested to the resolve of the international community to implement a peace agreement in a strife-torn nation and created a United Nations Force that was called upon, pursuant to Chapter VIII of the Charter, to work in close cooperation with the regional organization. That represented one of the first instances of a joint peace-keeping operation and could serve as a precedent if it were to succeed. UNOMIL would fully play its role of monitoring and verifying the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, while the primary responsibility for actually implementing the Agreement would fall to ECOMOG.<sup>32</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom noted that the conflict had had a destabilizing effect on the countries of the subregion as a whole, and particularly on Sierra Leone. His delegation welcomed the fact that, under the resolution just adopted, UNOMIL would have a monitoring function on Liberia's borders with its neighbours, and in particular with Sierra Leone. He also noted that UNOMIL would represent the first example of a United Nations peace-keeping mission in cooperation with the mission already established by a regional organization. ECOMOG and UNOMIL's roles would be separate but complementary. He emphasized that close coordination and the fullest cooperation between the two bodies would be vital to the success of the enterprise.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-17.



**Decision** of 16 December 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 13 December 1993, pursuant to resolution 866 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report<sup>34</sup> on UNOMIL in which he described the progress made in the implementation of the Peace Agreement. The parties to the Cotonou Agreement had met in Cotonou from 3 to 5 November 1993 and had agreed on the distribution of the majority of cabinet posts of the Transitional Government, as well as on the composition of the Elections Commission, on the Speaker of the Legislature and the members of the Supreme Court. The Secretary-General indicated that his Special Representative had been consulting regularly with the parties to the Agreement, particularly in regard to the commencement of disarmament of the Liberian parties and the deployment of the expanded ECOMOG troops. There was every indication that disarmament would begin shortly. He pointed out that the most important factor holding up the implementation of the Peace Agreement had been the delay in the deployment of the expanded ECOMOG troops. In spite of those delays, there had been no major violations of the cease-fire. The Secretary-General expected to be able to provide more precise information on the timetable for elections, which the transitional government should be able to hold during the first half of 1994. In conclusion, he recommended to the Council that UNOMIL should continue to implement the mandate entrusted to it by resolution 866 (1993).

By a letter<sup>35</sup> dated 16 December 1993, the President informed the Secretary-General as follows:

“ The members of the Council have taken note of your report of 13 December 1993 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, on the basis of which they have completed the review provided for in paragraph 2 of resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993.

“The members of the Council take this opportunity to inform you, that, in spite of the unavoidable delays to date, they share your expectation that disarmament of combatants will begin presently, the transitional government will soon be installed and the elections in Liberia

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<sup>34</sup> S/26868.

<sup>35</sup> S/26886.

will be held in the first half of 1994. They look forward to your recommendations on these aspects of the peace process in the report which the Council has requested by 16 February 1994, or earlier, if you consider that the situation warrants.

“The members of the Council also reaffirm the importance they attach to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. They welcome the contributions made to date and urge Member States to support the peace process in Liberia by contributing generously to the Trust Fund.”

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

By a letter<sup>36</sup> dated 18 January 1994, the President informed the Secretary-General as follows:

“The members of the Security Council wish to thank you for making it possible for your Special Representative, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, to brief the Council on 14 January 1994 on the most recent developments in Liberia.

“In this regard, they welcome the fact that the deployment of additional troops of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group is now well under way. They are also pleased to learn that the deployment of United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia is almost complete. There should be no further delay in implementation of the Cotonou Agreement.

“The members of the Council note that, pursuant to resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, a report is expected by 16 February 1994. They are concerned that the transitional government has still not been installed, disarmament has not yet commenced, that the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement is thus being delayed, and that efforts to deliver humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country have met with difficulties. The continued support of the international community for the efforts of the Mission will depend on the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Cotonou Agreement, including installation of the transitional government, disarmament and the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance.

“As noted in the letter dated 16 December 1993 addressed to you by the President of the Security Council, the members of the Council share your expectation that the elections due to take place under the terms of the Cotonou Agreement should take place during the first half of this year. In this connection they express the hope that, by the time you submit your report, the

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<sup>36</sup> S/1994/51.

progress achieved by the Liberian parties in the implementation of the peace process will enable you to recommend a precise timetable for the holding of the elections in Liberia.”

**Decision** of 25 February 1994 (3339<sup>th</sup> meeting): statement by the President

On 14 and 23 February 1994, pursuant to resolution 866 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his second progress report on UNOMIL<sup>37</sup>, which described the progress achieved in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement.

The Secretary-General reported that, at a meeting held at Monrovia on 15 February 1994 and facilitated by his Special Representative, the parties to the Cotonou Agreement had reached agreement on most of the outstanding issues impeding the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Transitional Government. In the final communiqué<sup>38</sup> of the meeting, the parties had reiterated their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement. They had agreed to provide ECOMOG and UNOMIL, within 48 hours, with the information required for the preparation of schedules for disarmament. They had also agreed that free and fair elections would be held on 7 September 1994, and that on 7 March 1994 disarmament would commence and the Transitional Government would be installed. However, it had not been possible at that meeting to resolve the question of the remaining Cabinet posts in the Transitional Government. The Secretary-General warned that if that issue was not resolved expeditiously, it could delay the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Transitional Government. He again urged the Liberian parties to demonstrate maximum flexibility and spare no effort to arrive at an acceptable accommodation. The Secretary-General undertook to keep the Security Council informed of any further developments in that matter.

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<sup>37</sup> S/1994/168 and Add.1.

<sup>38</sup> S/1994/187, annex.

Another positive development was that one of the new armed groups to emerge in Liberia had indicated its willingness to hand over territory under its control to ECOMOG and UNOMIL. The Secretary-General noted, however, that conflict between new armed groups continued and that the influx of displaced persons was increasing. Humanitarian assistance had also been severely disrupted in some areas.

The Secretary-General further reported that ECOMOG was facing major financial difficulties and he urged Member States to assist the peace process in Liberia by providing financial assistance through the Trust Fund for Liberia to help ECOMOG to meet the costs of stipends for the additional troops and logistic support for the existing troops. He reiterated that UNOMIL's ability to carry out the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council depended on the capacity of ECOMOG to discharge its responsibilities in accordance with the Agreement.

At its 3339<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 25 February 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the second progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOMIL. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Benin and Liberia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Djibouti) drew the attention of the Council's members to a letter<sup>39</sup> dated 16 February 1994 from the representative of Liberia, transmitting the final communiqué of the meeting held on 15 February 1994 by the parties to the Cotonou Agreement. He then stated that, after consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement<sup>40</sup> on behalf of the Council:

“The Security Council takes note of the report of the Secretary-General of 14 February 1994 on the situation in Liberia (S/1994/168 and Add.1).

“The Council welcomes the agreement reached at Monrovia contained in the communiqué of 15 February 1994 (S/1994/187, annex), in which the parties once again reaffirmed their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex) as the basis for a

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<sup>39</sup> S/1994/187.

<sup>40</sup> S/PRST/1994/9.

lasting political settlement to the Liberian conflict. The Council calls upon the parties to uphold strictly the timetable outlined in that communiqué: the commencement of disarmament and the installation of a transitional government on 7 March 1994, and the holding of free and fair general elections on 7 September 1994. The Council urges the parties to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts.

“The Council, however, wishes to express its concern about the recent upsurge in violence in Liberia and the related disruption of humanitarian relief shipments, to which the rise of new military groups and problems of military indiscipline among the existing factions have contributed. It deplores the consequent loss of life, destruction of property and the increased number of people that have since been displaced. The Council calls upon all Liberian parties to adhere strictly to the cease-fire agreement and to cooperate fully with the international relief efforts in order to put an end to the obstacles periodically impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid.

“The Council is gravely concerned at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, in particular the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the transitional Government.

“The Council reminds the parties that they themselves bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The Liberian parties should bear in mind that the support of the international community and of the Council will not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular the revised timetable. These delays jeopardize both the viability of the Agreement itself and the ability of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia to fulfil its mandate.

“The Council looks forward to the proposed meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of States members of the Economic Community of West African States in March and to continued progress on the ground. The Council underlines the importance of adhering to the timetable and will review the situation again in March 1994 to evaluate what progress has been made.

“The Council underlines the importance of disarmament to the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and, in this context, notes the central role in the disarmament process given to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group under the Agreement.

“The Council, therefore, takes note of the Secretary-General's observation that the Monitoring Group's forces face considerable financial and logistical difficulties and strongly supports his call upon Member States to assist the peace process by providing the necessary financial and logistical resources to the Monitoring Group to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. The Council supports the Secretary-General's appeal to all Member States which have not already done so to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. The Council concurs with the Secretary-General that the ability of the Mission to carry out its mandate depends on the capacity of the Monitoring Group to discharge its responsibilities.

“The Council commends the Economic Community of West African States and the Organization of African Unity for their continued efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia. The Council notes with appreciation that the Monitoring Group's force has now been expanded pursuant to resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and commends all countries which have contributed troops and resources to the Monitoring Group since its inception in 1990.

“The Council commends also the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Liberian civil war. The anticipated reunification of the country by 7 March 1994 and the ensuing repatriation of Liberian refugees will accelerate the demand for additional humanitarian relief, and in this regard the Council urgently appeals to Member States and humanitarian organizations to increase their assistance to Liberia.

“The Council reaffirms its appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative towards the establishment of a lasting peace in Liberia.”

**Decision** of 21 April 1994 (3366<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 911 (1994)

On 18 April 1994, pursuant to resolution 866 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his third progress report<sup>41</sup> on UNOMIL, in which he reported on the progress made in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement .

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<sup>41</sup> S/1994/463.

The Secretary-General reported that the Liberian parties had successfully completed a number of important steps in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. On 7 March 1994 the Council of State and the executive arm of the Transitional Government had been installed and the disarmament process had begun. On 11 March the Transitional Legislative Assembly had been inducted, while on 14 March the Supreme Court of Liberia had opened for the March term. Furthermore, 7 September 1994 had been set as the date for the holding of elections.

Notwithstanding those positive achievements, however, a number of obstacles remained. The parties were yet to resolve the issue of the distribution of the four remaining Cabinet posts in the Transitional Government. Military conflicts involving various parties persisted. In that regard, the Secretary-General urged the Liberian parties to cooperate with one another to overcome the remaining impediments to the full installation of the Transitional Government. He also called on them to respect the terms of the Cotonou Agreement by ensuring that their combatants laid down their arms.

In relation to the holding of elections, the Elections Commission had intensified its preparations. One major problem had arisen, which was that if, as planned, the elections were to be based on single-member constituencies, then it would be necessary for refugees and internally displaced persons to have returned to their constituencies of residence before the end of the registration period. The registration period itself should be completed well before the election date in order to ensure broad participation in the electoral process. The Secretary-General urged the Liberian authorities to consider organizing the elections on the basis of a single national constituency with proportional representation. He offered to send a team of international experts to Liberia to consult with the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Elections Commission on how that could be done.

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of six months, which would include the period

of the elections scheduled for September 1994. Provision should also be made for the liquidation phase of the Mission, which would end by 31 December. However, if the impasse over the remaining four posts in the Transitional Government was not resolved within two weeks and there was no further progress in the peace process, he would request the Council to review UNOMIL's mandate.

At its 3366<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 21 April 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 18 April 1994. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (New Zealand) drew the attention of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>42</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations and read out revisions<sup>43</sup> that had been made to the draft resolution.

The representative of Liberia informed the Council that the Transitional Council of State had nominated the Ministers of Justice, Finance and Defence and that the only remaining portfolio, that of Minister of Foreign Affairs, would be filled shortly. The filling of the four remaining ministerial portfolios would facilitate the full operation of the Government. His delegation shared the concerns of the Secretary-General regarding the delay in the disarmament of combatants due to the continuation of armed hostilities in the country. The Transitional Council of State had appealed to the parties concerned to discontinue the fighting and allow the peaceful resolution of the conflict, in keeping with the terms of the Cotonou Agreement. What the Liberian people had accomplished respecting the political components of the Cotonou Agreement could be effectively implemented when its military component, the disarmament of the combatants, had been executed. While pointing out that the disarmament of the combatants was the responsibility of ECOMOG, the speaker stated that the Liberian National Transitional

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<sup>42</sup> S/1994/474.

<sup>43</sup> See S/PV.3366.



Government was encouraging dialogue among the parties in order to accelerate the disarmament process.

Addressing the elections, he noted that the recommendation of the Secretary-General, concerning the need for changes in the constitutional requirements of the electoral procedure, was receiving the consideration of the Transitional Council of State. He further observed that the Elections Commission required financial assistance for all the elections, and that financial and technical assistance would also be required for the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Liberia. His delegation therefore joined the Secretary-General's appeal to Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund and to provide increased humanitarian assistance to the country.<sup>44</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that in the view of his delegation, the draft resolution represented a satisfactory effort to move the Liberian peace process forward. First, by deciding to extend UNOMIL's mandate for six months, the draft resolution underscored continued international and United Nations support for the Liberian peace process. Nevertheless, by making specific provisions for a review of the Liberian situation by 18 May, it underlined the need for the parties to take concrete steps to move the peace process forward as a basis for continued United Nations support. Second, the draft resolution urged the Liberian parties to cease all hostilities everywhere in Liberia and to cooperate fully with ECOMOG in completing the disarmament process. That was of crucial importance for the restoration of confidence between the parties, the early return and settlement of refugees, the functioning of the Transitional Government, and the prospects of holding the elections by the date scheduled. Finally, the draft resolution recognized the necessity for additional contributions to the Liberian Trust Fund, increased assistance to ECOMOG to enable it to cope satisfactorily with the tasks

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

assigned to it under the Cotonou Agreement, and support for humanitarian and development activities in Liberia.<sup>45</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote, as orally revised in its provisional form, and was adopted unanimously as resolution 911 (1994). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993 and 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993,

*Having considered* the reports of the Secretary-General of 13 December 1993 (S/26868), 14 February 1994 (S/1994/168 and Add.1) and 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) on the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

*Welcoming* the progress made towards establishing the Liberian National Transitional Government, but concerned about subsequent delays in implementing the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex),

*Expressing its concern* over renewed fighting between the Liberian parties and the negative impact that this fighting has had on the disarmament process, the effort to provide humanitarian relief, and the plight of displaced persons,

*Commending* the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its efforts to help to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia, and urging it to continue its efforts with the aim of assisting the Liberian parties to complete the process of political settlement in the country,

*Recognizing*, as noted in the report of the Secretary-General of 2 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Cotonou Agreement assigns the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

*Commending* those African States that have contributed troops to the Monitoring Group, and those Member States which have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia or have provided other assistance in support of the troops,

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

*Welcoming* the close cooperation between the Mission and the Monitoring Group, and stressing the importance of continued full cooperation and coordination between them in the implementation of their respective tasks,

*Noting* that the revised timetable of the Cotonou Agreement established on 15 February 1994 in Monrovia calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place by 7 September 1994,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) and the progress the parties have made towards the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex) and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that the Security Council will, by 18 May 1994, review the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the Mission in that country, based on a report by the Secretary-General on whether or not the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government has been fully installed, and on whether there has been substantial progress in disarmament and in implementing the peace process;

3. *Also decides* to review again the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the Mission, on or before 30 June 1994, on the basis of a report of the Secretary-General, such review to include consideration of whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Cotonou Agreement to warrant continued involvement of the Mission, in particular the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994;

4. *Notes* that, if it considers, during either of the above reviews, that progress has been insufficient, it may request the Secretary-General to prepare options regarding the mandate and continued operations of the Mission;

5. *Urges* all Liberian parties to cease hostilities immediately and to cooperate with the forces of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group to complete the disarmament process expeditiously;

6. *Calls upon* the Liberian parties as an urgent priority to complete installation, within the time-frame established in paragraph 2 above, of the Liberian National Transitional Government, especially the seating of the full Cabinet and the national assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country can be established and other appropriate

arrangements completed so that national elections may be held as scheduled on 7 September 1994;

7. *Calls again upon* the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement;

8. *Welcomes* the ongoing efforts of the Monitoring Group in furthering the peace process in Liberia and its commitment to ensure the safety of Mission observers and civilian staff, and urges the Liberian parties to continue to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of Mission personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

9. *Encourages* Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance to facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to the Monitoring Group, to assist in supporting troops of countries participating in the Group and also to assist in humanitarian and development activities, as well as in the electoral process;

10. *Commends* the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance;

11. *Welcomes* the continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote and facilitate dialogue among all parties concerned;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States observed that the resolution just adopted provided for two reviews in the following months, one to check on whether the parties had resolved their differences over several key Cabinet posts and the other to check on overall progress. His delegation expected the Liberians to have passed certain goalposts by 30 June: first, the Liberian National Transitional Government should be fully installed and operating effectively in Monrovia and beyond; second, additional disarmament and demobilization camps should have been established and approximately 30 per cent of the combatants should have been disarmed; third, the Elections Commission should be actively planning for the 7 September elections, including setting up a timetable for the registration of voters, filing candidates and other vital preparatory activities; and fourth, the cease-fire should be holding. The attainment

of those goals was essential for the continued presence of UNOMIL. If the parties could not pass those goalposts, the United States would be prepared to seek consideration of whether the Mission ought to be curtailed or terminated.<sup>46</sup>

**Decision** of 23 May 1994 (3378<sup>th</sup> meeting): statement by the President

On 18 May 1994, pursuant to resolution 911 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his fourth progress report<sup>47</sup> on UNOMIL, in which he provided an update on progress in the implementation of the peace process. He reported that the issue of the four remaining Cabinet posts in the Transitional Government had been resolved, removing a major impediment to the full seating and functioning of the Transitional Government. The Liberian National Transitional Government Cabinet had held its first meeting, on 13 May 1994, at which it had issued a statement that, *inter alia*, called on leaders of all warring factions and armed combatants to surrender unconditionally all their arms and declared that the Liberian National Transitional Government was thenceforth the government authority throughout the territory of Liberia. That had enabled the parties to bring to an effective end all factional claims to the territory.

The Secretary-General noted that during the period of negotiations between the parties on the distribution of the remaining posts, the pace of disarmament had slowed considerably. With the installation of the Transitional Government, the parties had recommitted themselves to the complete implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, including disarmament. It was therefore expected that the pace of disarmament would quicken. The Secretary-General again called on the Liberian parties to respect the timetable for disarmament and to ensure that their combatants laid down their arms. He

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> S/1994/588.

also reported on the mediation efforts by ECOMOG and UNOMIL to resolve disputes among and within parties, which had resulted in the outbreak of fighting.

The Secretary-General informed the Council that the team of international experts referred to in his previous report would arrive in Liberia on 22 May to consult with the Transitional Government and the Liberian Elections Commission on how the United Nations could best assist in the holding of the elections.

The Secretary-General noted that the efforts of the parties in Liberia were finally yielding some positive results, but he observed that much remained to be accomplished, especially in the areas of disarmament and demobilization. He called on Member States to support the Transitional Government in the discharge of its responsibilities under the Cotonou Agreement and stated that he had instructed his Special Representative to advise him on concrete measures that Member States might take in that regard.

At its 3378<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 23 May 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 18 May 1994. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Nigeria) drew the attention of the Council's members to a letter<sup>48</sup> dated 18 May from the representative of Liberia addressed to the Secretary-General. He then stated that, following consultations among members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement<sup>49</sup> on behalf of the Council:

“The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 18 May 1994 on the situation in Liberia (S/1994/588).

“In this connection, the Council notes with satisfaction the full installation of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government, as well as indications that the

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<sup>48</sup> S/1994/594.

<sup>49</sup> S/PRST/1994/25.

Transitional Government has begun to assume its responsibilities and functions throughout the country.

“The Council commends the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group for their contributions to the demobilization and disarmament efforts in Liberia, a critical requirement of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex).

“The Council notes with concern, however, the continued fighting among and within factions. Political differences and renewed violence among and within certain factions have caused the disarmament process to come to a virtual halt. The ongoing hostilities make it very difficult for the Mission to accomplish critical elements of its mandate and prevent the peace-keeping troops of the Monitoring Group from carrying out their functions regarding disarmament and demobilization, a situation which directly threatens the ability of the parties to maintain the timetable outlined in the Cotonou Agreement and the communiqué of 15 February 1994 (S/1994/187, annex).

“In the light of these developments, the Council calls upon the parties to resolve their differences within the forum of the Transitional Government and the Cotonou Agreement, to end any hostilities and to accelerate the pace of disarmament with the aim of bringing it to a successful conclusion, all of which are crucial to creating suitable conditions for elections. The Council wishes to remind the parties of the importance it attaches to the holding of those elections on 7 September 1994.

“The Council reaffirms its intention to review the situation in Liberia again on or before 30 June 1994, including the role played by the Mission, such review to include consideration of whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Cotonou Agreement to warrant continued involvement of the Mission, in particular the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994. In accordance with the terms of its resolution 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, the Council requests the Secretary-General to prepare by 30 June 1994 options regarding the future implementation of the mandate of the Mission and its continued operations.

“The Council reminds the parties that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the peace process in Liberia rests with them and with the Liberian people. It urges them to respect fully the terms of the Cotonou Agreement and reaffirms its expectation that the parties will continue to make every effort to achieve a lasting peace in Liberia.”

**Decision** of 23 May 1994: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

By a letter<sup>50</sup> dated 23 May 1994, the President of the Council informed the Secretary-General that the members of the Council had taken note of his report<sup>51</sup> of 18 May 1994 on UNOMIL, on the basis of which they had completed the review provided for in paragraph 2 of resolution 911 (1994). They reaffirmed their intention to review the situation in Liberia again, including the role played by the Mission, on or before 30 June 1994, in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 911 (1994).

**Decision** of 13 July 1994 (3404<sup>th</sup> meeting): statement by the President

On 24 June 1994, pursuant to resolution 911 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his fifth progress report<sup>52</sup> on UNOMIL. The Secretary-General noted that beyond the difficulties the Transitional Government was experiencing in filling the vacant posts, the continuing fighting within and between parties constituted the most serious obstacle in the way of the peace process. The parties' mistrust of one another had extended to ECOMOG, making its role as a peace-keeper increasingly complex. Soldiers of ECOMOG contingents had been abducted. Under those circumstances and despite the efforts of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the parties had refused to engage actively in the disarmament of their combatants or to give up control of territory. As a result, the Transitional Government had found it difficult to exert authority throughout the entire country, further impeding the advancement of the peace progress. The continuing hostilities had also led to new population displacements.

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<sup>50</sup> S/1994/604.

<sup>51</sup> S/1994/760.

<sup>52</sup> S/1994/760.



Another serious concern was the failure of the international community to provide financial support for those Governments which had contributed to ECOMOG. The Secretary-General had urged them not to withdraw their troops and had endeavoured to obtain additional financial support. He therefore urged the international community to contribute to the Trust Fund for Liberia.

The Secretary-General further noted that the civil conflict in Liberia had been characterized by major abuses of human rights, such as the use of children in combat, and mental and physical abuses. His Special Representative had been holding discussions on those issues with Liberian human rights organizations. A joint plan of action had been developed and consideration was being given to the establishment of a national committee on human rights.

The Secretary-General continued to believe that UNOMIL's mandate was relevant to the circumstances in Liberia, and that the Mission's efforts were critical to the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and to assisting the Transitional Government and the Liberian people to achieve national reconciliation. It was imperative that the Liberian parties extend greater cooperation to ECOMOG and UNOMIL in order to move the peace process forward and achieve the objectives outlined in the Cotonou Agreement, including the holding of national elections. The Secretary-General suggested that the Security Council might consider the possibility of laying down specific monthly targets to be met by the Liberian parties, particularly with respect to disarmament and the demobilization of combatants. His Special Representative would then be ready to advise the Liberian parties on how targets set by the Security Council could be met. He warned that, should the Liberian parties fail to maintain their commitment to the peace process, he would have no alternative but to recommend to the Security Council that the involvement of the United Nations in Liberia be reconsidered.

At its 3404<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 13 July 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 24 June 1994. Following the adoption of

the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Pakistan) then stated that, following consultations among members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement<sup>53</sup> on behalf of the Council:

“The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 24 June 1994 on Liberia (S/1994/760). On the basis of this report, as well as the oral briefing provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Liberia, the Council has carried out a review of the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia as called for in resolution 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994.

“In this context, the Council notes that, since the interim review in May 1994, there has been limited progress in the peace process and that the Liberian National Transitional Government has been unable to extend its authority effectively outside the Monrovia area. The Council notes further with concern that preparations for national elections have been hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process. It underscores the fact that, until the disarmament process is substantially accomplished, the holding of free and fair elections will not be possible. It reiterates, nevertheless, the need to make urgent preparations to enable the timely holding of free and fair elections. To this end, a substantial acceleration of the disarmament process is essential. It notes that continued delay may have an adverse effect on international participation in the Liberian peace process.

“The Council therefore calls upon the Transitional Government, in cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States, and the Organization of African Unity, with the support of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia as necessary, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions concerned to address the problems affecting disarmament. The Council considers that the objectives of such a meeting should be to agree on a realistic plan to resume disarmament and to set a target date for its completion. The Council calls upon the Transitional Government to convene the meeting as soon as possible, at the latest by 31 July 1994. The Council stresses the importance it places on the Liberian factions concerned attending such a meeting.

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<sup>53</sup> S/PRST/1994/33.

“The Council further calls upon all factions in Liberia to demonstrate the resolve and commitment necessary to achieve national reconciliation.

“The Council expresses its concern about the increase in military activities being carried out in violation of the general cease-fire and the consequent large-scale displacement of persons and atrocities which have been committed throughout the country. The Council condemns all those who initiate fighting and who violate international humanitarian law.

“The Council strongly deplores attacks on and the abduction and harassment of United Nations and Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group personnel in Liberia, as well as looting of United Nations and Monitoring Group property. It demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith.

“The Council urges the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of Mission and Monitoring Group personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by the applicable rules of international humanitarian law. It demands that all factions in Liberia extend full cooperation to organizations engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

“The Council commends the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continued efforts to facilitate peace and security in Liberia, including through the provision of Monitoring Group troops. It welcomes the continued close cooperation between the Monitoring Group and the Mission.

“The Council also commends other African States that have provided troops to the Monitoring Group and those Member States which have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia established pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, or provided other assistance in support of the troops. However, the Council expresses its concern that sufficient financial and other support for the Monitoring Group troops has not yet been forthcoming despite the importance of their continued presence in the Liberian peace process. The Council calls upon all Member States urgently to consider providing financial or material support either through the Trust Fund or on a bilateral basis to enable the Monitoring Group to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex).

“The Council commends the Secretary-General for the priority given to reporting on violations of international humanitarian law and other atrocities and encourages continued attention to these aspects of the situation in Liberia.

“The Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all information on cease-fire and arms embargo violations obtained by the Mission, in pursuit of its mandate, is made promptly available to the Security Council and publicized more widely as appropriate.

“The Council expresses concern at problems encountered by the Transitional Government in extending its authority outside the Monrovia area, and requests the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with the Economic Community of West African States, whether there are any steps which might be taken to facilitate the efforts of the Transitional Government in this regard.

“The Council urges the Economic Community of West African States to continue its efforts to help the Liberian parties make substantial progress towards a political settlement in the country.

“The Council requests the Secretary-General to report on the situation in Liberia by 2 September 1994 and to consider in that report whether the meeting on disarmament has resulted in a realistic plan for disarmament and whether implementation of such a plan has begun. The report should also provide options for the size and mandate of the Mission that reflect the outcome of the meeting and the progress in implementing the disarmament plan.

“The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.”

**Decision** of 13 September 1994 (3424<sup>th</sup> meeting): statement by the President

At its 3424<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 13 September 1994, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the situation in Liberia. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Spain) stated that, following consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement<sup>54</sup> on behalf of the Council:

“The Security Council strongly condemns the detention and mistreatment of forty-three unarmed military observers of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and six staff members of non-governmental organizations, in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law as well as of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex). It demands that those responsible release immediately the detained personnel and return their property and that of the Mission and humanitarian organizations. It urges all parties strictly to observe the

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<sup>54</sup> S/PRST/1994/53.

Agreement and to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of the Mission, other United Nations personnel and those of humanitarian organizations.

“The Council requests the Economic Community of West African States to ensure that its Monitoring Group continues to extend protection to the extent possible to Mission personnel, in accordance with the exchange of letters of 7 October 1993 between the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States defining the respective roles and responsibilities of the two missions in Liberia. It calls upon the international community to assist the Economic Community of West African States with the necessary resources to enable the Monitoring Group to fulfil its mandate effectively throughout Liberia.

“The Council is following closely the situation in Liberia and in this connection welcomes the ongoing efforts, in particular those of the President of Ghana as Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, to secure the release of the detained personnel.”

**Decision** of 21 October 1994 (3442<sup>nd</sup> meeting): resolution 950 (1994)

On 14 October 1994, pursuant to resolution 911 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his seventh progress report<sup>55</sup> on UNOMIL in which he gave an account of his Special Envoy’s mission to Liberia and described recent political developments in the country.

The Secretary-General recalled that in his last report<sup>56</sup> he had indicated his increasing concern about the recent evolution of the situation and the absence of progress in the peace process in Liberia. He had also informed the Council that he had decided to send to Liberia a fact-finding mission headed by his Special Envoy. The mission had visited Liberia from 16 to 26 August and had made the following recommendations: (a) that the United Nations and ECOWAS should consult on the latter’s future strategy for

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<sup>55</sup> S/1994/1167.

<sup>56</sup> S/1994/1006.

ECOMOG, and on the role of UNOMIL in relation to that strategy; (b) that the political support of the international community for the regional peace-keeping efforts undertaken by ECOWAS in Liberia should have been accompanied by the substantial financial support which ECOMOG needed to be able to carry out its responsibilities effectively; (c) given the security situation in Liberia and the fact that ECOMOG could not provide the necessary protection for UNOMIL unarmed military observers, UNOMIL should be reduced to about one third of its authorized strength of 368; (d) with regard to internal Liberian security, the issue of a national army should be addressed and donor Governments should provide technical assistance and other resources necessary for the formation of a new army.

The Secretary-General reported that several significant events had taken place shortly after the Special Envoy had left Liberia. First, the Chairman of ECOWAS had convened a meeting at Akosombo, Ghana, to review the continuing delays in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The meeting had culminated in the signing, on 12 September 1994, of the Akosombo Agreement,<sup>57</sup> a supplementary agreement to the Cotonou Agreement. Second, the Liberian National Conference, convened from 24 August to 3 October 1994, had adopted a set of resolutions concerning the peace process. Third, a dissident group within the Armed Forces of Liberia had attempted to stage a *coup* against the Transitional Government on 15 September. The attempted *coup* had been successfully foiled by ECOMOG.

The Secretary-General noted that the political, military and humanitarian developments of the past month had left Liberia in a desperate state. It was obvious that the peace process had stalled. At the ECOWAS summit, held at Abuja on 5 and 6 August, President Rawlings of Ghana had indicated that if there was no progress by the end of the year, he would be obliged to consider withdrawing the Ghanaian contingent from ECOMOG. Other countries had also indicated that they might withdraw. The Secretary-

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

General pointed out that a withdrawal or significant downsizing of ECOMOG would have serious consequences both for Liberia and for the subregion. He had decided to dispatch a high-level mission to consult the Chairman of ECOWAS about the respective roles and responsibilities of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in Liberia, taking recent developments into account. That review would seek to determine how best the international community could continue to assist Liberia in bringing about a cessation of hostilities. He therefore recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of two months to allow the high-level mission time to conduct its work and present its conclusions. After consideration of its findings, he would be in a position to make the appropriate recommendations to the Council on the future role of UNOMIL in Liberia.

At its 3442<sup>nd</sup> meeting, on 21 October 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 14 October 1994. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United Kingdom) drew the attention of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>58</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. He also drew the attention of the Council's members to a letter<sup>59</sup> dated 14 October 1994 from the representative of Ghana addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Akosombo agreement<sup>60</sup> of 12 September.

The representative of Liberia stated that the Security Council had the responsibility to prevent threats to international peace and security. He pointed out that the Liberian conflict had long ceased to be an internal matter. It had heightened the possibility of creating instability in the West African subregion and it had had

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<sup>58</sup> S/1994/1187.

<sup>59</sup> S/1994/1174.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, Annex.

repercussions beyond that region. The presence in Liberia of UNOMIL was therefore indispensable to the peaceful resolution of the conflict. He expressed the view that the “laudable” and “pioneering” efforts of the United Nations in collaborating with a subregional organization in conflict resolution must not be allowed to fail because of a lack of resolve by the international community. His delegation joined the Secretary-General and the Security Council in the appeal for increased financial assistance to the Trust Fund for Liberia. It also appealed for assistance to address the urgent humanitarian needs that had arisen as a result of the recent escalation of fighting in Liberia.<sup>61</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria queried whether the international community would remain “lukewarm” towards ECOMOG or whether it would support the regional effort to head off a crisis capable of threatening peace and security, which the Charter of the United Nations committed it to try to prevent. At that point in the evolution of the peace process, the Liberia factions, who alone bore full responsibility for its continuing lack of progress, should realize the futility of further intransigence and the necessity to opt for dialogue and peace. His delegation would, however, vote in favour of the draft resolution for the following reasons. First, the draft resolution would extend UNOMIL’s mandate for a three-month period, showing that the international community was prepared to continue to assist Liberians until peace was achieved. Nigeria hoped that that commitment on the part of the international community would find concrete expression in new financial and logistical support for ECOMOG. Second, the draft resolution reiterated the call for the full application of the arms embargo on the Liberian warring parties. Nigeria felt that the continued violation of the embargo had been largely responsible for fueling the crisis. Third, the draft resolution reiterated calls to all Liberian factions to cease hostilities immediately and to agree to a new timetable for disengagement, disarmament and demobilization. Fourth, the draft resolution called upon Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for Liberia. Several States, including Nigeria, that were contributing troops to ECOMOG, had served notice

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<sup>61</sup> S/PV.3442, pp. 2-3.



that without new financial assistance they would seriously consider withdrawing their troops. Nigeria sincerely hoped that the international community would act to prevent such an eventuality, which would likely have tragic consequences for peace in Liberia and even throughout the subregion. His delegation had reservations, however, concerning the reduction in the strength of UNOMIL and the setting of new conditions for future augmentation of the UNOMIL presence. Nigeria felt that it would have been wiser to allow the Secretary-General to use his discretion to continue to deploy UNOMIL personnel as and when appropriate.<sup>62</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 950 (1994). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994,

*Having considered* the reports of the Secretary-General of 18 May (S/1994/588), 24 June (S/1994/760), 26 August (S/1994/1006) and 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

*Commending* the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

*Commending also* the initiative taken by the President of Ghana, in his capacity as current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, to reactivate the peace process and find a durable solution to the conflict,

*Noting* the recommendations of the Liberian National Conference, and stressing the importance it attaches to strengthening the authority of the Liberian National Transitional Government in administering the country,

*Commending* those African States which have contributed troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and those Member States which have

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia or have provided other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group,

*Also commending* the Monitoring Group for its role in quelling an attempted *coup d'état* against the Transitional Government in Monrovia,

*Deeply concerned* at the breakdown in the cease-fire, the severe deterioration in the security situation and the impact this is having on the civilian population of Liberia, particularly in rural areas, as well as on the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide emergency relief,

*Expressing grave concern* at the level of factional and ethnic warfare now prevailing in much of Liberia,

*Stressing* the importance it attaches to the achievement of an effective cease-fire as a necessary pre-condition for progress in the peace process and the holding of national elections,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) and his intention to send a high-level mission to consult with States members of the Economic Community of West African States on how the international community can best continue to assist the peace process in Liberia;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 13 January 1995;

3. *Recognizes* that circumstances on the ground warranted the Secretary-General's decision to reduce the strength of the Mission, and considers that any decision to return it to the authorized level will depend on consideration by the Security Council of a further report from the Secretary-General reflecting a real improvement in the situation on the ground, in particular the security situation;

4. *Calls upon* all factions in Liberia to cease hostilities immediately and to agree to a timetable for disengagement of forces, disarmament and demobilization;

5. *Also calls upon* the Liberian National Transitional Government and all Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation and to work with the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States and with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to achieve a durable settlement;

6. *Calls once again upon* all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

7. *Condemns* the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law by the factions in Liberia and the detention and maltreatment of Mission observers, Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group soldiers, humanitarian relief workers and other international personnel and demands that all the factions strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

8. *Demands* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of Monitoring Group and Mission personnel, and those of other international organizations and humanitarian relief agencies working in Liberia, refrain from any acts of violence, abuse or intimidation against them and return forthwith equipment seized from them;

9. *Urges* Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, in order to enable the Monitoring Group to fulfil its mandate;

10. *Commends* the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance, including to Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries, and calls upon all factions in Liberia to cooperate fully in creating the conditions necessary for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Liberia;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council well in advance of the end of the current mandate period with recommendations as to the future role of the Mission, in the light of developments in the peace process and in the situation on the ground and the recommendations of his high-level mission;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Brazil referred to paragraph 3 of the resolution and stated that the decision to reduce the strength of UNOMIL fell entirely within the purview of the Secretary-General's responsibilities. That "temporary measure", as it had been described in the Secretary-General's report, was adopted in view of the lack of security in some parts of Liberia. It was the Secretary-General's prerogative to take decisions on force strength, provided that they did not violate the authorized level determined by the Security Council. Since the resolution just adopted did not provide for a change in the force level or concept of operations of UNOMIL, a decision by the Secretary-General to re-establish the number of UNOMIL military observers should not require specific authorization from the Council. It was Brazil's view that the Council

should be consistent. It was undeniable that circumstances sometimes required changes or adaptations of mandates in light of new realities. In this particular case, however, where UNOMIL had not been altered, there should not be a change in the mandate or concept of the Mission, with the imposition of “non-existent” conditionalities.<sup>63</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that UNOMIL was sent in to observe a cease-fire, but the firing had not ceased. Instead, UNOMIL observers had been abused and humiliated by the warlords whose country they had come to protect. Humanitarian relief workers had come to help, yet they had been harassed and treated inhumanely. The Secretary-General had been right to pull out two-thirds of the UNOMIL observers. They should not go back until there was a real cease-fire, assumption of authority by a transitional Government and a commitment to disarmament by all the factions. In the view of the United States, given the precarious situation in Liberia, they should not go back until the Security Council decided to send them back.<sup>64</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution because it believed it sent a clear signal to the Liberian factions that the stagnation of the peace process was unacceptable. It also showed that the Security Council intended to take developments in the situation into account and to adjust its activities accordingly if the contending factions did not take rapid and effective steps towards a peaceful settlement. The Russian Federation also regarded it as highly important that the resolution just adopted called upon all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

**Decision** of 13 January 1995 (3489<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 972 (1995)

On 6 January 1995, pursuant to resolution 950 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his eighth progress report<sup>66</sup> on UNOMIL. The report contained the findings of a high level mission to ECOWAS member States and described the consultations held among the parties during the reporting period.

The Secretary-General reported on the findings of the high-level mission, which had been sent to Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone to discuss with States members of ECOWAS the deterioration of the situation in Liberia. The mission had concluded that, notwithstanding the tireless efforts of the Chairman of ECOWAS, the Liberian political and factional leaders were not yet committed to a sustainable peace in their country. Accordingly, it had made the following recommendations: (a) the Liberian political and factional leaders must be brought to understand that, in the absence of political accommodation and reconciliation, continued support from the international community would not be forthcoming; (b) ECOWAS member States, particularly the six directly involved with Liberia, should urgently organize an extraordinary meeting of Heads of State to resolve their differences and harmonize their policies on Liberia; (c) if the above could not be accomplished, ECOWAS should be encouraged to consider strengthening ECOMOG and restructuring it in order to achieve a better balance of troops, including contributions from other African countries; (d) international support, including financial support, logistics and equipment, should be sought to enable ECOMOG to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to deployment, encampment and disarmament. A planning and logistics team from the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations (DPKO) could visit Liberia to offer ECOMOG technical assistance in preparing the necessary proposals; and (e) the future of UNOMIL should depend on the successful implementation of the above steps. Meanwhile,

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<sup>66</sup> S/1995/9.

UNOMIL's mandate should be extended for a limited period of three months from 13 January 1995.

The Secretary-General recalled that he had informed the Security Council that the Akosombo Agreement had been a source of significant controversy among those Liberian parties and interest groups which had not taken part in the negotiations. The Chairman of ECOWAS had dispatched delegations to Liberia and to several ECOWAS member States to seek a compromise. Negotiations had taken place in Accra, which had led to the presentation by Ghana of a compromise proposal. The Secretary-General noted that, although agreement had been reached in several areas, the parties had failed to reconcile their differences over the composition of the Council of State and the process of selecting its members. On 21 December 1994, having resolved their key differences, the parties were able to sign an agreement in Accra, which clarified and expanded the Akosombo Agreement. It stipulated that a cease-fire would come into effect by midnight on 28 December 1994. In addition, a new five-member Council of State would be installed within 14 days. The signatories to the Accra Agreement further agreed to facilitate the establishment of safe havens and buffer zones throughout Liberia.

The Secretary-General further reported that the military situation in Liberia had remained unstable. Hostilities had spread to over 80 per cent of the country, causing massive population displacement. The inability of ECOMOG to deploy troops along the borders, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, had been a factor in the continuous breach of the arms embargo. ECOMOG was deployed in less than 15 per cent of the country, while factions were continuing to acquire arms across the borders and from sources within Liberia. The Secretary-General expressed concern that that situation would have serious consequences for stability in the subregion. He called on the States members of ECOWAS to adhere strictly to the arms embargo and to renew their commitment to the principles of collective security in ensuring that the Liberian crisis was brought to an end.

The Secretary-General also recommended that the Security Council extend UNOMIL's mandate for a period of three months. During that period, his Special Representative would conduct an in-depth assessment of the role the United Nations military observers in Liberia could play in support of the peace process, and would make recommendations on adjustments in the strength of UNOMIL which might be required on the assumption that the Liberian leaders had provided the necessary evidence of their commitment to peace and their readiness to implement all the provisions of the Accra Agreement.

At its 3489<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 13 January 1995, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 6 January 1995. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Argentina) then drew the attention of the Council's members to the text of a draft resolution<sup>67</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. He also drew the attention of the Council to a letter<sup>68</sup> dated 5 January 1995 from the representative of Ghana addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of an acceptance and accession agreement, signed by the leaders of the Liberian parties who had not signed the Akosombo Agreement, and an agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo Agreement.

The representative of Liberia stated that, while it was disappointing that talks in Accra among the faction leaders, which should have culminated in the establishment of a new Council of State, appeared to have ended in a stalemate, his delegation was hopeful that that was only a temporary setback. While his delegation recognized that it was up to Liberians to end the war and that the international community, particularly Member States of ECOWAS, had expended large resources on peace-keeping and peacemaking in

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<sup>67</sup> S/1995/22.

<sup>68</sup> S/1995/7.

Liberia, their continuing engagement in Liberia was needed. Even though his delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's recommendations for the extension of the new mandate of UNOMIL, it would have preferred a longer extension in view of UNOMIL's direct responsibilities in the implementation of the agreed schedule for the cease-fire and the disarmament and demobilization of the combatants, as well as in the holding of democratic elections on 14 November.

The report of the Secretary-General had emphasized the urgent need for full compliance with the Council's arms embargo on Liberia. As long as arms were being provided to the factions, that would continue to result in the use of force. His delegation welcomed the request of the Secretary-General that an ECOWAS summit be convened to address those and other concerns. The Security Council needed to take appropriate steps, however, to ensure compliance with its own embargo. His delegation joined the Secretary-General's appeal for increased contributions to the Trust Fund and welcomed the Council's appeal for increased humanitarian assistance as set forth in the draft resolution.<sup>69</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that his delegation would have favoured an extension of UNOMIL's mandate for a six-month period, to allow sufficient time for the initial and critical stage of the military aspects of the Accra Agreement to commence and be observed before the Secretary-General presented his report to the Council. Because of the proposed three-month duration of the mandate, such a report by the Secretary-General would, of necessity, be tentative and could give the wrong impression of the prospects for implementing the relevant aspects of the Agreement.

He also contended that the international community had a responsibility to continue to assist the process in Liberia, as it represented a classic example of

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<sup>69</sup> S/PV.3489, pp. 2-3.



cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization in peace-making and peace-keeping. Otherwise, the burden on ECOWAS countries, which was already a matter of great concern to most Governments of the subregion, would become even more unbearable. His delegation looked forward to the Secretary-General's forthcoming report on the assistance needed by ECOWAS member States in order to maintain their troops in ECOMOG. Another important element in the draft resolution related to the continuing flow of weapons into Liberia in violation of the arms embargo imposed by resolution 788 (1992). That proliferation of weapons not only complicated the prospects for disarmament but also compounded the problems of security and jeopardized the safety of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel in the country. It was important that all Member States abide by and comply with the embargo on deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia.<sup>70</sup>

Referring to the length of the extension of UNOMIL's mandate, the representative of Italy stated that, on the one hand, three months was long enough to allow verification of whether or not the Liberian factions were complying with the Accra Agreement. On the other hand, the extension was short enough to issue a clear warning to the parties that the time had come for them to demonstrate their willingness to ensure peace in their country. The draft resolution also called for tightening the application of the arms embargo. A clear message should go out to the countries concerned that no peace would be reached until the arms flow across Liberian borders was interrupted.<sup>71</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 972 (1995). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

*Recalling* its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994 and 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994,

*Having considered* the reports of the Secretary-General of 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588), 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760), 26 August 1994 (S/1994/1006), 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) and 6 January 1995 (S/1995/9) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

*Viewing with appreciation* the diplomatic achievement of the current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, Mr. Jerry Rawlings, President of Ghana, in bringing together the faction leaders of Liberia to sign the Accra Agreement on 21 December 1994 (S/1995/7), which builds upon the Yamoussoukro (S/24815, annex), Cotonou (S/26272, annex) and Akosombo (S/1994/1174) agreements and includes a timetable for the implementation of its provisions,

*Commending once again* the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States, which has played a crucial role in the search for a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict,

*Commending also* those African States which have contributed troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and those Member States which have provided assistance in support of the peace negotiations and the peace-keeping forces, including contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

*Expressing the hope* that a summit of the States members of the Economic Community of West African States will be convened at the earliest possible date to harmonize their policies on Liberia and promote implementation of the Accra Agreement, including tightening the application of the arms embargo,

*Taking note with concern* that there has been a continuing inflow of arms in Liberia in violation of the existing arms embargo, which has further destabilized the situation in Liberia,

*Deeply concerned* that the humanitarian situation in Liberia has worsened owing to the lack of security in the country and the resulting inability of national and international relief organizations to function effectively,

*Calling upon* the Liberian leaders and factions to demonstrate their commitment to the peace process by maintaining the cease-fire, which came into effect on 28 December 1994, recommitting themselves to the disarmament process and implementing without delay all provisions of the Accra Agreement,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General dated 6 January 1995 (S/1995/9);

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 13 April 1995;

3. *Expresses deep concern* at the failure of the Liberian parties so far to reach agreement on the composition of the Council of State as stipulated in the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7), and calls upon them to work together to implement the Agreement by upholding the cease-fire, resuming disarmament and demobilization of combatants and implementing the other relevant aspects of the Agreement in accordance with the timetable, including the prompt installation of the New Council of State;

4. *Requests* that the Secretary-General base any decision to return the Mission and its civilian staff to the level authorized under resolution 866 (1993) on the existence of an effective cease-fire and on the ability of the Mission to carry out its mandate;

5. *Also requests* that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council on or before 1 March 1995 on the situation in Liberia and on the role of the Mission and of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, including on the needs of States members of the Economic Community of West African States to maintain their troops in the Monitoring Group;

6. *Reminds* all Member States of their obligation strictly to abide by and comply with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992);

7. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the Monitoring Group and the Mission and those of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

8. *Urges* Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in the Monitoring Group in order to enable the Monitoring Group to deploy fully and to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

9. *Requests*, in this regard, the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States;

10. *Commends* the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance and especially the efforts of neighbouring countries to assist Liberian refugees;

11. *Commends also* the ongoing efforts of the Economic Community of West African States to further the Liberian peace process, and the commitment of the Monitoring Group to ensure the safety of military observers and civilian staff of the Mission;

12. *Welcomes* the tireless efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote the cause of peace in Liberia;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France stated that his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution just adopted to enable the parties to provide concrete proof of their good will and spirit of responsibility. The French Government urged the Liberian factions to respect the cease-fire concluded on 28 December and called for strict implementation of the arms embargo. His Government supported the Secretary-General's recommendation for the holding of a summit of the Heads of State of the region to harmonize their policies towards Liberia and promote the implementation of the Accra Agreement. The continuation of the conflict in Liberia was a threat to stability in the region. The humanitarian situation, which had left the population in extreme distress, was of deep concern to France, which called upon the parties to respect their commitments and to ensure that military commanders allow assistance to reach its destination.<sup>72</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his delegation welcomed the signing of the Accra Agreement as a positive step towards the solution of the Liberian conflict. In the light of that development and, in particular, the implementation of a cease-fire, the United Nations should maintain its involvement in the peace process in Liberia. It was for that reason that his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution. One of the important issues covered in the resolution just adopted was that of reminding all Member States of their obligation strictly to abide by, and comply with, the arms

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

embargo. The damaging effect of the brutal conflict in Liberia, not only on the people of that country but also on Liberia's neighbours, was a matter of growing concern to his delegation. The conflict was being sustained by arms traffic across and within Liberia's borders, which could only increase the risk of regional destabilization.<sup>73</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that his delegation was pleased to support the extension of UNOMIL's mandate for another three months. UNOMIL, in conjunction with ECOMOG, had a critical role to play. If the peace agreement was implemented and the cease-fire was maintained, UNOMIL should be returned to the level authorized by resolution 866 (1993). The United States strongly supported humanitarian efforts to alleviate the suffering of the hundreds of thousands of persons displaced by the conflict. He urged all members of the international community to help further the peace process in Liberia and to support international and regional efforts to aid implementation of the Accra Agreement, and he hoped that other Member States of the United Nations would contribute generously to the Trust Fund for Liberia, because it was a tangible expression of support for the Liberian people's desire for peace.<sup>74</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the resolution just adopted provided for the optimum period for which, in existing conditions, the mandate of UNOMIL could be extended. It sent the Liberian parties a clear signal that they must strictly implement all the provisions of the peace agreement. His delegation considered appropriate the linkage of the establishment of the former level of UNOMIL personnel with the existence of a stable cease-fire. Russia had always considered that the active participation of African countries in the achievement of a settlement in Liberia was important for that country's return to the path of peaceful, democratic development. For that reason, his delegation viewed as most important the provisions in the resolution for strengthening the potential of ECOMOG, including through the help of the international

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9.

community, and the provisions on convening a summit of the leaders of ECOWAS States with a view to harmonizing their policies on Liberia and promoting the implementation of the Accra Agreement through, among other things, tightening the embargo on the supply of arms to Liberia.<sup>75</sup>

The representative of Rwanda stated that his delegation deplored a widespread attitude in the Security Council *vis-à-vis* the resolution of African conflicts. In 1994, the withdrawal of troops had, in some cases, led to massacres. In the case of another African country, the decision by the United Nations to disengage its forces had not been the best solution for the people of that country who were victims of warlords. In the case of Liberia, the decision to extend the presence of UNOMIL's peace forces by three months had not been taken for the good of the population but was, instead, a solution based on a strategy of threatening the parties to the conflicts. The search for solutions to conflicts like the one in Liberia should not be limited to a three-month period. Only a process, a slow path, could lead to consensus by all parties concerned. That was evidenced by the fact that in other regions of the world the Council had acted differently. As a gesture of solidarity and cooperation his delegation had voted in favour of the extension of UNOMIL's mandate until 13 April 1995.<sup>76</sup>

**Decision** of 13 April 1995 (3517<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 985 (1995)

On 10 April 1995, pursuant to resolution 972 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his tenth progress report<sup>77</sup> on UNOMIL. The Secretary-General recalled that, under the Accra Agreement, a new Council of State should have been installed by 11 January 1995. As noted in his report of 24 February<sup>78</sup>, the parties had met in Accra, in January, under the auspices of ECOWAS, to decide on the membership of

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>77</sup> S/1995/279.

<sup>78</sup> S/1995/158. The report also provided for a number of options regarding the role of UNOMIL.

the Council. They were, however, unable to agree on that issue. The Secretary-General noted in that regard that the installation of the Council of State was an essential step in the implementation of the Accra agreement. Since, the parties had failed both to agree on the membership of the Council and to undertake the preparatory work necessary for the implementation of the agreement's other provisions. The Secretary-General also recalled that the Security Council had, in its resolution 972 (1995), expressed the hope that the member States of ECOWAS would convene a summit with a view to harmonizing their policies on Liberia, including tightening the application of the arms embargo. He indicated, in that regard, that he had exchanged views with the Chairman of ECOWAS and that they had agreed that the summit might be held in Abuja. The Nigerian Head of State had welcomed the proposal. The Chairman of ECOWAS was consulting with the other ECOWAS members to prepare the summit and to achieve a consensus on its agenda. The Secretary-General observed that it was essential that the proposed ECOWAS summit on Liberia be convened as soon as possible. It would hopefully re-start the peace process and achieve concrete results by harmonizing the policies of ECOWAS member States and installing the Council of State. He urged the member States concerned to hold the summit in the near future and to do all they could to ensure it was a success.

The Secretary-General reported that military activities had intensified throughout the country and the overall situation had further deteriorated. The civilian population continued to suffer and the factions' military activities had impeded the delivery of essential relief items to most areas of the country.

The Secretary-General recalled the options he had proposed to the Council in his previous report and acknowledged that it could be argued that the continuing political impasse made it necessary for the Council to address those options at that time. He contended, however, that the proposed ECOWAS summit offered a possibility that the peace process might shortly be re-launched. He was therefore of the opinion that it would be premature to withdraw UNOMIL. He recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995. It was his intention, given that the security

situation was preventing UNOMIL from carrying out its mandate, to reduce its military strength by about 20 observers. As soon as the situation improved, the military component of UNOMIL would be strengthened as necessary.

At its 3517<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 13 April 1995, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 10 April 1995. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Czech Republic) then drew the attention of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>79</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that the draft resolution was right in extending the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995. It was also appropriate to call on all Liberian parties once again to implement the Akosombo and Accra Agreements, by re-establishing an effective cease-fire and installing the Council of State. Violations of the arms embargo imposed under resolution 788 (1992) had not helped the collective efforts to promote peace in Liberia. Therefore his delegation endorsed paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, which aimed to tighten the arms embargo and which established a Committee of the Security Council to monitor compliance with the arms embargo régime.<sup>80</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 985 (1995). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994 and 972 (1995) of 13 January 1995,

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<sup>79</sup> S/1995/291.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.



*Recalling also* its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, in which it decided, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States should, for the purpose of establishing peace and stability in Liberia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decided otherwise, and in which it decided also that the embargo should not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States in Liberia, subject to any review that may be required in conformity with the report of the Secretary-General,

*Having considered* the reports of the Secretary-General of 24 February (S/1995/158) and 10 April 1995 (S/1995/279) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

*Deeply concerned* that the ceasefire in Liberia has broken down, precluding the full deployment of the Mission and preventing it from fully carrying out its mandate,

*Noting with deep concern* that in violation of resolution 788 (1992) arms continue to be imported into Liberia, exacerbating the conflict,

*Welcoming* the decision of the Economic Community of West African States to hold a summit of Heads of State in May 1995,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 30 June 1995;

2. *Urges* all Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo Agreement (S/1994/1174) and the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7) by re-establishing an effective ceasefire, promptly installing the Council of State and taking concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the agreements;

3. *Encourages* the States members of the Economic Community of West African States to promote implementation of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements and to continue to do all in their power to facilitate a political settlement in Liberia;

4. *Urges* all States, and in particular all neighbouring States, to comply fully with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992), and, to that end, decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992);

(b) To consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and, in that context, to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) To recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992) and provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

5. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States for his initiative in organizing a regional summit on Liberia and to the Government of Nigeria for agreeing to host it, and urges all parties to participate;

6. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and the Mission, and of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 June 1995 on the situation in Liberia, including whether there is an effective ceasefire and whether the Mission can carry out its mandate, and on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources from the international community in support of the troops participating in the Monitoring Group, and notes that the Council will consider the future of the Mission in the light of the report of the Secretary-General;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States expressed her delegation's belief that UNOMIL had a key role to play in monitoring implementation of the peace process and protecting civilians. Unfortunately, it had been unable thus far to carry out its mandate because of the continuing hostilities. The United States supported the limited extension of the UNOMIL mandate, in the hope that the ECOWAS summit would give real impetus to peace. She warned, however, that technical roll-overs were not a solution and that the patience of the international community was not endless.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because it gave the Liberian parties a clear signal that the international community was prepared to continue to render assistance in settling the conflict, while also containing a warning that the future extension of UNOMIL would hinge on how far the Liberians succeeded in making progress towards re-establishing the peace process. That was one of the last real chances for a peace settlement to the crisis and that it must not be missed. Russia hoped that the ECOWAS summit would play an important and constructive role in resolving the conflict. The decision to establish a Security Council Committee to monitor compliance with the embargo imposed under resolution 788 (1992) would help normalize the situation not only in Liberia, but in the region as a whole. Russia urgently called on all States, especially Liberia's neighbours, to help improve the effectiveness of the arms embargo and to cooperate fully with the Committee.<sup>82</sup>

The representative of Liberia stated that, until all forms of support to them were curtailed, the factions would not honour the agreements to which they were signatories. His delegation therefore welcomed the proposed ECOWAS summit and it was also grateful to the Security Council for the resolution just adopted, which contained elements that would help to ensure that the arms embargo was respected. The ECOWAS summit would offer the last, best hope for the Liberian parties to reach political accommodation and fully implement the terms of the previous agreements, including a cease-fire and installation of the Council of State. If the parties failed to avail themselves of that opportunity, the goodwill and support of the international community would be eroded.

While Liberians realized that the Organization, indeed Member States, could not continue to utilize scarce resources to assist parties which were unwilling to resolve their differences peacefully, it should be borne in mind that the majority of Liberians desired to live in peace: it was the armed factions which continued to hold the people hostage.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

His delegation strongly believed that, in the post-cold-war era, the Organization should consider bold and imaginative measures to address problems resulting from internal conflicts in Member States. The Liberian people could only appeal to the international community not to leave them before there was a resolution to the conflict.<sup>83</sup>

**Decision** of 30 June 1995 (3549<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 1001 (1995)

On 10 June 1995, pursuant to resolution 985 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his eleventh progress report<sup>84</sup> on UNOMIL. The Secretary-General indicated that fighting between the factions had continued, and they had continued to block access routes into inhabited areas, resulting in the disruption of the delivery of relief supplies and the unnecessary suffering of civilians. Several towns had changed hands and there had been reports of human rights abuses as combatants moved into or out of a particular area.

The Secretary-General reported that the Summit of ECOWAS had been held at Abuja, from 17 to 20 May 1995. While the Liberian parties had not reached a final agreement on the composition of the Council of State, a substantial measure of agreement had emerged on nearly all of the outstanding issues. The ECOWAS leaders had requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to conduct the necessary consultations towards a definitive solution. They had noted that, if and when agreement was secured, it would be imperative that the United Nations fully supported the implementation of the peace process, not only by bringing UNOMIL back to full strength, but also by securing resources both for ECOMOG and for rebuilding the country. They had also expressed their concern over the continued flow of arms into Liberia, in violation of the arms embargo and had reminded ECOWAS member States, as well as the international community at large, of their obligation to abide strictly by the arms embargo established

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>84</sup> S/1995/473.

by ECOWAS and the Security Council. They had also called on Member States to bring all violations of the embargo to the attention of the sanctions committee established by the Security Council under resolution 985 (1995). In addition, they had requested ECOMOG and UNOMIL to improve the existing monitoring mechanisms and had appealed to the international community to provide logistical support to ECOWAS, in order to facilitate the effective patrolling of Liberia's borders and stem the flow of arms into that country.<sup>85</sup>

In view of those developments, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend UNOMIL's mandate for three months, until 30 September 1995. The Secretary-General hoped that, during that three-month period, the parties would reach an agreement on the outstanding issues and that they would demonstrate, through concrete steps, the political will necessary to bring the crisis to an end. Those steps would include: the installation and functioning of the Council of State; a comprehensive cease-fire; the disengagement of forces; and an agreed schedule for the implementation of the other aspects of the peace process, in particular disarmament. In the event that, at the end of that three-month period, the political stalemate continued and the necessary steps had not been implemented, UNOMIL would, subject to the consent of the Security Council, be terminated on 30 September 1995 and converted into a good offices mission. The Secretary-General would consult with ECOWAS on the modalities of the good offices role of the United Nations and would make recommendations to the Council in that regard.

If, on the other hand, there was significant progress over the following three months, the Secretary-General would recommend that the Council consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength. UNOMIL's role in Liberia and its relationship with ECOMOG would then have to be adjusted, to enable the two operations to function more effectively. Over the next three months, he would consult with ECOWAS, with a view to

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<sup>85</sup> The communiqué issued by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government was attached to the report as annex I.

enhancing cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG and defining a joint concept of operations, and he would submit the necessary recommendations to the Council before 30 September 1995.

At its 3549<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 30 June 1995, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 10 June 1995. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Germany) then drew the attention of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>86</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The representative of Liberia stated that the Secretary-General's proposal for an extension of the mandate was justified in view of several positive developments, such as the substantial measure of agreement among the Liberian factions, the visit of the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) to Nigeria, the assumption by the Liberian National Transitional Government of administrative control of two additional political subdivisions of the country, and steps taken to remove land mines in fulfillment of one of the important requirements of the disarmament process. However, his delegation was aware that the slow progress in the peace process had resulted in a high cost to the international community, particularly to the Member States of ECOWAS. It believed, nevertheless, that the persistent demands of the international community, that the factional leaders end the war, had facilitated the progress achieved in the peace process. Without the pressure and the active support of the United Nations, the Liberian conflict would long ago have degenerated into a state of anarchy. His delegation would urge the reconsideration of any action by the United Nations which would suggest an abandonment of Liberia, as that would only embolden the warring factions to accelerate the use of arms and terror to achieve their political ends.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> S/1995/521.

<sup>87</sup> S/PV.3549, pp. 2-3.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that his delegation was proud that ECOMOG represented a first-case initiative by a subregional organization within the ambit of regional arrangements in crisis management and conflict resolution in respect of a situation that threatened not only the survival of the country but also regional and international peace and security. The creation of ECOMOG had given practical expression to the cooperation envisaged in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter between regional organizations and the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. In relation to the draft resolution, the Nigerian delegation had hoped for a renewal of UNOMIL's mandate of at least three months, as had been recommended by the Secretary-General in his report. In its view, such a time-frame was the minimum required for the Liberian parties to deliver fully on the new commitments they had undertaken in Abuja, as well as to enable the consultations that were taking place in the subregion to bear fruit. Any undue shortening of the period would send a negative message to the factions in Liberia and could result in a full-scale resumption of warfare. There was also a need to assist ECOMOG with logistics and financial resources so that it could deliver on its commitments. Without a viable ECOMOG, UNOMIL's role and effectiveness in Liberia would be seriously constrained.<sup>88</sup>

The representative of Botswana stated that the intractability of the situation in Liberia was discouraging, but that it would be wrong for the Council to give up trying to find a solution to it. The United Nations was a source of hope for the Liberian people, and the presence of UNOMIL assured them that the international community was actively engaged in the search for solutions to their tragedy. The contribution of UNOMIL to the peace process far outweighed its numerical strength. He also noted that ECOWAS had contributed to a new experience in the responsibilities of regional organizations in the maintenance of peace and security under Chapter VIII of the United

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-5.

Nations Charter. The efforts of ECOWAS provided important lessons for future peace-keeping operations and deserved the full support of the Security Council and the international community as a whole. He further observed that the States in the subregion had a pivotal role to play in the monitoring and stemming of the flow of arms to Liberia. Botswana welcomed their commitment to report violations of the arms embargo to the United Nations sanctions committee.<sup>89</sup>

The representative of China observed that ECOWAS had made tremendous efforts and sacrifices in the search for a settlement of the Liberian question, including sending peace-keeping forces to Liberia in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. The repeated setbacks in the Liberian peace process had proven once again, however, that peace could not be achieved by military means. China had always maintained that the Security Council should attach the same importance to the settlement of conflicts in Africa as it did to conflicts on other continents, that it should support the reasonable demands of the African countries and peoples, and that it should refrain from applying double-standards when it came to peace-keeping operations in Africa.<sup>90</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1001 (1995), which reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994, 972 (1995) of 13 January 1995, and 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 10 June 1995 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1995/473),

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 7.



*Emphasizing* that the people of Liberia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

*Commending* the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

*Welcoming* the recent summit meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States, in Abuja, Nigeria, from 17 to 20 May 1995,

*Noting* that a further concerted and harmonized effort by all concerned, including the States members of the Economic Community of West African States, would be helpful to advance the peace process,

*Concerned* that the Liberian parties have so far failed to install the Council of State, re-establish an effective cease-fire and take concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Accra Agreement,

*Deeply concerned also* at the continuing inter-factional and intra-factional fighting in parts of Liberia, which has further worsened the plight of the civilian population, particularly in rural areas, as well as affected the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide relief,

*Calling upon* the Liberian factions, especially the combatants, to respect the human rights of the civilian population and to respect international humanitarian law,

*Expressing great concern* over the continued flow of arms into Liberia in violation of Security Council resolution 788 (1992),

*Commending* those African States which have contributed troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and those Member States which have provided assistance in support of the peace negotiations and the peacekeeping forces, including contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 10 June 1995 (S/1995/473);
2. *Stresses* that continued international community support for the peace process in Liberia, including the continued presence of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, is contingent on immediate actions by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and achieve national reconciliation;
3. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the Mission until 15 September 1995;
4. *Urges* that the Liberian parties use this period to make serious and substantial progress towards the implementation of the Akosombo Agreement (S/1994/1174) and the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7) and specifically to accomplish the following steps:

- (a) Installation of the Council of State;
- (b) Re-establishment of a comprehensive and effective ceasefire;
- (c) Disengagement of all forces;
- (d) Creation of an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the agreements, in particular the disarmament process;

5. *Declares its intention*, after consideration of the report of the Secretary-General, not to renew the mandate of the Mission on 15 September 1995, unless the steps in paragraph 4 above are complied with by that date;

6. *Declares its readiness*, if significant progress in the peace process in Liberia regarding the steps in paragraph 4 above is achieved by 15 September 1995, to consider restoring the Mission to its full strength with appropriate adjustment of its mandate and the relationship with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group to enable these two operations to carry out their respective functions more effectively, as well as to consider other aspects of post-conflict peace-building in Liberia;

7. *Urges* the Ministers of the Committee of Nine on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States, as authorized by their heads of State and Government at the Abuja Summit of 17 to 20 May 1995, to reconvene a meeting of the Liberian parties and political leaders as soon as possible in order to resolve finally the outstanding issues of political settlement;

8. *Urges* Member States in the meantime to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in the Monitoring Group in order to enable it to deploy fully and to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in this regard, to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States, and urges those States that have pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

10. *Reminds* all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

11. *Reaffirms* the continued necessity for the Monitoring Group and the Mission to cooperate in fulfilling their respective mandates, and, to this end, urges the Monitoring Group

to enhance its cooperation with the Mission at all levels to enable the Mission to discharge its mandate;

12. *Urges* the Monitoring Group in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Monitoring Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex), to take necessary action to provide security for observers and civilian staff of the Mission;

13. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the Monitoring Group and the Mission, as well as of organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

14. *Commends* the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing emergency humanitarian assistance and especially those of neighbouring countries in assisting Liberian refugees;

15. *Urges* the Organization of African Unity to continue its collaboration with the Economic Community of West African States in promoting the cause of peace in Liberia;

16. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue, as described in his report, to review the level of personnel of the Mission, to adapt the practical implementation of the mandate and to report as appropriate;

18. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council before 15 September 1995 on the situation in Liberia;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that her Government supported the extension of UNOMIL's mandate, despite its deep disappointment over the lack of progress of the Mission. She stressed, however, that unless by 15 September there was a real cease-fire, the installation and assumption of real authority by a new Council of State, a serious commitment by all the factions to disarmament and disengagement and a specific schedule for the rest of the peace process,

UNOMIL would end.<sup>91</sup> The latter view was echoed by the representatives of France<sup>92</sup> and the Russian Federation.<sup>93</sup>

The representatives of Italy<sup>94</sup> and Germany<sup>95</sup> shared the view of the Secretary-General that in the event conditions in Liberia would not permit UNOMIL to fulfil its mandate, it would have to be turned into a good-offices mission.

**Decision** of 15 September 1995 (3577<sup>th</sup> meeting): resolution 1014 (1995)

On 9 September 1995, pursuant to resolution 1001 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his twelfth progress report<sup>96</sup> on UNOMIL. The Secretary-General reported that there had been some positive developments on the political front and the prospects for peace were perhaps better than they had been at any time since the outbreak of the civil war. The Chairman of ECOWAS had convened a meeting of the factions at Abuja, from 16 to 19 August, which had culminated in the signing of the “Abuja Agreement”. The Abuja Agreement amended and supplemented the Cotonou and Akosombo accords, as subsequently clarified by the Accra agreements. It provided for, and resulted in, *inter alia*, the establishment of a cease-fire on 26 August and the installation of a new Council of State on 1 September. According to reports the Secretary-General had received, the new transitional government was enjoying the full support of all the key political leaders in Liberia. It was also reported that the parties had begun the process of disengaging their forces. In addition, over the past few months, the ECOWAS States had effectively harmonized their policies towards Liberia. Their representatives had met with the leaders of the factions on numerous occasions to

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>96</sup> S/1995/781. [Note: the report was subsequently reissued for technical reasons, with the date 13 September 1995.]

facilitate a final agreement, and a new spirit of cooperation seemed to have emerged between the Liberian parties and ECOWAS.

The Secretary-General noted that, while the success of the peace process in Liberia was primarily dependent upon the goodwill of the Liberian parties, there were several critical elements in the process, which required the full involvement and support of the international community. Among them were the demobilization and reintegration of combatants into civilian life and the provision of technical and logistical assistance to the national police.

The Secretary-General intended to consult the Chairman of ECOWAS on the possibility of holding a pledging conference for Liberia to raise resources needed by ECOMOG and for other needs critical to the advancement of the peace process in Liberia. He also planned to dispatch a mission to Liberia to assess the requirements in the evolving implementation of the Abuja Agreement. It was also his intention to deploy 42 additional military observers to UNOMIL to enable it to carry out its responsibilities in monitoring the cease-fire and the disengagement of forces. At the same time, UNOMIL would continue to work with ECOMOG on the adoption of a joint concept of operations, which would be presented to the Security Council for its consideration. He recommended that the Council consider extending the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 January 1996. During that period, in accordance with the Abuja Agreement, the parties should make every effort to complete the disengagement, assembly, disarmament and demobilization of their forces. Should they, at any time, fail to fulfil their commitments under the agreement, the Secretary-General would not hesitate to invite the Security Council to reconsider UNOMIL's involvement in the process.

At its 3577<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 15 September 1995, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 13 September 1995. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Ghana and Liberia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Italy)

then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution<sup>97</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations, and read out a revision<sup>98</sup> that had been made to the draft resolution. He also drew their attention to a letter<sup>99</sup> dated 25 August 1995 from the representative of Nigeria addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Abuja Agreement, and to a letter<sup>100</sup> dated 30 August from the representative of Ghana addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter dated 28 August 1995 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana addressed to the Secretary-General, also attaching the text of the Abuja Agreement.

The representative of Ghana stated that, after many false starts and failures, the Liberian civil war was finally being brought to an end. The States of the West African subregion, themselves in dire economic straits, had borne an enormous burden in trying to contain the Liberian civil war. Nigeria and Ghana especially had felt compelled to make great sacrifices to resolve the Liberian situation and they were now exhausted. The United Nations needed to assume its rightful duty in marshalling the financial and material resources needed to turn the hope of a permanent peace and ordered civil life in Liberia into reality. The international community should shoulder its responsibility towards Liberia.

It was crucial that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL, but beyond that was the Council's added duty to give support for any measures proposed by the Secretary-General to obtain the necessary resources for the tasks ahead. Those tasks included the augmentation of the troop strength of ECOMOG in a significant way to enable the force to fulfill its mandate to deploy throughout Liberia; to seal all the Liberian borders in order to ensure that no arms or ammunition were brought into

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<sup>97</sup> S/1995/790.

<sup>98</sup> See S/PV. 3577.

<sup>99</sup> S/1995/742.

<sup>100</sup> S/1995/756.

Liberia; to encamp and disarm combatants of all factions; to establish roadblocks to check the movement of arms and assist in directing refugees and internally displaced persons; and to carry out confidence patrols to create an atmosphere conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. Those engaged in the situation in Liberia were on the verge of achieving a great victory for the international community and realizing the hope embodied in the Charter. Ghana appealed to the members of the Security Council to meet their responsibility.<sup>101</sup>

The representative of Liberia observed that the Abuja Agreement was being implemented and offered better prospects than before for a final peaceful resolution of the Liberian crisis. He recalled that in resolution 1001 (1995) the Council had set a number of conditions for the extension of UNOMIL's mandate. Since then, the Council of State had been installed, the Cabinet had been appointed and was governing the country, and the cease-fire was generally holding. Against that background, Liberians were more hopeful than ever before that there would be a lasting peace. The Government was devising strategies to launch the revival of the economy, and was endeavouring to meet the food and health needs of the population, to reopen schools in areas that were now accessible and under its control, and to restore electric power, potable water and other social amenities to the capital. Discussions were also being held on the key issue of the reintegration of former combatants into civil society.

All of those efforts could only be pursued, however, in an atmosphere of sustained peace and security. The Government was therefore working with ECOMOG and UNOMIL to implement, in a timely manner, the crucial elements of disarmament and demobilization of combatants, as stipulated in all the relevant Agreements. His delegation joined in the appeal that ECOMOG be provided with additional resources and other logistical support in order to execute its mandate. For five years ECOWAS had borne a substantial burden to maintain its presence in Liberia. In keeping with Article 52 of

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<sup>101</sup> S/PV.3577, pp. 3-4.

Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which encouraged regional arrangements in the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council, through the creation and dispatch of UNOMIL, had complemented the efforts of ECOWAS. UNOMIL's involvement in the peace process had inspired confidence among Liberians that the international community was supportive of their desire to restore peace and normality in Liberia. It was the hope of the Liberian Government and people that the United Nations would provide even more financial support to ECOMOG. When a democratically elected government was inaugurated in Liberia, the cooperation between ECOWAS and the United Nations would indeed be recorded in the annals of the Organization as a unique success story, the lessons of which could be applied to other conflicts in other parts of the world.<sup>102</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that a breakthrough had occurred in the search for peace in Liberia following the successful conclusion of the Abuja Agreement. Nonetheless, his delegation realized that the real test of the new commitment to peace would lie in the readiness of the Liberian parties to implement the key aspects of the Agreement, particularly disengagement, encampment and disarmament, as provided for in the revised schedule. The ECOWAS leaders had played their part and the Liberian parties had done what the Security Council had asked of them. They were waiting to see what the international community, particularly the Security Council, was prepared to do in assisting the Liberian parties to implement all their Agreements and to support ECOMOG. The Secretary-General had rightly observed that, while the success of the peace process in Liberia was primarily dependent on the goodwill of the Liberian parties, there were several critical elements in the process that required the full involvement of the international community. They included disarmament and demobilization, the reintegration into civilian life of an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 combatants, and assistance to ECOMOG. More needed to be done to support ECOMOG. His delegation hoped that the proposal of the Secretary-General to

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.



organize a pledging conference for Liberia to raise the resources needed by ECOMOG would soon get off the ground and it appealed to the international community to respond generously.

His delegation was happy to go along with the recommendation of the Secretary-General for a renewal of UNOMIL's mandate until 31 January 1996, but would have wished, however, for a commitment from the Council to a restoration of UNOMIL to its full strength as a firm expression of political support and of the support of the Council to the Liberian peace process. Nigeria looked forward to the recommendations of the Secretary-General relating to a new concept of operations for UNOMIL, including its relationship with ECOMOG.<sup>103</sup>

The representative of China stated that his delegation was of the view that the peace process in Liberia had proven that only when the parties concerned demonstrate good will for a political settlement could there be a momentum for peace. In conflicts in certain regions, particularly those between various parties within a country, peace could not be brought about by mandatory means or imposed from outside. His delegation was also of the view that the active participation of the international community, particularly regional organizations, in the mediation and peace-keeping activities had also facilitated the peace process in Liberia.<sup>104</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote, as orally revised in its provisional form, and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1014 (1995). The resolution reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*  
*Recalling* all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1001 (1995) of 30 June 1995,

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 September 1995 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1995/781),

*Welcoming* the recent Abuja Agreement signed by the Liberian parties on 19 August 1995 (S/1995/742), which amends and supplements the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex) and the Akosombo Agreement (S/1994/1174) as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7),

*Welcoming also* the installation of a new Council of State, the re-establishment of a comprehensive and effective ceasefire, the beginning of the disengagement of forces and the agreement on a new timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the Agreement,

*Commending* the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

*Commending* in particular the efforts of the Governments of Nigeria and Ghana as host and Chairman respectively of the Abuja meeting, which have significantly contributed to the conclusion of the Abuja Agreement by the Liberian parties,

*Noting* that with these positive developments the Liberian parties have made appreciable progress towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict,

*Emphasizing* the need for all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully all the agreements and commitments they have entered into, in particular with regard to maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants and national reconciliation,

*Emphasizing once again* that the people of Liberia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

*Expressing its appreciation* to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group,

*Commending* those Member States which have provided assistance in support of the peace process, including contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

*Noting* that, with the signing of the Abuja Agreement, additional resources in terms of troops, equipment and logistic support would be required by the Monitoring Group if it is to be able to deploy throughout the country to oversee the implementation of the various aspects of the Agreement, in particular the disarmament and demobilization process,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 September 1995 (S/1995/781);
2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 31 January 1996;

3. *Welcomes* the intention of the Secretary-General to increase immediately by forty-two the number of military observers to monitor the ceasefire and the disengagement of forces, and considers that any increase beyond that should be based on progress on the ground in implementing the peace agreement;

4. *Welcomes also* the intention of the Secretary-General to submit by the end of October 1995, for the Council's consideration, recommendations concerning the new concept of operations of the Mission which should address, *inter alia*, measures to enhance the relationship between the Mission and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, aspects of disarmament and demobilization and the resources which the Mission will require to carry out its tasks effectively; and expresses its intention to review and respond to the recommendations of the Secretary-General in an expeditious manner;

5. *Urges* Member States to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and in this regard calls on those States which have pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

6. *Also urges* all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General in this regard to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States, and welcomes his intention to organize, in consultation with the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, the holding of a pledging conference for Liberia as soon as possible to raise the resources needed by the Monitoring Group and for other needs critical to the advancement of the peace process in Liberia;

8. *Welcomes* the intention of the Secretary-General to dispatch a mission to Liberia to consult with the Liberian leaders and other interested parties on the requirements in the evolving implementation of the Abuja Agreement (S/1995/742), and looks forward to his report on the mission's results and recommendations;

9. *Encourages* Member States, in particular African countries, to consider providing troops to the expanded Monitoring Group;

10. *Stresses* that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the continued participation of the Mission, is contingent on the continued commitment by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation;

11. *Reminds* all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992 and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

12. *Calls upon* the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Monitoring Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex), to take necessary action to provide security for the observers and civilian staff of the Mission;

13. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the Monitoring Group and the Mission, as well as of organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

14. *Commends* the efforts made by Member States, including those of neighbouring countries, and humanitarian organizations in providing emergency humanitarian assistance to Liberian refugees, and calls upon them to increase the efforts already made to handle the voluntary and rapid return of refugees in their countries and other aspects of humanitarian assistance;

15. *Encourages* the Organization of African Unity to continue its post-conflict peace-building collaboration with the Economic Community of West African States in promoting the cause of peace in Liberia;

16. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all Mission personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that the adoption of the resolution just voted upon, renewing the mandate of UNOMIL, signaled the Council's recognition that the warring factions in Liberia had taken the important steps necessary to put their peace process back on track. Without that development, the United States could not have endorsed further support of UNOMIL at that time. She warned, however, that there was still a long way to go. Her delegation urged the Liberian Transitional Government to build on the steps already taken so that the peace would be

lasting. The arms embargo declared by the Security Council must be strictly enforced. The Liberian factions and people must keep in mind, as the resolution reiterated, that continuing international support, including the participation of UNOMIL, would be contingent on their demonstrating through actions their commitment to resolve their differences peacefully. Above all, the cease-fire needed to be observed strictly by all sides. She also observed that Liberia would need the continued assistance of the international community to re-establish the social and institutional fabric of its society. She stated that the resolution not only supported the Secretary-General's immediate recommendations, but also laid down the groundwork for further changes and improvements in UNOMIL and its relationship with ECOMOG. Her delegation looked forward to the report of the Secretary-General at the end of October and was of the view that it would be premature to make further changes, particularly in the number of United Nations observers, until the Council had had the opportunity to review those recommendations.<sup>105</sup>

The representative of France supported an increase in the numbers of UNOMIL observers, in order to monitor respect for the commitments undertaken by the Liberian factions at Abuja. His delegation also awaited with interest the report that the Secretary-General was to submit to the Council on the new concept of UNOMIL's operations, especially in the context of enhancing the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG. The involvement of the United Nations also related to humanitarian aspects and it should extend to the economic sphere. The implementation of the Peace Agreement should be accompanied by a greater involvement of international financial institutions, whose assistance could be decisive in the implementation of troop demobilization, on which the restoration of peace depended.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

The representative of the United Kingdom welcomed the decision to increase immediately the number of observers in UNOMIL. His delegation hoped that they would be deployed as soon as possible and looked forward to the Secretary-General's presentation of a new concept of operations for UNOMIL. Improved and effective cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG would be the key to the success of both missions. He also stated that while the primary responsibility for the reconstruction of their country lay with the Liberian people, the international community would have an important role to play.<sup>107</sup>

The representative of Rwanda stated that his delegation was convinced that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, were not able to put an end to conflict in the region without the participation of regional and sub-regional African organizations. That was the reason why cooperation between the Security Council and the Secretariat and African regional organizations must be recommended. He also stated that one could not speak of peace in Liberia without talking about development. The demobilization of some tens of thousands of combatants, including children, required an enormous economic effort in order to involve those active forces in the economy and ensure schooling for children. Such demobilization should be funded by the international community, so as to avoid the new recruitment of demobilized individuals. Rwanda also called for financial support for ECOMOG, so that it might maintain peace throughout the country and ensure respect for the Abuja Agreement and the proper functioning of the new Council of State.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-16.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-17.

**Decision** of 10 November 1995 (3592<sup>nd</sup> meeting): resolution 1020 (1995)

On 23 October 1995, pursuant to resolution 1014 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his thirteenth progress report<sup>109</sup> on UNOMIL. The Secretary-General reported that, from 19 to 30 September, the technical team had traveled to Liberia to meet the Liberian parties and from 1 to 2 October to Accra, where it had had consultations with ECOWAS. The Transitional Government had recognized that it was its responsibility to ensure the effective implementation of the Abuja Agreement, including the disarming and demobilization of combatants. It had also expressed the desire to work closely with ECOWAS, UNOMIL and the international community in the implementation of the Agreement. In accordance with the Peace Agreements, ECOWAS would continue to play the lead role in the peace process in Liberia, while ECOMOG would retain the primary responsibility for assisting the Transitional Government in the implementation of the military provisions of the agreements. With regard to UNOMIL, the Secretary-General recommended that it should continue to have the mandate of observing and monitoring the implementation of the Peace Agreements, with some adjustments.<sup>110</sup> He also made recommendations relating to the new concept of operations for UNOMIL.<sup>111</sup> The new concept of operations would require 160 military observers. ECOMOG had estimated that it would require an additional 4,731 troops to carry out its concept of operations. The Secretary-General recalled that he had pointed out that the mission would be able to discharge its mandate only if ECOMOG had adequate resources to carry out its own responsibilities. He therefore intended to convene a conference on assistance to Liberia in New York, on 27 October.

In his conclusions, the Secretary-General expressed concerns about recent reports of cease-fire violations and the delays that such incidents had created in the

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<sup>109</sup> S/1995/881 and Add.1 [issued on 30 October 1995].

<sup>110</sup> These recommendations were outlined in paragraph 24 of the report. They were subsequently endorsed and reproduced in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 1020 (1995).

<sup>111</sup> These recommendations were outlined in part V of the report. They were subsequently welcomed, but not reproduced, in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1020 (1995).

disengagement process. He urged the Transitional Government to take the necessary action to avoid further incidents and to maintain the momentum of the peace process.

At its 3592<sup>nd</sup> meeting, on 10 November 1995, the Security Council included in its agenda the thirteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOMIL. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Liberia, at this request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) then drew the attention of the Council to the text of a draft resolution<sup>112</sup> that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The representative of Liberia stated that, for the first time since the commencement of the Liberian conflict in 1989, the faction leaders had taken on the responsibility of administering the affairs of Government by serving as members of the Council of State. The new leadership had publicly pledged its total commitment to the peace process and had declared it to be irreversible. While deeds and not words would ultimately determine the outcome, his delegation believed in the sincerity of the Liberian leaders. His delegation also firmly believed that the support of the international community was indispensable. It endorsed the report of the Secretary-General, which reaffirmed the urgent need for international support to assist ECOMOG fully to achieve its mandate, to provide humanitarian assistance, to aid in the repatriation and resettlement of refugees, to facilitate the demobilization and reintegration of combatants into civil society, and to assist law enforcement, the judiciary and the electoral process. His delegation also endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations on a new concept of operations for UNOMIL and was of the view that the implementation of the new mandate would ensure more effective coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> S/PV.3592, pp. 2-3.



Speaking before the vote, the representative of Nigeria stated that, while the main responsibility for the implementation of the Peace Agreement rested with the Liberian parties, the critical phase of disarmament and demobilization required the assistance and support of ECOMOG, UNOMIL and all the leaders of the region. In that regard, Nigeria had decided to increase its contingent in ECOMOG and had disbursed additional funds for the procurement of vital equipment for ECOMOG. Nevertheless, the regional efforts should be supplemented by those of the international community to provide ECOMOG with the logistical support, assistance in transportation, communications equipment and fuel that would enable it to discharge its functions effectively. His delegation supported the proposed adjustments to the mandate and concept of operations of UNOMIL, as they would enhance the ability of UNOMIL effectively to complement ECOMOG in the peace process.<sup>114</sup>

The representative of Botswana stated that ECOMOG had a vital role to play in the implementation of the cease-fire and the disarmament and demobilization of combatants. Referring to operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, he stated that the time had come for the international community to assume its responsibilities in the restoration of peace in Liberia. He also concurred with the Secretary-General that the demobilization and reintegration of combatants were essential to the success of the peace process. The United Nations had the responsibility to ensure that the gains that had been made were not reversed by the lack of resources for demobilization. Botswana fully supported the provision of resources for the demobilization under the assessed budget, as the demobilization was too important to be left to voluntary contributions, which might not be disbursed in a timely manner. Subparagraph (a) to (g) of operative paragraph 2 of the resolution clearly outlined the adjusted mandate of UNOMIL. The successful implementation of the mandate would depend to a large extent on the cooperation of the Liberian parties with ECOMOG and UNOMIL.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The representative of the United Kingdom expressed the support of his delegation for the Secretary-General's recommendations for an adjustment of the mandate of UNOMIL. He referred to the commitments that his Government had made at the Conference on Assistance to Liberia and urged others to provide assistance to ECOMOG to enable it to carry out its mandate. Without the necessary resources, ECOMOG would not be able to carry out the tasks assigned to it under the Abuja Agreement.<sup>116</sup>

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1020 (1995), which reads as follows:

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolutions 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 1014 (1995) of 15 September 1995,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 23 October 1995 (S/1995/881 and Add.1) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

*Commending* the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

*Stressing* the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between the Mission and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group in the implementation of their respective mandates,

*Noting* the appreciable progress the Liberian parties have recently made towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict, including the re-establishment of a ceasefire, installation of the new Council of State and an agreement on a timetable for the implementation of the peace process from ceasefire to election,

*Noting also* that the Liberian parties appear more determined than ever before to take tangible steps towards the restoration of peace and stability in their country,

*Expressing its concern* about the incidence of ceasefire violations and delays in the process of disengagement of forces,

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

*Expressing its appreciation* to those African States which have contributed and are contributing troops to the Monitoring Group,

*Commending* those Member States which have provided assistance in support of the peace process, including contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 23 October 1995 (S/1995/881 and Add.1);

2. *Decides* to adjust the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia to be defined as follows:

(a) To exercise its good offices to support the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the Liberian National Transitional Government to implement the peace agreements and to cooperate with them for this purpose;

(b) To investigate all allegations of violations of the ceasefire reported to the Ceasefire Violations Committee, to recommend measures to prevent the recurrence of such violations and to report to the Secretary-General accordingly;

(c) To monitor compliance with the other military provisions of the peace agreements, including disengagement of forces, and disarmament and observance of the arms embargo and to verify their impartial application;

(d) To assist, as appropriate, in the maintenance of assembly sites agreed upon by the Monitoring Group, the Transitional Government and the factions and in the implementation of a programme for demobilization of combatants, in cooperation with the Transitional Government, donor agencies and non-governmental organizations;

(e) To support, as appropriate, humanitarian assistance activities;

(f) To investigate and report to the Secretary-General on violations of human rights and to assist local human rights groups, as appropriate, in raising voluntary contributions for training and logistic support;

(g) To observe and verify the election process, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Community of West African States, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with provisions of the peace agreements;

3. *Decides* that the number of military observers should be a maximum of one hundred and sixty;

4. *Welcomes*, in this context, the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General concerning the new concept of operations for the Mission;

5. *Calls upon* all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have entered into, in particular with regard to the maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and national reconciliation, taking into account the fact that the restoration of peace and democracy in Liberia is primarily the responsibility of those parties which signed the Abuja Agreement on 19 August 1995 (S/1995/742);

6. *Urges* Member States to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and in this regard encourages States that have pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

7. *Urges also* all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to assembly and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

8. *Welcomes* the commitments made at the Conference on Assistance to Liberia, held in New York on 27 October 1995;

9. *Reiterates* that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia is contingent on the continued commitment by the Liberian parties to achieve national reconciliation in line with the peace process;

10. *Urges* the Transitional Government to take the necessary action to avoid further incidents of ceasefire violations and maintain the momentum of the peace process;

11. *Reminds* all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

12. *Calls upon* the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Monitoring Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272, annex) and the new concept of operations, to take necessary action to provide security for observers and civilian staff of the Mission;

13. *Stresses* the need for close contacts and enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group in their operational activities at all levels;

14. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the Monitoring Group and the Mission, as well as of organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate

such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

15. *Stresses* the need for improved coordination in carrying out the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of internally displaced persons;

16. *Stresses also* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia as well as the necessity to rehabilitate promptly the penitentiary system in this country;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit by 15 December 1995 a progress report on the situation in Liberia including the implementation of the adjusted mandate of the Mission, as well as its new concept of operations;

18. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all Mission personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France stated that, in order to ensure the success of the peace process, several conditions must be met. First, peace could return only if the Liberian factions fully abided by their Abuja commitments. Second, it was necessary for the United Nations to continue, along with ECOMOG, to support the completion of the peace process. The French delegation had voted in favour of the resolution because it clarified the division of tasks between UNOMIL and ECOMOG, with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the personnel on the ground. Finally, the international community must continue to support those working for peace in Liberia. The convening of the Conference on Assistance to Liberia had been a major initiative. The French delegation hoped that States, international organizations and international financial organizations would demonstrate generosity and responsibility in order to enable Liberia and the entire African region to return to stability and the path of progress.<sup>117</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the resolution just adopted and the recent Conference on Assistance to Liberia were a clear confirmation of

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

the international community's readiness to support, not only in words but in deeds, the efforts of the Liberian parties, Member States of ECOWAS, and the OAU to put an end to the war in Liberia. Of particular importance was the factor of confidence-building among the participants in the peace process. His delegation deemed important the provision of the resolution that stressed the need for close contacts and enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in their operational activities at all levels. Such action would foster the success of the peace process in Liberia. The positive experience gained through practical cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organization in the maintenance of international peace and security would also prove useful for other peacemaking operations.<sup>118</sup>

The representative of the United States observed that, under the new concept of operations, UNOMIL would have a major role in the management of, and financial responsibility for, the demobilization process. The demobilization of tens of thousands of Liberian combatants was critical to the peace process. The United States believed that international humanitarian agencies and NGOs should be brought into the peace process as soon as possible – not only to ease the burden on UNOMIL, but also to ensure that the entire process, from disarmament through demobilization to reintegration into society, was carried out in an efficient, speedy and coordinated manner. The United States, along with many other countries, was working hard to mobilize resources for logistical support of ECOMOG's deployment, which was a precondition for UNOMIL's own deployment and the actual start of the disarmament and demobilization process. But the Liberian National Transitional Government, the Liberian factions and ECOMOG needed to do the maximum with the resources they already had to keep the process moving. If ECOMOG did not deploy in December, many combatants and civilians would lose faith in the peace process.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

The representative of Rwanda stated that his country wished to reiterate again its appeal to the Security Council and the Secretariat to resolve African problems only through Africa's own institutions, for the effect would be greater and would cost less. In the light of the African continent's economic situation, regional and subregional organizations needed only material and moral support in order to better carry out the tasks that States had assigned them. He contended that one could not ensure peace and stability in Somalia, Rwanda and Liberia without ensuring economic development, which was why his delegation was inviting the Security Council to take a different approach. He suggested that a "Marshall Plan" for Somalia, Rwanda and Liberia was not only possible and feasible, but it was necessary and indispensable in order to help those countries get back on their feet. Neglecting Africa might have adverse consequences, not only for African countries, but also for neighbouring continents.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15.