

material resources for the operations. They emphasize that the operations must be launched and maintained on a sound and secure financial basis and stress the importance of full and timely payments of assessed contributions. At the same time, they underscore that the operations must be planned and conducted with maximum efficiency and cost-effectiveness.

The members of the Council also emphasize the importance of political support by all Member States, and in particular by the parties concerned, for United Nations peacekeeping and for the action of the Secretary-General in conducting the operations. They stress that a peacekeeping operation is essentially a temporary measure, intended to facilitate the resolution of conflicts and disputes. Its mandate is not automatically renewable. Peacekeeping should never be construed as a substitute for the ultimate goal: an early negotiated settlement. In the light of this, the members of the Council will continue to examine carefully the mandate of each operation and, when necessary, vary it in response to prevailing circumstances.

The members of the Council, while recognizing the principle that peacekeeping should only be undertaken with the consent of the host countries and the parties concerned, urge the host countries and all parties involved to assist and facilitate in every way the successful and safe deployment and functioning of the United Nations peacekeeping operations in order to enable the fulfilment of their mandates, including the early conclusion of status-of-forces agreements with the United Nations and the provision of appropriate infrastructure support.

The members of the Council are encouraged by recent achievements of United Nations peacekeeping. Bearing in mind the primary responsibility of the Council under the Charter of the United Nations, they express their determination to continue to work jointly and in cooperation with the Secretary-General for the prevention and resolution of international conflicts. The members of the Council remain ready to consider launching new peacekeeping operations as and when necessary in the interest of international peace and security, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

## **28. The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security**

### **Decision of 31 January 1992 (3046th meeting): statement by the President**

On 31 January 1992, at its 3046th meeting, the Security Council met for the first time at the level of Heads of State and Government. The Council included in its agenda the item entitled “The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security”.

After the adoption of the agenda, the President of the Council (United Kingdom) made an introductory statement, in which he stated that the Council faced new challenges and should set a new course in tackling them. He observed that the presence of so many Heads of State or Government reflected the importance they all attached to the United Nations and their commitment to its ideals. He outlined four purposes for the meeting. First, the meeting marked a turning-point in the world and at the United Nations. On the international scene, they had witnessed the end of the cold war, presenting immense opportunities but also new risks. At the United Nations, there was an opportunity for Council members to give their full backing to the new Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate. Second, Council members should reaffirm their commitment to the principle of collective security, and to the resolution of disputes in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United

Nations. In that regard, they should send a clear signal that they intended to deal with threats to international peace and security through the United Nations and its Security Council. Third, Council members should consider anew the means by which collective security was upheld through the United Nations and consider how best to update and develop them. All the instruments at their disposal should be reviewed: preventive action, to avert crises; peacemaking, to restore peace through diplomacy; and peacekeeping, to reduce tensions and consolidate efforts to restore peace. In all of those endeavours, the role of the Secretary-General was, in his view, vital. Fourth, Council members should commit themselves anew to upholding international peace and security through reinforced measures of arms control. He considered that, in that sphere, the role of the United Nations — not just the Security Council, but the whole of the Organization — was an increasingly important one. He stressed further that, as they met to consider the specific responsibilities of the Security Council, the wider concerns of the international community were also in their minds. He observed that, without economic development and prosperity, lasting peace and stability would not be achieved. Equally, however, only when conditions of security and peace were

assured could sustained economic development take place.<sup>1</sup>

Commencing the discussion, the Secretary-General welcomed the historic meeting and suggested that the Council should meet at the summit level periodically, to take stock of the state of the world. He observed that, while the contours of the post-cold-war global order were still taking shape, several lessons had already been driven home. Democratization at the national level dictated a corresponding process at the global level; at both levels it aimed at the rule of law. New ways of preventing internal disputes and inter-State confrontations would need to be developed. State sovereignty was taking on a new meaning; added to its dimension of right was the dimension of responsibility. Collective security could be based only on collective confidence and good faith — confidence in the principles by which it was governed and good faith in the means by which it was sought to be ensured. With the end of the cold war, it was important to avoid the outbreak or resurgence of new conflicts, involving irredentist claims, ethnic strife, tribal wars and border disputes. He emphasized the importance of engaging in preventive diplomacy to identify potential areas of conflict and resolve crises before they degenerated into armed confrontation.<sup>2</sup>

The President of France observed that it was a time of crisis characterized by war, exodus, the break-up of States and terrorism. In his view, the following were required in response: instruments for comprehensive, universal action; a guarantee of collective security; and new forms of solidarity. With regard to instruments for universal action, it was necessary, he believed, to expand the means available to the Security Council for intervention. He called for the creation of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East; universal adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; and the adoption of a convention banning chemical weapons. With regard to collective security, he thought it would be jeopardized very quickly unless up-to-date conditions were created for it. France, for its part, wished to ensure the greater effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. To that end, it proposed to make available to the Secretary-General a 1,000-man contingent which could be deployed at any time, on

48 hours' notice. Such deployments would, he noted, involve activity by the Military Staff Committee, as provided for in the Charter. He also emphasized the need to develop preventive diplomacy, adding that Council members should systematically provide the Secretary-General with information on international security and give him the mandate to maintain regular contacts with the leaders of regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. Lastly, he observed that security could not be conceived solely in military terms: it had an economic aspect. He recommended, accordingly, holding a world summit on social development that would rejuvenate thinking on development itself and highlight the human dimension of things.<sup>3</sup>

The President of Ecuador commended the announcement made a few hours before by the Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation of their readiness to eliminate certain types of nuclear missiles and reduce their arsenals of other types of strategic weapons, as a major step on the road to disarmament. He considered, however, that the non-military risks to security had increased, and supported, in that regard, the proposal by the President of France to convene a summit on social development.<sup>4</sup>

The King of Morocco observed that the Council had not always been able to carry out its functions in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular under Chapter VI of the Charter. The Council had, for much of the time, been paralysed because of the cold war, which had been reflected in the Council by the exercise of the right of veto by the great Powers of one or other bloc. For the same reason, the Council had found itself incapable of finding satisfactory solutions to regional conflicts, which had harmful consequences in the international arena. He stressed the importance of dialogue and mediation to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes, and urged that the Secretary-General be given all the means of preventive diplomacy to prevent the degeneration of disputes into armed conflicts. He doubted, on the other hand, that the provisions of the Charter concerning collective security could become operational unless all countries fully respected international law and unless the principle of equality of States was made a reality. In his view, the strengthening of the organs of the

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<sup>1</sup> S/PV.3046, pp. 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-31.

United Nations and of their role in the maintenance of international peace and security required that serious consideration be given to disarmament questions. At the same time, he identified underdevelopment as the greatest threat to world peace and security.<sup>5</sup>

The President of the Russian Federation stressed the need and opportunity that existed to implement deep cuts in strategic offensive arms and tactical nuclear weapons; to limit and even cease nuclear testing; to reduce conventional armaments and armed forces; to implement international agreements on the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons; and to enhance the reliability of barriers to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. He said that the Russian Federation was fully aware of its responsibility for making the Commonwealth of Independent States a factor of stability in the world, particularly with regard to nuclear weapons. To that end, the participating States of the Commonwealth shared the view that nuclear weapons were an integral part of the strategic forces of the Commonwealth, under a single command and unified control. He welcomed the Organization's increased efforts to strengthen global and regional stability and to build a new democratic world order based on the equality of all States. He added that the Russian Federation was prepared to continue partnership among the permanent members of the Security Council, noting that the climate in the activities of that body was conducive to cooperative and constructive work. He shared the view that there was a need for a special rapid-response mechanism to ensure peace and stability. As he saw it, upon decision of the Security Council, such a force could be expeditiously activated in areas of crisis. He also expressed his country's willingness to play a practical role in United Nations peacekeeping operations and contribute to their logistical support. In addition, he affirmed that his country supported steps to consolidate the rule of law throughout the world.<sup>6</sup>

The President of the United States of America noted that the end of the cold war had breathed new life into the Organization, as evidenced by the previous year's events: the world had seen a newly invigorated United Nations in action as the Council had stood firm against aggression, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter. He affirmed that the Organization could count on his country's full support in the task of

accelerating the revitalization and building of a vigorous and effective United Nations. The United States looked, he said, to the Secretary-General to present to the Security Council his recommendations for ensuring effective and efficient peacekeeping, peacemaking and preventive diplomacy, and looked forward to exploring those ideas together. He shared the view of others regarding the importance of banning the use of chemical weapons, and addressing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. On the latter, he recalled the unilateral steps he had announced to reduce his country's nuclear arsenal, and added that the United States was prepared to move forward on mutual arms reductions. He observed that, although the threat of global nuclear war was more distant than at any time in the nuclear era, the spectre of mass destruction remained all too real, especially as some nations continued to push to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. He pointed to their triumph in the Gulf as testament to the United Nations mission: namely, that security was a shared responsibility. He stressed that, as on all the urgent issues facing them, progress came from acting in concert. He urged Council members, in that regard, to deal resolutely with renegade regimes, if necessary by sanctions or stronger measures, to compel them to observe international standards of behaviour. He stressed that terrorists and their State sponsors must know that there would be serious consequences if they violated international law. He emphasized that democracy, human rights and the rule of law were the building blocks of peace and freedom. In conclusion, he observed that, perhaps for the first time since its inception in San Francisco, one could look at the Charter as a living, breathing document. Their mission, as Member States, was to make it strong and sturdy through increased dedication and cooperation.<sup>7</sup>

The President of Venezuela stated that, in order to organize the peace, the United Nations had been compelled, owing to the circumstances of its foundation, to sacrifice sovereign equality in the fulfilment of its mandate. The right of veto had, in his view, been an extraordinary power, which had been highly useful in ensuring the survival of the Organization; without that power, the United Nations might perhaps have met the same fate as the League of Nations. Now that those risks were gone, however, he believed that the Organization should restore the basic principle underlying its validity: that of equality of

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-41.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-48.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-55.

rights and obligations. He added, in that regard, that the Security Council itself reflected political realities as they existed at the end of the Second World War, and not current realities. He identified several other priorities of the United Nations in maintaining peace. These included the need to strengthen regional organizations in an operational relationship with the Organization. Another priority was to meet the challenge of disarmament. He saw that task not as the exclusive responsibility of those who had confronted each other during the cold war, but as a collective responsibility, which included the development of guarantees and controls by the international community. He shared the view of others, moreover, regarding the need for a summit on social development, to address the issue of underdevelopment.<sup>8</sup>

The Federal Chancellor of Austria noted the new partnership in global responsibility shared by members of the Security Council — permanent and non-permanent members alike — which had enabled the Council to take a number of unanimous positions on some of the most complex and critical issues. He said that the Organization, its Secretary-General and the Security Council must act as catalysts for peaceful and constructive change. He saw four major issues in that context: the strengthening of the United Nations in peacemaking and peacekeeping; the need for further progress in disarmament and arms control, including the dismantling of weapons of mass destruction; the significance of human rights, minority rights and democratic processes for development, prosperity and peace; and the need for effective measures against poverty to create a long-term basis for stability and security in international relations. He observed that some of the recent crises had made clear the urgent need for an early reaction to potential conflicts. In his view, preventive diplomacy both by the Secretary-General and, where appropriate, by the Security Council, would have to be developed further. He suggested, in that regard, that an early deployment of peacekeeping personnel, possibly at the request of only one party to the conflict, might help to contain a dispute and facilitate a process of negotiation and compromise before the outbreak of hostilities. He strongly believed that the Security Council would have to consider the possibility of such preventive measures. He also recalled the Charter's goal of multilateral

peace enforcement and the creation of an effective system of global collective security. He considered that the Council had taken a significant step in that direction when it authorized a coalition of States to use all necessary means to implement its mandatory resolutions. He suggested that another step would be to have a fresh look at Article 43 of the Charter. On the issue of arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, which he considered as one of the most important future tasks of the Security Council, he thought that Article 26 of the Charter provided an excellent programme for future action. He stressed that the protection of human rights, especially the rights of ethnic minorities, had an important impact on the development of peaceful relations between States, and noted that the Secretary-General had rightly identified those issues as priority areas for the future work of the Organization.<sup>9</sup>

The Prime Minister of Belgium observed that, among the most important tasks facing the Organization, he saw three that could be implemented through the means of action at their disposal: cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and regional organizations; extension of the powers of initiative and inquiry of the Secretary-General and the Security Council; and strengthening the efficiency of United Nations peacekeeping operations. With regard to regional organizations, he thought they should be involved systematically in the Security Council's actions. He considered it promising that, in its resolutions concerning the Yugoslav crisis, the Council had constantly referred to the intervention of the European Community, as well as to the efforts made within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. On conflict prevention, he stressed the importance of the Secretary-General exercising fully his right to take initiatives. He said that the Secretary-General must invent new kinds of diplomacy; that he must take new risks to face such challenges as terrorism, the recurrence of civil wars, and the emergence of international conflicts linked to the violation of human rights. With regard to peacekeeping operations, he stressed the need to ensure the immediate availability of funds from the moment the Council decided on the launching of a peacekeeping operation. In that regard, his country proposed the creation of budgetary reserves, and would give favourable consideration to

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-60.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-67.

the secondment of troops and observers to the United Nations for possible deployment within such peacekeeping operations.<sup>10</sup>

The Prime Minister of Cape Verde welcomed the fact that, with the end of the cold war, the Council had developed a new approach to its work, based on cooperation, especially between its permanent members. That cooperation had enabled the Council to assist, through negotiations, in the settlement of long-standing conflicts in many parts of the world, and to take swift and decisive action to reverse aggression and restore the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait. He believed that the new era of positive cooperation in the Council should be further strengthened, in order to allow for full and regular implementation of the Charter's collective security system. In his view, the United Nations, through its Security Council, must act — as envisaged in the Charter — as the guardian of the security of nations, especially the small countries, and as a catalyst for promotion of the primacy of the rule of law in international relations. The actions and decisions of the Council in the past two years had, he thought, raised new hopes in that regard. Emphasizing that the Council should act in such a way as to strengthen its international credibility and its moral authority, he stressed that it should seek to reach decisions by consensus and avoid selective implementation of its resolutions. Highlighting the important role the Secretary-General had under the Charter in assisting the Security Council in its peacemaking efforts, by bringing to its attention any matter that might, in his judgement, threaten international peace and security, he encouraged the Secretary-General to use that prerogative. Ultimately, however, he noted, Council measures alone would not secure the permanent stability of nations or quell regional rivalries. Its role would be facilitated only when the root causes of instability and conflicts were properly addressed. He thought, therefore, that Member States should be prepared to couple the efforts of the Council with those of the United Nations system and the international community, in general, to help in finding solutions to poverty, underdevelopment and social problems: he firmly supported the initiative to convene a world summit on development.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-75.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-85.

The Premier of the State Council of China expressed his Government's views on what kind of new international order should be established that would be conducive to world peace and development. The new international order should, he stated, include the following elements. It should be based on the principles of mutual respect for the sovereign equality of Member States and non-interference in their internal affairs, as enshrined in the Charter. The human rights and fundamental freedoms of all mankind should be universally respected, but it should be recognized that they fell within the sovereignty of each country. It was neither appropriate nor feasible to demand that all countries measure up to the human rights criteria of a few countries. Nor should human rights issues be used as an excuse to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Effective disarmament and arms control should be achieved in a fair, reasonable, comprehensive and balanced manner. Countries with the largest arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons should take the lead in discharging their special responsibilities for disarmament. Lastly, the United Nations should play a more active role in maintaining world peace and promoting development, as well as in helping to establish a new international order. He concluded by expressing China's readiness to cooperate with other Council members, so as to expand areas of consensus, and its support for the work of the Secretary-General.<sup>12</sup>

The Prime Minister of India welcomed the newly effective role of the Security Council which he attributed to cohesion among the permanent members of the Council. He stressed, however, that the interpretation of the Charter, upon which the role of the United Nations rested, and the actions of the Security Council must flow from the collective will, not from the views or predilections of a few. He considered wider representation in the Security Council to be essential, to ensure its moral sanction and political effectiveness. He stressed that the Council should anticipate the consequences of its decisions, and take speedy action to address problems arising in a third country from their implementation. He noted, for example, that economic sanctions against one country could have a major impact on its trading partners. While acknowledging the obligations of the State to protect human rights, he suggested that there was a need to delineate the parameters that harmonized the

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-94.

defence of national integrity with respect for human rights. He fully shared the concerns expressed by several leaders on the threat posed to international peace and security by the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He added that the proliferation issue had assumed a new dimension. One was no longer faced with the possible acquisition of such weapons by a handful of threshold States, but with the possible loss of control over nuclear arsenals and the spread of nuclear weapons across the globe by a variety of means and methods. He stressed, however, that measures of preventive or punitive action on a selective basis would not achieve the results aimed at. A global approach was necessary, based on a new international consensus on non-proliferation. To be effective, that global non-proliferation regime must be universal, comprehensive and non-discriminatory and linked to the goal of complete nuclear disarmament.<sup>13</sup>

The Prime Minister of Japan remarked that there were three major issues confronting the United Nations as it responded to expectations for the future role it was to play in the attainment and maintenance of peace. These issues were, in his view, how the Organization would adjust to the epochal changes that had occurred; how its effectiveness in peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts could be improved; and how it could secure a sound financial base that would enable it to carry out those efforts. With regard to the first issue, he underlined the need for the United Nations itself to evolve while adapting to a changing world. Moreover, since the Security Council was at the centre of the Organization's efforts to maintain international peace and security, consideration should be given to ways of adjusting its functions, composition and other aspects so as to make it more reflective of the new era. He shared the views of others regarding the importance of peacekeeping activities. He emphasized, moreover, the need to strengthen the functions of the United Nations in the area of conflict prevention. It was essential, in his view, that the Secretary-General, who played a crucial role in United Nations mediation efforts and good offices, be given sufficient information concerning tensions that could escalate into international conflicts. He drew attention in that regard to the adoption by the General Assembly in December 1991 of the Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security. With regard to the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 95-102.

need for a sound financial base, he stressed that the availability of funds necessary for the start-up phase of a peacekeeping operation was essential to its safe deployment. He also underlined the importance of the States concerned — including those that would extend considerable financial support to the peacekeeping operation — becoming involved in consultations on its establishment from the earliest steps. He added that, in securing peace, the United Nations also had an important role to play in the field of arms control and disarmament. He emphasized in that context the need to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; to conclude a convention on chemical weapons; and to work together for the smooth implementation of the recently established United Nations Register of Conventional Arms Transfers. The Security Council ought, in his view, to be seized of the developments in those areas.<sup>14</sup>

The Prime Minister of Hungary remarked that his country's dramatic past experience should encourage Member States to urge the United Nations not to leave peoples alone in their struggle for self-determination but to do its utmost to assist free and democratic development and the exercise of human rights in every country. As a Council member, Hungary wished to ensure that the new philosophy of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping was translated into concrete and effective measures. He lauded, in that regard, the action taken the year before, under the authority of the Security Council, to liberate Kuwait: that had provided evidence of the capacity of the international community, through the Security Council, to undertake peacemaking actions and to deal with local conflicts in the interest of collective security, as set forth in the Charter. He also highlighted the Council's launching of a large-scale humanitarian operation to save the Kurds of Iraq: Hungary viewed that action taken by the Council as a manifestation of peacebuilding activity to safeguard human rights and the rights of minorities. For Hungary, respect for human rights and the rights of national minorities was not merely a legal and humanitarian question: it was also an integral part of international collective security. It was indispensable, therefore, for the Security Council to take resolute action to defend and protect those rights. He also considered that the recent decisions of the Security Council regarding the military arsenal of a Member State having committed

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 102-111.

aggression were a precedent deserving unreserved support. The limitation of the armaments and number of troops of an aggressor State, or of an aggressor army out of political control, as well as their disarmament under an international verification system, should, in his view, be a new, important dimension of the activities of the Security Council. At that historic moment, he added, the world also had to face the challenge of dismantling enormous war machines and related manpower and converting war industries to civilian uses. He noted that the future of the newly independent States in the Balkans and in the former Soviet Union hinged largely on the success or failure of that endeavour. Parallel with that process, he suggested that there should be some new creations as well. In Hungary's view, consideration should be given to the idea of the United Nations instituting a force that could be mobilized and deployed on short notice, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, to any conflict-stricken region.<sup>15</sup>

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Personal Emissary of the President of Zimbabwe observed that, as the principles of the Charter must govern the global order that Member States wished to construct, and since their efforts should result in a stronger and more effective Organization, the process must begin with a re-examination of the Charter itself in the context of the changing international circumstances. A new world order, in his view, could best be constructed by re-examining the Charter, rectifying the flaws and closing the gaps that had been revealed by recent developments, and updating those provisions that had been rendered obsolete by the new international circumstances. He noted, for instance, that there had been major modifications in the application of Article 42 (Chapter VII), with respect to carrying out combined international enforcement action during the Gulf crisis. In addition, the United Nations had developed peacekeeping and peacemaking operations which were not provided for in the Charter; yet those were among the most effective and successful activities of the Organization. In that context, he sought to make some preliminary suggestions as to the changes to the Charter that his country had in mind. He called for more frequent use of Article 41 (Chapter VII), relating to collective measures not involving the use of armed force, such as economic sanctions to ensure compliance with Security Council resolutions. He

pointed, however, to the inadequacy of Article 50, designed to give some protection to third countries adversely affected by such sanctions. He stressed the need to establish clear criteria to determine who deserved assistance, and standing arrangements for the mobilization of the resources needed to assist affected States. He also suggested that future collective enforcement operations must be fully accountable to the Security Council and should be representative. He believed that that could be achieved by strengthening Article 46, which gave a role to the Military Staff Committee; if it were to have such a role, however, its composition should be broadened to include non-permanent members. Consideration should also be given to extending Article 27 (3) to apply to decisions taken under Chapter VII, so that those who wielded the veto power could not block the imposition of sanctions or any other collective enforcement action where they were a party to a conflict. On the question of disarmament, he felt that it could best be dealt with in the Organization's multilateral forum and could be enhanced by the use of Article 26 and Article 47 (1), which empowered the Council to put in place a system for the regulation of armaments.

Continuing, the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe expressed the view that, since the Security Council took decisions of major importance on behalf of the entire membership of the United Nations, that body should be made more representative of the will of the general membership. He pointed out that the Council currently represented less than 10 per cent of the United Nations membership, and that the question of equitable geographical representation also had to be addressed. On the question of human rights, he considered that established principles governing inter-State relations — such as non-interference in the internal affairs of other States — would have to accommodate efforts by the United Nations and by regional organizations to protect the basic human rights of individuals and social groups that were threatened in particular States. Citing, for example, the approach taken to the doctrine of apartheid in South Africa, he stated that massive and deliberate violations of human rights or the existence of situations of oppression and repression could no longer be tolerated anywhere in the world. He added that the Council would undoubtedly be called upon increasingly to deal with conflicts and humanitarian situations of an internal nature that could pose a threat to international peace and security. That should not, however, be used as a pretext for the

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-120.

intervention of big Powers in the legitimate domestic affairs of small States. There was, therefore, a need to strike a delicate balance between the rights of States, as enshrined in the Charter, and the rights of individuals, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In conclusion, he underlined the primacy of preventive diplomacy, which he said called for an activist role on the part of the Secretary-General in terms of Article 99 of the Charter, in bringing before the Council any matter which, in his opinion, threatened international peace and security.<sup>16</sup>

The President of the Council, speaking in his capacity as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, citing recent Council decisions, observed that the world already had an effective instrument to uphold collective security. It was not yet a perfect instrument, however, and he hoped the meeting would set in hand work to strengthen the United Nations. He stressed the need to be more active in preventive diplomacy and crisis prevention. In that context, he said that the Secretary-General should boldly take the initiative to draw potential conflict to the Council's attention, adding that, in future, the Council must itself be prepared to act before tension became conflict. He considered that peacemaking and peacekeeping should run in parallel and that the Organization's ability to respond to the demand for both should be enhanced. He looked to the Secretary-General to give his ideas on how that might be done: he suggested that his report might look at the United Nations role in identifying, and dealing with, the causes of instability and potential crises, as well as the contribution to be made by regional bodies in helping the work of the Council. He stressed, moreover, that, if international peace and security were to be safeguarded, all States Members of the United Nations must be active in arms control. He recommended several concrete measures aimed at disarmament and non-proliferation, and announced that his Government was acting to strengthen controls on the export of specific biological materials and organisms which could be misused for weapons purposes. He added that the United Kingdom believed that all States must respect human rights and fundamental freedoms: good government was the bedrock of a stable and prosperous society. He noted, with approval, that peacekeeping operations tended now to include provision for human rights verification

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 121-134.

and free and fair elections as vital components of a peaceful settlement, and hoped that would continue to be the case. In conclusion, he pledged the full support of his Government to strengthen and enhance the United Nations capacity to respond to crisis, and incipient crisis, wherever it might threaten.<sup>17</sup>

Resuming his functions as President of the Security Council, he read out the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>18</sup>

The members of the Council have authorized me to make the following statement on their behalf.

The Security Council met at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 31 January 1992, for the first time at the level of heads of State and Government. The members of the Council considered, within the framework of their commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, "The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security".

The members of the Council consider that their meeting is a timely recognition of the fact that there are new favourable international circumstances under which the Security Council has begun to fulfil more effectively its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

*A time of change*

This meeting of the Council takes place at a time of momentous change. The ending of the cold war has raised hopes for a safer, more equitable and more humane world. Rapid progress has been made, in many regions of the world, towards democracy and responsive forms of government, as well as towards achieving the purposes set out in the Charter of the United Nations. The completion of the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa would constitute a major contribution to these purposes and positive trends, including to the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Last year, under the authority of the United Nations, the international community succeeded in enabling Kuwait to regain its sovereignty and territorial integrity, which it had lost as a result of Iraqi aggression. The resolutions adopted by the Council remain essential to the restoration of peace and stability in the region and must be fully implemented. At the same time the members of the Council are concerned by the humanitarian situation of the innocent civilian population of Iraq.

The members of the Council support the Middle East peace process, facilitated by the Russian Federation and the United States of America, and hope that it will be brought to a successful conclusion on the basis of Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 135-140.

<sup>18</sup> S/23500.



The members of the Council welcome the role the United Nations has been able to play under the Charter in progress towards settling long-standing regional disputes, and will work for further progress towards their resolution. They applaud the valuable contribution being made by United Nations peacekeeping forces now operating in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

The members of the Council note that United Nations peacekeeping tasks have increased and broadened considerably in recent years. Election monitoring, human rights verification and the repatriation of refugees have in the settlement of some regional conflicts, at the request or with the agreement of the parties concerned, been integral parts of the Security Council's effort to maintain international peace and security. The members of the Council welcome these developments.

The members of the Council also recognize that change, however welcome, has brought new risks for stability and security. Some of the most acute problems result from changes to State structures. The members of the Council will encourage all efforts to help achieve peace, stability and cooperation during these changes.

The international community therefore faces new challenges in the search for peace. All Member States expect the United Nations to play a central role at this crucial stage. The members of the Council stress the importance of strengthening and improving the United Nations to increase its effectiveness. They are determined to assume fully their responsibilities within the United Nations in the framework of the Charter.

The absence of war and military conflicts among States does not in itself ensure international peace and security. The non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security. The United Nations membership as a whole, working through the appropriate bodies, needs to give the highest priority to the solution of these matters.

#### *Commitment to collective security*

The members of the Council pledge their commitment to international law and to the Charter of the United Nations. All disputes between States should be peacefully resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

The members of the Council reaffirm their commitment to the collective security system of the Charter to deal with threats to peace and to reverse acts of aggression.

The members of the Council express their deep concern over acts of international terrorism and emphasize the need for the international community to deal effectively with all such acts.

#### *Peacemaking and peacekeeping*

To strengthen the effectiveness of these commitments, and in order that the Security Council should have the means to

discharge its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, the members of the Council have decided on the following approach.

They invite the Secretary-General to prepare, for circulation to the Members of the United Nations by 1 July 1992, his analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peacekeeping.

The Secretary-General's analysis and recommendations could cover the role of the United Nations in identifying potential crises and areas of instability as well as the contribution to be made by regional organizations in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter in helping the work of the Council. They could also cover the need for adequate resources, both material and financial. The Secretary-General might draw on lessons learned in recent United Nations peacekeeping missions to recommend ways of making more effective Secretariat planning and operations. He could also consider how greater use might be made of his good offices, and of his other functions under the Charter.

#### *Disarmament, arms control and weapons of mass destruction*

The members of the Council, while fully conscious of the responsibilities of other organs of the United Nations in the fields of disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation, reaffirm the crucial contribution which progress in these areas can make to the maintenance of international peace and security. They express their commitment to take concrete steps to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in these areas.

The members of the Council underline the need for all Member States to fulfil their obligations in relation to arms control and disarmament; to prevent the proliferation in all its aspects of all weapons of mass destruction; to avoid excessive and destabilizing accumulations and transfers of arms; and to resolve peacefully in accordance with the Charter any problems concerning these matters threatening or disrupting the maintenance of regional and global stability. They emphasize the importance of the early ratification and implementation by the States concerned of all international and regional arms control arrangements, especially the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

The proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The members of the Council commit themselves to working to prevent the spread of technology related to the research for or production of such weapons and to take appropriate action to that end.

On nuclear arms proliferation, the members of the Council note the importance of the decision of many countries to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear

Weapons of 1 July 1968 and emphasize the integral role in the implementation of that Treaty of fully effective International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, as well as the importance of effective export controls. They will take appropriate measures in the case of any violations notified to them by the Agency.

On chemical weapons, the members of the Council support the efforts of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, held at Geneva from 9 to 27 September 1991, with a view to reaching agreement on the conclusion, by the end of 1992, of a universal convention, including a verification regime, to prohibit chemical weapons.

On conventional armaments, they note the General Assembly's vote in favour of a United Nations register of arms transfers as a first step, and in this connection recognize the importance of all States providing all the information called for in the General Assembly's resolution.

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In conclusion, the members of the Council affirm their determination to build on the initiative of their meeting in order

to secure positive advances in promoting international peace and security. They agree that the Secretary-General has a crucial role to play. The members of the Council express their deep appreciation to the outgoing Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his outstanding contribution to the work of the United Nations, culminating in the signing of the El Salvador peace agreements. They welcome the new Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and note with satisfaction his intention to strengthen and improve the functioning of the United Nations. They pledge their full support to him, and undertake to work closely with him and his staff in fulfilment of their shared objectives, including a more efficient and effective United Nations system.

The members of the Council agree that the world now has the best chance of achieving international peace and security since the founding of the United Nations. They undertake to work in close cooperation with other United Nations Member States in their own efforts to achieve this, as well as to address urgently all the other problems, in particular those of economic and social development, requiring the collective response of the international community. They recognize that peace and prosperity are indivisible and that lasting peace and stability require effective international cooperation for the eradication of poverty and the promotion of a better life for all in larger freedom.

## **29. An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping**

### **Initial proceedings**

On 17 June 1992, pursuant to the presidential statement adopted by the Security Council at its summit meeting on 31 January 1992,<sup>1</sup> the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report entitled "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping".<sup>2</sup> The report contained, as requested, his analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient, within the framework and provisions of the Charter, the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping — to which he had added the closely related concept of peacebuilding.

The Secretary-General remarked on the changing context within which those issues had to be addressed. The ideological barrier that for decades had given rise to distrust and hostility had collapsed; and even though North-South issues had grown more acute, the improvement in East-West relations afforded new

possibilities for successfully meeting threats to common security. It was a time of global transition, marked by contradictory trends. Regional associations of States were evolving ways to deepen cooperation and ease sovereign and nationalistic rivalries. At the same time, however, new assertions of nationalism and sovereignty had sprung up, and the cohesion of States was threatened by ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife. Social peace was challenged, moreover, by discrimination and acts of terrorism seeking to undermine change through democratic means. While the concept of peace was easy to grasp, that of international security was more complex, for a pattern of contradictions had arisen there as well: as major nuclear Powers had begun to negotiate arms reduction agreements, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction threatened to increase and conventional arms continued to be amassed in many parts of the world. Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, more than 100 major conflicts around the world had left some 20 million dead. The

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<sup>1</sup> S/23500. See section 28 of the present chapter.

<sup>2</sup> S/24111.