

offices or mediation function, and the extent to which it should be involved in the organization and conduct of the second round of presidential elections.

The Secretary-General stated that he had continued to maintain his position that he would be prepared to recommend an enlargement of the mandate and strength of UNAVEM II, but only if the two sides had demonstrated their continuing commitment to the Peace Accords by agreeing on a realistic plan of action to get the implementation process back on track. They had so far failed to satisfy these conditions. In those circumstances, he had invited the two Angolan leaders to meet together, under his auspices and in his presence, to make a determined effort to move forward. In bringing the situation to the Council's attention, the Secretary-General said that he would value any support which it might wish to give to his efforts, perhaps in the form of an appeal to both leaders to accept his invitation to a joint meeting at an agreed location.

At its 3152nd meeting, held on 22 December 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's letter of 18 December in its agenda. The Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (India) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵¹

The Council has taken note of the letter dated 18 December 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Angola. It expresses serious concern at the lack of progress in

⁵¹ S/25002.

implementing the Peace Accords for Angola and at the continuation of the dangerous political and security situation in the country.

The Council reiterates its strong appeal to the two parties to engage in a continuous and meaningful dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and at the participation of all parties in the democratic process, and to agree on a clear timetable and programme of action to complete the implementation of the Accords. The Security Council urges that the military forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola be immediately withdrawn from Uige and Negage and that the Government administration be fully restored there and that the two parties resume the direct talks started in Namibe on 26 November 1992. It again urges both parties to demonstrate their commitment to the Accords, in particular with regard to confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization, formation of the national armed forces and restoration of the central administration throughout the country.

The Council also considers it essential that both parties agree without delay on security and other arrangements which would allow all ministers and other high-ranking officials to occupy the posts which have been offered by the Government and for all deputies to assume their functions in the National Assembly.

The Council also considers it imperative that both parties agree on a realistic plan of action for full implementation of the Accords, and to facilitate a continuing United Nations presence in Angola. It underlines the need for the two sides to produce early evidence of their willingness and ability to work together to implement the Accords, so that the international community would feel encouraged to continue to commit its scarce resources to the continuation of the United Nations operation in Angola on its present scale.

The Council fully supports the action of the Secretary-General aimed at resolving the present crisis and appeals to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to accept the Secretary-General's invitation to attend, under his auspices, a joint meeting at an agreed location, to confirm that real progress has been made in the reactivation of the Bicesse Accords with a view to their full implementation and that agreement has been reached on a continuing United Nations presence in Angola.

2. The situation in Liberia

Initial proceedings

Decision of 22 January 1991 (2974th meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 15 January 1991 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of Côte d'Ivoire requested the convening of a meeting of the Council to consider the

deterioration of the situation in Liberia. He submitted a draft presidential statement.

At its 2974th meeting, on 22 January 1991, the Council included the letter from Côte d'Ivoire in its agenda, and invited the representatives of Liberia and Nigeria, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President of the Council (Zaire) drew the attention of the members of the

¹ S/22076.

Council to a letter dated 14 December 1990 from the representative of the Gambia, addressed to the Secretary-General,² transmitting the final communiqué of the first extraordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), issued at Bamako on 28 November 1990, on the crisis in Liberia. The Authority, *inter alia*, endorsed the ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia as embodied in the Banjul communiqué and decisions of the Standing Mediation Committee adopted on 7 August 1990.

Commencing the discussion, the representative of Liberia welcomed the opportunity to speak before the Council as it sought, for the first time, to respond to the tragic consequences of the civil war that had devastated Liberia for over a year. That a response was now being made, more than one year after the conflict had started, raised, in his opinion, the need to review, and perhaps reinterpret, the Charter — particularly the provision calling for non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States. Regrettably, the strict application of that provision had hampered the effectiveness of the Council and its principal objective of maintaining international peace and security. Despite previous efforts seven months before to have the Council seized, it was only now — after the displacement of nearly half of Liberia's population, the loss of thousands of innocent lives, and the virtual destruction of the country — that the Council was finally meeting to address the tragic civil war in Liberia. He stressed that full implementation of the peace plan formulated by ECOWAS could lead to the establishment of a durable peace in Liberia provided that all the parties to the conflict were truly committed to peace. He said that there was also a need to address the deteriorating social and economic conditions in the country, and urged the international community to support the humanitarian and other relief programmes that needed to be implemented.³

The representative of Nigeria, speaking as the alternate Chairman of the group of States members of ECOWAS at the United Nations, stated that the leaders of ECOWAS had responded collectively to the conflict in Liberia by authorizing and supporting the operations of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The ECOMOG mandate was not to take

sides, but to reconcile them; it was to restore peace and stability, and to create an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of free political activity and, eventually, democratic elections. The speaker stressed the importance of the Council's urging all the parties to the conflict to continue to respect the ceasefire to which they had agreed, and added that ECOWAS should be commended for its efforts to restore peace and stability in Liberia. Nigeria endorsed the draft statement on Liberia which was to be issued on behalf of the Security Council. It also called on the international community to intensify its humanitarian support for Liberia and for the Liberian refugees, and to provide financial and logistical support for ECOMOG, whose mission had been endorsed by all the leaders of the West African subregion and by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).⁴

At the same meeting, the President stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵

The members of the Security Council took note of the final communiqué of the first extraordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States, issued in Bamako on 28 November 1990.

The members of the Council commend the efforts made by the heads of State and Government of the Community to promote peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Council call upon the parties to the conflict in Liberia to continue to respect the ceasefire agreement which they have signed and to cooperate fully with the Community to restore peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Council express appreciation to the Member States, the Secretary-General and humanitarian organizations for the humanitarian assistance to Liberia and call for additional assistance. In this connection the Council welcomes the resumption of the United Nations emergency programme in Liberia following the acceptance of a general ceasefire.

The members of the Council support the appeal launched by the heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States to the international community for increased humanitarian assistance to the people of Liberia.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁵ S/22133.

² S/22025.

³ S/PV.2974, pp. 3-7.

**Decision of 7 May 1992 (3071st meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3071st meeting, held on 7 May 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached during its prior consultations, the Council continued its consideration of the item entitled “The situation in Liberia”. The President (Austria) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 30 April 1992 from the representative of Senegal addressed to the Secretary-General,⁶ transmitting, on behalf of the President of Senegal and Chairman of ECOWAS, the final communiqué of the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992. He then stated that, following prior consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁷

The members of the Council recalled the statement made by the President of the Council on behalf of the Council on 22 January 1991 concerning the situation in Liberia.

The members of the Council noted with appreciation the final communiqué issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992 of the informal consultative meeting of the Economic Community of West African States Committee of Five on Liberia.

The members of the Council commend the Community and its various organs, in particular the Committee of Five, for their untiring efforts to bring the Liberian conflict to a speedy conclusion.

In this connection the members of the Council believe that the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30 October 1991 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.

The members of the Council renew their call to all parties to the conflict in Liberia to respect and implement the various accords of the peace process of the Committee of Five, including refraining from actions which endanger the security of neighbouring States.

The members of the Council commend the efforts of the Secretary-General in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the civil war in Liberia and in this regard reaffirm their support for increased assistance.

⁶ S/23863.

⁷ S/23886.

**Decision of 19 November 1992 (3138th
meeting): resolution 788 (1992)**

By a letter dated 28 October 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁸ the representative of Benin informed the Council of the decision taken by the Standing Mediation Committee and the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia to send a ministerial mission to the Council for the following purposes: (a) to report on the latest developments in the crisis; (b) to request United Nations assistance in imposing, in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, sanctions against those parties to the conflict that did not respect the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement — the sanctions to consist of a blockade of all points of entry to Liberia in order to prevent the parties concerned from having access to war materiel and from exporting products from the zones they controlled; and (c) to request the presence of a group of United Nations observers to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process in Liberia, on the understanding that they would visit the country during the period of confinement and disarmament in order to build trust between the parties to the conflict. The representative requested the holding of an emergency meeting of the Council when the ministerial mission was in New York in order to consider the Liberian crisis whose persistence threatened peace and security, especially in the West African subregion.

By a letter dated 18 November 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁹ the representative of Liberia endorsed the request by the representative of Benin that the Council convene as soon as possible to discuss the situation in Liberia.

At its 3138th meeting, on 19 November 1992, the Council included both letters in its agenda and continued its consideration of the item. The Council invited, at their request, the representatives of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Egypt, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Hungary) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to several documents that had been transmitted to him by the representative of Benin: (a) by a letter dated

⁸ S/24735.

⁹ S/24825.

30 October 1992,¹⁰ the final communiqué on the Liberian crisis, issued by the first joint summit meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five of ECOWAS, held at Cotonou on 20 October 1992, together with the decision taken with respect to the implementation of sanctions (the ECOWAS sanctions decision); (b) by a letter dated 13 November 1992,¹¹ the final communiqué of the first summit meeting of the Monitoring Committee of Nine of ECOWAS, held at Abuja on 7 November 1992, on the peaceful settlement of the conflict; and (c) by a letter dated 17 November 1992,¹² the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement of 30 October 1991 on the peaceful settlement of the Liberian conflict.

A delegation of Foreign Ministers from nine States members of ECOWAS participated in the Council's meeting. The ministerial mission included the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo (sometimes referred to as the "Committee of Nine"). They reported on the recent developments in Liberia, as well as on the ECOWAS efforts to restore peace and stability to the country. They also sought the Council's support for ECOWAS efforts, by such measures as the dispatch of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Liberia and the imposition of an arms embargo in line with the above-mentioned ECOWAS sanctions decision.

As head of the ECOWAS delegation, the representative of Benin recalled that, since the outbreak of hostilities in Liberia in 1989, numerous initiatives to solve the conflict had been taken by the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. Among the more recent, he reported that the first joint summit meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five, established to resolve the Liberian conflict, had been held at Cotonou on 20 October 1992. He stated that, at that meeting, a new deadline had been set for a ceasefire and for the complete implementation of the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement. A decision had also been adopted on the prospective imposition of sanctions against any party to the Liberian conflict that failed to comply with the provisions of that Agreement. The sanctions were intended to blockade all points of entry into Liberia by land, sea and air so as to prevent the delivery of war

materiel to those parties and the export of products from zones they controlled in Liberia. He added that a follow-up committee, the Committee of Nine, had noted at its summit meeting in Abuja on 7 November 1992 that the deadline set by the Cotonou meeting had expired, that the Agreement had not been implemented and that the sanctions decision had, accordingly, entered into force against all the warring factions on 5 November 1992. He warned that there was a great risk that the conflict in Liberia could spread to the entire West African subregion and urged the Council to support ECOWAS efforts by adopting a number of measures. The measures included a call for effective compliance with the ceasefire established on 28 November 1990 and for the disarming and encampment of the troops of the warring factions; the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative; a total arms embargo against Liberia, with the exception of arms for ECOMOG; and a ban on the export of Liberian resources by the warring parties from the areas they controlled. It was hoped that those measures would create conditions that would allow the organization of free and democratic elections in Liberia.¹³

The representative of Liberia commended the Council for its earlier support of the ECOWAS peace initiatives in his country, as evidenced by the presidential statements of 22 January 1991 and 7 May 1992. He regretted, however, that the statements had proved to be the most that Liberia could elicit from the Council at the most critical hour of its history. He stated that, in 1990, at the height of the Liberian civil conflict, international opinion had been divided between the imperatives for humanitarian intervention and classical conceptions of sovereignty, however anachronistic. As the ECOWAS peace plan continued to be violated by some warring parties, an arms embargo, binding not only on all ECOWAS member States but also internationally, was essential. Noting that, by its spillover effects, the Liberian conflict was already a "clear and present danger" to neighbouring Sierra Leone, the speaker warned that it could degenerate into a wider conflagration in West Africa. He therefore urged the Council, in the context of its responsibility to maintain international peace and security, to support the measures ECOWAS had taken

¹⁰ S/24811.

¹¹ S/24812.

¹² S/24815.

¹³ S/PV.3138, pp. 3-12.

and to adopt unanimously the draft resolution before it along the lines proposed.¹⁴

The representative of Senegal also stressed that the crisis in Liberia presented a genuine threat to the peace and security of the region. Among the many destabilizing factors, he pointed to the existence of a huge quantity of weapons now circulating in that part of Africa accompanied by a whole range of military experts; hundreds of thousands of refugees scattered about the various neighbouring countries, putting an increasingly intolerable burden on those countries; and the spreading of the war across the borders of Liberia into Sierra Leone. Noting that ECOWAS had, with the support of all the parties to the conflict, prepared the framework for a peaceful settlement, in the form of a peace plan, and that a consensus had even been reached on the arrangements for implementing the plan, he trusted that the Council would support its efforts.¹⁵

The representative of Côte d'Ivoire stated that ECOWAS had striven to restore peace in Liberia, in accordance with the provisions of Article 52 of the Charter. It was imperative now that, with the support of the Council, an effective ceasefire be put into effect and that the Secretary-General be authorized to appoint a Special Representative who would work in close cooperation with ECOWAS in implementing the ECOWAS peace plan. The presence of a United Nations observer group, by helping to build confidence among the parties, would contribute to the encampment and disarming of the factions. So, too, would the imposition of an arms embargo.¹⁶

The representative of Burkina Faso stated that the situation in Liberia was first and foremost a Liberian matter and that any peace process should aim at resuming dialogue among the warring parties, without outside interference. Despite some previously expressed reservations over certain ECOWAS measures and the manner in which they had been implemented, his country agreed with the reaffirmation of the role of ECOMOG as a neutral disengagement force and supported the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement, stressing that the Liberian people should have the final word in the resolution of the crisis through free and democratic elections. Burkina Faso affirmed its hope that

subregional joint efforts would enable the Liberians finally to lay the groundwork for a lasting peace.¹⁷

The representative of the Gambia said that the climate of instability and disorder created by the crisis in Liberia was hampering the socio-economic development of the region. The pre-eminent challenge was the restoration of peace in Liberia, in particular, and the consolidation of democracy in the region, in general. It was in that spirit that the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement had been adopted by the Heads of State of ECOWAS. The successful implementation of their collective commitments under that Agreement depended largely on the adoption of the draft resolution before the Council, which called for a general arms embargo.¹⁸

The representative of Guinea stated that the efforts of ECOWAS were being hampered by the continuous refusal of one of the parties to implement the various agreements and by that party's attacks against ECOMOG. Having assumed its responsibilities in response to the threat to the region's peace and security, ECOWAS now needed the support of the Council, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter. Guinea urged adoption of the draft resolution and the monitoring of its implementation, which would bring relief to the countries of the region.¹⁹

The representative of Nigeria stated that ECOMOG, which had been deployed in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, had suffered substantial losses. He refuted allegations by one of the parties that the ECOWAS peacekeeping force was part of the problem in Liberia, underlining its even-handedness and lack of territorial ambitions in the country. He urged West Africa's powerful friends to assist in providing humanitarian aid; to join in putting the weight of the United Nations behind the prohibition of arms transfers to the warring factions, in order to promote an environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections; and to join in condemning war crimes and crimes against humanity.²⁰

The representative of Sierra Leone stated that, with the exception of Liberia itself, his country had been the most seriously affected victim of the conflict. One of the factions had launched an armed invasion of

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 13-20.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 21-25.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 26-32.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 33-35.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 36-38.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 39-43.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 44-48.

Sierra Leone and continued to occupy parts of the country. The same faction continued to violate the peace agreements, which it had entered into voluntarily. Sierra Leone was also providing refuge to thousands of Liberians who had fled from their country. He stressed that his country was appearing before the Council to request its assistance in repelling the aggressors whose actions could lead to instability and insecurity in the whole subregion. He supported the call to impose a complete arms embargo on Liberia and to request all States to respect the measures adopted by ECOWAS to restore peace in Liberia. He also called on the United Nations to render it all necessary military, economic and diplomatic support to enable it to resist the aggressors, and said that ECOWAS deserved the full support of the United Nations.²¹

The representative of Togo stated that the Liberian crisis, presented at the outset and for a long time as a mere civil war and hence an internal matter, had become a breeding ground for economic, political and social destabilization in the region. The Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS had proved their determination to prevent the disintegration of Liberia. However, the continued failure of one of the factions to respect the agreements and the ensuing escalation of violence had shown the urgent need to secure the support of the international community. He urged the Council to impose an arms embargo on Liberia and to authorize the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Liberia in order to evaluate the situation and to consider the means of deploying a United Nations observer group to assist ECOMOG in monitoring the ceasefire and the electoral process.²²

Following the statements made by the ECOWAS delegation, a number of speakers commended the peace initiatives of ECOWAS; expressed deep concern over the renewed fighting in the country; called on all parties to respect and implement the ECOWAS peace plan; called for cooperation between the United Nations and ECOWAS; and supported the adoption of the draft resolution, by which the Council, inter alia, would request the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Liberia; and impose a mandatory arms embargo on the country.²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-56.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.

²³ For the relevant statements, see S/PV.3138, pp. 61-65 (Zimbabwe); pp. 66-67 (Russian Federation); pp. 68-70

The representative of Zimbabwe said that, although his country would have liked to see the Council take immediate concrete measures on Liberia along the lines that had been requested by the ECOWAS delegation, his delegation appreciated the difficulty of doing so in the absence of a report and recommendations by the Secretary-General. It therefore welcomed the request for the Secretary-General to dispatch expeditiously to Liberia a Special Rapporteur to evaluate how best the United Nations could cooperate with ECOWAS towards implementing the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement, with respect to bringing about a durable cessation of hostilities and nurturing the democratic process.²⁴

The representative of the United States insisted that, to ensure real progress, comprehensive disarmament was necessary. Peace without disarmament was tenuous at best. He also stressed that it was imperative that the regional peacekeeping effort in Liberia succeed. If it failed, ECOWAS would be unlikely to venture into the difficult realm of peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the future, and pressure would build rapidly for direct United States or United Nations intervention. The Council owed ECOWAS its full support as it considered means for pressuring the Liberian warring factions to implement the ECOWAS peace plan.²⁵

The representative of France observed that, with respect to the monitoring role the Council should legitimately play in the context of action under Chapter VII of the Charter, his country welcomed the provision in the draft resolution by which the Council, on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General, would consider certain modalities for the implementation of the draft resolution, in particular its paragraph 8, imposing the arms embargo.²⁶

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of its prior consultations.²⁷ The draft resolution was then put

(Cape Verde); pp. 71-72 (China); pp. 77-79 (France); pp. 79-80 (United Kingdom); pp. 81-82 (Ecuador); p. 83 (Japan); pp. 83-86 (Venezuela); pp. 86-88 (India); pp. 89-91 (Morocco); pp. 91-93 (Mauritius) and pp. 93-96 (Egypt).

²⁴ S/PV.3138, pp. 61-65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-77.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

²⁷ S/24827.

to vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 788 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling the statements by the President of the Security Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991 and 7 May 1992 on the situation in Liberia,

Reaffirming its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement of 30 October 1991 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,

Taking into account the decision of 20 October 1992 of the Joint Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States, held at Cotonou, and the final communiqué of the first meeting of the Monitoring Committee of Nine on the Liberian conflict issued at Abuja on 7 November 1992,

Regretting that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement,

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

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

Noting that the deterioration of the situation hinders the creation of conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement,

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,

Noting the request of 29 July 1992 from the Economic Community of West African States for the United Nations to dispatch an observer group to Liberia to verify and monitor the electoral process,

Taking note of the invitation of the Economic Community of West African States of 20 October 1992 in Cotonou for the Secretary-General to consider, if necessary, the dispatch of a group to observe the encampment and disarmament of the warring parties,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian assistance to Liberia,

Taking into account the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin to the United Nations on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States in a letter it addressed to the President of the Security Council on 28 October 1992,

Also taking into account the letter of 18 November 1992 from the Minister for Foreign Minister of Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council endorsing the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin to the United Nations on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States,

Convinced that it is vital to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict in Liberia,

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

2. *Reaffirms* its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement 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 calls upon the Economic Community of West African States to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of that Agreement;

3. *Condemns* the violation by any party to the conflict of the ceasefire established on 28 November 1990;

4. *Also condemns* the continuing armed attacks against the peacekeeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

5. *Calls upon* all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

6. *Also calls upon* all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the ceasefire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement 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, to which they themselves have agreed;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a Special Representative to Liberia to evaluate the situation, and to report to the Council as soon as possible with any recommendations he may wish to make;

8. *Decides*, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes 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 Council decides otherwise;

9. *Also decides* within the same framework that the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 shall not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peacekeeping 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;

10. *Requests* all States to respect the measures established by the Economic Community of West African States to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia;

11. *Calls on* Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

12. *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;

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

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Benin stated that, in addition to sending a very clear message to the warring parties, the resolution that the Council had just adopted provided encouragement to the tireless efforts led by the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS to restore peace and security to the region. On their behalf, he assured the Council that ECOWAS would cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in implementing the peace plan for Liberia.²⁸

²⁸ S/PV.3138, pp. 97-98. Pursuant to resolution 788 (1992), the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers as his Special Representative for Liberia. See S/24834 and S/24835 for the exchange of letters dated 20 and 23 November 1992 between the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council.

3. Items relating to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Initial proceedings

A. Letter dated 4 January 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

Letter dated 4 January 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Bahrain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

By a letter dated 4 January 1989 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya informed the Council of the downing on 4 January 1989 of two Libyan reconnaissance aircraft by the United States Air Force over international waters and requested that the Security Council be convened immediately to halt the aggression against his country. The representative of Bahrain made a similar request, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States, in a letter dated

¹ S/20364.

4 January 1989 addressed to the President of the Security Council.²

At its 2835th meeting, on 5 January 1989, the Council included the letters from the representatives of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Bahrain in its agenda. It considered the item at its 2835th to 2837th and 2839th to 2841st meetings, from 5 to 11 January 1989.

The Council invited the following, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote: at the 2835th meeting, the representatives of Bahrain, Burkina Faso, Cuba, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia; at the 2836th meeting, the representatives of Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Nicaragua, the Sudan and Uganda; at the 2837th meeting, the representatives of Pakistan and Zimbabwe; at the 2839th meeting, the representatives of Bangladesh, India and Morocco; at the 2840th meeting, the representatives of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Malta, Poland, Romania, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen; and at the 2841st meeting, the representatives of Bulgaria, Mongolia and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Council also extended an invitation

² S/20367.