

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 1992,¹ the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report entitled "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping".² 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

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

² S/24111.

Organization had been powerless to deal with many of those crises because of the numerous vetoes cast in the Security Council, which were a vivid expression of the divisions of that period.

The Secretary-General observed, however, that with the end of the cold war there had been no such vetoes since 31 May 1990, and demands on the United Nations had surged. Its security arm had emerged as a central instrument for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and for the preservation of peace. He thought that, in the light of those changed circumstances, the Organization's aims should be the following: to seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence resulted; where conflict had erupted, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that had led to conflict; through peacekeeping, to work to preserve peace where fighting had been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers; to stand ready to assist in peacebuilding in its differing contexts; and to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. The Secretary-General stressed that this wider mission for the Organization would demand the concerted attention and effort of individual States — which remained the foundation stone of this work — regional and non-governmental organizations, and the entire United Nations system.

The Secretary-General provided the following definitions for the key terms used in his report: (a) preventive diplomacy was action taken to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occurred; (b) peacemaking was action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations; (c) peacekeeping was the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well — it was a technique that expanded the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace; (d) post-conflict peacebuilding was action to identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. These four areas of action, taken together and

carried out with the backing of all Members, offered, he maintained, a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter.

Commencing with preventive diplomacy, the Secretary-General observed that it could be performed by the Secretary-General personally or through senior staff or specialized agencies or programmes, by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, as well as by regional organizations in cooperation with the United Nations. It required confidence-building measures; it needed early warning based on information-gathering and fact-finding; and it could involve preventive deployment and, in some situations, demilitarized zones. He stressed the need for an increased resort to fact-finding, in accordance with the Charter — initiated either by the Secretary-General, to enable him to meet his responsibilities under the Charter, including Article 99, or by the Security Council or the General Assembly.³ Various forms of fact-finding mission could be employed according to the requirements of the situation. A request by a State for the sending of a United Nations fact-finding mission to its territory should be considered without undue delay. In addition to collecting information on which a decision for further action could be taken, such a mission could in some instances help to defuse a dispute by its presence, indicating to the parties that the Organization, and in particular the Security Council, was actively seized of the matter as a present or potential threat to international security. The Secretary-General added that, in exceptional circumstances, the Council might itself meet away from Headquarters, in order not only to inform itself directly, but also to bring the authority of the Organization to bear on a given situation. In connection with early warning, he pointed to the need for close cooperation between the various specialized agencies and functional offices of the United Nations. He recommended, moreover, that the Security Council invite a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council to provide reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter, on those economic and social developments that might, unless mitigated, threaten international peace and security. As for preventive deployment, the Secretary-General suggested that the time had come to consider such action in various circumstances, with the consent of the parties concerned: for example, in conditions of internal

³ *Ibid.*, para. 25.

conflict; in an inter-State dispute; or where one nation feared a cross-border attack.

Turning to peacemaking, the Secretary-General noted that Chapter VI of the Charter set forth a comprehensive list of peaceful means for the resolution of conflict. He also called attention to the power of the Security Council, under Articles 36 and 37 of the Charter, to recommend to Member States the submission of a dispute to the International Court of Justice, arbitration or other dispute-settlement mechanisms. He recommended that he be authorized, pursuant to Article 96 (2), to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court and that other United Nations organs that already enjoyed such authorization turn to the Court more frequently for advisory opinions. He stressed that when peacemaking required the imposition of sanctions under Article 41, States confronted with special economic problems should not only have the right to consult the Security Council, as provided by Article 50, but should also have the “realistic possibility” of having their difficulties addressed.⁴ In that context, he recommended that the Council devise a set of measures involving the financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system that could be put in place to insulate States from such difficulties.

On the use of military force, the Secretary-General observed that it was the essence of the concept of collective security that, if peaceful means failed, the measures provided in Chapter VII should be used, on the decision of the Security Council, to maintain or restore international peace and security. Under Article 42 of the Charter, the Council itself had the authority to take military action for that purpose. Such action would, in his view, require bringing into being, through negotiations, the special agreements foreseen in Article 43 of the Charter, whereby Member States undertook to make available to the Security Council armed forces, assistance and facilities. He felt that, under the political circumstances that then existed for the first time since the Charter was adopted, the long-standing obstacles to the conclusion of such special agreements should no longer prevail. The ready availability of armed forces on call could serve, in itself, as a deterrent since a potential aggressor would know that the Council had at its disposal a means of response. In that context, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council

⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 41.

initiate negotiations, in accordance with Article 43, supported by the Military Staff Committee, whose composition might be augmented if necessary, in accordance with Article 47 (2) of the Charter. He added that, in his view, the role of the Military Staff Committee should be seen in the context of Chapter VII, and not in the planning or conduct of peacekeeping operations. The Secretary-General acknowledged, however, that, in practice, Article 43 forces were not likely to be available for some time to come. In the meantime, the United Nations was on occasion called upon to accomplish tasks that exceeded the mission of peacekeeping operations and the expectations of troop-contributing countries. The Secretary-General therefore recommended that the Council consider the utilization of peace-enforcement units in clearly defined circumstances and with their terms of reference specified in advance, as a provisional measure under Article 40.

As for peacekeeping, the Secretary-General observed that the nature of peacekeeping operations had evolved rapidly in recent years and that a new array of demands and problems had emerged regarding logistics, equipment, personnel and finance. In terms of personnel, he recalled that Member States had been asked in 1990 to indicate what military personnel they were prepared to make available, but that few had replied. He reiterated that request, and asked for standby arrangements to be confirmed, as appropriate.⁵ He also recommended that arrangements be reviewed and improved for training peacekeeping personnel — civilian, police or military. As for the United Nations itself, he suggested that special personnel procedures be instituted to permit the rapid transfer of Secretariat staff members to serve with peacekeeping operations; and that the strength and capability of military staff serving in the Secretariat be augmented to meet new and heavier responsibilities.⁶

With regard to post-conflict peacebuilding, the Secretary-General stressed that for peacemaking and peacekeeping operations to be truly successful, they must include efforts to identify and support structures that would tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence among people. After civil strife, measures might include, for instance, disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order,

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 52.

the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting processes of political participation. In the aftermath of international conflict, peacebuilding might take the form of concrete cooperative projects that linked two or more countries in a mutually beneficial undertaking that could both contribute to economic and social development and enhance the confidence so fundamental to peace. The concept of peacebuilding as the construction of a new environment should be viewed as the counterpart of preventive diplomacy, which sought to avoid the breakdown of peaceful conditions. Preventive diplomacy was to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peacebuilding was to prevent a recurrence.

Turning to cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations, the Secretary-General stated that, in many cases, they possessed a potential that should be utilized in the four areas covered in his report. He thought they could render great service if their activities were undertaken in a manner consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and if their relationship with the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, were governed by Chapter VIII. Under the Charter, the Security Council had, and would continue to have, primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Regional action, however, could lighten the burden of the Council and contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratization in international affairs.⁷ Consultations between the United Nations and regional arrangements or agencies could do much to build international consensus on the nature of a problem and the measures required to address it. Regional organizations participating in complementary efforts with the United Nations in joint undertakings would encourage States outside the region to act supportively. Moreover, should the Council choose specifically to authorize a regional arrangement or organization to take the lead in addressing a crisis within its region, that could serve to lend the weight of the United Nations to the validity of the regional effort.⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, para. 65.

On the question of the safety of personnel, the Secretary-General stressed the need to devise innovative measures to deal with the dangers facing the Organization's staff. He recommended that the Security Council seriously consider what action should be taken towards those who put United Nations personnel in danger. Before deployment, the Council should keep open the option of collective measures, including those under Chapter VII, to come into effect should the purpose of the United Nations operation systematically be frustrated and hostilities occur.

As to financing, the Secretary-General proposed a set of measures to enable the Organization both to function over the longer term and to respond to crises. These included the establishment of a temporary peacekeeping reserve fund to meet the initial expenses of peacekeeping operations, pending receipt of assessed contributions.

In conclusion, the Secretary-General stressed that the Council should never again lose the collegiality essential to its proper functioning, adding that "a genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations". He recommended that the Heads of State and Government of the members of the Council meet in alternate years, just before the general debate in the General Assembly. Such meetings would permit exchanges on the challenges of the moment and how to address them. In addition, the Council should continue to meet at the Foreign Minister level whenever warranted.

**Decision of 30 June 1992 (3089th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3089th meeting, held on 30 June 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Belgium) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁹

The Council has noted with interest and appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 17 June 1992 entitled "An agenda for peace" on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations the capacity of the United Nations for

⁹ S/24210.

preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peacekeeping, prepared pursuant to the statement adopted on 31 January 1992 at the conclusion of the meeting held for the first time by the Security Council at the level of Heads of State and Government. It is grateful to the Secretary-General for his report, which is a comprehensive reflection on the ongoing process of strengthening the Organization. In this connection, the Council welcomes the efforts made by the Secretary-General.

In reading the report, the Council has noted a set of interesting proposals addressed to the various organs of the United Nations and to Member States and regional organizations. The Council therefore trusts that all organs and entities, in particular the General Assembly, will devote particular attention to the report and will study and evaluate the elements of the report that concern them.

Within the scope of its competence, the Security Council will, for its part, examine in depth and with due priority the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

The Council also takes this opportunity to reiterate its readiness to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the strengthening of the Organization in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

Decision of 29 October 1992 (3128th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3128th meeting, held on 29 October 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. The President (France) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁰

Pursuant to the President's statement of 30 June 1992, the Council has begun to examine the Secretary-General's report entitled "An agenda for peace".

This consideration of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 June 1992 entitled "An agenda for peace" by the Council will be coordinated with the discussions carried out in the General Assembly. The Council welcomes in this regard the contact already established between the Presidents of the two organs and invites the President of the Council to continue and intensify such contacts.

The Council intends to examine the proposals of the Secretary-General which concern it or are addressed to it. For this purpose, the members of the Council have decided to hold a meeting at least once a month on the report, such meetings being prepared for, as necessary, by a working group.

One objective of this examination is to arrive at conclusions which would be considered during a special meeting of the Council, which will determine the date of this meeting, bearing in mind the progress of the work at the present session of the General Assembly, but it hopes to hold the meeting by next spring at the latest.

The Council has followed with close interest the views expressed by Member States in the General Assembly during the general debate as well as during the discussion on item 10 of the agenda of the General Assembly. It has also noted the report of the special session of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. It has now identified the Secretary-General's proposals which concern it or are addressed to it.

Without prejudice to the further examination of other proposals of the Secretary-General, and taking into account the greatly increased number and complexity of peacekeeping operations authorized by the Council during recent months, the Council believes that two suggestions contained in "An agenda for peace" should be considered at this moment:

- The Council, in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraph 51 of the Secretary-General's report, encourages Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their willingness to provide forces or capabilities to the United Nations for peacekeeping operations and the type of units or capabilities that might be available at short notice, subject to overriding national defence requirements and the approval of the Governments providing them. It further encourages the Secretariat and those Member States which have indicated such willingness to enter into direct dialogue so as to enable the Secretary-General to know with greater precision what forces or capabilities might be made available to the United Nations for particular peacekeeping operations, and on what time-scale;
- The Council shares the view of the Secretary-General in paragraph 52 of his report concerning the need for an augmentation of the strength and capability of military staff serving in the Secretariat and of civilian staff dealing more generally with peacekeeping matters in the Secretariat. The Council suggests to the Secretary-General that he report to it, as well as to the General Assembly, on this subject as soon as possible. The Secretary-General might consider in his report the establishment in the Secretariat of an enhanced peacekeeping planning staff and an operations centre in order to deal with the growing complexity of initial planning and control of peacekeeping operations in the field. The Council further suggests to Member States that they consider making available to the Secretariat appropriately experienced military or civilian staff, for a fixed period of time, to help with work on peacekeeping operations.

Moreover, the Council intends to study those paragraphs which are addressed to it, including paragraph 41 concerning the special economic problems which may concern other States

¹⁰ S/24728.

when sanctions are imposed on a State, paragraphs 64 and 65 concerning the role of regional organizations, and paragraph 25 concerning resort by the United Nations to fact-finding.

**Decision of 30 November 1992: statement by
the President**

On 30 November 1992, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President (Hungary) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹¹

The members of the Council continued the examination of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 June 1992 entitled “An agenda for peace”.

The members of the Council welcome and support the proposals in paragraph 25 of the report of the Secretary-General on fact-finding. They are of the view that an increased resort to fact-finding as a tool of preventive diplomacy, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the United Nations Declaration on Fact-finding for International Security and Peacemaking, particularly its guidelines, can result in the best possible understanding of the objective facts of a situation which will enable the Secretary-General to meet his responsibilities under Article 99 of the Charter and facilitate Security Council deliberations. They agree that various forms of fact-finding can be employed according to the requirements of a situation, and that a request by a State for the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to its territory should be considered without undue delay. They encourage all Member States in a position to do so to provide the Secretary-General with the detailed information needed on issues of concern, so as to facilitate effective preventive diplomacy.

The members of the Council, being aware of the increased responsibilities of the United Nations in the area of preventive diplomacy, invite the Secretary-General to consider the appropriate measures necessary to strengthen the capacity of the Secretariat for information-gathering and in-depth analysis. They also invite Member States and the Secretary-General to consider the secondment of experts to help in this regard. They urge the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures to ensure the availability at short notice of eminent persons who might share, with senior officials of the Secretariat, the burden of fact-finding missions. They note the positive role of regional organizations and arrangements in fact-finding within their areas of competence and welcome its intensification and close coordination with fact-finding efforts by the United Nations.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned Declaration and the Secretary-General’s recommendations in his report, the members of the Council for their part will facilitate and encourage every appropriate use of fact-finding missions on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In this context, the members of the Council note and endorse the Secretary-General’s view that in some cases a fact-finding mission can help defuse a dispute or situation, indicating to those concerned that the United Nations and in particular the Security Council is actively seized of the matter as a present or potential threat to international peace and security. Such action in the early stages of a potential dispute can be particularly effective. They welcome the Secretary-General’s readiness to make full use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter to draw the attention of the Security Council to any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. They note with satisfaction the recent greater use of fact-finding missions, as exemplified by the missions to Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The members of the Council intend to continue their work on the Secretary-General’s report as indicated in the President’s statement of 29 October 1992.

**Decision of 30 December 1992 (3154th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3154th meeting, held on 30 December 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. 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:¹²

In pursuance of the President’s statement of 29 October 1992 in connection with the Secretary-General’s report entitled “An agenda for peace”, according to which “the Council intends to study those paragraphs which are addressed to it, including paragraph 41 concerning the special economic problems which may concern other States when sanctions are imposed on a State”, the Security Council examined the question of special economic problems of States as a result of sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council shares the observation made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 41 of his report that when such sanctions are imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter, it is important that States confronted with special economic problems have the right to consult the Council regarding such problems, as provided in Article 50 of the Charter. The Council agrees that appropriate consideration should be given to their situation.

The Council notes the Secretary-General’s recommendation that the Council devise a set of measures, involving the financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system, that can be put in place to insulate States from such difficulties.

¹¹ S/24872.

¹² S/25036.

The Council, while noting that this matter is being considered in other forums of the United Nations, expresses its determination to consider this matter further and invites the Secretary-General to consult the heads of the international financial institutions, other components of the United Nations

system and Member States, and to report to the Security Council as early as possible.

The Council intends to continue its work on the Secretary-General's report as indicated in the President's statement of 29 October 1992.