## **ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS IN INTER-STATE CONFLICTS**

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### **CERTIFICATE**

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This is being submitted to the Punjab University, Chandigarh, for the purpose of Master of Philosophy in Social Sciences in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Advanced Professional Programme in Public Administration (APPPA) of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

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**DECLARATION** 

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this dissertation titled "Role of United Nations in

Inter-State Conflicts" for award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Social Sciences by

Punjab University, Chandigarh is my own work and that all the sources, I have accessed or quoted,

have been indicated or acknowledged by means of complete references. The dissertation has not

been submitted for any other degree / diploma or elsewhere.

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### **ABSTRACT**

The United Nations, as an organisation was created by equal sovereign states and built upon single set of principles as the UN Charter and has the capacity and responsibility to deal with matters in the sphere of international peace and security. The Cold War put an obstacle in the way of the organisation to use its delegated powers in conflict resolution within the few years of its establishment. As a result, and because of the necessity to deal with international conflicts, the institution of peace-keeping emerged with the aim of deploying forces not to end the aggression, breach of or threat to the peace, but for supervision of cease-fires or providing an interposition force between the belligerents, characterised by impartiality and a limited military capability.

The demise of the Cold War offered the opportunity to the organisation, especially to the Security Council, to use its powers to implement law and order among nations. In the post-Cold War era, the Security Council extended its interpretation of the notion of "threat to the peace" and restricted the principle of "domestic jurisdiction". The Council has also authorised an individual state or a group of states to use force for humanitarian purposes and human rights concerns.

To study the role of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security, and to investigate its developments, successes and failures, it is necessary to gain a clear understanding of what was originally intended by the founders of the Organisation. This study examines the role of the UN in maintaining and restoring international peace and security in the post-Cold War era.

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

In 1945, 51 States met in San Francisco and created the United Nations (UN), replacing the League of Nations, which in the 1930s proved unable to stop several acts of aggression that ultimately led to the catastrophic World War II. The League of Nations was created after the First World War to replace the discredited balance of power system with collective security that had the most profound impact on the form UN was to take. It was headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland and designed to be a forum for handling international disputes before they flared up into military action and caused domino effects that pulled ally nations into the conflict. Unfortunately, the League failed miserably in its intended goal i.e. to prevent another World War from happening as World War II broke out only two decades later. The idea was for the League of Nations to prevent wars through disarmament, collective security, and negotiation. However, there was no regulation or enforcement mechanism for this. Despite its failure to prevent another World War, the League of Nations impacted future international institutions by providing a framework for what does and does not work in such diplomatic organisations. The basic structure of the league was remarkably similar to that of UN, however it was conceptualised with having more institutional strength. Its council was transformed into the UN Security Council and the League Assembly became the General Assembly.

The expectation was that the UN would deliver peace, with its empowered Security Council, an organ authorised to adopt economic sanctions and, if necessary, use of force to restore and maintain international peace and security. The Security Council has five permanent members - the United States, China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom—collectively known as the P5. Any one of them can Veto a resolution. The Security Council's ten elected members, which serve two-year, non-consecutive terms, are not accorded Veto power. The P5's privileged status has its roots in the United Nations' founding in the aftermath of World

War II. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were the outright victors of the war, and, along with the United Kingdom, they shaped the post war political order. As their plans for what would become the United Nations took shape, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt insisted on the inclusion of the Republic of China, envisioning international security presided over by "four global policemen." British Prime Minister Winston Churchill saw in France a European buffer against potential German or Soviet aggression and so sponsored its bid for restored great-power status. Five powerful States of the time the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China were given permanent membership in the UN Security Council, and the right to Veto any action by that very body.

The founding fathers of the United Nations were concerned first and foremost about the loss of life and destruction during the Second World War. Their primary intention was to save humanity from the scourge of war. Seven decades on, many new problems have emerged, while many of the old ones remain unsolved. A new global political and economic landscape, characterised by a changing power configuration poses fresh challenges in the areas of peace, security and human rights for the United Nations to handle. In recent years ongoing international conflicts and border disputes intensified to an extent that it has questioned the role of the United Nations in the solution of these problems.

The present day concept of "Peacekeeping" originates in the Preamble of Charter of United Nations and is further elaborated in chapters VI, VII and VIII. Further, the terms "Peacekeeping" and "Peace Enforcement" are often used by many practitioners while referring to UN charter chapters VI and VII. There is a difference between interventions authorised by UN and UN authorised peacekeeping missions. The Department of Peace Operations (DPO) oversees these missions. Since its inception UN has authorised 71 peacekeeping missions.

Multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations also play a critical role in ensuring that the activities of the United Nations system and other international actors are guided by a common strategic vision. The United Nations has the unique ability to mount a truly comprehensive response to complex crises and has developed the concept of "integrated missions" to maximize the overall impact of its support to countries emerging from conflict.

Applying the Basic Principles of United Nations Peacekeeping the practice of United Nations peacekeeping has evolved significantly over the past six decades, three basic principles have traditionally served and continue to set United Nations peacekeeping operations apart as a tool for maintaining international peace and security: Consent of the parties, Impartiality, Nonuse of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate These principles are inter-related and mutually reinforcing. It is important that their meaning and relationship to each other are clearly understood by all those involved in the planning and conduct of United Nations peacekeeping operations, so that they are applied effectively. Taken together, they provide a navigation aid, or compass, for practitioners both in the field and at United Nations Headquarters.

Since its founding, the United Nations has come a long way, shouldering an enormous responsibility to defend the peace and security of numerous ethnic groups, cultural traditions, religious faiths, and ideological perspectives all over the world. Conflict that arises between diverse civilizations is unavoidable, but wherever possible, it ought to be settled through peaceful means. The United Nations has adopted a variety of normative and punitive resolutions as part of its efforts to resolve such conflicts. It is without a doubt that the implementation of these resolutions will reduce, if not entirely eliminate, the threat. In order to keep its credibility and make the world a better place for decades to come, the United Nations needs to become more democratic, more widely represented, and more focused on its priorities.

The Security Council was designed to be dominated by five large nations, and Article 27 of the United Nations Charter requires the unanimity of these five permanent members in order for a decision to be made by the Security Council. The current make-up of the Security Council is not representative of the opinions of the international community. It is easy to see both the rationale and the justification for changing the structure of the Security Council. If the United States and other Western nations want to keep the United Nations functioning as an organisation, they need the ability to select new members from among the expanding powers and assess the geographical and identity-representation capabilities of these candidates. Only then will they be able to ensure that the United Nations continues to exist. Reorganizing the council in such a way that it is more productive, accountable, transparent, and representative of its constituents should be a priority.

The United Nations has been weakened, and its ability to maintain peace has been hindered, as a result of the irresponsible use of its veto power. As a direct consequence of this, the United Nations has proven to be ineffective at preserving world peace, and the organisation urgently need change. In addition, the veto power is the subject of substantial criticism of the United Nations on the grounds that it violates the idea of sovereign equality. This argument is at the heart of the critique. By establishing a hierarchy among the member nations, it is in violation of other sections of the charter that assert sovereign equality as one of the basic foundations of the organisation. The veto should only prevent the council from passing motions that have support from a majority of members (three members as of now). This will remove the chance of one member of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power for their own personal gain and bring democracy to the body.

The United Nations has used its resources to invest in a number of organisations that have nothing to do with its self-proclaimed mission of "to save future generations from the scourge of war." Since the United Nations Charter was written, the organisation has been saddled with additional responsibilities that were not anticipated when it was first established. Throughout the beginning of time, humanity has been faced with a growing number of obstacles. In response, the United Nations has expanded its scope of operations to include 27 different programmes, organs, and organisations. Each UN fund, programme, specialised agency, and other entity has its own budget, mission, leadership, and headquarters. These are worthy endeavours, but they are really supplementary commitments that do not add anything to the organization's overarching goal. An in-depth analysis of a number of these organisations is required in order to fulfil the primary purpose of the United Nations, which is to reduce the risk of violent conflict, and to make the organisation more agile and focused.

For the foreseeable future, the United Nations will continue to be the most important global international organisation. It is not a question of whether or not the United Nations will continue to exist; rather, the question is whether or not it will be able to function as an organisation that fosters order, peace, and stability on a global scale. But, in the absence of steps that produce permanent solutions, an unprecedented level of chaos may be on the horizon. In spite of the criticism, this establishment must continue to function in any and all circumstances because of its significance. As a result, the objective need to be to come up with novel approaches to address the deficiencies that exist inside the organisation and the sub-organizations that are responsible for contributing to the general well-being of humankind. Concerns regarding global governance and the establishment of a more peaceful world are a long way from being resolved by the United Nations in its current form.

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#### **CHAPTER I**

#### INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Problem

In 1945, 51 states convened in San Francisco to establish the United Nations (UN), which replaced the League of Nations, which in the 1930s failed to prevent several acts of aggression that ultimately led to World War II. After the First World War, the League of Nations was established to replace the discredited balance of power system with collective security, which had the greatest influence on the formation of the United Nations. Its headquarters were in Geneva, Switzerland, and it was intended to be a forum for resolving international disputes before they escalated into military conflict and drew other nations into the conflict. Unfortunately, the League failed miserably in its mission to prevent another global conflict, as World War II broke out just twenty years later. The League of Nations was intended to prevent wars via disarmament, collective security, and negotiation. However, no regulation or enforcement mechanism existed for this. Despite failing to prevent the Second World War, the League of Nations influenced future international institutions by establishing a framework for what works and what does not in diplomatic organisations. The league's basic structure was strikingly similar to that of the United Nations, but it was conceptualised as having greater institutional strength. Its council became the UN Security Council, while its assembly became the UN General Assembly.

With its empowered Security Council, a body authorised to adopt economic sanctions and, if necessary, use of force to restore and maintain international peace and security, it was anticipated that the United Nations would deliver peace. The P5 are the five permanent

members of the Security Council: the United States, China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom. A resolution can be vetoed by any of them. The ten elected members of the Security Council, who serve non-consecutive two-year terms, have no veto power. The origins of the P5's privileged status lie in the establishment of the United Nations in the aftermath of World War II. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were the decisive war winners, and together with the United Kingdom, they shaped the post-war political order. As plans for what would become the United Nations began to take shape, Franklin D. Roosevelt insisted that the People's Republic of China be included, envisioning international security governed by "four global policemen." Winston Churchill, the prime minister of the United Kingdom, viewed France as a European buffer against potential German or Soviet aggression and therefore supported its bid to regain great power status. The United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China were granted permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council and the ability to veto any action taken by that body.

During the Second World War, the loss of life and destruction were the primary concerns of the founding fathers of the United Nations. Their primary goal was to rescue humanity from the plague of war. Numerous new problems have emerged over the past seven decades, while many old problems remain unsolved.

The United Nations faces new challenges in the realms of peace, security, and human rights as a result of a new global political and economic landscape characterised by a shifting power configuration. In recent years, ongoing international conflicts and border disputes have intensified to the point that the United Nations' role in resolving these issues has been called into question.

The modern concept of "Peacekeeping" derives from the Preamble of the United Nations Charter and is elaborated in chapters VI, VII, and VIII. In addition, the terms

"Peacekeeping" and "Peace Enforcement" are frequently used by practitioners when referring to chapters VI and VII of the UN charter. There is a distinction between UN-authorized interventions and UN-authorized peacekeeping missions. The Department of Peace Operations (DPO) is responsible for directing these missions. Since its inception, the United Nations has authorised 71 peacekeeping missions, of which 57 have been completed and 14 are still active.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The United Nations is tasked with preventing and resolving international conflicts, as well as preventing their escalation. However, the most intractable problems of international conflicts remain. The United Nations currently plays a limited role in the resolution of international conflicts. Therefore, the United Nations system must be improved to reflect the new world order's emerging needs and realities.

### 1.3 Objectives of the Study

The research objectives for the proposed topic are as follows:

- (a) To analyse and evaluate the impact of nations on the operation of the United Nations during inter-state conflicts.
- (b) Recommend and suggest measures to enhance the commitment and effectiveness of the United Nations in the prevention / resolution of interstate conflicts.

### 1.4 Research Strategy and Design

- (a) The strategy for the research would be qualitative
- (b) The research design would be Explanatory based on data collected from primary and secondary sources

### 1.5 Rationale for the Study

Following the end of the Cold War, the United Nations remained inactive in the face of internal wars, ethnic conflicts, and attempts at genocide and ethnic cleansing by ultranationalist leaders. The inertia displayed during the massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia, which occurred in front of UN peacekeeping forces, the events in Darfur and Somalia, the genocide in Rwanda and the conflicts in Sri Lanka, and the efforts of the permanent UNSC members to exploit conflicts for their own interests have increased doubts regarding the UN's functionality and legitimacy. Even in recent years, the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the face of tragedies in Myanmar, Syria, Yemen, Libya, and Ukraine has cast serious doubt on the organization's foundations. Even in cases where there is a clear violation of international law, such as the use of chemical weapons against civilians, the United Nations has been ineffective. Due to its current structure, the UNSC, the most important decision-making body of the United Nations, is unable to fulfil its mission of preserving world peace. A permanent member's veto power allows them to prevent the council from making decisions that are against their national interests and paralyse the organisation. The veto power makes some United Nations members more equal, thereby diminishing their sense of legitimacy. Consequently, decisions are influenced by material interests and institutional procedures in addition to human concerns. The proposed research aims to quantify the United Nations' influence and its effect on the prevention / resolution of international conflicts. The United Nations should possess the legitimacy and moral authority necessary to provide guidance and leadership in addressing these threats and challenges. The UN's influence is not solely based on its economic or political strength, but also on the values it represents and its role in the formation and upkeep of global norms. The United Nations must evolve in order to keep up with contemporary demands.

### 1.6 Research Questions

- (a) What has been the mandate and efficacy of UN in conflict prevention / resolution since the end of Cold War (1991)?
- (b) Can the UN in its present form cope up with the challenges of the new world order?
- (c) What changes are required to enhance conflict prevention / resolution capabilities of UN?

### 1.7 Hypothesis

- **H0** The United Nations Organization has fulfilled its mandate to prevent and resolve interstate conflict.
- **H1** To fulfil its mandate, the United Nations Organization is unable to prevent or resolve interstate conflicts and would require structural reforms.

### 1.8 Limitations and Delimitations of the Research

In terms of the study's chronological scope, the period from 1990, when the cold war lost its significance and the USSR disintegrated, to 2023, when the study will be concluded, is

relevant. The rationale for delineating this period is that it provides a landmark and contemporary indication of the UN's role as an international organisation in the global sphere, which can be correlated with contemporary realities. The research also includes the most recent and prominent conflicts. Regarding the geographical scope of the research, the UN's roles are, of course, global in nature. This is relevant from both a theoretical and historical perspective of the UN's involvement in conflict prevention and resolution.

### 1.9 Research Methods to be Applied and Data Source

The data for this study consist of document analyses from primary sources and case reviews from secondary sources. The primary sources of documents consist of official statements and policy reports on peacekeeping, as well as UN agencies. This includes, but is not limited to, significant policy documents, United Nations meeting minutes, crisis and post-crisis reports, final collective after-action recommendation reports, and post-event policy documents that reflect institutionalised changes. Every effort has been made to collect the military lessons learned by each military that supported a specific event. These data are supplemented by secondary sources including case study analyses by think tanks, independent research, policy analysis organisations, open source material, published books, historical accounts/documents, published government data, and academic literature. It would employ an inductive approach to the research in order to find answers and derive a conclusion before making a few recommendations.

### 1.10 Arrangement of Chapters

The research is broadly divided into two parts. The first part of the thesis is allocated to a brief description of role and evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. These chapters serve as the framework to understand the role and mandate of United Nations in interstate conflicts. The second part reviews some major conflicts and the role played by United Nations in their resolution. The study is proposed to be covered in the following chapters:-

- (a) **Chapter I Introduction** This chapter provides the preamble to the research as it provides the background and put forth the statement of problem, the objectives of study and the rationale of study. While generating the hypothesis it raises few research questions which would need answering during the course of research.
- (b) **Chapter II Review of Literature.** In this chapter relevant literature related to the concept of peacekeeping, Role of United Nations in peace keeping operations and its participation in the conflicts would be analysed. The points of agreements and disagreements would be highlighted to identify gaps in the literature and their place in the research.
- (d) Chapter III Role of United Nations Peace Keeping Organisation. The term Peacekeeping has been widely used, however there is need to understand theoretical aspects of peace before understanding peacekeeping. The chapter would endeavor to seek a theoretical perspective of peace and thereafter understand the evolution of the concept of peacekeeping from United Nations perspective.

- (e) Chapter IV Study of Conflicts Since End of Cold War. This chapter will study inter-state conflicts since the end of Cold War and undertake an analysis of role of United Nations in selected conflicts.
- (f) Chapter V Assessment of United Nations Peace Keeping Operations. This chapter will carry out an objective assessment of the performance of United Nations in maintaining peace and security in the post cold war era and also answer the research questions which have been articulated in the introduction.
- (g) Chapter VI Recommendations and Conclusion. This chapter will give recommendations to make United Nations Organisation capable of executing its primary role i.e. 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. This chapter will collate inputs and undertake analysis of data to arrive at logical conclusions.

#### **CHAPTER II**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

During the 1990s, there was a visible increase in interest in United Nations peacekeeping missions; however, by the end of the 2000s, this approach to conflict management had been completely discredited. Several books and articles give individual case studies or examine the new tasks that United Nations peacekeepers have assumed in the post-cold war era. The selection of peacekeeping as a means of conducting international relations has led in the emergence of a vast array of facets, and the state in charge of guiding peace continues to have complete discretion over the implementation or application of peacekeeping. Several conflict-prone regions of the world have witnessed the United Nations' peacekeeping operations. Notwithstanding this, issues have been made about the role of United Nations peacekeeping forces, which have not always been able to fulfil their tasks to the greatest extent feasible.

#### 2.2 Review

Report published by United Nations on occasion of the 70th anniversary in 2015.

Maintaining Peace and Security. Throughout the past six decades, the United Nations has despatched 69 peacekeeping and observer missions to war zones across the globe. These missions have contributed to the restoration of peace and laid the ground for numerous nations to recover from the effects of violence. There are now 16 peacekeeping missions occurring

across the world, each of which is led by about 125,000 courageous men and women from 120 countries. These folks are willing to travel to locations where others cannot or will not.

Making Peace. Since the 1990s, the United Nations has effectively mediated the resolution of a large number of disputes, and several more have been resolved with the aid of third parties operating with UN support. Conflicts in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi, and Nepal, as well as the north-south division in the Sudan, are contemporary examples. Recent research indicates that the United Nations' efforts in the fields of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and conflict prevention have contributed significantly to the forty percent decline in the frequency of worldwide conflicts since the 1990s. The United Nations has been effective in preventing a considerable number of potentially violent crises through preventive diplomacy and several other forms of preventive action. In addition, eleven United Nations peace missions are now active on the ground to address post-conflict circumstances and conduct peace building initiatives.

Consolidating Peace. Countries emerging from conflict receive aid from the United Nations Peace Building Commission in their pursuit of peace. This assistance is provided as part of the organization's efforts to promote peace. It assists in resource mobilisation, offers initiatives for peace building and recovery, and brings together international donors, international financial institutions, governments, and troop-contributing states. The United Nations Peace building Fund supports 222 projects in 22 countries through the provision of flexible and timely finance.

**Preventing Genocide.** The United Nations signed the first-ever pact to combat genocide, which is defined as acts done with the goal to exterminate a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. This was the first agreement of its sort. The 146 states that have ratified the Genocide Convention of 1948 have pledged to prevent and punish genocide in both times of

war and peace. Potential genocide perpetrators have been warned that their activities will no longer be accepted by the United Nations Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as the United Nations-supported courts in Cambodia. The objective of the Holocaust and United Nations Outreach Programme is to educate people all around the world about the lessons that can be gained from the Holocaust to prevent future genocides.

Caner (2019) argues that the Korean Experience and the establishment of the Republic of Korea demonstrated that the disagreements between great powers in the period immediately following World War II would have an impact on the United Nations and that the United Nations and its constituent members would be forced to take a side. He contends that the fact that the United Nations and its constituent countries were forced to select a side in the Korean War demonstrates his point. In addition, the United Nations was incapable of settling issues involving the major powers while being the only authorised international organisation of the post-war international system that provided legitimacy for membership in the worldwide community. Notwithstanding the fact that the United Nations was the only legitimate international organisation, this was the case. Because of this, the Korean scenario served as a template for future wars between the world's superpowers.

According to Banerjee and Sharma, the United Nations has failed to meet the expectations of its founders about the maintenance of peace and security for all states (2007). According to reports, this is due to structural faults and operational deficiencies inside the organisation. If the United Nations is to be a successful instrument for its member nations and the people of the globe, it must be completely adapted to the needs and circumstances of the twenty-first century.

Pathways for Peace (2018) indicates that offering incentives to those involved in a conflict to choose nonviolent action is one technique for preventing conflicts. Moreover, all-inclusive preventive efforts should swiftly recognise and address the concerns highlighted by all groups. As soon as violent behaviour gains a foothold in a community, the incentives and processes in that community begin to shift in ways that encourage the continuance of the behaviour. For prevention to be effective, efforts must be taken before grievances become entrenched and the potential for violence decreases the alternatives available to leaders and elites, which are social groupings with significant power or influence in a society. The behaviour of domestic actors will adapt to changing conditions and decisions made by actors from outside the country. Reforming institutions to preserve peace and address the underlying structural reasons of complaints and grievances may require considerable time. Time is an enormously crucial factor in international activity. Typically, political actors will only interfere when violence is imminent or has already occurred. Instead, it is vital that all policies and programmes integrate effective and continuous preventive efforts to combat violence.

According to Ryan (2000), the United Nations arose from a tradition of international relations thought that posits the possibility of positive change in areas such as international peace and security, respect for human rights, and a reduction in the number of people suffering from hunger and poverty. This way of thinking resulted in the formation of the United Nations. It is probable that the United Nations may not always be able to efficiently achieve these aims, but they remain laudable aspirations, and the United Nations will continue to play a unique role in international affairs as long as they continue to inspire or direct its activity.

According to Raja and Murthy (1986), a "peacekeeping operation" is an executive operation conducted by the United Nations to avert a breach of peace. This term is available in the article titled "Peace-Keeping Operations." Peacekeeping operations, with the exception of Chapter VII enforcement activities, may be military, paramilitary, or non-military in form and are conducted by the United Nations to protect international peace and security. These operations should not be used as an excuse for foreign involvement or to violate the sovereignty of any nation. This practise need to be strongly outlawed.

According to Paul, Hensel, and Jenniffer (1996), the conclusion of the cold war coincided with a major increase in the quantity and variety of United Nations operations in ongoing conflicts. This transformation took place immediately after the end of the cold war. In spite of its expanding position, the United Nations has not always achieved success. It is difficult to establish the long-term effects of the United Nations' efforts, but it is certain that there have been short-term failures. By analysing the frequency with which conflict emerges following a crisis, we examine this effect over a longer period of time. The action of the United Nations has proved ineffectual in preventing, delaying, or reducing the severity of future hostilities. This is the case regardless of the level of violence in the crisis that sparked the war, the relative capabilities of the two states, the history of conflict between the states, or the nature of the crisis outcome. Neither have United Nations efforts to discourage future conflict been successful. These gloomy findings suggest that revisions to the long-term approach may be necessary.

According to Rajan (1995), there is no longer any room for debate regarding the United Nations' crucial role in international relations management. How and to what extent

does it achieve its objectives, taking into account not only the different interests of its member states, but also the interests of humanity as a whole? The Cold War resulted to the split of the globe into three groups: Western and Eastern groups led by the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively, and a third group that refused to affiliate with any of the other two groups. The United Nations, which is essentially a mirror of the international politics of the divided factions, was harmed in a variety of ways as a result of the fact that both groups attempted to utilise the organisation to advance their own unique sectoral interests.

Since the end of the Cold War, hopes that the United Nations will be able to handle conflicts have diminished, according to Terry and James (2007). Many factors, including the nature of the threat, the type of reaction that can be taken, the limits that are imposed on UN action, and the course of a situation, have hampered the United Nations' ability to respond effectively. Together, these variables and others can constitute a "window of opportunity" for the United Nations to take action. The concept of a 'window' implies that in the current era, when the bulk of conflicts have minimal impact on the international system as a whole, the major powers will likely be motivated to handle only those crises that damage their interests. This is due to the fact that the bulk of wars have minimal effects on the international system as a whole. The ability of the United Nations to sustain peace will be substantially impacted by this development.

According to the 2015 HIPPO report, UN peace operations and their partners can better serve the requirements of the international community when they receive help from Member States. In the coming decades, the United Nations will need to demonstrate that it is capable of meeting the substantial obligations that have been entrusted to it in order to achieve its basic goals of preventing violence and serving as a peace broker, protecting people, and

keeping peace. In addition, it should include a vision, a call to action, and a road map for a future international and regional relationship that is more robust. Future crises will be difficult, and as a result, it will be vital to create institutions – in fact, a network of institutions – that can respond rapidly and effectively when they are most required. This, in turn, necessitates the unwavering dedication of member states to the objective of strengthening the organisation in order to better deliver on the universally shared principles and ideals of the UN Charter and to meet the needs of people whose lives are threatened or destroyed by armed conflict. Its population consists of women, men, and children. In light of these considerations, the United Nations should pool all of its available resources to improve future peacekeeping missions.

According to the 2003 Brahimi report, the United Nations is now able to plan and move more efficiently. But, the United Nations can only be as powerful and successful as the national forces it has at its disposal, and the trends in this area are potentially concerning but do not have to be. Either the rising regional capacity for peace operations will be carefully coordinated with the United Nations and made available to it, or it will be primarily devoted to regionally-led projects. Regional UN collaboration can and has taken various forms, sometimes sequentially (coalition forces followed by UN peacekeepers) and sometimes concurrently (coalition peacekeepers, UN peace builders, police, and/or administrators working concurrently). In war-prone and war-devastated regions, there is and will be considerable damage to repair and prevent, and it is extremely likely that the whole institutional capacity currently available will be required to complete these tasks. No organisation should be forgotten throughout the process of creating global capability to deal with the aftermath of conflict.

### 2.3 Research Gaps in Literature

Much studies and literature exist on the role and functions of the United Nations in conflict resolution and peacekeeping. In spite of this, there are gaps in the judgement of the United Nations' performance and its failure to act against the permanent members of the security council, most notably the United States and Russia. Even if the United Nations has made attempts to adapt to the changing international environment, it is still vital to analyse and evaluate its role in order to establish the extent to which it has been successful in reaching the desired goals in terms of sustaining world peace.

#### **CHAPTER III**

#### ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE KEEPING ORGANISATION

#### 3.1 Genesis of the United Nations

On June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, the United Nations Charter was signed, and it is the document that acts as the guiding text for the organisation today. The United Nations was founded on the principle of "saving successive generations from the scourge of war," and the upkeep of international peace and security is one of the organization's core focuses today. In spite of the fact that it is not expressly mentioned in the Charter, maintaining peace has become one of the most important tools that the United Nations use in order to accomplish this goal. The primary duty for the upkeep of international peace and security is vested in the United Nations Security Council, as stated in the Charter of the United Nations. In order for the Security Council to fulfil this role, it may choose to engage in a range of activities, such as the establishment of a peacekeeping operation by the United Nations. Chapters VI, VII, and VIII of the Charter provide the Council permission to carry out certain measures. The topic of "Pacific Settlement of Disputes" is discussed in Chapter VI, while "Action Regarding the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression" is discussed in Chapter VII. As long as their actions are in line with the goals and values specified in Chapter I of the Charter, regional arrangements and agencies are allowed to take part in the upkeep of international peace and security thanks to Chapter VIII of the Charter.

### 3.2 The Spectrum of Peace and Security Activities

In order to preserve international tranquilly and safety, the United Nations and other international players engage in a variety of operations, one of which is known as peacekeeping. It is distinct from the processes of preventing conflicts, making peace, enforcing peace, and building peace.

The adoption of structural or diplomatic measures with the goal of preventing tensions and conflicts inside a state or between states from developing into armed conflict is the definition of conflict prevention. In an ideal world, it should be predicated on organised early warning, information collecting, and a thorough investigation into the factors that led to the conflict in the first place. The usage of "good offices," preemptive deployment, and confidence-building initiatives are all examples of activities that can be included in the category of conflict prevention.

In most situations, establishing peace comprises activities designed to address current problems and diplomatic efforts aimed at bringing conflicting parties to an agreement through negotiation. At the request of either the Security Council or the General Assembly, or on the Secretary-own General's initiative, he or she can utilise the "good offices" of the United Nations to help expedite the resolution of a conflict. This can be done in a number of different ways. The United Nations has the potential to play a role in bringing about peace, in addition to individual governments, state groups, and regional organisations. There is also the potential for participation in attempts to promote peace from unofficial and non-governmental groups, as well as noteworthy individuals acting independently.

The term "peacekeeping" refers to a tactic that aims to aid in the execution of agreements reached by peacemakers as well as to preserve peace, regardless of how fragile it may be, in regions in which hostilities have halted. Over the course of the past several decades,

the concept of maintaining peace has shifted from being predominately based on the military model of observing cease-fires and the separation of forces following interstate wars to being based on a model in which multiple elements, including the military, the police, and civilians, work together to lay the foundations for a lasting peace.

In order to maintain peace, it may be necessary to resort to a range of coercive methods, one of which is the employment of armed combat, and this activity must get approval from the Security Council. In the event that the Security Council recognises a threat to international peace and security, a violation of the peace, or an act of aggression, the Council is authorised to take such actions in order to restore international peace and security. When it comes to carrying out enforcement operations that fall under its scope, the Security Council has the authority to make use of regional organisations and agencies.

Building peace includes taking a variety of steps with the dual goals of lowering the probability of relapsing or relapsing back into conflict by increasing national capacities at all levels for conflict management and laying the groundwork for sustained peace and development in the long run. Building peace is a complicated and drawn-out process that involves creating the conditions required for peace to last over an extended period of time. It achieves its goals by taking a holistic approach to resolving the underlying structural issues that contribute to violent conflict. Building peace requires addressing fundamental problems that have an impact on the operation of both society and the state, and it seeks to improve the capacity of the state to carry out its essential tasks in a way that is both effective and lawful.

### 3.3 The Core Business of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Forbidden under the Charter, the United Nations' first military observers were dispatched to the Middle East in 1948, marking the beginning of the peacekeeping operation. Throughout the years of the Cold War that followed, the goals of United Nations peacekeeping had to be limited to preserving cease-fires and stabilising the situation on the ground in order to facilitate political efforts to end the conflict through peaceful means. This "conventional" paradigm is used by a number of UN peacekeeping missions that have been going on for a long time. The traditional peacekeeping missions of the United Nations are used as a stopgap solution to lend assistance in conflict management and clear the way for the negotiation of a more permanent settlement. Observation, monitoring, and report writing – with the parties' cooperation, employing static posts, patrols, or other technical means; Interposition as a confidence-building and buffering tactic, as well as supervision of the cease-fire and aid to the verification processes. Traditional peacekeeping operations provide each party with the assurance that the other will not exploit the cease-fire for military advantage by monitoring and reporting on the parties' compliance with commitments regarding a cease-fire or demilitarised zone, as well as by investigating complaints of violations. This gives each party the confidence that the other will not use the cease-fire to their advantage militarily. Peacekeeping operations that have been around for a long time often do not contribute directly to political efforts to end the war.

It is possible that other actors, such as regional organisations, bilateral partners of the parties, or even special envoys of the United Nations are working on political solutions that will allow for the withdrawal of the peacekeeping force. As a direct consequence of this, some traditional peacekeeping missions are carried out for decades until a permanent political settlement is reached. The end of the Cold War brought about a dramatic shift in the strategic context in which the United Nations conducted peacekeeping operations, and as a result, the

Security Council began to advocate more forcefully for the containment of regional conflicts and the peaceful resolution of those conflicts. Although the end of the Cold War coincided with a decrease in the number of conflicts occurring around the world, the vast majority of violent conflicts that occur today are on a domestic level. Many of these wars have place in the world's poorest countries, which may have limited state capabilities and where economic gain, ideology, or historical grudges may inspire warriors. In addition, there is evidence that a significant proportion of civil wars are caused by a relapse of conflict, the risks of which are particularly high in the first five to ten years after a conflict has ended. This is the time period in which the risks of a relapse of conflict are particularly high. The alteration of the state of affairs on the global stage has resulted in the emergence of a brand-new generation of "multidimensional" peacekeeping operations conducted by the United Nations. These operations are typically carried out in the perilous aftermath of a violent internal war. In order to facilitate the implementation of an all-encompassing peace deal, these operations may combine the capabilities of the military, the police, and the civilian population. In the absence of a formal peace deal, the United Nations has responded to a request from the national authorities by deploying five multifaceted peacekeeping operations in order to facilitate the transition to a legitimate administration. This was done in order to help with the transition.

In exceptional circumstances, the Security Council has also authorised multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations to temporarily assume legislative and administrative functions of the State in order to support the transfer of authority from one sovereign entity to another, or until sovereignty questions are fully resolved (as in the case of transitional administrations), or in order to assist the State in establishing administrative structures that may not have existed before. These authorizations have been granted in order to support the transfer of authority from one sovereign entity to another, or until sovereignty questions are fully resolved (as in the In the aftermath of an internal conflict, multidimensional

peacekeeping operations carried out by the United Nations face a situation that is particularly fraught with difficulty. In many parts of the country, the capacity of the state to provide its population with security and to preserve public order is frequently insufficient, which can lead to the continuation of violent conflict in those areas. It is possible that huge segments of the people have been relocated, and it is also likely that essential elements of the infrastructure have been destroyed. There may have been major breaches of human rights during the conflict, which makes it more difficult for efforts to achieve national reconciliation. Society may be split along racial, religious, and regional lines, and there may have been grave violations of human rights. As part of a much bigger international effort to support countries emerging from conflict in the process of establishing a lasting peace, the United Nations deploys multifaceted peacekeeping missions as part of this endeavour. Figure 2 illustrates the possibility that this endeavour will involve several players with separate mandates and areas of competence that overlap with one another.

Facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and assisting in the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions of governance Protect civilians and enforce international humanitarian law In this context, the core functions of a multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation are to: Create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the State's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights; Protect civilians and enforce international humanitarian law Establish a structure to guarantee that all international players, including the United Nations and others, pursue actions that are consistent and coordinated at the country level. Multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations, in addition to monitoring and observing ceasefires, frequently provide operational support to national law enforcement agencies, provide security at key government installations, ports, and other vital infrastructure, and establish the necessary security conditions for the free flow of people, goods, and humanitarian aid. This is done in

addition to the monitoring and observing of ceasefires. The multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations play a crucial role in securing the peace process and ensuring that humanitarian and development partners can operate in a safe environment by filling the vacuum of security and public order that frequently exists in post-conflict settings. This is accomplished by ensuring that humanitarian and development partners can operate in a safe environment. When there is an internal armed conflict, civilians make up the vast majority of those who are killed and injured. A significant number of individuals have been exposed to new dangers as a direct consequence of being uprooted against their will within their own countries. The United Nations Security Council is currently responsible for authorising the vast majority of multifunctional peacekeeping operations with the primary mission of shielding people from impending acts of physical violence.

The protection of civilians necessitates deliberate and coordinated activity on the part of the military, police, and civilian components of a United Nations peacekeeping operation, in addition to incorporation into the planning and execution of the main activities of the operation. In order to ensure the safety of people, humanitarian agencies under the auspices of the United Nations and its non-governmental organisation (NGO) partners participate in a diverse range of operations. As a result, there needs to be very close cooperation with these many actors. In most cases, multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations play a direct role in political efforts to resolve the conflict. They are frequently tasked by the Security Council with providing good offices or promoting national political dialogue and reconciliation. In addition, multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations typically involve a number of different parties. They have a significant amount of leverage over the parties because multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations enjoy a high degree of international legitimacy and represent the collective will of the international community. This leverage can be utilised to develop and sustain a political consensus in support of the

peace process, to promote good governance, and to maintain pressure on the parties to make required institutional reforms.

The multidimensional peacekeeping operations carried out by the United Nations are very necessary in order to guarantee that the activities carried out by the United Nations system as well as those carried out by other international actors are directed by a common strategic vision. The United Nations has come up with the idea of "integrated missions" in order to make its aid to nations emerging from conflict as efficient as possible and to maximise its efficacy. 8 In most cases, the multifunctional United Nations peacekeeping operations are led by a Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) who has overall responsibility over the activities of the United Nations. This helps to ensure that all of these capabilities are coordinated. Also, the SRSG is responsible for establishing the general framework for the United Nations peacekeeping mission as well as the United Nations Country Team (UNCT). In this endeavour, a Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General/Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator (DSRSG/RC/HC) provides assistance to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG). This Deputy also serves as the primary liaison between the United Nations peacekeeping operation and the United Nations Country Team (UNCT). Additionally, this Deputy is in charge of leading the coordination effort for humanitarian, development, and recovery activities, and they are responsible for conveying the concerns of the UNCT to the SRSG. 1 Putting Into Practice the Core Peacekeeping Principles of the United Nations Despite the fact that the practise of UN peacekeeping has evolved significantly over the course of the past six decades, three fundamental principles continue to distinguish United Nations peacekeeping operations as a tool for maintaining international peace and security. These principles are the Responsibility to Protect, the Principle of Non-Resistance, and the Principle of Good Neighborliness. Consensus reached amongst the parties, Maintaining Neutrality, Refraining from the Use of Force Outside of Self-Defense, and Upholding the Mandate for Compliance These guiding concepts are interdependent and provide support for one another. In order for the United Nations' peacekeeping operations to be planned and carried out efficiently, all of the individuals who are involved in these processes must have an understanding of the significance of the operations and the interrelationships among them. Together, they function as a compass for those working on the ground as well as those working in the headquarters of the United Nations.

Peacekeeping operations conducted by the United Nations are only sent in when the main warring parties give their approval. In order to accomplish this, the parties involved need to demonstrate their dedication to a political process and their willingness to cooperate with a peacekeeping operation that has been tasked with supporting that process. With the agreement of the principal parties, a United Nations peacekeeping mission will be afforded the political and physical independence necessary to carry out the duties that have been delegated to it.

In the absence of such permission, a United Nations peacekeeping operation runs the risk of becoming a party to the dispute and of being pulled towards enforcement action, which would divert attention away from the mission of the operation, which is to maintain peace. In order to successfully carry out its mission, a United Nations peacekeeping operation is required to make unceasing efforts to advance the peace process and preserve the support of the major parties involved. Because of this, it is necessary for all of the personnel involved in maintaining peace to have a comprehensive understanding of the history, prevalent customs, and culture of the area where the mission is being carried out, as well as the ability to assess the parties' evolving interests and motivations. When there is a lack of trust between the parties involved in a post-conflict setting, getting agreement from those parties can be difficult and unpredictable at times. When a party is not fully dedicated to the peace process, consent can

be withdrawn in a number of different ways. This is especially true if the party only reluctantly offered consent in response to pressure from the international community. For instance, a party that has previously given its agreement to the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation may, at a later time, seek to restrict the freedom of action that the operation has, therefore withdrawing its approval de facto.

The total withdrawal of consent by one or more major parties calls into question the justification for the United Nations peacekeeping operation, and it is highly likely that the fundamental assumptions and parameters that underpin the strategy of the international community to support the peace process will change as a result. It is not always the case that the consent of the major parties to the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation implies or guarantees the consent of the local population. This is especially true in situations in which the major parties are internally divided or have poor command and control. The possibility of there being agreement among all parties is already low, but it drops even further in environments that are volatile and feature the existence of armed organisations that are not controlled by any of the parties, as well as environments that feature the presence of other disruptors. Continuous analysis of the operating environment should be carried out by the peacekeeping operation in order to identify and stop any loss of consent. In order to effectively handle situations in which local consent is lacking or has deteriorated, a peacekeeping operation needs to be equipped with the political and analytic competence, operational resources, and the will to do so. Because of this, the use of force might become necessary in some situations.

It is imperative that the mandate of the United Nations peacekeeping operations be carried out with complete objectivity and without favouritism. Impartiality is vital for keeping the consent and cooperation of the major parties, but it is not the same thing as neutrality or passivity. Impartiality is essential for preserving the consent and collaboration of the major

parties. It is important for United Nations troops to maintain objectivity in their dealings with combatants, but this does not mean they should be neutral in the performance of their duties. It is unacceptable to cite the duty of impartiality towards the parties as an excuse for passivity in the face of behaviour that is obviously counterproductive to the peace effort. A peacekeeping operation should not condone actions by the parties that violate the commitments of the peace process or the international norms and principles that are upheld by a United Nations peacekeeping operation. An impartial referee will penalise infractions, and so should a peacekeeping operation if it wants to maintain peace.

A peacekeeping operation must strictly avoid acts that could jeopardise its image of impartiality. This is true despite the fact that it is necessary to create and maintain positive connections with the parties involved. Before taking any action, it is always prudent to make sure that the grounds for acting are well-established and can be conveyed clearly to all parties. A mission should not shy away from a rigorous application of the principle of impartiality out of fear of misinterpretation or retaliation. If this is not done, the credibility and legitimacy of the peacekeeping operation could be called into question, which could lead to the withdrawal of consent from one or more of the parties involved. When confronted with the necessity of responding to such violations, a peacekeeping operation is obligated to do so in a manner that is transparent, open, and characterised by effective communication of the rationale behind its response as well as the nature of the response itself. This will help in minimising opportunities to alter the views of the mission and lowering the possibility of backlash from political parties and the supporters of those parties. Even the most skilled and impartial referees have to be prepared for criticism from people who are negatively impacted by their decisions and be able to explain themselves. You should only resort to physical violence in cases of self-defense or when protecting the mandate.

The concept of non-use of force other than for the purpose of self-defense was established in 1956, the same year that the United Nations for the first time used armed peacekeepers. Consequently, the idea of self-defense has developed to encompass the act of resisting violent attempts to prevent a peacekeeping mission from carrying out its prescribed obligations. This expansion occurred as a result of the use of the term "self-defense." The United Nations' peacekeeping missions are not intended to serve as a means of law enforcement. On the other hand, it is generally acknowledged that, if they are acting in selfdefense and defence of the mandate, they are permitted to use force at the tactical level if they have received authority from the Security Council to do so. Militias, criminal gangs, and other disruptors that may seek to actively undermine the peace process or threaten the civilian population are frequently present in environments in which United Nations peacekeeping operations are deployed. These disruptors may seek to engage in active subversion of the peace process. Under these circumstances, the Security Council has given authorization to United Nations peacekeeping operations to "use all necessary means" in order to prevent violent attempts to disrupt the political process, protect civilians who are under immediate physical threat, and/or assist national authorities in maintaining law and order. These United Nations peacekeeping missions have improved security and generated a climate that is favourable to the long-term construction of peace in the countries in which they have been deployed by proactively utilising force in defence of their mandates. Robust peacekeeping and peace enforcement, both of which are envisioned in Chapter VII of the Charter, are not interchangeable terms, despite the fact that they may appear to be the same on the ground. The authority of the Security Council and the consent of the nation that is hosting the peacekeeping operation, as well as the primary parties to the dispute, may be necessary for the robust use of force in peacekeeping operations. Peace enforcement, on the other hand, does not require the consent of the principal parties and may involve the use of strategic or international military

force, both of which are normally prohibited for Member States under Article 2(4) of the Charter unless they are authorised by the Security Council. After all other means of persuasion have been exhausted, a United Nations peacekeeping operation should only resort to the use of force as a measure of absolute last resort, and they should always use extreme caution when doing so.

Not achieving their military victory is the ultimate goal of using force; rather, it is to exert influence and serve as a deterrent on those who reject the peace process or attempt to do harm to people. The use of force by a United Nations peacekeeping operation must always be calibrated in a precise, proportional, and appropriate manner. This means that the operation must adhere to the principle of employing the minimum amount of force required to achieve the desired effect, while simultaneously maintaining support for the mission and its mandate. A United Nations peacekeeping mission that uses force is obligated to constantly keep in mind the importance of a speedy de-escalation of violence and a return to nonviolent means of persuasion. This is true even when the use of force is necessary. When a United Nations peacekeeping operation uses force, there will inevitably be political implications, and those repercussions will frequently result in occurrences that were not anticipated. At the appropriate level within a mission, decisions regarding its use must be based on a combination of factors. These factors include mission capability, public perception, humanitarian impact, force protection, personnel safety and security, and, most importantly, the impact of such action on the level of national and local support for the mission. The mission-wide ROE for the military components of a United Nations peacekeeping operation and the DUF for the police components will clarify the different levels of force that can be used in various situations, how each level of force should be used, and any authorizations that commanders need to obtain. The ROE will also outline the DUF for the police components of the operation. In the volatile and potentially dangerous environments in which modern peacekeeping operations are frequently

deployed, these ROE and DUF should be sufficiently robust to ensure that a United Nations peacekeeping operation maintains its credibility and freedom of action in order to fulfil its mandate. In other words, these ROE and DUF should be robust enough to ensure that a United Nations peacekeeping operation can fulfil its mandate. The leadership of the mission should make sure that this ROE and DUF are completely comprehended by all of the necessary individuals, and that they apply them in a consistent manner.

Other Factors That Affect Success United Nations peacekeeping operations continue to be guided by the principles of consent, impartiality, and the non-use of force, with the exception of instances of self-defense and mandate protection. According to the lessons that have been learned over the course of the last 15 years, in order for United Nations peacekeeping operations to be successful, they need to be seen as legitimate and credible, particularly by the population of the area in which they are operating. The recent experience that the United Nations has had with multidimensional peacekeeping has brought to light the requirement that UN peacekeeping operations encourage national and local ownership in order to contribute to the development of an enduring peace. The fact that a United Nations peacekeeping operation is established only after receiving a mandate from the United Nations Security Council, which is primarily tasked with the responsibility of preserving international peace and security, is the primary factor that contributes to the operation's international legitimacy. This international legitimacy is increased by the disproportionately high number of Member States that contribute manpower and cash to United Nations activities. Specifically, this legitimacy is strengthened by the fact that the United States is a member of the United Nations. The fact that the United Nations' peacekeeping operations are supervised by the Secretary-General, a prominent figure on the international stage who is dedicated to preserving the Charter's principles and purposes, is another factor that helps to the legitimacy of the organisation.

The manner in which a United Nations peacekeeping mission is carried out can have a considerable effect on how legitimate the operation is seen on the ground. The perception of a United Nations peacekeeping operation's legitimacy is directly influenced by a number of factors, including the firmness and fairness with which it carries out its mandate, the restraint with which it employs force, the discipline it imposes on its personnel, the respect it demonstrates for local customs, institutions, and laws, and the respect with which it treats the population of the area it is operating in, among other things. The quality of the military, police, and civilian personnel that make up a United Nations peacekeeping operation is directly proportional to the legitimacy of the mission itself. The demeanour and behaviour of all personnel must be consistent with the significant responsibilities that have been allocated to a United Nations peacekeeping mission, and they should adhere to the highest standards of competence, efficiency, and integrity. The senior leadership of the mission is responsible for ensuring that all personnel are aware of the anticipated standards of behaviour and that appropriate procedures are in place to avoid wrongdoing. Training on how to spot and report instances of sexual exploitation and abuse should be mandatory for all sectors of society, including the police, the military, and the civilian workforce. Furthermore, this training should be ongoing even as different groups of troops rotate through different peacekeeping missions. A zero-tolerance policy needs to be implemented in response to sexual exploitation and abuse, as well as other significant offences. Cases of misconduct need to be dealt with in a manner that is both firm and fair if there is any chance of preventing them from compromising the legitimacy and moral authority of the mission.

If the size of the United Nations' "footprint" and the behaviour of its personnel become a source of local resentment, or if the peacekeeping operation is not sufficiently responsive as the situation stabilises, the perceived legitimacy of a United Nations peacekeeping operation may erode over time. This may occur for one of two reasons: either the peacekeeping operation

does not adequately respond to the situation, or the size of the United Nations' "footprint." Missions to maintain peace are obligated to always keep national sovereignty in mind and treat it with respect. It is possible that as new legitimate and capable government structures come into being, it will be necessary for international actors to take on a less prominent role. They should make it a priority to encourage both national and local ownership of the mission, remain mindful of developing local capacities, and be sensitive to the impact the mission will have on the local population. Credibility. Peacekeeping operations are routinely sent out by the United Nations into unstable and high-stress contexts that are characterised by the breakdown or degeneration of state structures, as well as animosity, violence, polarisation, and anguish. It is possible that lawlessness and insecurity may continue at the local level, and there will always be people prepared to take advantage of political and security vacuums. It is possible that those whose interests are threatened by the presence of a United Nations peacekeeping force will test it for weakness and division in such situations, particularly during the early deployment phase of the operation.

A United Nations peacekeeping operation's credibility is directly correlated to the degree to which both international and local people have faith in the mission's capacity to successfully carry out its mandate. The capability, efficacy, and capacity of a mission to manage and fulfil expectations are the determining factors in the credibility of that mission. A United Nations peacekeeping force should ideally deploy as quickly as feasible, have enough resources, and endeavour to maintain a confident, capable, and cohesive position in order to be credible. Other factors that contribute to credibility include: Establishing a credible presence early on in a mission can assist prevent it from being derailed by disruptors and decrease the possibility that it will be necessary to resort to violent means in order to complete its objectives, as previous experience has demonstrated. A mission must have a clear and executable mandate, commensurate resources and capabilities, and a strong mission plan that is understood,

communicated, and implemented impartially and efficiently at every level in order to establish and sustain its credibility. The local population will, upon the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force, have great hopes that it will be able to address their most urgent needs. These needs include:

It is possible for a United Nations peacekeeping operation to become the focus of popular discontent or, even more severely, active opposition if there is a perception that it has failed to achieve these objectives, regardless of how unrealistic such expectations may be. The extent to which a peacekeeping mission is able to successfully manage these expectations over the course of its operation is a major factor in determining the mission's overall credibility. When credibility is damaged, it is very difficult to restore it. A mission that does not possess credibility is relegated to the background and becomes ineffective as a result. It is possible that its operations may be seen as not having or having questionable validity, which will lead to a decline in support. It is quite possible that naysayers and opponents of the expedition will take advantage of situations like this. It is possible that the loss of credibility will have a direct impact on the morale of the individuals involved in the mission, which will result in a reduction in the mission's effectiveness. As a result, preserving one's reputation is absolutely necessary for the successful completion of a mission. Encouragement of ownership on both the local and national levels. Countries emerging from protracted internal strife are increasingly relying on the assistance of multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations in order to reestablish the foundations of a functioning state. The parameters of the peace process and/or the mandate established by the Security Council will decide the function that a peacekeeping mission will play in this particular region. In some situations, the capabilities of the state and the local community may be so lacking that the mission may need to temporarily undertake certain tasks, either directly, as in the case of transitional administration, or indirectly, in

support of the state. Some circumstances call for either a state intervention that is less obtrusive or none at all.

The mandate of a particular United Nations peacekeeping operation, the severity of the situation on the ground, the resources the international community is willing to invest, and an assessment of the availability of capable, credible, and legitimate partners within the host nation will determine the nature and scope of the operation. Each of these variables has the potential to shift at some point throughout the course of a United Nations peacekeeping operation, which will need the operation's strategy to be modified accordingly. The ownership of a peace process on both a national and a local level is necessary for its successful execution. When it comes to the planning and execution of the main activities of a United Nations peacekeeping operation, every effort must be taken to encourage national and local ownership as well as cooperation among national actors. This is a requirement. After a peacekeeping mission is withdrawn from an area, the long-term viability of any national capability can be improved through the implementation of effective methods to national and local ownership. While creating relationships with national actors, it is important to keep in mind a number of important factors, including gender concerns, inclusion, broad representation, and neutrality. Missions have a responsibility to recognise that the political system of the nation that is hosting them will contain multiple perspectives that are in conflict with one another. It is essential to have a complete understanding of all perspectives and points of view in order to guarantee that participation and ownership will not be confined to a select few individuals. To begin the process of national and local ownership, a comprehensive awareness of the national context is required. This entails having a complete understanding of the political as well as the social circumstances in which one operates. A mission needs to proceed with extreme caution to ensure that the rhetoric of national ownership does not replace a genuine understanding of the aspirations and hopes of the population. This is in addition to the necessity of allowing national

capacity to rapidly re-emerge from conflict and assume leadership of important political and development processes.

The mission will be required to manage real tensions between the need, in some cases, for rapid transformational change from the status quo ex-ante and the resistance to change from powerful actors who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. In some cases, the mission will require rapid transformational change from the status quo ex-ante. In the beginning, through conversation, ownership of the change needs to be established. It is possible that political, financial, and other types of international pressure will be required to influence the parties on particular problems; nevertheless, these forms of leverage should only be utilised in support of the community's larger peace goals. The capabilities of individual nations must serve as a guiding principle for any multifaceted peacekeeping operations carried out by the United Nations. As a result, it is important to avoid any displacement of national or local capacity whenever it is possible to do so. In the not-too-distant future, it is possible that a multifaceted United Nations peacekeeping operation may be necessary to take on state-like tasks, such as the provision of security and the maintenance of public order. Yet, these obligations have to be satisfied through the utilisation of consultation. The objective must always be to restore, as speedily as possible, the capacity of national actors and institutions to take their responsibilities and exercise their full authority in conformity with internationally acknowledged norms and standards. This objective must be met at all times. When it comes to the capacity building of the nation, women and men should have equal access to the possibilities for training.

#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### STUDY OF CONFLICTS SINCE END OF COLD WAR

### 4.1 Historical Perspective

The end of the Cold War between the world's two superpowers came to a head in a manner that was most dramatically symbolised by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The majority of conflicts that broke out during the time period known as the Cold War were believed to be continuations of the conflict between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Despite this, the conclusion of the Cold War did not bring about the end of armed conflict. After the end of the Cold War, countries are still involved in a variety of wars, both on their own soil and on the international stage. About the entirety of this collection, A state-to-state war is a military conflict that takes place between two governments that are universally recognised as being sovereign over their respective territories and in which at least one thousand combatants are killed. There are some conflicts in which the parties cannot agree on a date for the issue to be resolved. While one party may proclaim victory, the other may vow to keep fighting until the conflict is resolved.

In this study, we will investigate events such as the First Gulf War, the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the American invasion of Afghanistan, the American invasion of Iraq, NATO's involvement in Libya, the genocide in Rwanda, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In spite of the fact that the Genocide in Rwanda was primarily a civil war amongst Rwandans, it is being covered since components from neighbouring states and an already established UN mission were involved.

# 4.2 First Gulf War

The first Gulf War was a military campaign that was waged between 1990 and 1991 by a coalition of 35 nations in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. This war was fought between the years 1990 and 1991. Operation Desert Shield, which marked the military build-up from August 1990 to January 1991, and Operation Desert Storm, which began with the aerial bombing campaign against Iraq on 17 January 1991 and ended with the UN-sanctioned American-led Liberation of Kuwait on 28 February 1991, were the two most significant phases of the coalition's efforts against Iraq. Operation Desert Shield marked the military build-up from August 1990 to January 1991, and Operation Desert Storm began with the aerial bombing campaign against Iraq on 17 January 1991.



Figure 4.2 : Map of Kuwait

(Source: https://creativecommons.org/)

### **4.2.1** Origin

One of the many hypotheses that has been put up in order to explain the fundamental reasons for the Iraqi invasion is that Iraq was unable to pay back the more than 14 billion dollars that it had borrowed from Kuwait in order to finance its military efforts during the Iran–Iraq War. Iraq's earnings and economic outlook both suffered as a result of Kuwait's necessity to repay debts and an increase in that country's petroleum production. Throughout the entirety of the 1980s, Kuwait's oil production was higher than its OPEC-mandated quota, which helped keep the price of oil on the worldwide market at a low level. Iraq's interpretation of Kuwait's unwillingness to reduce oil production as an act of aggression against the Iraqi economy was a primary factor in the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries.

### 4.2.2 The Response of the UN

On August 2, 1990, the Iraqi army launched an invasion of Kuwait and took control of the country. The same day, the Security Council approved resolution 660 (1990), which condemned the invasion and requested that Iraq release its soldiers from the sites they had occupied the day before in a swift and unconditional manner. This resolution was issued on the same day as the invasion. As the days progressed the Council decided to impose economic and military sanctions against Iraq. Between August 2 and November 29, 1990, the Security Council passed a total of 12 resolutions, the most recent of which was resolution 678. These resolutions addressed a variety of aspects of the situation between Iraq and Kuwait (1990). If Iraq had not fully implemented all Council resolutions pertaining to the occupation of Kuwait by January 15, 1991, member states that cooperated with the legitimate government of Kuwait were given permission to use "all necessary means" to compel Iraq to comply and restore international peace and security in the region. This authorization was given because Iraq had

failed to fully implement all resolutions pertaining to the occupation of Kuwait by that date. The deadline came and went, and the next day, on January 16, 1991, the armed forces of the states that were collaborating with the government of Kuwait began air strikes against Iraq. On February 24, 1991, they began a land offensive as well. At the stroke of midnight on February 28, 1991, offensive operations came to an end. At that time, Kuwait City had been liberated, and all Iraqi armed troops had left the territory of Kuwait. On April 3, 1991, the Council passed resolution 687 (1991), which outlined the specific requirements and procedures for an official ceasefire to bring an end to the conflict. This resolution was intended to bring an end to the conflict. As soon as Iraq acknowledged the conditions of the resolution, the ceasefire was recognised as legitimate.

# 4.3 Azerbaijan-Armenia

Karabakh is a area located in the Caucasus region and is currently controlled by Soviet Azerbaijan. In 1988, Armenians urged that the province be moved from Soviet Azerbaijan to Soviet Armenia. The conflict developed into a full-scale war after the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, which triggered the escalation of the conflict. Tens of thousands of people lost their lives as a result of the First Nagorno-Karabakh War. Armenia emerged victorious from the conflict and went on to exercise control over large portions of south-western Azerbaijan, including territory that lay outside the borders of the Republic of Artsakh. A large number of ethnic Armenians departed Azerbaijan, while a large number of ethnic Azerbaijanis were forced to leave the regions that had been taken by the Armenians. After the ceasefire in Bishkek in 1994, which put an end to the first conflict and ushered in two decades of relative peace, the situation began to deteriorate at an alarming rate in the 2010s. During a four-day escalation in April 2016, hundreds of casualties were suffered, although there were only minor

alterations to the frontline as a result. A decisive victory for Azerbaijan was achieved at the end of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War in the late year 2020. This conflict was responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of people. A tripartite agreement to halt the fighting and create a provisional armistice was reached on November 10, which resulted in Azerbaijan recovering control of the majority of the territory that it had lost as a result of the initial battle. After the end of the second conflict, events continued to take place in Nagorno-Karabakh and along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. These incidents resulted in casualties on an intermittent but consistent basis. In the morning of September 13, 2022, large-scale fighting broke out along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. This conflict continued throughout the day. Armenian forces allegedly carried out "large-scale subversive operations" and fired on Azerbaijani positions near the border districts of Dashkasan, Kalbajar, and Lachin, as stated by the Ministry of Defense of Azerbaijan. According to the Armenian Ministry of Defense, Azerbaijani forces used artillery and heavy weaponry to target Armenian positions in the vicinity of the cities of Vardenis, Goris, Sotk, and Jermuk. At least 105 Armenian soldiers and 71 Azerbaijani soldiers were among those who lost their lives.

On September 14, 2022, the Armenian Ministry of Defense made the accusation that Azerbaijan had begun conducting attacks along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan using artillery, mortar, attack drones, and small guns. The Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense made the accusation on the same day that Armenian forces had fired on Azerbaijani Army formations in the districts of Kalbajar and Lachin. Armen Grigoryan, secretary of the Armenian Security Council, made the announcement that Armenia and Azerbaijan had reached a cease-fire agreement on September 15, 2022.

RUSSIA **GEORGIA** CASPIAN ARMENIA **AZERBAIJAN** NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT Territory of Azerbaijan occupied by Armenian military forces U R Territory of Armenia occupied by Azerbaijani military forces K E Territories retaken by Azerbaijani Nakhichevan Autonomous **IRAN** Republic (Az.)

Figure 4.3: Map of Armenia and Azerbaijan

(Source : https://oc-media.org)

### **4.3.1** Origin

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is an ethnic and territorial dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is primarily inhabited by ethnic Armenians, and seven surrounding districts, which were primarily inhabited by ethnic Azerbaijanis until their expulsion in the 1990s during a period of Armenian occupation of those districts. The conflict is named after the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, notwithstanding the fact that the land of Nagorno-Karabakh is wholly claimed by the separatist Republic of Artsakh and is largely administered de facto by Artsakh, the territory is internationally recognised as belonging to Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan controls the entirety of the Nagorno-Karabakh region in addition to seven regions immediately surrounding it (from which the Armenian population was expelled in the 2020s).

### 4.3.2 The Response of the UN

Resolution 822 (1993) Adopted at the 3205th meeting of the Security Council, which took place on April 30th, 1993. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted the following statement after noting with alarm the escalation of military hostilities and, in particular, the most recent invasion of the Kelbadjar district of the Republic of Azerbaijan by local Armenian forces. The statement reads as follows: "The UNSC notes with alarm the escalation of military hostilities and, in particular, the most recent invasion of the Kelbadjar district by local Armenia

Respecting the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of each and every state in the area, we reaffirm our commitment to: The inviolability of international borders was reemphasized, as was the prohibition against the use of force in order to acquire territory. Proclaimed its support for the peace process that is being carried out under the auspices of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its great worry about the effect that an escalation of armed hostilities could have on the process of achieving peace.

### 4.4 US - Afghanistan

Afghanistan was the scene of military combat from the year 2001 until the year 2021. The conflict was finally resolved when United States soldiers withdrew in 2021 and when the Taliban launched an offensive that resulted in the destruction of the Islamic Republic and the reinstallation of the Islamic Emirate. It was the longest conflict in the history of the United States military, surpassing the length of the Vietnam War by over six months to become the longest war in US history.

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Figure 4.4: Map of Afghanistan

(Source: https://www.longwarjournal.org)

# **4.4.1** Origin

Following the attacks on the World Trade Centre that took place on September 11, President George W. Bush of the United States requested that the Taliban immediately extradite al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden to the United States of America. Despite this, the Taliban said no because they wanted evidence of bin Laden's involvement. The United States, as a continuation of what was formerly referred to as the "War on Terror," announced the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom. Despite the fact that the United States and its allies invaded Afghanistan and quickly pushed the Taliban and its supporters out of major population centres, Bin Laden fled to Pakistan after the invasion. The coalition that was led by the United States continued its work in Afghanistan by organising a security operation (ISAF) that was sanctioned by the United Nations. The mission's objective was to establish a new democratic

government that would prevent a revival of the Taliban. The establishment of a new Afghan interim government and the beginning of foreign reconstruction efforts are both goals of this process. In 2003, the Taliban reorganised themselves under the leadership of their founder, Mullah Omar, and initiated a widespread uprising against the newly established government in Afghanistan as well as coalition soldiers. Asymmetric warfare was used by the Taliban and other Islamist rebels, including guerilla tactics in rural areas, suicide attacks against urban targets, and retaliation against Afghan supporters. By 2007, the Taliban had successfully retaken control of a sizeable portion of Afghanistan. This influx of troops reached its zenith in 2011, when approximately 140,000 foreign troops were operating in Afghanistan under the command of ISAF. In response, the coalition deployed a large number of troops for counterinsurgency operations, using a strategy known as "clear and hold" for villages and towns. It is estimated that between 176 000 and 212 000 people were killed as a result of the war, with 46 312 of those killed being civilians.

### 4.4.2 The Response of the UN

On November 14, 2001, after reaffirming all previous resolutions regarding the situation in Afghanistan, including resolutions 1267 (1999), 1333 (2000), and 1363 (2001), the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1378. This resolution affirmed that the United Nations would play an important role in the country and called for the establishment of a transitional administration leading up to the formation of a new government. Additionally, the resolution called for the establishment of a transitional administration leading up to the formation of a new

The Security Council acknowledged the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan, and more specifically in Kabul, and gave its support to efforts to combat terrorism in accordance

with resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). It condemned the Taliban for violating international law and for letting Al Qaeda, other terrorist organisations, and Osama bin Laden to use Afghanistan as a base and safe haven, as well as for permitting Afghanistan to be used in this way.

In the resolution, the Afghan people's efforts to build a new transitional administration that will lead to the formation of a truly representative government that respects human rights and its international duties and that supports the delivery of humanitarian supplies were commended and encouraged. It demanded that Afghan military refrain from taking retaliatory actions and respect international human rights and humanitarian law.

The Council reiterated the fundamental role that the United Nations is to play in the development of the transitional government in Afghanistan. It requested that Member States provide support for the establishment of a transitional government and administration, aid with humanitarian efforts, and long-term assistance for the restoration and rehabilitation of the country's social and economic systems. Last but not least, it was requested that member states ensure the safety of residents, transitional authorities, and all international personnel in parts of Afghanistan that are no longer under the control of the Taliban, including Kabul.

### 4.5 United States - Iraq

The United States of America took the initiative to lead the initial phase of the Iraq War, which was the invasion of Iraq in the year 2003. The invasion phase began on 19 March 2003 (air) and 20 March 2003 (ground), lasted slightly longer than a month, and included major combat engagements for a total of 26 days during its duration. During this time, forces from the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

Australia, and Poland invaded Iraq. Twenty-two days after the invasion began, on April 9, 2003, following the Battle of Baghdad, which lasted for six days, coalition forces successfully took control of the capital city of Baghdad. In his address titled "Mission Accomplished," which took place on May 1, 2003, President George W. Bush of the United States proclaimed that "major combat operations" in Iraq had come to an end. After that, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was established as the first of several transitional governments in advance of the first parliamentary elections in Iraq in January 2005. These elections took place in January 2005. Following that, US forces continued to be present in Iraq until they withdrew in the year 2011.

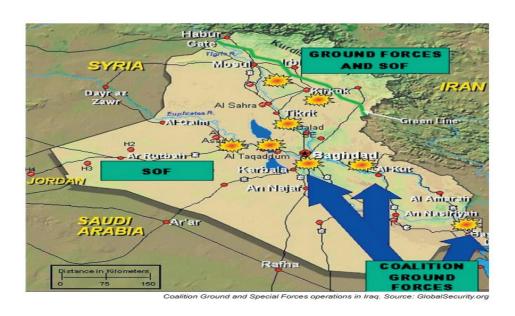


Fig 4.5: Map of Iraq

(Source: https://www.GlobalSecurity.org)

# 4.5.1 **Origin**

Despite the fact that a United Nations inspection team reported there was no evidence of WMD prior to the invasion, President George W Bush of the United States and Prime

Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom stated that the goals of the coalition were "to disarm Iraq of Weapons of Mass Destruction [WMD], to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to liberate the Iraqi people." These statements were made despite the fact that there was no evidence of WMD. Others place a significantly stronger emphasis on the impacts of the attacks that occurred on September 11, their influence on the strategic calculations of the United States, and the beginning of the freedom agenda. Blair stated that the impetus was Iraq's reluctance to seize a "last opportunity" to disarm itself of purported Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological weapons, which officials in the United States and Britain viewed as an immediate and intolerable threat to international peace. Blair stated that the impetus was Iraq's reluctance to seize a "last opportunity" to disarm itself of purported Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological weapons.

# 4.5.2 The Response of the UN

On November 8, 2002, after over two months of consultation, debate, and discussion among the members of the United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1441 was finally approved with a vote of 15 in favour and 0 against (2002). In this resolution, the Council decided to give Iraq, which "has been and continues to be in substantial violation" of U.N. resolutions, "one final opportunity to comply with its disarmament responsibilities" and to establish "an improved inspection system." The Council also resolved to give Iraq "one final opportunity to establish an improved inspection system." It was decided that Iraq "must submit by December 8 a current, accurate, complete, and exhaustive statement of all aspects of its programmes to produce chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and other delivery systems." This statement must be up to date, accurate, complete, and exhaustive. It chose the option "Inaccurate statements as well as omissions would be reported to the Council so that they might be investigated. In September of 2004, the Secretary General of the United

Nations, Kofi Annan, stated that the invasion of Iraq by the United States was contrary to international law and a violation of the UN Charter.

# 4.6.1 NATO Invasion of Libya

In response to the events of the First Libyan Civil War, on March 19, 2011, a multinational coalition led by NATO began a military intervention in Libya in order to enforce Resolution 1973 of the United Nations Security Council. The goal of the intervention was to restore stability in the country. A resolution was anticipated to be approved by the United Nations Security Council with ten votes in favour and five abstentions "an outright prohibition on the operation of any and all aircraft within the country's airspace, as well as stepped-up pressure on Muammar Gaddafi's government and its supporters.

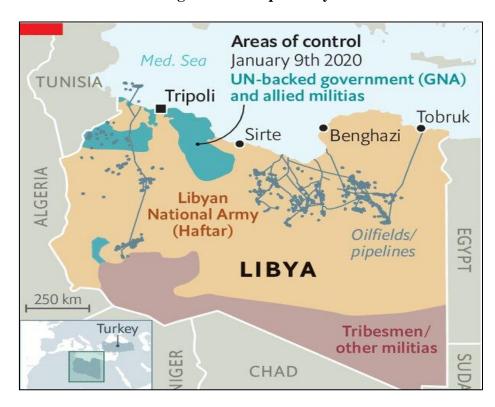


Figure 4.6: Map of Libya

(Source: https://www.criticalthreats.org)

### **4.6.1 Origin**

The Libyan Civil War started on February 15, 2011, with a series of civil gatherings against the leadership of Muammar Gaddafi. These rallies eventually expanded into a widespread revolution against Gaddafi's rule. It was stated on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February that rebel troops and demonstrators controlled the majority of Eastern Libya. Gaddafi had complete authority over the cities of Tripoli, Sirte, and Sabha. However, by the 15th of March, Gaddafi's forces had restored control of over six cities that they had previously lost. Gaddafi's forces had retaken control of the vast majority of cities, with the exception of most of Cyrenaica and a few locations in Tripolitania.

### 4.6.2 The Response of the UN

On March 17, 2011 the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution that authorised member states to "take all necessary measures... to defend people and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in Libyan Arab Jamhariya, including Benghazi, barring the use of an occupying force." This resolution forbade the use of an occupying force in the situation in Libyan Arab Jamhariya. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the battle.

### 4.7 Rwandan Genocide

In the course of the Rwandan Civil War, which lasted from April 7 until July 15, 1994, the genocide took place. Over this span of around 100 days, armed Hutu militias slaughtered members of the Tutsi minority ethnic group as well as some moderate Hutu and Twa. According to the most widely accepted scholarly estimates, between 500,000 and 662,000 Tutsis perished. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel group largely consisting of Tutsi

refugees, launched the Rwandan Civil War in 1990 by invading northern Rwanda from their headquarters in Uganda. Throughout the subsequent three years, neither party was able to acquire a decisive edge. In an effort to end the war amicably, the Rwandan government led by Hutu president Juvénal Habyarimana signed the Arusha Accords with the RPF on August 4, 1993. The assassination of Habyarimana on April 6, 1994 resulted in a leadership vacuum and the collapse of peace agreements. The genocide began the following day when Hutu soldiers, police, and militia slaughtered prominent Tutsi and moderate Hutu military and political officials. The scale and ferocity of the genocide stunned the world, yet no government moved to stop the murder. The bulk of victims were assassinated in their home towns or villages, with many of them murdered by their neighbours and fellow peasants. Hutu gangs aggressively sought victims disguising themselves in churches and schools. The group used machetes and weapons to kill its victims. During the genocide, some 250,000 to 500,000 women were reportedly raped. The RPF immediately continued the civil war and took all government territory, putting a halt to the genocide and forcing the government and génocidaires into Zaire, once the massacre had begun.

The genocide had lasting and severe repercussions. In 1996, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)-led government launched an offensive into Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), home to exiled leaders of the former Rwandan government and numerous Hutu refugees, thereby initiating the First Congo War and killing an estimated 200,000 individuals. Currently, Rwanda celebrates two national days of sadness for the genocide and criminalises "genocide ideology" and "divisionism."

RPF-controlled area Uganda Demilitarized zone **Zone Turquoise** Byumba Gisenyi Zaire **Tanzania** Kigali Gitarama Kibungo Kibuve Gikongord Cyangugu Butare RPF advance (April) RPF advance (May-June) Burundi RPF advance (July)

Figure 4.7: Map of Rwanda

(Source: https://www.academia.edu)

### **4.7.1** Origin

The Twa, a group of indigenous pygmy hunter-gatherers who inhabited the area between 8000 BC and 3000 BC and still live there now, were the original residents of what is now Rwanda. Between 700 B.C. and 1500 A.D., a number of Bantu clans migrated into Rwanda and began clearing forest space for cultivation. Historians have developed numerous hypotheses regarding the nature of the Bantu migrations. According to one notion, the earliest residents were Hutu, whereas the Tutsi arrived later and developed a separate racial group, possibly of Cushitic heritage. The Rwandan Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa share a language and are known as Banyarwanda collectively. Germany established a foothold in the country in 1897. The Berlin Conference of 1884 assigned Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi to Germany, and with the formation of an alliance with the king of Rawanda, German policy was to rule the

country through the Rwandan monarchy; this system had the added advantage of permitting colonisation with small European troops. Assigning administrative posts, the colonists favoured the Tutsi over the Hutu because they regarded the Tutsi to be Ethiopian immigrants and so racially superior. The Rwandan king welcomed the Germans with open arms and employed their military force to expand his realm. In 1917, Belgian forces seized control of Rwanda and Burundi during World War I, and in 1926, they launched a system of more direct colonial governance. The Belgians developed the Rwandan economy, but Tutsi control continued, leaving the Hutu impotent.

Belgium implemented a permanent classification of Rwandans into three ethnic (ethnoracial) groups in the early 1930s, with the Hutu representing over 84% of the population, the Tutsi approximately 15%, and the Twa approximately 1%. Under the category "ethnicity and race," compulsory identification cards identifying each individual as Tutsi, Hutu, Twa, or Naturalized were provided. Before, very wealthy Hutus were able to become honorary Tutsis. Nonetheless, the identity cards inhibited further movement between the divisions and converted socioeconomic groups into inflexible ethnic groups.

On April 6, 1994, the aeroplane carrying Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana and Burundi's Hutu president Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down as it reached Kigali, resulting in the deaths of everyone on board. Both the RPF and Hutu extremists were considered accountable for the attack, which precipitated a war.

### 4.7.2 UN Response

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has been in Rwanda since October 1993 to supervise the implementation of the Arusha Accords. During the deployment of the mission, UNAMIR commander Brigadier General Roméo Dallaire learnt of

the Hutu Power movement and its plans for the genocide of the Tutsis. His request to raid them was denied by the UN Directorate of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which considered Dallaire was exceeding his mandate and needed to be "restrained." It was claimed that the seizure of the weapons lay well within UNAMIR's role; both parties had requested UNAMIR, and UN Security Council Resolution 872 authorised it.

UNAMIR's efficacy in peacekeeping was delayed by President Habyarimana and Hutu extremists, and in April 1994, the Security Council threatened to terminate UNAMIR's mandate if it did not make progress. After the death of Habyarimana and the commencement of the genocide, Dallaire spoke continuously with the Crisis Committee and the RPF in an effort to restore peace and avert the beginning of the civil war. The government was not interested in a ceasefire since it was under the control of the genocide criminals, whereas the RPF believed it was vital to fight to stop the tragedy. Due to its Chapter VI mission, UNAMIR was unable to participate militarily, and the majority of its Rwandan staff was slain in the early days of the genocide, severely limiting its ability to act.

Dallaire subsequently deemed UNAMIR to be a "failure" because to its mostly passive role. Its most notable function was providing refuge for tens of thousands of Tutsi and moderate Hutu at its headquarters in Amahoro Stadium and other secure UN sites, in addition to aiding in the evacuation of foreign nationals. The Belgian government, which was one of the primary troop contributors to UNAMIR and had lost ten soldiers defending Prime Minister Uwilingiliyimana, announced its withdrawal on April 12th, substantially diminishing the force's usefulness. The United Nations adopted Resolution 918 on 17 May 1994, which enforced a weapons embargo and bolstered UNAMIR II, also known as UNAMIR III. After the conclusion of the genocide in July, UNAMIR II largely focused on sustaining peace and security until its dissolution in 1996.

In his book 'Shake Hands with the Devil' Dallaire tells how, following his arrival in Kigali in August 1993, he warned the United Nations' highest officials that he lacked the equipment and personnel necessary to accomplish his mission. The lack of clarity in the United Nations' engagement protocols and the international community's seeming lack of interest in Rwanda barred Dallaire from getting aid. The situation deteriorated day by day until the General's forces are abandoned owing to a shortage of fuel, finances, and proper equipment.

### 4.8 Russian Invasion of Ukraine

The Russia-Ukraine war is an ongoing international conflict between Russia and separatists backed by Moscow and Ukraine that began in February 2014. After the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine, Russia annexed Crimea and helped pro-Russian separatists fighting the Ukrainian military in the Donbas region. Throughout the first eight years of the struggle, there were also maritime accidents, cyber warfare, and escalating political tensions. Russia initiated a full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, aggravating the situation substantially.



Figure 4.8: Map of Ukraine

(Source : United Kingdom Ministry of Defence)

# **4.8.1** Origin

Starting in 2014, the Euromaidan protests culminated to the Revolution of Dignity and the removal of the pro-Russian president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych. In the immediate aftermath, Eastern and Southern Ukraine had pro-Russian rioting. In Crimea, Ukraine, unmarked Russian troops simultaneously grabbed government buildings, crucial districts, and infrastructure. Following a highly contentious referendum, Russia annexed Crimea. In April 2014, armed pro-Russian separatists seized government facilities in the Eastern Donbas region of Ukraine and declared the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and Luhansk People's Republic (LPR) as separate nations, initiating the Donbas War. Russia supplied considerable covert assistance to the separatists, and Ukrainian efforts to retake all separatist-held area failed. Despite denials of engagement, Russian troops took part in the conflict. In an effort to end the conflict, Russia and Ukraine signed the Minsk II agreements in February 2015, although they have never been properly implemented. The Donbass War has become a violent but static fight between Ukraine and Russian proxies, with repeated brief ceasefires but no durable peace and no territorial control changes.

Russia strengthened its military presence near the border with Ukraine, including from Belarus, beginning in 2021. Russian official representatives have constantly denounced preparations to attack Ukraine. President of Russia Vladimir Putin denounced NATO's expansion and requested that Ukraine be prohibited from joining the armed alliance. He also demonstrated irredentist attitudes and questioned Ukraine's legitimacy to exist. Russia recognised the DPR and LPR as autonomous states in February 2022. Putin then declared a "Special Military Operation" in Ukraine and attacked the region. The international community opposed the invasion, and a number of governments imposed further restrictions and increased

existing penalties against Russia. By the beginning of April 2022, Russia gave up its attempt to seize Kiev in the face of fierce opposition. In August, Ukrainian forces began recapturing terrain in the northeast and south as a consequence of strong counteroffensives. The prolonged all-out fighting has generated a massive refugee problem and tens of thousands of fatalities.

### 4.8.2 UN Response

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution requiring Russia to immediately cease its military actions in Ukraine. The resolution asks Russia to "immediately, completely, and unconditionally withdraw all of its military forces from Ukrainian territory within internationally recognised borders." It required two-thirds of the Assembly vote to pass and was supported by more than 90 nations. Belarus, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (also known as North Korea), Eritrea, Russia, and Syria voted against it, while 35 countries abstained. The resolution was Vetoed by Russia.

The decision capped a rare emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly that began on Monday, during which countries expressed their opinions on the crisis, which is now in its second week.

# 4.9 Consequences of the UN's Conflict Response

In the conflicts which have been discussed it comes to light that the First Gulf war which led to liberation of Kuwait was the only truly successful culmination of a conflict which was coordinated with a UN mandate and led to lasting peace for Kuwait and its citizens. The US invasion of Iraq was a failure on the part of UN as it was initiated on the premise that WMDs existed with Iraq. The invasion of Iraq led to breakdown of administration, Law and

Order and was the primary reason for the rise of ISIL and later attack on Syria and Iraq to defeat ISIL which led to thousands of civilian casualties. The dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan has existed since the breakup of USSR and multiple conflicts have taken place for the same, however UN failed to resolve the dispute which led to repeated conflicts and unnecessary loss of lives.

The US invasion of Afghanistan came full circle with the withdrawal of US forces in 2021 and Taliban again regaining power which led to all of the original mandates of UN unfulfilled even after 20 years of bloodshed. The aftermath of the Libyan War has been characterised by marked change in the social and political order of Libya after the overthrow and killing of Muammar Gaddafi in the civil war that was fought in Libya in 2011. The country has been subject to ongoing proliferation of weapons, Islamic insurgencies, sectarian violence, and lawlessness, with spill overs affecting neighbouring countries. The outcome of the Libyan regime change has not brought the expected peace to the country and the role of UN remains questionable.

There was complete inaction towards Rwanda at the level of the UN Security Council, where member states focused on the ongoing civil war rather than discussing the genocide, which would have forced them to act under the 1948 Genocide Convention. Finally, it will be shown that this international failure had horrific consequences for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which, with neither a robust mandate nor adequate resources, became an eyewitness to the genocide.

The United Nations Security Council failed to take enough action to "prevent and end" Russia's war on Ukraine, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said. This statement coming directly from the Secretary General of the UN is testimony to the failure of the UN

to prevent the Russia Ukraine conflict which may have been prevented if NATO expansion with inclusion of Ukraine was also questioned and discouraged by the international community.

## **CHAPTER V**

#### ASSESSMENT OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS

# 5.1 Introduction

The end of the Cold War in 1989 paved the way for the United Nations to become more effective in mediating conflicts around the world. The United Nations Security Council has been asked to consider nearly half of all disputes that have arisen since the end of the Cold War. The referral rate of 49% is the second highest in the entire history of the United Nations. Additionally, this rate represents a significant increase in comparison to the referral rate that was typical in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During a time when there was less conflict between the world's superpowers, an increasing number of countries took their disagreements to the United Nations. The disputes that were referred were also more significant in terms of the potential damage that could be caused because they involved higher degrees of intensity, more combat, a larger potential for spread, and more powerful parties. The United Nations was made aware of 32% of high-intensity disputes during the time of the Cold War, compared to the 91% of such disputes that were reported during the years 1989-1996. In terms of warfare, 82 percent of issues involving high-level military activities were referred to the organisation, which is a significant increase from the 24 percent who were referred to the organisation during the Cold War. Prior to 1989, the organisation was only consulted on 18% of the regional or global conflicts that were occurring at the time. On the other hand, following the conclusion of the Cold War, 82% of these disagreements were reported to the organisation. The United Nations was consulted on 52% of matters involving superpowers and big powers during the

Cold War era; in the era that followed the Cold War, this percentage increased to 54%. The United Nations was able to achieve some level of success in almost all of the conflicts that were brought before it because the United States and Russia did not exercise their veto power. During the sole occasion in which it was unable to take action, namely the invasion of Panama by the United States, a veto was exercised. When compared to the time of the Cold War, performance levels were significantly higher. The organisation achieved a success rate of 93% when it came to resolving conflicts, 58% when it came to isolating them, 28% when it came to putting an end to hostilities, and 47% when it came to settling them. The highest rate of success it had during the time of the Cold War was forty percent; during the time that followed the end of the Cold War, this rate increased to ninety-seven percent. When one examines the track record of the Security Council in greater detail, one finds that between the years 1989 and 1993, the organisation was significantly more successful at mediating disputes. Following that time period, the percentage of times it was successful appears to have decreased. Between the years of 1989 and 1993, the Security Council was able to achieve a greater level of success as a direct result of increased cooperation between the superpowers and a commitment to the resolution of conflicts. The United States of America and Russia were active participants in assisting the United Nations in the process of conflict resolution. During the time of the Cold War, they participated in the role of mediators in order to assist in the resolution of conflicts in countries such as Namibia. Prior to this, they had been fighting proxy wars and providing assistance to opposing sides.

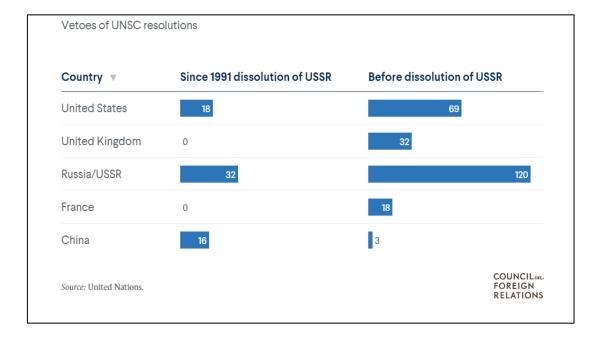
## 5.2 Power of Veto

The United Nations, which was established by the countries that emerged victorious from World War II, is plagued by an unjust mechanism in the form of the veto. The power of veto was established so that these nations could not opt out of the new organisation, as they had previously done with the League of Nations, which contributed to the outbreak of World

War II. It was a guarantee to the governments of these countries that their interests, regardless of whether they were at war or at peace, would not be compromised in any way. However, the organisation was rendered ineffective as a result of the frequent use of the veto. The ability of the United Nations to resolve international issues was contingent on the approval of the P5 countries, despite the post-Cold War decline in the Veto ratio. This was the case even though the number of countries with a veto had decreased. Despite ongoing efforts at reform over the course of its history, the United Nations has been beset by the "veto problem" since the organisation was founded. It is interesting to note that the term "veto" does not appear anywhere in the Charter of the United Nations. Instead, it is buried in Article 27(3), which states that the Council must obtain "the affirmative votes of nine members, including the votes of the permanent members," in order to make a decision on any issue that is not related to procedural matters. On the other hand, it does not stipulate that all permanent states are required to vote in favour of it. It is possible for a permanent member to choose to abstain, which is not the same thing as casting a vote against something. As a result, it is not necessary for all permanent members to cast votes on every decision. In the event that a permanent member exercises their right to veto, they are not required to provide an explanation for their decision; however, statements concerning the resolution that is being considered are frequently made during meetings. In the past, these efforts have always been thwarted by one or more of the P5 countries, which are the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France. This has effectively dashed hopes and expectations that the United Nations could be used to maintain genuine collective security. The five members of the P5 have, to varying degrees, exercised their right to veto. Taking into account the years in which the Soviet Union held its seat on the Security Council, Russia has exercised its veto power the most often, preventing the passage of 152 resolutions from the time the Council was established until February 2023. There have been 87 instances in which the United States has exercised its right to veto. Despite

the fact that China's use of the veto has historically been less frequent than that of the United States or Russia, China's use of the veto has increased in recent years; as of right now, Beijing has blocked a total of nineteen resolutions, sixteen of which have been blocked since 1997. On the other hand, France and the United Kingdom have not exercised their veto power since 1989 and have advocated for other P5 members to use it less frequently. At the very beginning of the negotiations for the United Nations Charter in 1945, numerous founding member states voiced vehement opposition to the idea of granting veto power to the P5 members. New Zealand was one of the founding members, and they were one of the countries that voiced concern about the inherent risks. Peter Fraser, who served as Prime Minister of New Zealand at the time, argued that the veto could act as a "shield" for the P5 and their allies.

It is possible that exercising one's veto power is the more responsible course of action in certain situations. Is not the use of the veto, which would result in a more responsible outcome for the UN Security Council, a more responsible course of action in a situation involving a resolution that was poorly conceived? In such a scenario, the veto could be used as a tool to limit the powers of individual P5 members to exert coercion and exploitative behaviour towards one another.



As a direct result of the creative thinking demonstrated by the United Nations General Assembly in this area, at least some progress has been made. On November 3, 1950, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved Resolution 377, also known as the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. It states that the General Assembly must immediately consider the matter and may issue appropriate recommendations to UN members for collective measures, including the use of armed force, if the Security Council fails to act as necessary to maintain international peace and security due to a lack of unanimity among its five permanent members (P5). This is because it states that the Security Council is required to act as necessary to maintain international peace and security. It was the thirteenth time that the Uniting for Peace resolution was invoked to convene an emergency session of the General Assembly, and it was the eighth time that the Security Council had done so. Resolution 2623 was the resolution that triggered the emergency session. The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 was the topic of discussion during the eleventh emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was called for by Resolution 2623 of the United Nations Security Council. The resolution was presented to the United Nations Security Council by the United States of America and Albania on February 27, 2022, and the Council unanimously approved it. China, India, and the United Arab Emirates all opted not to participate in the vote, while Russia cast their ballot against the measure. Because this was a resolution pertaining to procedure, no permanent member was able to exercise their right to veto.

# **5.3** Veto Restraint

The ACT Code of Conduct and the France/Mexico initiative are two initiatives that are very similar to one another that have recently gained a significant amount of traction among all of the proposals for reforming the veto power. The #restraintheveto campaign is "retweeted,

liked, and shared," and it is "one of the most visible and rapidly spreading social media campaigns in the history of the United Nations," according to Aidan Hehir. Hehir is forthright in his criticism of the initiative, noting that popularity does not equate to the campaign making sense, despite the fact that he acknowledges the popularity of the "hashtag" campaign. In January 2015, the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (GCR2P) launched the #restraintheveto campaign in response to Russia and China's vetoing of four United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding the ongoing crisis in Syria. GCR2P is under the impression and makes the assertion that "when the world requires the United Nations Security Council to respond to genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing, the five permanent members have a responsibility not to use their veto." When it came to dealing with crimes of mass atrocity in which their own national interests were not involved, the then-French Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine suggested that the P5 should voluntarily refrain from using their veto power. Védrine made this suggestion in the year 2001.

In a similar vein, the report that was published in 2001 by ICISS recommended that the P5 countries should not use their veto power on resolutions authorising military intervention for the purposes of human protection if their essential state interests were not at risk. The United Nations Secretary-High-Level General's Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change recommended in its report from 2004 that the P5 nations not use their veto power "in cases of genocide and large-scale human rights violations." During the negotiations for the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, veto restraint was reportedly brought up, as stated by both the former Foreign Minister of Canada, Lloyd Axworthy, and the former Ambassador of Canada to the United Nations, Allan Rock. Axworthy and Rock contend, however, that this discussion was discontinued because "ferocious P5 opposition forced negotiators to drop the demand or risk losing R2P approval entirely." These kinds of examples shed light on the inherent

challenges that are present in any attempt to change the power structure that is currently dominated by the P5 members.

The United Nations was able to make significant progress in its mission to bring an end to conflicts thanks to the support it received from both of the world's superpowers. It was successful in bringing an end to three high-stakes conflicts that had been going on for decades. The United States and Russia did not get involved in the process of making peace until after two of the three wars that took place in Cambodia, El Salvador, and Mozambique had already come to an end. Additionally, both the United States and Russia made efforts to ensure that they did not obstruct the process of conflict resolution. This was made clear by the fact that vetoes were not used during this time period, as well as by the efforts made by the superpowers to withdraw from conflicts in which they had supported opposing sides. Even in conflicts in which neither superpower took the lead, the United Nations was able to receive assistance from other intergovernmental organisations, ad hoc regional groups, and individual governments as a result of the improved political climate. As an illustration, the United Nations and the heads of state of the countries that make up Central America worked together to put an end to the civil war in Nicaragua. Mozambique's civil war was brought to an end with the assistance of the United Nations and the collaboration of the Italian government. From 1994 to 1996, the performance of the Security Council in terms of resolving disputes went downhill.

Some high-intensity conflicts, such as those in Afghanistan, which seemed to be on the brink of resolution immediately after the end of the Cold War continued to exist for a long time after it appeared as though they would soon be resolved. Even during this time period, there was no ideological conflict or any other significant competition between the superpowers that could have prevented them from participating in the efforts of the United Nations. However, at this point in time, Russia was dealing with an excessive number of domestic issues to be able to devote resources to the resolution of international conflicts. In addition, it was unable to

contribute either troops or financial resources to the operations that were being conducted to keep the peace. Now that it is the only remaining superpower, the United States is obligated to participate in diplomatic efforts to settle existing conflicts. Only when doing so served the United States' immediate and direct interests did it become involved in conflicts such as those in Haiti and North Korea's noncompliance with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Other high-intensity conflicts, such as the one in East Timor, in which the United States has made the decision not to intervene are also those in which the United Nations has been unsuccessful in resolving the conflict. The United States of America, which appears to be the most effective agent in the resolution of conflicts, has increasingly distanced itself from the United Nations in favour of independent diplomatic efforts or collaboration with other nations. This is because the United States appears to be the most effective agent in the resolution of conflicts.

The United States of America and Norwegian diplomats have been working together in an effort to find a solution to the conflict between Arabs and Israelis. As a resolution to the conflict that had arisen between Russia and the Baltic states, Russia agreed, with the help of mediation from the United States, to pull its troops out of the Baltic states. The United Nations came to rely more heavily on other countries and international organisations as a result of the absence of strong American leadership within the organisation and Russia's decision to cease its diplomatic efforts. During the conflict that took place in Rwanda and Burundi, for example, the United Nations placed a significant amount of reliance on French forces to provide food and security for the large population of refugees. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia appeared to be too complex and intense for the United Nations to handle on its own, and the situation did not improve until NATO forces were deployed there. In situations in which a nation or organization's leadership and efforts have ceased, such as in the case of Somalia, the United Nations has been left with no choice but to cease its own efforts to resolve the conflict. This is because the United Nations has no other choice.

An increasing number of nations have taken their disagreements to the International Court of Justice since the end of the Cold War, which has resulted in the court's status being elevated in comparison to that of the time of the Cold War. Since 1989, the Supreme Court has deliberated on and ruled on a total of eight political cases. To this point, the Court has handed down its rulings in two separate cases: the first concerned a maritime and border dispute between El Salvador and Honduras, and the second concerned a territorial dispute between Libya and Chad. Each of these decisions was put into action by the various parties involved in the dispute. It is not yet clear whether or not the decisions handed down by the International Court of Justice will be put into practise with greater regularity in the era following the end of the Cold War. This cannot be determined until the International Court of Justice hands down its verdict in one of the four political cases that are currently pending before it (the other two cases were settled outside of court) (the other two were settled out of court). Since the end of the Cold War, the United Nations and various regional organisations have worked together to settle a variety of disagreements, which has led to an increase in the percentage of successful resolutions.

If the United Nations and other regional organisations can devise strategies and protocols for pooling their resources in order to achieve the greatest possible impact, there is a significant possibility that they will be able to bring an end to armed conflicts. Future success will depend on a better mutual understanding of the capabilities and limitations of the United Nations and regional organisations. This will result in a more effective division of labour as each organisation assumes leadership in areas where it can be most effective, and the United Nations Security Council will be held accountable for the actions of the various organisations that are involved in the management of conflicts. This study lends credence to earlier findings that the United Nations is better able to fulfil its role as a dispute resolution organisation when major powers are actively involved in the organisation and work together to find solutions to

thorny problems. The heightened participation of superpowers boosts the effectiveness of the collective security mechanism and revitalises the mission of the organisation to find peaceful solutions to disputes. It was believed that the United Nations, with its great power, unity, and leadership, would be committed to resolving conflicts and addressing threats to world peace in the years immediately following the end of the Cold War. As a result, the UN's rate of success increased, and more nations began to refer their disputes to the organisation. This belief led to an increase in the UN's rate of success. The success of the organisation has decreased since 1993 as a direct result of powerful nations' reluctance to get involved in conflicts that did not affect their interests. As a result, it appears that members of the United Nations are developing a tolerant attitude towards conflicts.

When the organisation has the active support of powerful nations, it is able to function most effectively in its capacity as a forum for nations of the world to collaborate with one another and take action in accordance with the Charter in order to resolve conflicts. There is no form of government that is wholly supranational that exists anywhere in the world. Participation and interest from the most capable states is still necessary for multilateral efforts to be successful. An additional step towards a fully multilateralist form of government, in which decisions are made collectively in accordance with rules that are applicable everywhere, has been represented by the period that followed the end of the Cold War. The discretion of great powers has not entirely vanished, but their use of the United Nations and even the Security Council exposes them to the eyes and comments of other states, compels them to explain themselves, and encourages them to conform more closely to the norms established by the charter. Haas came to the conclusion of his analysis of the performance of the United Nations during the Cold War by stating that the organization's performance would continue to decline as long as the great powers did not engage in conflicts, exercise leadership, or act unless their direct interests were at stake. In other words, the performance of the United Nations would

continue to decline as long as the Cold War lasted. Since the end of the Cold War, this pattern has remained largely unchanged. The United Nations will continue to have a lower success rate in resolving conflicts than it did between the years 1990 and 1993 as long as this situation persists.

#### **CHAPTER VI**

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 6.1 Introduction

The United Nations is in a position to offer legitimacy to its members as well as other actors in the international system since it legitimises the existence of nation states as well as the behaviour of those governments. For a state to be recognised on the international stage and to be able to form alliances with other governments and entities, participation in the United Nations is very necessary. The inherent legitimacy of the United Nations has been demonstrated by the fact that not a single member state has ever sought to or even considered leaving the organisation since it was established. In addition, even for influential members such as the United States, the costs associated with conducting foreign operations without the authorization of the UN Security Council are ten times higher. The subject of representation is fundamentally tied to the legitimacy of the United Nations; nevertheless, the rules guiding the establishment of representation and the making of decisions are also extremely important.

Yet, putting the decisions of the UN Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly into action is of greater significance. It is challenging to defend the United Nations' legitimacy when taking into account the knowledge and capacity of its various representations. The capacity of the United Nations to represent its member states on the United Nations Security Council has been substantially diminished as a direct result of the failure of the vast majority of nations and social groups around the globe to win a permanent seat on that body. These include countries such as Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil, all of which have increased their economic and political influence. Also included on this list are Africa and South America,

the demography or economic activities of all of which have come under scrutiny as of late. As a direct result of this problem with representation, the legitimacy of the United Nations is going to come under increased scrutiny in the not-too-distant future.

The United Nations is an odd organisation with substantial problems in its main functions, but with considerable success in areas that are either unconnected to its core or only tangentially related to it. This is the true explanation behind the lack of credibility that the United Nations possesses. In accordance with the concept of local ownership, certain obligations or operations of the United Nations may be delegated to local actors in order to address this issue. It is not a question of whether or not the United Nations will continue to exist; rather, the question is whether or not it will continue to function as a viable organisation that makes a contribution to the maintenance of international order, peace, and stability.

# **6.2** Efficacy of UN in Conflict Prevention / Resolution

The United Nations was first formed with the intention of establishing and continuing to uphold global peace. At first look, this goal could appear to be grounded only on the ideas of liberal idealism. It is indisputable that an organisation with open membership seeks to protect human rights and maintain peace, and that such an organisation has liberal characteristics, provided that the organisation fosters all potential avenues of economic and institutional collaboration. Yet, ideas consistent with realism were also taken into consideration during the process of founding the United Nations. The perspective of conventional realism on the balance of power was represented in the United Nations Security Council. It appeared as if the United Nations was an alliance against any force or agent that posed a threat to the new status quo. This was the impression that was given. According to the accords reached at the United Nations, this goal would be accomplished through the application of armed force, which would mean that a

further war or conflict would prevent an ongoing war from occurring. In later periods, it became abundantly obvious that violence, conflict, and war were caused not just by political and economic causes, but also by cultural, psychological, and legal concerns, and that ongoing efforts in these areas were necessary for a durable peace to be achieved. As a result of this, the United Nations' duties in certain areas have grown. As a consequence of this, we are in a position to assert that the United Nations was established in accordance with both liberal and realist principles, and that it has later developed advantageous qualities.

If an organisation does not perform the obligations that are required of it, then we cannot argue that the organisation is rational and, by extension, legitimate. If the United Nations is having issues with its own legitimacy, then its legitimising and crowning traits, as well as its reputation and efficacy, will suffer as a result. The United Nations has been able to play a remarkable and helpful role in situations in which the parties to a conflict have been willing to accept a UN role, the parties have consented to a UN mandate, the mandate has been clear, adequate finances and personnel are available, the mandate is clear, and the chains of command and communication are straightforward. However, the UN has been unable to impose settlements in situations in which the parties have been unwilling to accept a UN role. For future preventive deployments, the United Nations should establish rigorous and open standards, which should include clear goals, explicit missions, early warnings, and extensive connections between political and economic processes. Before carrying out preventive deployment, regional organisations need to first acquire the cooperation of all parties and actors operating inside the territory. The systematisation and breadth of preventive deployments can be helped along by the active engagement of international organisations, governments, the Security Council, and the international community. This is in addition to the complicated diplomatic processes that are already in place. In this regard, the "Responsibility to Protect" principle needs to become the norm, and long-term conflict prevention and the creation of suitable, concrete steps to address the core causes of conflict, as opposed to only preventing impending or recurring conflict, are crucial. In addition, the creation of suitable, concrete steps to address the core causes of conflict is essential.

We have not yet found a superior alternative to UN peacekeepers as the sole multinational force authorised to represent all states on the international scene. This is because the UN peacekeepers are the only multinational force. So, it is necessary for these forces to become more efficient. The first serious reform proposals have highlighted the need for reform by the United Nations in this period because they believe that "it is structurally flawed and operationally cumbersome." This need for reform was highlighted in light of the fact that the majority of people believed that the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the United Nations were ineffective during the Gulf War.

Plans need to be harmonised with the interests of the organization's founding members as well as the main world powers, and a worldwide consensus must be obtained on the nature and scope of the change. Some governments, such as the United States, which provide a significant proportion of the annual budget to the United Nations, argue that the organisation has become too expensive and bureaucratic, that expenses need to be lowered, and that administrative reform is necessary. The countries that have recently gained demographic, economic, political, and strategic relevance highlight the need to increase the organization's ability to represent members of the global community.

The United Nations Security Council is not accountable to the United Nations or to any other political or legal organisation. This is true despite the fact that the P5 have veto power. In this regard, the organisation has mostly functioned as an extension of the US government's overseas policies. Even though there have been significant shifts in the global power structure, particularly since the 1990s, the United Nations has managed to maintain its original structure

since its founding in 1945. During this time period, the Soviet Union was succeeded by the Russian Federation, China's part of the global economy increased to fifteen percent, and a number of countries, including Germany, Japan, India, Brazil, South Africa, and Turkey, came to the forefront of the international scene. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in the number of accusations that the Islamic world and the African continent suffer from a significant representation issue at the United Nations.

The question of whether or not it is even possible for there to be impartiality in the United Nations Security Council. The ability of all members of the P5 to set aside their own national self-interest as the major motivator in order to make decisions regarding how to respond to circumstances involving a breach of international peace and security is crucial to the likelihood of this happening. This, however, is not practicable, as can be seen from the results of even the most cursory research into the history of military intervention. It is challenging to conceive of a scenario in which national self-interest is not the predominant element determining the decisions made by states in the future.

# 6.3 UN and the Challenges of a New World Order

The United Nations needs to undergo a process of modernization and democratisation in order to keep up with shifting power dynamics as well as demographic, economic, social, and political factors. The Security Council has to grow in order to become more representative of the world's nations. The framework of the 15-person United Nations Security Council, which was established in the 1940s, is obviously insufficient today. At that time, permanent members made up less than 10 percent of the UN General Assembly. Even though the membership of the UN General Assembly has increased by almost a factor of four in recent years, the original make-up of the UN Security Council has remained same. Changes to the United Nations

Security Council are hampered not only by the efforts of the P5 to maintain the status quo but also by the competitive interactions that have occurred historically and regionally amongst potential members and by the use of zero-sum game strategies. There is contention among potential members regarding the composition of the United Nations Security Council and the allocation of veto power. The Wise Men Report, also known as the Panyarachun Report, issued in 2004 recommended raising the number of members to twenty-four. At the G-4 Summit in 2005, it was proposed to add six new permanent members, of which four would have the capacity to veto decisions, while the other two would not. These new members would include India, Brazil, Japan, and Germany, as well as two representatives from Africa. They did not adopt these recommendations because of the concerns raised by Italy, Spain, Pakistan, Argentina, Canada, Mexico, and South Korea, all of which have disagreements with G-4 countries based on their shared history or regional politics. Among the additional recommendations was the expansion of permanent and temporary membership categories, as well as the formation of a Council with 25 to 30 members.

In light of the fact that the P5 states are hesitant to give up their veto powers, the question of whether or not the new permanent members would have veto authority is up to debate. It is abundantly clear that the United Nations is not adequately equipped to maintain international peace and security; nonetheless, reforming the United Nations organisation is also a challenging endeavour. The most difficult obstacle to overcome is bringing together the competing priorities of the concept of fair representation and the goal of making UNSC decision procedures functional.

There must be some way to achieve both of these goals at the same time. It's possible that expanding the single-veto system to include two vetoes would be enough to make the veto authority suitable for the circumstances of the present. But, under this hypothetical situation, any two countries, like the United Kingdom and the United States, for example, might reach

an agreement to prevent the rest of the world from accessing the internet. Additional suggestions include submitting the United Nations Security Council to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice or the United Nations General Assembly, resetting the term limits, dividing the world into numerous regions, and ensuring that each region elects its own representative. The United Nations, in order to fulfil its position as an agent of legitimacy and legitimization, as well as its role in the resolution of conflicts, requires a more effective General Assembly as well as the removal of legitimacy and democracy deficiencies. For instance, in order to impose penalties on a country, approval from the General Assembly of the United Nations (GA) with a voting majority of two-thirds could be necessary.

The United Nations was the first organisation in the world to be widely active, adaptable, and assigned a wide variety of tasks. In spite of the criticism, this establishment must continue to function in any and all circumstances because of its significance. As a result, the objective need to be to come up with novel approaches to address the deficiencies that exist inside the organisation and the sub-organizations that are responsible for contributing to the general well-being of humankind. Concerns regarding global governance and the establishment of a more peaceful world are a long way from being resolved by the United Nations in its current form.

# 6.4 Changes Required To Enhance Conflict Prevention / Resolution Capabilities of UN

It is standard practise to point to the destruction in Ukraine and the inaction taken by the United Nations as evidence that the United Nations Security Council is in desperate need of reform. In addition to the harsh criticism that it receives for not being democratic and unrepresentative, the council is also accused of being immobile, lacking impartiality, being selective, and hypocritical. This is on top of the terrible criticism that it receives. In 2005, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, made the observation that the United Nations needed to go through the most significant change in its whole history of 60 years. The leaders of the world must reignite the spirit of San Francisco and build a new worldwide accord in order to promote greater levels of freedom. Even after several decades have passed, people all throughout the world continue to anticipate the return of the "San Francisco spirit." The only alteration to the current make-up of the United Nations Security Council took place in 1965, when the number of non-permanent seats was expanded from six to ten, so that it would more closely resemble its current membership. In spite of the fact that in the past seventy years of the United Nations' existence, no significant reform measures have been undertaken, the idea of altering the composition of the United Nations Security Council is still widely debated and supported by a large number of people. However, the specific form that reform should take is a topic of passionate dispute, and there are a number of recommendations for different kinds of changes. The most problematic points of contention are support for the expansion of the Security Council, the extent of the new members' powers, which states would be the leading candidates to join a larger Security Council, and, most contentiously, the question of changing the veto power.

According to a near-constant theme that can be found in all ideas for reform, the legitimacy of the Council is in jeopardy unless it is changed to reflect recent developments in geopolitics, the international system, and international rules. Since the Council was established in 1945, geopolitical movements have brought to changes in the distribution of economic and military power. Systemic changes, such as decolonization and the collapse of the Soviet Union, have resulted to a significant increase in the number of countries that are members of the United Nations. The concepts of diversity, equity, and representation as the standard are gaining more and more prominence in today's society. Given that amending the United Nations Charter calls

for a majority vote in favour as well as approval from two-thirds of UN member states, the likelihood of a substantial reform occurring is regarded as being extremely unlikely. This includes all permanent members of the Security Council, who are extremely unlikely to take actions that would weaken the authority they already possess. In spite of the widespread consensus among UN members that the current composition of the Security Council is outmoded, each of the several options for reform will definitely alienate some hopefuls. Others urge for the establishment of a brand-new kind of elected seats that would include a renewal option. Smaller governments have been lobbying for procedural reforms in the absence of charter reform. These enhancements include enhanced openness and tighter engagement with states that contribute troops.

For a good many years now, people have been debating whether or not the Council should be expanded. Why has this plan never been put into action? mainly due to the fact that there is no suitable expansion strategy established. It is possible that Italy will reject Germany's admission, that Pakistan would oppose India's accession, that Argentina will oppose Brazil's entrance, that Nigeria will fight with South Africa, and that China will oppose the addition of Japan and India. Given their combined size and influence across the globe, these five countries represent the most plausible new entrants to the group.

Reform is essential, but the question of how to carry out this reform will be answered by the intersection of ideas developed in accordance with the interests of the existing members of the group. We are unable to have a conversation about the existence of objective truth and a legal system that is in line with it. So, a peaceful system can be constructed by locating a spot where the goals of the players can be said to intersect with one another. Without a genuine balance and interplay between the principles of representation, the interests of the major states, and universal human rights, the legitimacy and legitimising power of the United Nations cannot be maintained. In light of the current circumstances, the United Nations cannot serve as an

effective mediator in the war. At first glance, this objective may appear to be challenging. But, for the sake of humanity itself, this objective ought to be accomplished. To bring it into line with the imperatives and dynamics of the present day, the United Nations and its sub-organizations, in particular the United Nations Security Council, ought to have an increase in the amount of representation they have. In this situation, it is necessary to find a way to strike a balance between the interests of big powers or nation-states and the representation of large populations, identities, or geographic regions.

The impression that the United Nations is incapable of making or implementing its own decisions and is fully under the control of the major countries is one that needs to be dispelled by the organisation as soon as possible. It is important to recognise the significance of the human rights concepts that were ratified at the beginning of the United Nations organisation, as well as the importance of subsequent declarations, treaties, and protection mechanisms. The upholding of human rights is the single most critical measure that can be taken to preserve national order, international justice, and world peace. This practise brings to light the importance of comprehending and acting upon fundamental democratic principles and human rights. Such a United Nations might potentially make a major contribution to the redefining of what constitutes global security.

# **6.5** Summative Research Findings

The null hypotheses was that the United Nations was able to fulfil its mission of preventing and settling wars between different states as it had intended. After looking at the United Nations' involvement, response, and the effects of interstate conflicts, it is possible to get to the conclusion that this premise is flawed and that it should be rejected. The United Nations Organization in its present form is powerless for preventing or settling disputes, and

in order for it to accomplish its stated aim, it would require structural reforms. For the foreseeable future, the United Nations will continue to be the most important of all global international organisations. It is not a question of whether or not the United Nations exists; rather, the issue at hand is whether or not it will uphold its reputation as a reliable intermediary that works towards the achievement of its stated goal. Reforms that would ensure a more democratic functioning of the Security Council and not simply serve the five original permanent members are required in order to obtain permanent and long-lasting resolutions to international crises. These reforms are required in order to obtain solutions that are both permanent and long-lasting.

#### 6.6 Recommendations

Since its founding, the United Nations has come a long way, shouldering an enormous responsibility to defend the peace and security of numerous ethnic groups, cultural traditions, religious faiths, and ideological perspectives all over the world. Conflict that arises between diverse civilizations is unavoidable, but wherever possible, it ought to be settled through peaceful means. The United Nations has adopted a variety of normative and punitive resolutions as part of its efforts to resolve such conflicts. It is without a doubt that the implementation of these resolutions will reduce, if not entirely eliminate, the threat. In order to keep its credibility and make the world a better place for decades to come, the United Nations needs to become more democratic, more widely represented, and more focused on its priorities. As a direct consequence of the findings of the study, the United Nations is going to proceed in the following way:

# 6.6.1 Reform of Security Council

It was designed to be dominated by five large nations, and Article 27 of the United Nations Charter requires the unanimity of these five permanent members in order for a decision to be made by the Security Council. The current make-up of the Security Council is not representative of the opinions of the international community. It is easy to see both the rationale and the justification for changing the structure of the Security Council. If the United States and other Western nations want to keep the United Nations functioning as an organisation, they need the ability to select new members from among the expanding powers and assess the geographical and identity-representation capabilities of these candidates. Only then will they be able to ensure that the United Nations continues to exist. Reorganizing the council in such a way that it is more productive, accountable, transparent, and representative of its constituents should be a priority.

# 6.6.2 Use of Veto in United Nations Security Council

The United Nations has been weakened, and its ability to maintain peace has been hindered, as a result of the irresponsible use of its veto power. As a direct consequence of this, the United Nations has proven to be ineffective at preserving world peace, and the organisation urgently need change. In addition, the veto power is the subject of substantial criticism of the United Nations on the grounds that it violates the idea of sovereign equality. This argument is at the heart of the critique. By establishing a hierarchy among the member nations, it is in violation of other sections of the charter that assert sovereign equality as one of the basic foundations of the organisation. The veto should only prevent the council from passing motions that have support from a majority of members (three members as of now). This will remove

the chance of one member of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power for their own personal gain and bring democracy to the body.

# 6.6.3 A Greater Emphasis on the Primary Role of United Nations

The United Nations has used its resources to invest in a number of organisations that have nothing to do with its self-proclaimed mission of "to save future generations from the scourge of war." Since the United Nations Charter was written, the organisation has been saddled with additional responsibilities that were not anticipated when it was first established. Throughout the beginning of time, humanity has been faced with a growing number of obstacles. In response, the United Nations has expanded its scope of operations to include 27 different programmes, organs, and organisations. Each UN fund, programme, specialised agency, and other entity has its own budget, mission, leadership, and headquarters. These are worthy endeavours, but they are really supplementary commitments that do not add anything to the organization's overarching goal. An in-depth analysis of a number of these organisations is required in order to fulfil the primary purpose of the United Nations, which is to reduce the risk of violent conflict, and to make the organisation more agile and focused.

# 6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, for the foreseeable future, the United Nations will continue to be the most important global international organisation. It is not a question of whether or not the United Nations will continue to exist; rather, the question is whether or not it will be able to function as an organisation that fosters order, peace, and stability on a global scale. But, in the absence of steps that produce permanent solutions, an unprecedented level of chaos may be on the horizon. In spite of the criticism, this establishment must continue to function in any and all circumstances because of its significance. As a result, the objective need to be to come up

with novel approaches to address the deficiencies that exist inside the organisation and the suborganizations that are responsible for contributing to the general well-being of humankind. Concerns regarding global governance and the establishment of a more peaceful world are a long way from being resolved by the United Nations in its current form.

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#### Annexure 1

#### **United Nations Charter**

## **Preamble**

## We The Peoples of the United Nations Determined

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

#### and for these ends

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

To ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

# HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

# **Chapter I: Purposes and Principles**

## **Article 1**

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law,

- adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
- 2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
- 3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
- 4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

#### Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

- 1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
- 2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
- 3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
- 4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
- 5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
- 6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- 7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

# Chapter II: Membership

#### Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

- 1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.
- 2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

## Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

## Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

# Chapter III: Organs

#### Article 7

- 1. There are established as principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat.
- 2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

#### Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

# Chapter IV: The General Assembly

## **COMPOSITION**

#### Article 9

- 1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
- 2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

## **FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**

# Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

#### Article 11

- 1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.
- 2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.
- 3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.
- 4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

#### Article 12

- 1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.
- 2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

# Article 13

- 1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:
  - 1. Promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
  - 2. Promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
- 2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

# **Article 15**

- 1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.
- 2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

## Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

## **Article 17**

- 1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.
- 2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.
- 3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

#### **VOTING**

## Article 18

- 1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.
- 3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

## **PROCEDURE**

#### Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

#### Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

#### Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

# **Chapter V: The Security Council**

# **COMPOSITION**

## Article 23

- 1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.
- 2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.
- 3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

# **FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**

- 1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
- 2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.
- 3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

#### Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

## **Article 26**

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

## **VOTING**

#### Article 27

- 1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
- 3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

## **PROCEDURE**

- 1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
- 2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
- 3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

#### Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

#### Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

#### Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

## Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes

## Article 33

- 1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.
- 2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

#### Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

- 1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.
- 2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

#### Article 36

- 1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
- 2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.
- 3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

#### Article 37

- 1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.
- 2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

#### Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

# Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

#### Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

#### **Article 42**

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

## Article 43

- 1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
- 2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
- 3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

#### Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

#### Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

## **Article 47**

- 1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.
- 2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.
- 3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.
- 4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

#### **Article 48**

- 1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.
- 2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

## Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

## Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

## Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and

shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements

#### Article 52

- 1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.
- 2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.
- 3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.
- 4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

#### Article 53

- 1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.
- 2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

#### Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

## Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Cooperation

#### Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- 1. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- 2. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- 3. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

#### Article 57

- 1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.
- 2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

#### Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

#### Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

#### Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

## Chapter X: The Economic and Social Council

#### **COMPOSITION**

#### Article 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of fifty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

- 2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.
- 3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four members, in addition to the members elected in place of the nine members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, twenty-seven additional members shall be elected. Of these twenty-seven additional members, the term of office of nine members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of nine other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.
- 4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

#### **FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**

#### Article 62

- 1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.
- 2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
- 3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.
- 4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

#### Article 63

- 1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.
- 2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

## Article 64

- 1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.
- 2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

#### Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

- 1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.
- 2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.
- 3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

#### **VOTING**

#### Article 67

- 1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

#### **PROCEDURE**

#### Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

#### Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

## Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

#### Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

#### Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

## Chapter XI: Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

#### Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- 1. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- 2. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- 3. to further international peace and security;
- 4. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and
- 5. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

#### Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

## Chapter XII: International Trusteeship System

#### Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

#### Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- 1. to further international peace and security;
- 2. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- 3. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- 4. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

#### Article 77

- 1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:
  - 1. territories now held under mandate;
  - 2. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
  - 3. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.
- 2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

#### Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

#### Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

- 1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.
- 2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

## Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

#### Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

## Article 83

- 1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment shall be exercised by the Security Council.
- 2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.
- 3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

#### Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

#### Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship

- agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.
- 2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

## Chapter XIII: The Trusteeship Council

#### **COMPOSITION**

#### Article 86

- 1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:
  - 1. those Members administering trust territories;
  - 2. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
  - 3. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.
- 2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

#### **FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**

#### Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- 1. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- 2. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- 3. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- 4. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

#### Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

## **VOTING**

- 1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

#### **PROCEDURE**

#### Article 90

- 1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- 2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

#### Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

## Chapter XIV: The International Court of Justice

#### Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

#### Article 93

- 1. All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
- 2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

## Article 94

- 1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
- 2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

#### **Article 95**

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

- 1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.
- 2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

## Chapter XV: The Secretariat

#### Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

## Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

#### Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Article 100

- 1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.
- 2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

- 1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.
- 2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.
- 3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

## Chapter XVI: Miscellaneous Provisions

#### Article 102

- 1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.
- 2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

#### Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

#### Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes.

#### Article 105

- 1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.
- 2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.
- 3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

## Chapter XVII: Transitional Security Arrangements

#### Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, 30 October 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

## Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

## Chapter XVIII: Amendments

#### Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

#### Article 109

- A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a twothirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.
- 2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.
- 3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

## Chapter XIX: Ratification and Signature

- 1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.
- 2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.
- 3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.
- 4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

In Faith Whereof the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter. DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

## Annexure 2

# Security Council - Veto List (in reverse chronological order)

Prepared and maintained by the Dag Hammarskjöld Library. Data from 1946-2004 were taken from the official list of vetoes contained in document A/58/47, Annex III.

Date	Draft	Written Record	Agenda Item	Permanent Member Casting Negative Vote
30 September 2022	S/2022/720	S/PV.9143	Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine	Russian Federation
8 July 2022	S/2022/538	S/PV.9087	The situation in the Middle East	Russian Federation
26 May 2022	S/2022/431	S/PV.9048	Non-proliferation - Democratic People's Republic of Korea	China Russian Federation
25 February 2022	S/2022/155	S/PV.8979	Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/136)	Russian Federation
13 December 2021	S/2021/990	S/PV.8926	Maintenance of international peace and security	Russian Federation
31 August 2020	S/2020/852	S/2020/870 S/2020/865	Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist attacks	USA
10 July 2020	S/2020/667	S/2020/693 S/2020/681	The situation in the Middle East	China Russian Federation

7 July 2020	S/2020/654	S/2020/661 S/2020/657	The situation in the Middle East	China Russian Federation
20 December 2019	S/2019/961	S/PV.8697	The situation in the Middle East	Russian Federation China
19 September 2019	S/2019/756	S/PV.8623	The situation in the Middle East	Russian Federation China
28 February 2019	S/2019/186	S/PV.8476	The situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	Russian Federation China
1 June 2018	S/2018/516	S/PV.8274	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
10 April 2018	S/2018/321	S/PV.8228	Middle East	Russian Federation
26 February 2018	S/2018/156	S/PV.8190	Middle East	Russian Federation
18 December 2017	S/2017/1060	S/PV.8139	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
17 November 2017	S/2017/970	S/PV.8107	Middle East	Russian Federation
16 November 2017	S/2017/962	S/PV.8105	Middle East	Russian Federation
24 October 2017	S/2017/884	S/PV.8073	Middle East	Russian Federation
12 April 2017	S/2017/315	S/PV.7922	Middle East	Russian Federation

28 February 2017	S/2017/172	S/PV.7893	Middle East	China Russian Federation
5 December 2016	S/2016/1026	S/PV.7825	Middle East	China Russian Federation
8 October 2016	S/2016/846	S/PV.7785	Middle East	Russian Federation
29 July 2015	S/2015/562	S/PV.7498	Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council ( S/2014/136)	Russian Federation
8 July 2015	S/2015/508	S/PV.7481	The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Russian Federation
22 May 2014	S/2014/348	S/PV.7180	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
15 March 2014	S/2014/189	S/PV.7138	Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/136)	Russian Federation
19 July 2012	S/2012/538	S/PV.6810	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
4 February 2012	S/2012/77	S/PV.6711	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
4 October 2011	S/2011/612	S/PV.6627	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation

18 February 2011	S/2011/24	S/PV.6484	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
15 June 2009	S/2009/310	S/PV.6143	Georgia	Russian Federation
11 July 2008	S/2008/447	S/PV.5933	Peace and Security - Africa (Zimbabwe)	China Russian Federation
12 January 2007	S/2007/14	S/PV.5619	Myanmar	China Russian Federation
11 November 2006	S/2006/878	S/PV.5565	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
13 July 2006	S/2006/508	S/PV.5488	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
05 October 2004	S/2004/783	S/PV.5051	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
21 April 2004	S/2004/313	S/PV.4947	Cyprus	Russian Federation
25 March 2004	S/2004/240	S/PV.4934	Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question	USA
14 October 2003	S/2003/980	S/PV.4842	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA
16 September 2003	S/2003/891	S/PV.4828	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA

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20 December 2002	S/2002/1385	S/PV.4681	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA
30 June 2002	S/2002/712	S/PV.4563	The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	USA
14-15 December 2001	S/2001/1199	S/PV.4438	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA
27-28 March 2001	S/2001/270	S/PV.4305	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA
25 February 1999	S/1999/201	S/PV.3982	The situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	China
21 March 1997	S/1997/241	S/PV.3756	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
07 March 1997	S/1997/199	S/PV.3747	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
10 January 1997	S/1997/18	S/PV.3730	Central America: efforts towards peace	China
17 May 1995	S/1995/394	S/PV.3538	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
02 December 1994	S/1994/1358	S/PV.3475	The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Russian Federation
11 May 1993	S/25693	S/PV.3211	The situation in Cyprus	Russian Federation
31 May 1990	S/21326	S/PV.2926	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA

17 January 1990	S/21084	S/PV.2905	Letter dated 3 January 1990 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council	USA
23 December 1989	S/21048	S/PV.2902	The situation in Panama	France UK USA
07 November 1989	S/20945/Rev.1	S/PV.2889	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
09 June 1989	S/20677	S/PV.2867	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
17 February 1989	S/20463	S/PV.2850	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
11 January 1989	S/20378	S/PV.2841	Letters dated 4 January 1989 from Libya and Bahrain to the President of the Security Council	France UK USA
14 December 1988	S/20322	S/PV.2832	The situation in the Middle East	USA
10 May 1988	S/19868	S/PV.2814	The situation in the Middle East	USA
15 April 1988	S/19780	S/PV.2806	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
08 March 1988	S/19585	S/PV.2797	The question of South Africa	UK USA
01 February 1988	S/19466	S/PV.2790	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
18 January 1988	S/19434	S/PV.2784	The situation in the Middle East	USA

09 April 1987	S/18785	S/PV.2747	The situation in Namibia	UK USA
20 February 1987	S/18705	S/PV.2738	The question of South Africa	UK USA
28 October 1986	S/18428	S/PV.2718	Letter dated 17 October 1986 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council	USA
31 July 1986	S/18250	S/PV.2704	Letter dated 22 July 1986 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council	USA
18 June 1986	S/18163	S/PV.2693	Complaint by Angola against South Africa	UK USA
23 May 1986	S/18087/Rev.1	S/PV.2686	The situation in Southern Africa	UK USA
21 April 1986	S/18016/Rev.1	S/PV.2682	Letters dated 15 April 1986 from Libya, Burkina Faso, Syria and Oman to the President of the Security Council	France UK USA
06 February 1986	S/17796/Rev.1	S/PV.2655	Letter dated 4 February 1986 from Syria to the President of the Security Council	USA
30 January 86	S/17769/Rev.1	S/PV.2650	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
17 January 1986	S/17730/Rev.2	S/PV.2642	The situation in the Middle East	USA
15 November 1985	S/17633	S/PV.2629	The situation in Namibia	UK USA

13 September 1985	S/17459	S/PV.2605	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
12 March 1985	S/17000	S/PV.2573	The situation in the Middle East	USA
06 September 1984	S/16732	S/PV.2556	The situation in the Middle East	USA
04 April 1984	S/16463	S/PV.2529	Letter dated 29 March 1984 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council	USA
29 February 1984	S/16351/Rev.2	S/PV.2519	The situation in the Middle East	USSR
27-28 October 1983	S/16077/Rev.1	S/PV.2491	The situation in Grenada	USA
12 September 1983	S/15966/Rev.1	S/PV.2476	Letters dated 1 September 1983 from the USA, the Republic of Korea, Canada and Japan to the President of the Security Council and Letter dated 2 September 1983 from Australia to the President of the Security Council	USSR
02 August 1983	S/15895	S/PV.2461	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
06 August 1982	S/15347/Rev.1	S/PV.2391	The situation in the Middle East	USA
26 June 1982	S/15255/Rev.2(as corrected)	S/PV.2381	The situation in the Middle East	USA
08 June 1982	S/15185	S/PV.2377	The situation in the Middle East	USA

04 June 1982	S/15156/Rev.2	S/PV.2373	Question concerning the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)	UK USA
20 April 1982	S/14985	S/PV.2357	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
02 April 1982	S/14943	S/PV.2348	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
02 April 1982	S/14941	S/PV.2347	Letter dated 19 March 1982 from Nicaragua to the Secretary-General	USA
20 January 1982	S/14832/Rev.1	S/PV.2329	The situation in the occupied Arab territories	USA
31 August 1981	S/14664/Rev.2	S/PV.2300	Complaint by Angola against South Africa	USA
30 April 1981	S/14462	S/PV.2277	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
30 April 1981	S/14461	S/PV.2277	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
30 April 1981	S/14460/Rev.1	S/PV.2277	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
30 April 1981	S/14459	S/PV.2277	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
30 April 1980	S/13911	S/PV.2220	The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights	USA
11-13 January 1980	S/13735	S/PV.2191	Letters dated 22 December 1979 from the USA to the	USSR

			President of the Security Council US and Iran hostage question	
7-9 January 1980	S/13729	S/PV.2190	Letter dated 3 January 1980 from 52 countries to the President of the Security Council	USSR
16 March 1979	S/13162	S/PV.2129	The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security China and Viet Nam border dispute	USSR
15 January 1979	S/13027	S/PV.2112	Telegram dated 3 January 1979 from Democratic Kampuchea to the President of the Security Council	USSR
31 October 1977	S/12312/Rev.1	S/PV.2045	The question of South Africa	France UK USA
31 October 1977	S/12311/Rev.1	S/PV.2045	The question of South Africa	France UK USA
31 October 1977	S/12310/Rev.1	S/PV.2045	The question of South Africa	France UK USA
15 November 1976	S/12226	S/PV.1972	Admission of new Members Viet Nam	USA
19 October 1976	S/12211	S/PV.1963	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
29 June 1976	S/12119	S/PV.1938	The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights	USA

23 June 1976	S/12110	S/PV.1932	Admission of new Members Angola	USA
25 March 1976	S/12022	S/PV.1899	Request by Libya and Pakistan for consideration of the serious situation arising from recent developments in the occupied Arab territories	USA
06 February 1976	S/11967	S/PV.1888	The situation in the Comoros	France
26 January 1976	S/11940	S/PV.1879	The Middle East problem including the Palestinian question	USA
08 December 1975	S/11898	S/PV.1862	The situation in the Middle East	USA
30 September 1975	S/11833	S/PV.1846	Admission of new Members Democratic Republic of Viet- Nam	USA
30 September 1975	S/11832	S/PV.1846	Admission of new Members Republic of South Viet-Nam	USA
11 August 1975	S/11796	S/PV.1836	Admission of new Members Democratic Republic of Viet- Nam	USA
11 August 1975	S/11795	S/PV.1836	Admission of new Members Republic of South Viet-Nam	USA
06 June 1975	S/11713	S/PV.1829	The situation in Namibia	France UK USA
30 October 1974	S/11543	S/PV.1808	Relationship between the UN and South Africa	France UK USA

31 July 1974	S/11400 (as amended)	S/PV.1788	The situation in Cyprus	USSR
26 July 1973	S/10974	S/PV.1735	The situation in the Middle East	USA
22 May 1973	S/10928	S/PV.1716	Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK USA
21 March 1973	S/10931/Rev.1	S/PV.1704	Consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in Latin America	USA
29 September 1972	S/10805/Rev.1 (as amended)	S/PV.1666	Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK
10 September 1972	S/10784	S/PV.1662	The situation in the Middle East	USA
25 August 1972	S/10771	S/PV.1660	Admission of new Members Bangladesh	China
04 February 1972	S/10606	S/PV.1639	Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is currently seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK
30 December 1971	S/10489	S/PV.1623	Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK
13 December 1971	S/10446/Rev.1	S/PV.1613	Letter dated 12 December 1971 from the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the India- Pakistan question	USSR

05 December 1971	S/10423	S/PV.1607	Letter dated 4 December 1971 from Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Somalia, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the IndiaPakistan question	USSR
04 December 1971	mber S/10416 S		Letter dated 4 December 1971 from Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Somalia, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the India- Pakistan question	USSR
10 November 1970	S/9976	S/PV.1556	Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK
17 March 1970	S/9696 and Corr.1 & 2	S/PV.1534	Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK USA
22 August 1968	9		Letter dated 21 August 1968 from Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Czechoslovakia	USSR
04 November 1966	S/7575/Rev.1	S/PV.1319	The Palestine question	USSR
21 December 1964	S/6113 (as amended)	S/PV.1182	The Palestine question	USSR

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17 September 1964	S/5973	S/PV.1152	Letter dated 3 September 1964 from Malaysia to the President of the Security Council	USSR
13 September 1963	S/5425/Rev.1	S/PV.1069	The situation in Southern Rhodesia	UK
03 September 1963	S/5407	S/PV.1063	The Palestine question	USSR
22 June 1962	S/5134	S/PV.1016	The India-Pakistan question	USSR
18 December 1961	S/5033	S/PV.988	Letter dated 18 December 1961 from Portugal to the President of the Security Council concerning Goa	USSR
30 November 1961	S/5006	S/PV.985	Applications for Membership Kuwait	USSR
07 July 1961	S/4855	S/PV.960	Complaints by Kuwait in respect of the situation arising from the threat by Iraq to the territorial integrity of Kuwait	USSR
13 December 1960	S/4578/Rev.1	S/PV.920	Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council the situation in the Congo	USSR
3-4 December 1960	S/4567/Rev.1	S/PV.911	Applications for membership Mauritania	USSR
17 September 1960	S/4523	S/PV.906	Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to	USSR

			the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in the Congo	
26 July 1960	S/4409/Rev.1	S/PV.883	Telegrams dated 13 July 1960 from the USSR to the Secretary-General	USSR
26 July 1960	S/4411	S/PV.883	Telegrams dated 13 July 1960 from the USSR to the Secretary-General	USSR
09 December 1958	S/4130/Rev.1	S/PV.843	Admission of new Members Viet-Nam	USSR
09 December 1958	S/4129/Rev.1	S/PV.843	Admission of new Members Republic of Korea	USSR
22 July 1958	S/4055/Rev.1	S/PV.837	Letter dated 22 May 1958 from Lebanon and Letter dated 17 July 1958 from Jordan to the President of the Security Council Complaints by Lebanon and Jordan concerning the interference in their internal affairs by the United Arab Republic	USSR
18 July 1958	S/4050/Rev.1	S/PV.834	Letter dated 22 May 1958 from Lebanon and Letter dated 17 July 1958 from Jordan to the President of the Security Council Complaints by Lebanon and Jordan concerning the interference in their	USSR

			internal affairs by the United Arab Republic	
02 May 1958	S/3995 (incorporating the amendment)S/3998	S/PV.817	Complaint by USSR in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 18 April 1958 entitled Urgent measures to put an end to flights by US military aircraft armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union	USSR
09 September 1957	S/3885	S/PV.790	Admission of new Members Viet-Nam	USSR
09 September 1957	S/3884	S/PV.790	Admission of new Members Republic of Korea	USSR
20 February 1957	S/3787	S/PV.773	The India-Pakistan question	USSR
04 November 1956	S/3730/Rev.1	S/PV.754	Letter dated 27 October 1956 from France, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Hungary	USSR
30 October 1956	S/3713/Rev.1 (as amended)	S/PV.750	Letter dated 29 October 1956 from the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the Palestine question	France UK

30 October 1956	S/3710 (as amended)	S/PV.749	Letter dated 29 October 1956 from the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the Palestine question	France UK
15 December 1955	S/3510	S/PV.706	Admission of new Members Japan	USSR
20 June 1954	S/3236/Rev.1	S/PV.675	Cablegram dated 19 June 1954 from Guatemala to the President of the Security Council	USSR
18 June 1954	S/3229	S/PV.674	Letter dated 29 May 1954 from Thailand to the President of the Security Council	USSR
29 March 1954	S/3188/Corr.1	S/PV.664	The Palestine question	USSR
22 January 1954	S/3151/Rev.2	S/PV.656	The Palestine question	USSR
19 September 1952	S/2760	S/PV.603	Admission of new Members Cambodia	USSR
19 September 1952	S/2759	S/PV.603	Admission of new Members Laos	USSR
19 September 1952	S/2758	S/PV.603	Admission of new Members Vietnam	USSR
18 September 1952	S/2754	S/PV.602	Admission of new Members Japan	USSR
16 September 1952	S/2483	S/PV.600	Admission of new Members Libya	USSR

00 Inly	S/2688	S/PV.590	Question of a request	USSR
09 July 1952	5/2000	B/1 V.J7U	for investigation of alleged bacterial warfare	OBBK
03 July 1952	S/2671	S/PV.587	Question of a request for investigation of alleged bacterial warfare	USSR
06 February 1952	S/2443	S/PV.573	Admission of new Members Italy	USSR
30 November 1950	S/1894	S/PV.530	Complaint of armed invasion of Taiwan (Formosa); Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea	USSR
12 September 1950	S/1752	S/PV.501	Complaint of bombing by air forces of the territory of China	USSR
06 September 1950	S/1653	S/PV.496	Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea	USSR
18 October 1949	S/1408/Rev.1	S/PV.452	Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces	USSR
18 October 1949	S/1399/Rev.1	S/PV.452	Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces	USSR
11 October 1949	S/1398	S/PV.450	Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1337	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Ceylon	USSR

13 September 1949	S/1336	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Austria	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1335	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Ireland	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1334	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Finland	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1333	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Italy	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1332	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Transjordan	USSR
13 September 1949	S/1331	S/PV.443	Application for Membership Portugal	USSR
07 September 1949	S/1385	S/PV.439	Application for Membership Nepal	USSR
08 April 1949	S/1305	S/PV.423	Application for Membership Republic of Korea	USSR
15 December 1948	S/PV.384	S/PV.384	Application for Membership Ceylon	USSR
25 October 1948	S/1048	S/PV.372	Identical notifications dated 29 September 1948 from France, the UK and the USA to the Secretary- General Berlin blockade	USSR
18 August 1948	S/PV.351	S/PV.351	Application for Membership Ceylon	USSR
22 June 1948	S/836	S/PV.325	Letter dated 26 May 1948 from the Chairman of the	USSR

			Atomic Energy Commission to the President of the Security Council transmitting the Third Report of the Commission	
24 May 1948	S/PV.303	S/PV.303	Letter dated 12 Mar 1948 from Chile to the Secretary-General events in Czechoslovakia	USSR
24 May 1948	S/PV.303	S/PV.303	Letter dated 12 Mar 1948 from Chile to the Secretary-General events in Czechoslovakia preliminary question	USSR
10 April 1948	S/PV.279	S/PV.279	Application for Membership Italy	USSR
01 October 1947	S/PV.206	S/PV.206	Application for Membership Italy	USSR
01 October 1947	S/PV.206	S/PV.206	Application for Membership Finland	USSR
15 September 1947	S/552	S/PV.202	The Greek question concerning the situation in northern, Greece preliminary question	USSR
15 September 1947	S/552, S/PV.202	S/PV.202	The Greek question concerning the situation in northern Greece	USSR
21 August 1947	S/PV.190	S/PV.190	Application for Membership Austria	USSR
21 August 1947	S/PV.190	S/PV.190	Application for Membership Italy	USSR

19 August 1947	S/486	S/PV.188	The Greek question Greek frontier incidents	USSR
19 August 1947	S/471 and S/471/Add.1	S/PV.188	The Greek question Greek frontier incidents	USSR
18 August 1947	S/PV.186	S/PV.186	Application for Membership Portugal	USSR
18 August 1947	S/PV.186	S/PV.186	Application for Membership Ireland	USSR
18 August 1947	S/PV.186	S/PV.186	Application for Membership Transjordan	USSR
29 July 1947	S/PV.170	S/PV.170	The Greek question Greek frontier incidents	USSR
25 March 1947	S/PV.122	S/PV.122	Incidents in the Corfu Channel	USSR
20 September 1946	S/PV.70	S/PV.70	Telegram dated 24 August 1946 from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General	USSR
29 August 1946	S/PV.57	S/PV.57	Application for Membership Portugal	USSR
29 August 1946	S/PV.57	S/PV.57	Application for Membership Ireland	USSR
29 August 1946	S/PV.57	S/PV.57	Application for Membership Transjordan	USSR
26 June 1946	S/PV.49	S/PV.49	The Spanish question	USSR
26 June 1946	S/PV.49	S/PV.49	The Spanish question preliminary question	
26 June 1946	S/PV.49	S/PV.49	The Spanish question	USSR

18 June 1946	S/PV.45	S/PV.47	The Spanish question	USSR
16 February 1946	S/PV.23	S/PV.23	Letter from the Heads of the Lebanese and Syrian delegations to the Secretary-General dated 4 February 1946	USSR

# Annexure 3

Name			State b	Combat deaths (estimate)		
Start	Finish	of conflict	Victorious party (if applicable)	Defeated party (if applicable)	Min	Max
2 August 1990	28 February 1991	Gulf War	Kuwait United States United Kingdom Saudi Arabia France Italy Canada Australia Egypt Syria Qatar	Iraq	29,231	59,231
19 Septemb er 1994	31 March 1995	Operation Uphold Democrac y	United States	- Haiti	302	'
26 January 1995	28 February 1995	Cenepa War	Peru	Ecuador	84	410
24 October 1996	16 May 1997	First Congo War	AFDL R Rwanda Uganda Burundi Angola SPLA	Zaire Sudan Chad Ex- FAR/ALiR Interahamw e	235,000	250,000

Start Finisl		Name	State be	State belligerents		Combat deaths (estimate)	
	Finish	of conflict	Victorious party (if applicable)	Defeated party (if applicable)	Min	Max	
			Eritrea	<b>▶</b> CNDD-FDD			
				UNITA			
				ADF			
				FLNC			
6 May 1998	18 June 2000	Eritrean— Ethiopian War	<b>Ethiopia</b>	Eritrea	53,000	300,000	
24 March 1999	10 June 1999	NATO bombing of Yugoslavi a	NATO	FR Yugoslavia	796	3,011	
3 May 1999	26 July 1999	Kargil War	India	C Pakistan	884	5,600	
5 June 2000	10 June 2000	Six-Day War (2000) Part of the Second Congo War	R Rwanda	<b>U</b> ganda	4,051+		
7 October 2001	17 Decemb er 2001	United States invasion of Afghanista n	United States United Kingdom Canada Australia	Manistan Afghanistan	9,550	14,388	

Start	Finish	Name of conflict	State belligerents		Combat deaths (estimate)	
			Victorious party (if applicable)	Defeated party (if applicable)	Min	Max
20 March 2003	1 May 2003	2003 invasion of Iraq	United States United Kingdom Australia Poland	Iraq	10,996	52,456
10 June 2008	13 June 2008	Djiboutian  -Eritrean border conflict	Eritrea (Inconclusive)	Djibouti (Inc onclusive)	144	
1 August 2008	12 August 2008	Russo- Georgian War	Russia South Ossetia Abkhazia	## Georgia	730	737
19 March 2011	31 October 2011	2011 military interventio n in Libya	NATO Qatar Sweden United Arab Emirates	Libya	72	403+
26 March 2012	26 Septemb er 2012	Heglig Crisis	Sudan	South Sudan	316	1,485
30 January 2013	Ongoing	Iran–Israel conflict during the Syrian civil war	Israel	Iran Syria	645	671
20 February 2014	Ongoing	Russo- Ukrainian	Ukraine	Russia	13,780	1

Start	Finish	Name of conflict	State belligerents		Combat deaths (estimate)	
			Victorious party (if applicable)	Defeated party (if applicable)	Min	Max
		War (outli ne)		In Donbas:  DPR LPR		
22 Septemb er 2014	Ongoing	American- led interventio n in the Syrian civil war	United States	Syria Russia Iran	192+	
1 April 2016	5 April 2016	2016 Nagorno- Karabakh conflict	Azerbaijan	Artsakh Armenia	137	2,060
24 August 2016	Ongoing	Turkish occupation of northern Syria	C Turkey	O AANES Syria	5,702+	10,705+
27 February 2020	6 March 2020	Operation Spring Shield	C Turkey	Syria Iran	238	446
27 Septemb er 2020	10 Novemb er 2020	Second Nagorno- Karabakh War	<b>Azerbaijan</b>	Armenia Artsakh	7,726	
12 May 2021	Ongoing	2021– 2023 Armenia– Azerbaijan	<b>Azerbaijan</b>	Armenia	313	

Start	Finish	Name of conflict	State belligerents		Combat deaths (estimate)	
			Victorious party (if applicable)	Defeated party (if applicable)	Min	Max
		border crisis				
27 January 2022	20 Septemb er 2022	2022 Kyrgyzsta n– Tajikistan clashes	Kyrgyzstan (Ceasefire)	Tajikistan ( Ceasefire)	117	133
24 February 2022	Ongoing	Russian invasion of Ukraine  Part of the Russo-Ukrainian War	Ukraine	Russia DPR LPR	30,000+ (ongoing)	300,000 + (ongoin g)