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THE NEW DIMENSION OF SECURITY AND CONFLICT SOLUTION
IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Mr. Gbagbo

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Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

1. It is my pleasure to be able to join you today in your annual gathering during which you place the United Nations under scrutiny.

This, I must admit is a most encouraging proof that the aims and purposes of the Organization and its Charter have in fact been met, that is to prepare the younger generations to take over while contributing to and building the *Culture of Peace* for today and for the new millennium.

2. The subjects you have selected for your discussions this year are issues which are part and parcel of the activities of the United Nations system as a whole, and I must say that they are particularly timely. The reform of the United Nations, to make optimal use of its attributes, has become an on-going concern, evolving towards the need to redefine its role as a result of changing times. Following the end of the Cold War when the United Nations has been involved in the world's trouble spots

and simultaneously in the management of an array of global issues, it has become even more important to recognize and meet the challenges of the present and to design and implement a plan for the United Nations of the future. That is why, this year, fifty years after the founding of the United Nations, the Member States and the peoples of the world are called upon during the Organization's commemorative activities, to draw from lessons of the past and the challenges of the present, to use the original mechanisms provided by the Charter within the emerging global contract.

3. Above all, the 50th anniversary of the Organization, whose motto is "We the peoples of the United Nations for a better world", represents an invaluable opportunity to forge a global consensus with a view "to the creation of stability and well being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among Nations", as provided by the UN Charter in its Article 55. In other words, to accept the development, in all of its economic, environmental and social aspects, as the most lasting

foundation of international peace and security. All of us, United Nations and governments, as well as the people's of the world, are thus invited to assess intellectually, morally and institutionally the role of the United Nations in a world-wide collaborative effort towards the achievement of an enduring human progress.

4. Among your subjects of discussion, I must confess that the problems of conflict and international security are those to which I have devoted a great deal of my activities in both national and international diplomacy. These questions are covered in Chapter I, articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and handled by the Security Council, and have attracted intense media interest often in a laudatory but also in a very critical manner. Most of the time this attention has focused on only one or two peace-keeping operations, overshadowing other ^{UN} major operations and ~~its~~ intense activities in the politico-diplomatic, economic, social and other fields.

5. As you certainly know, following the end of the Cold War, the Security Council met three years ago - for the first time at the level of Heads of State or Government - to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare a document recommending ways of strengthening, within the provisions of the Charter, the capacity of the Organization to maintain peace and security.

6. A few months later, *An Agenda for Peace*, dealing with peace promotion through preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace building, was published.

7. Since then, the pace of change has accelerated and a dramatic evolution has taken place in both the volume and the nature of United Nations activities in this field. A few comparative figures will better illustrate this trend - within the last 3 years. Peace-keeping operations between January 1992 and January 1995 increased from 11 to 17, in 1988 there were only 5 operations. The Security Council had adopted 53

resolutions at January 1992 and 78 at January 1995. The annual budget of the United Nations has risen from one and a half billion to three and a half billion dollars within the same period of time. At this point I will not enter into the detail of the numerous disputes and conflicts where the United Nations has been actively involved in preventive, peace-making diplomacy or electoral assistance. However, as a result of such endeavours, new and more comprehensive concepts to guide peace-promotion are emerging and the old concepts are being modified. The lessons learned from the Organization's successes and failures in these first years of the post-Cold War age have been summed up by the Secretary-General in a recently published *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, adding the concepts of disarmament, sanctions and enforcement action to the instruments for peace and security.

8. Allow me now to share with you a few ideas on the notions of conflict and security.

9. Let's start with the notion of security. For decades, the term "security" has dominated the writings of political scholars. In the Cold War period, on a national level, security was associated with the protection of national borders and non-intervention in domestic affairs. It was assumed that a State could preserve its security by maintaining a certain level of armament and military preparedness to deal with any possible aggression. The scale of such military arrangements was usually determined on the basis of a simple rule - the more, the better. Thus, many States were engaged in an endless arms race, stretching their resources to cover the broadest possible range of military activities. National security considerations predominated international security interests. This understanding of national security in military terms was projected into the approach to international, and primarily global, security. In practice, national and international security were usually at odds with each other. Now, after the Cold War, this traditional understanding of security does not work any more.

10. Security has reached new dimensions. It is no longer possible to ensure the security of one State at the expense of the others. The world has become too interdependent and a crisis or a conflict situation in one region immediately triggers a reaction all over the globe. Today, as a result, national security considerations are subordinate to the international security interests. The latter is treated, not only in global, but more often in regional, terms. In other words, we need today a common security.

11. In 1989, as a result of lengthy debate, the UN unanimously adopted the new concept of security: "security in all aspects", which means that security is interpreted today as being **comprehensive** in nature. In addition to conflict prevention and disarmament, it includes protection of human rights, of economic and social well-being and preservation of the environment as illustrated by the Secretary-General's elaboration of *An Agenda for Development* in 1994. The relationship between international peace and security and development has become

imperative to achieve human security which is not so much concerned with the ^{weapons} reasons, as with human life and dignity. It is within the context of common and comprehensive security, that the answers to national security, in its new human meaning, should be found.

12. Furthermore, it is important to clearly differentiate between two closely related terms: security and peace. It is noteworthy that in the UN Charter these words are always used together. For example, the main purpose of the Organization is "to maintain international peace and security". It seems that the major reason for the coupling of these two terms was that, at the time the Charter was drafted, the term "security" was not well-enough defined. In my opinion, security is the notion of a higher order than peace. Security means not just the absence of war which would be a negative peace, but the elimination of the use of force from relations between States. In this connection, some authors use the term "positive peace" which means not only refraining from the use of

force but also harmonizing national and global security interests and cooperation between States in different fields.

13. The prerequisite of common security in all aspects is its system of guarantees. The creation of such a system is, perhaps, the major problem now facing the international community. Taking into consideration the unstable and transitional nature of international politics today, this system of guarantees will inevitably have a rather complicated structure including several elements being closely associated and correlated with each other.

14. They include measures to eliminate the threat of violence, prevent or peacefully settle international disputes, regulate armaments and work for disarmament. Those which are intended to prevent recurrence of violence among States and people. These are the peace-building measures which are aimed at creation of stable social and economic

conditions in countries and regions as well as the democratization of both countries and international relations.

15. Within the international political processes, we include material guarantees, which deal with the physical reduction of military arsenals, and those which have a psychological impact, thus changing the international political climate. Of course, the difference between them is relative. Any action resulting in the reduction of armament stockpiles has a positive effect on the political mentality. On the other hand, trust and co-operation between States is the major prerequisite of arms regulation and disarmament. Today, the new enriched concept of confidence-building measures lies in the process of development as does the coordination of the activities of the Bretton Wood institutions and the specialized agencies.

16. Those guarantees could be either political or legal. As examples of political guarantees, I would like to refer to the commitments or

intentions of States reflected in international political documents, such as the resolutions of the UN General Assembly. Legal guarantees are the obligations of States under international treaties and agreements, as well as the decisions of international bodies such as the UN Security Council or the International Court of Justice. Political and legal guarantees support and reinforce each other. Political guarantees, which often take the form of unilateral actions of States, pave the way for the development of international law. Legal guarantees mark the level already achieved by the international community, thus providing the possibility for States to undertake further actions.

17. Security guarantees could also be of a different nature according to the number of participants, i.e. unilateral, bi-lateral or multilateral. I would like to stress that the effectiveness of multilateral guarantees is significantly higher than that of other types and, as a rule, they allow problems of considerable scale and complexity to be solved as an

example. This is ^{in particular} the reason for the growing importance of a multilateral approach to treaty-making in the field of disarmament.

18. The Convention on Chemical Weapons, signed in 1992, though it has still to enter into force, is a major achievement in the field of disarmament. It needs real diplomatic skill for a text of this nature to be prepared by forty countries.

19. The current momentum to strengthen the ^{current} treaties and conventions on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and ^{the convention on} the prohibition of chemical weapons needs to be maintained and ways be found to reconcile the transfer of technology with measures necessary to prevent its misuse for military purposes. These are issues of paramount importance both for the security of humankind and for the release of economic, scientific and technological resources for peace and human progress. In referring to the recent experience in the handling of specific conflicts, let me point out practical disarmament in the context

of the conflicts with which the United Nations is actually dealing and the kind of weapons that are killing people in their hundreds of thousands.

20. There are two categories of light weapons that merit attention.

The first is that of small arms which are responsible for most of the deaths in current conflicts. In many cases, including previous supply to client States by the parties of the Cold War, competition for commercial markets, criminal activities and the collapse of governmental law and order, it has proved to be exceptionally difficult to control the illicit flow of small arms. It will take a long time to find effective solutions and the search for these solutions should begin now. A second category is that of anti-personnel mines. At this moment work continues to try to deal with the approximately 110 million land-mines that have already been laid.

One positive development in recent years has been the attention this problem has attracted and the fact that the international community has begun to address it in the context of the convention on the Prohibition or Destruction or the use of certain Conventional Weapons which may Be

Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

In addition, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is developing new protocols to the convention.

21. Security-building is inseparable from conflict solution. Security is created not for the sake of abstract security, but to provide ways and means for conflict prevention and resolutions. Moreover, each conflict is different, each requires a new set of instruments used in distinct combinations, often by multiple actors. It is indisputable that since the end of the Cold War, from 1988 to 1995, there has been a dramatic increase in the activities of the United Nations related to the solution of conflicts and maintenance of peace and security. However, the qualitative changes are even more significant than the quantitative ones.

22. Many of today's conflicts are within States rather than between States. The end of the Cold War has removed the constraints that had inhibited conflicts in the former USSR and elsewhere. As a result, there

have been a rash of wars within a number of States, often of an ethnic or religious character involving unusual violence. The end of the Cold War seems also to have contributed to an outbreak of such wars in Africa. In addition, some of the proxy wars fuelled by the Cold War within States, remain unresolved. Inter-State wars, by contrast, have become infrequent.

23. Of the five peace-keeping operations that existed in early 1988, four related to inter-State wars and only one to an intra-State conflict. Of the 21 operations established since then, only 8 have related to inter-State wars, whereas 13 have related to intra-State conflicts, although some of them, especially those in the former Yugoslavia, also have an inter-State dimension. Of the 11 operations established since January 1992 all but 2 (82 per cent) relate to intra-State conflicts.

24. The new breed of intra-State conflicts have certain characteristics that present United Nations peace-keepers with challenges not

encountered since the Congo operation of the early 1960s. They are usually fought not only by regular armies but also by militia and armed civilians with little discipline and with ill-defined chains of command.

They are often guerilla wars without clear front lines. Civilian are often the main targets and certainly the major victims.

25. As a consequence, humanitarian emergencies are common-place and the combatant authorities, in so far as they can be called authorities, lack the possibility to cope with them. The number of refugees registered with the Office of the High Commissioner (UNHCR) has doubled from 13 million at the end of 1987 to 26 million at the end of 1994. The number of displaced persons has increased even more dramatically.

26. Another feature of such conflicts is the collapse of State institutions, especially the police and judiciary with the resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and the

establishment of banditry and chaos. The functions of governments are suspended, its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country. This is rarely the case in intra-State wars.

27. This means that international intervention must extend beyond military and humanitarian tasks to include the promotion of national reconciliation and the re-establishment of effective government.

28. I will not enter into the consequences of the changes of conflicts and the adaptation of the peace-keeping operations. Let me only mention that during the Cold War, the United Nations peace-keeping operations were largely military in character and usually deployed after a cease-fire but before a settlement of the conflict in question had been negotiated. One of their main purposes was to create conditions in which negotiations for a settlement could take place. In the late 1980's a new kind of peace-keeping operation evolved to be established after negotiations had succeeded, with a mandate to help the parties

implement the comprehensive settlement they had negotiated. Such operations have been deployed in Namibia, Angola, El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique. In most cases they have been successful.

29. A more recent development in the role of peace-keeping activities is the use of United Nations forces to protect humanitarian operations.

Humanitarian agencies endeavour to provide succour to civilian victims of war wherever they may be - too often the warring parties make it difficult or impossible for them to do so for several reasons. Because the wars are intra-State conflicts, the humanitarian agencies often have to undertake the tasks in the chaotic and lawless conditions which I described previously. In some, but not all cases, such horrors explode onto the world television screens and create political pressure for the United Nations to deploy troops to facilitate and protect the humanitarian operations.

30. While such images can help build support for humanitarian action, such scenes may also create an emotional environment in which effective decision-making is made more difficult. This has led, in Somalia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to a new kind of United Nations operations.

31. Even though the use of force is authorized under Chapter VII of the Charter, the United Nations remains neutral between the warring parties, without a mandate to stop the aggressor (if identified) or impose a cessation of hostilities. The hostilities therefore continue without agreement between the parties leaving the peace-keeping operation without a formal mandate.

32. The United Nations' peace efforts have become more complex and, I must add, more dangerous and expensive. The different measures that can be taken by the United Nation to help control and resolve conflicts, include six major instruments which are detailed in the Secretary-General's proposals contained in the recently published *Supplement to an*

Agenda for Peace. These include preventive diplomacy and peace-making; peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building which can only be used with the consent of the parties to the conflict in question.

Measures to be added include sanctions and peace-enforcement which are considered as coercive measures and do not require the consent of the parties involved and disarmament, which can be invoked either on an agreed basis or as a coercive measure under Chapter VII of the Charter.

33. Through the looking-glass of the United Nations experience in dealing with security and conflict solution we can see that the United Nations has today both the strategy, plans of action, the know-how and techniques to deal with conflicts. What is needed is support from Member States not only by words, but by deeds, both through contributions and reform. No less important is the understanding of the public-at-large, not only because this is the constituency of governments.

Today the public, human individual exerts the same action in world politics as their governments.

34. I deeply believe that in the post-Cold War era, which is facing global changes, the United Nations and the international structure could be used first as a safety net, minimizing the dangerous effects of the conflicts and, *at the same time as in instrument for* ~~in the longer run~~, channelling the conflicts into a non-violent, evolving and democratic framework for solutions.

35. Thank you for your attention. Allow me to wish you a very fruitful and interesting session.