

## **"Disarmament and National Security in the Interdependent World"**

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1. It has become a good tradition to discuss in Kyoto at the regional UN conferences the problems concerning security, disarmament and related matters. Here, in a friendly environment, in a city of peace and tranquility<sup>tops</sup> of the world disarmament community, have all necessary conditions to identify and address the most urgent and complicated problems of arms regulation and disarmament.

2. It is very fortunate that today when changes in the world have taken not only global but civilizational character the conference in Kyoto discusses the problems of disarmament and national security in an interdependent world. These three notions - disarmament, national security and interdependence - which are well-known, need a new reading in the context of today's wider mission for the United Nations - to facilitate the democratic, evolutionary renewal of our interdependent world, in which

disarmament could play an important role without putting at risk national security which is of primary concern for the majority of Member States.

3. The recognition of the unity of the world and its interdependence is the main focal point in the process of transition of the international community to the new world system of peace, cooperation and security based on the United Nations Charter. For the first time this system was outlined three years ago, when at the 44th session of the General Assembly Member States adopted by consensus a resolution which was entitled "Enhancing of international peace, security and cooperation in all its aspects in accordance with the UN Charter" (res. 44/21). Some commentators have said that this resolution symbolized the end of the cold war. In my opinion, its adoption was not merely symbolic. It opened the door for the United Nations to become an effective instrument of collective security. The organization was liberated from the chains of ideological confrontation. Obstacles to cooperation for the benefit of the international community were removed.

4. The new emerging international system based on the UN Charter is unique and significantly different from all other types of international systems created in the past. History has known Pax Romana, Pax Britannica and many other attempts to establish peace among nations. Now time has come for one more and hopefully long-lasting world peace structure which

I would call Pax Universalis or Pax UN. The multilateral nature of the new system presupposes multifaceted, comprehensive approach to security and disarmament.

5. National security cannot be provided without considering the international environment in its different aspects. It is indivisible from common security of our planet and cannot be limited only to military problems. The non-military threats to security are of no less importance. Consequently, in the sphere of international security the task of the United Nations is comprehensive. It should not only deal with political and military challenges, but also economical, environmental, social and humanitarian ones.

6. As for the security in a traditional military-political sense, it can be provided in two major dimensions. First, it is necessary to ensure strict observation of the international legal norms of the use of coercion, in particular of the military power. The aim is to reduce its destabilizing effect and to make sure that it is implemented exclusively for the restoration of peace and international security in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The second, no less important dimension of security is disarmament in all its aspects. Similar to how the contents of the notion of security is been reconsidered due to the changing international environment, the notion of disarmament also acquires a new reading. Disarmament in the

modern sense is a broad term which covers a wide variety of measures, from confidence-building measures to arms regulation and destruction of armaments.

7. Today, disarmament is an integral part of the efforts of the international community to enhance international peace and security and to cope with multiple challenges to stability which most often manifest themselves in the form of national conflicts. Disarmament is in many ways linked to conflict resolution. It is obviously the absence of regulations in the sphere of arms sales that make conflict violent and prolonged. A good example is the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Despite all the efforts of the international community to settle this conflict, fighting is intensive in this country partly due to the extensive supply of armament and ammunition. The flow of armaments is the reason for great intensity of conflicts in other parts of the world.

8. Disarmament is also linked with conflict resolution because application of some of the instruments used in the process of disarmament can significantly facilitate settlement of disputes. Confidence-building measures are a good example. Such measures as systematic exchange of military missions, creation of regional and sub-regional risk reduction centres, free flow of information, including the monitoring of arms agreements, could reduce tension and likelihood of confrontation between states.

Rich experience in the implementation of the confidence-building measures was accumulated in Europe, in particular within the framework of the negotiations on conventional weapons. Nowadays, these measures are being applied not only in the traditional disarmament context. considerable efforts are made to use them to resolve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and in cyprus. With respect to Cyprus, for example, people-to-people contacts are recommended as CBMs. Confidence-building measures can be easily implemented and the only condition for their success is the will to employ them.

9. One of the new important features of conflict settlement is the disarmament of the parties to the conflict. Efforts to disarm warring factions have been made in Cambodia, Somalia, Croatian Kraina, Angola, Namibia, El Salvador and Nicaragua. However, this is a very complicated problem and in most cases the attempts to disarm combatants either failed or were only partially successful. In this connection there is an urgent need to address a number of practical questions, such as: what are the modalities of disarmament in context of civil strife? How should the peace-keeping personnel be trained and equipped for the task of disarming warring factions? What kind of verification mechanism might be applied?

10. Disarmament is also very closely linked to political, economic and social issues. The most obvious example of this interrelation between disarmament and the social and economic environment is the situation in

the former Soviet Union where overarmament is contributing to the worsening economic situation and ethnic tensions. This is a good reminder of the urgent need to stop building large arsenals of weapons and to free valuable resources for development and socially useful purposes.

11. It is becoming clear that in the making of the new world system multilateral disarmament should become part and parcel of post-conflict peace-building, which includes comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures for consolidating peace and creating a stable, social and economic conditions.

12. From within, in its nature, disarmament as a process is becoming primarily multilateral. This does not exclude bilateral and unilateral actions. Moreover, there are certain cases where unilateral disarmament measures are not only acceptable but most welcome. I would call it disarmament by good example. For instance, the moratoria on nuclear tests voluntarily put into effect by some states may lead to a significant progress in the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons.

13. However, nowadays all major disarmament activities tend to be undertaken under the aegis of multilateral fora. The most vivid example of the success of the multilateral approach is the Convention on a Comprehensive Prohibition of Chemical Weapons which has been

completed by the Conference on Disarmament and recently signed in Paris. The preparation of this Convention took much time. However, this important international treaty could be drafted only within the framework of a multilateral forum, which at the same time provided a convenient place for a different kind of bilateral talks and contacts.

14. Multilateralism provides the framework for the implementation of the concept of globalization of disarmament which presupposes that all states be engaged in this process and that all the major disarmament problems are being included on the agenda of negotiations. There is no doubt that further progress in disarmament should be built upon past achievements in this field. As a practical example I would like to refer to the work of the 1978 Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament and the papers presented there. It was once said that the documents of SSOD-1 were the "Bible" of disarmament. Indeed, if we review this material we will see that it contains a wealth of ideas whose time may have finally come. Not only the documents of the session, but the annexes are of considerable importance.

15. One of the main conditions for the success of the future multilateral interactions is refusal to accept any linkages between the problems under discussion. The "linkage" diplomacy practised with the hope of getting some advantage in the negotiations is a rudiment of the Cold War and in the

present political situation is counterproductive. I would rather suggest another approach of simultaneous efforts in a number of directions which I would call diplomacy of constructive parallelism. J

16. In his recent report "New Dimensions of Arms Regulation and Disarmament in the Post-Cold War Era" the Secretary-General outlined his vision of multilateral disarmament. It is very encouraging that the report has not only been thoroughly discussed but welcomed and supported by many Member States. Of particular importance is the special consideration given to it at the resumed session of the General Assembly this March.

17. As it stems from the report of the Secretary-General in the field of multilateral disarmament we face a twin challenge of structure and substance. It has to be admitted that in past decades the UN didn't play substantive role in disarmament. The UN system of organs dealing with disarmament was primarily deliberative rather than practically oriented. Now it is time to adapt this system to the new political realities. I deeply believe, that the Conference on Disarmament, which is a special negotiations body within the multilateral disarmament machinery, and two other organs of the UN system dealing with disarmament: the First Committee and the UN Disarmament Commission should establish new flexible and effective relationship with appropriate division of labour within mutually reinforcing structure of multilateral disarmament.

18. After the conclusion, in 1992, of the Convention on Chemical Weapons, the role of the Conference on Disarmament as the major international forum for negotiations has tremendously increased. It is now in the process of settling organizational matters. Hopefully, this will not take long and the Conference which brings together the best and the most qualified experts in this field, will soon become more representative than before. The way the Conference is considering such important items on its agenda as transparency of armaments and the negative security assurances is very encouraging.

19. The efforts of the international community to promote disarmament would also benefit if the Security Council became a more active participant in the consideration of these matters. In particular, a special session of the Security Council on disarmament could be held in Geneva, where the Conference is based. It is encouraging that Member States supported the suggestion put forward in the report of the Secretary-General, to strengthen the Office for Disarmament of the UN Secretariat. This Office should provide its services to disarmament community and first of all to the Conference on Disarmament helping it to identify and address new problems.

20. In this connection I would like to mention that the United Nations Office at Geneva is ready to provide all necessary support to the

Conference. Existing disarmament machinery in Geneva - the Conference on Disarmament and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) - gives it the comparable advantage within the UN system to become a reliable and useful working partner to the IAEA in Vienna and the soon-to-be-created International Organization on Chemical Weapons in the Hague. This partnership should highlight the future role of the Conference on Disarmament in the multilateral machinery dealing with disarmament. UNOG could provide the necessary facilities for the review conferences. It also may be a convenient base for further development of the UN training programmes in disarmament. There is an obvious need in such programmes in particular, aimed at the newly independent states which have no experience in this field. UNIDIR, which has a mandate to undertake research on disarmament and international security issues, could now become an international "think-tank" to tackle a new array of issues, including the disposal of weapons, disarmament and development, verification of compliance and the mass destruction of weapons.

21. As for the substantive problems, the top priority is a new partnership for the practical implementation and further development of international agreements in the field of disarmament. The impressive recent achievements - START-I, START-II, CFF, Chemical Weapons Convention, should be implemented in full and in due time. Not only multilateral, but also bi-lateral treaties, such as START-I, open the opportunities for

international cooperation. As an example I would like to mention the proposal of the Japanese government to provide technical assistance to Russia in the demolition of the fuel of the intercontinental ballistic missiles which should be destructed in accordance with the START-II treaty.

22. The top priority issue in multilateral disarmament is non-proliferation in all its aspects. Practically, today there are six principle regimes of non-proliferation which cover nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, missile technology, export control and conventional weapons. However, the term non-proliferation is most often used in connection with weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons, and rightly so. There can be no justification for any state to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

23. As far as nuclear weapons are concerned, we have the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which is one of the pillars of the system of international security and which should continue to serve the interests of the world community in new millennium. ~~Any problem which its Member State encounters could and should be solved within the framework of this treaty as well as other international machinery.~~ Everything possible should be done to strengthen the non-proliferation treaty. The UN would welcome the earliest admission to the treaty of the newly independent states. Within the context of the NPT I would also like to mention that withdrawal from NPT is not a method to deal with the

issues, which are a matter of concern for its member. These issues should be dealt with within the framework of international machinery provided by NTP.

24. With respect to chemical arms we also now have an effective world-wide and non-discriminatory tool for the prevention of their proliferation and, in fact, for their destruction - the Convention on a Comprehensive Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. I hope that the new international organization on chemical weapons will become a watch dog, guarding the world from this inhuman weapon.

25. As far as other regimes of non-proliferation are concerned the situation is considerably more complicated. There is a number of treaties and arrangements and a world-wide awareness of the need to stop the uncontrollable dissemination of weapons. What is missing is the international machinery to turn good intentions into practical actions. For example, on 1 January 1992 a register of conventional arms transfers has been established which is maintained from the UN Headquarters. However, neither the UN nor any other international body has the ability to verify the accuracy of the information submitted for the register. Moreover, considerable quantities of weapons are being sold, often secretly, by the so called private "arms dealers" and there is practically no international control

of their operations. This is an issue which should be urgently addressed by the international community and I hope that some interesting suggestions on this subject will be made at our conference.

26. With the new turns in the process of disarmament we encounter a new set of problems which are sometimes called "immediate post-disarmament issues" and which have not yet been properly addressed by the international community.

27. Among them the most important is the conversion of the military-oriented industrial complex into enterprises serving civilian needs. In recent years there has been a lot of talk about conversion but not much action. There are just a few examples of successful conversion and, obviously, more research, analysis, and effort is needed before conversion becomes a reality. UN can facilitate practical actions aimed at higher investments for the purposes of conversion, conducting research and making recommendations on different aspects of this problem. It is extremely important to make available for the international community the "success stories" in conversion. It would be useful if governments could provide the UN with information on this subject.

28. Most of the "post-disarmament issues", such as transportation of toxic substances, storage of weapons, and retraining of demobilized military

personnel may seem to be purely technical in nature. However, failure to solve them may have grave economic, social and environmental consequences and in time may complicate political framework for the implementation of disarmament treaties and thus affect security relationship. There is a need in extensive international cooperation to address these issues, exchange of technology and "know-how". Unfortunately, in some cases, such exchange is perceived as a sort of commercial enterprise or is "linked" to the solution of problems in other fields. It should be realized that this approach is absolutely unacceptable. Inadequacy of facilities for the storage or destruction of, say, chemical weapons may lead to an environmental catastrophe compatible with the Chernobil tragedy and will affect all the countries of the world.

29. Up to now the most notable theatre for significant progress in reducing stockpiles in weapons and armed forces has been Europe. Here, as the process of conventional disarmament gathers momentum, post-disarmament issues are gaining in importance, highlighting verification, arms transfers, arms trading, production, over-capacity and problems of conversion. Significant experience has been gained in Confidence-Building Measures, largely through the activities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

30. I would like to mention that today the CSCE is becoming one of the

major structures of interdependence in the world. The CSCE has proclaimed itself as a regional organization, but in fact it is an organization of a new type. It is the first truly intercontinental body which is opened in nature and which incorporates members not only from Europe, but from North America and Asia as well, ~~and covers half of the Northern hemisphere~~. The most welcoming development is that Japan has become its member with observer status. The CSCE provides plenty of opportunities for regional and sub-regional activities, in particular in disarmament. Moreover, it may serve as a good example for similar arrangements in Asia.

31. In the modern world the regional dimension of disarmament acquires practical importance. Of course, there are no ready-made schemes or prescriptions for regional disarmament. There is a unique situation in each region and though the global as well as regional experience should be taken into account, the specifics of the region should be given primary consideration. The initiative in regional disarmament measures should also belong to the countries of the particular region. As an example I would like to mention a very innovative idea of President N.Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan who suggested to initiate a multilateral process of comprehensive cooperation in Central Asia.

32. The UN Secretariat will continue its efforts both in stimulating the interest of the Member States in specific issues of regional disarmament and

in assisting in working out concrete agreements. Our intention is to organize special regional workshops, seminars and conferences, to use more vigorously the three regional Centres for Peace, Disarmament and Development - in Katmandu, Lima and Lome. More attention should also be paid to developing working cooperation with regional inter-governmental as well as non-governmental organizations.

33. Concluding my statement, I would like to emphasize the imperative of our changing world - the need to move from declarations of good intentions to practical actions, from words to deeds.

34. We are facing one more challenge. This is the time factor. The rate of change of the world political environment has accelerated to such an extent that continuing adaptation both structural and substantial is a necessity. Now it is essential not only to know where to go and what to do, but also to do it as fast as possible. History had shown that if structures do not adjust to the new requirements they are forced to leave the scene. I hope that our present Conference will stimulate a collective search for answers to numerous challenges facing humankind in the field of disarmament.

Thank you for your attention.