

VI Current and Potential Peace Processes

Douglas A. Fraser

Introduction

This chapter will review current processes and try to forecast potential processes that are or might be used in peace operations. The term "peace operations" may be new to some but it is becoming, at least in UN circles, accepted shorthand used to describe complex, interwoven and multidisciplinary actions undertaken by the international community in the search for international peace and security. For the most part the international community is the United Nations, and it is the Secretary-General of that body, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has articulated a new, broad-based approach to the search. He was responding to a request from the Security Council, meeting at the level of head of state/government on January 31, 1992, to prepare an analysis and recommendations on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping. The result was his report, *An Agenda for Peace*.

In that report the Secretary-General added the concept of post-conflict peace-building and introduced the idea, in embryo form, of peace enforcement. Since it was issued there has been a great deal of debate on the report, within the UN and elsewhere, and many of the concepts and ideas have been refined. Nevertheless, the debate continues and there is as yet no consensus within the UN family on all aspects of the report. The two extremes of the debate come from the arguments that, on the one hand, there appears to be a growing gap of responsibility for the management of world affairs that must be filled, and, on the other, concern that a "world government" violates the idea of the sovereign state as guaranteed by the UN Charter. Therefore, one school argues for a more proactive, interventionist UN and the other for a UN that serves the interests of states as defined by the states concerned. Gradually a middle way is developing, and this refinement process will continue over time. Meanwhile, this chapter will use *An Agenda for Peace* as its starting point

and frame of reference for the peace operations processes discussed.

These processes then include preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and post-conflict peace-building.¹ In discussing these processes, it is inevitable that the emphasis be on UN operations, but an attempt will be made to capture other relevant experiences as well.

While this paper was being developed, the First (Disarmament and International Security) Committee of the UN General Assembly was being challenged to reform its agenda and working methods to better complement the initiatives begun by the Secretary-General in his report *An Agenda for Peace*. The Under Secretary General for Political Affairs, Marrack Goulding, advised the Committee that the Secretary-General had charged his staff to consider how confidence-building measures, verification and other techniques that have been developed and tested in the field of arms control and disarmament can be further developed and used as instruments for preventive diplomacy, the peaceful settlement of disputes and post-conflict peace-building.² This study will be a contribution to those considerations.

Process is defined as a "course of action"; thus this chapter will look at definable activities, current and potential, that seem to offer opportunities for synergy and harmonization. It takes into consideration the assumptions made in Chapter I and, again, takes its basic orientation from action in the United Nations. It recognizes that the UN will itself not always lead when it comes to peace operations, but assumes that the UN will "bless" in some way, usually through a Security Council resolution, the action taken by a region, a state or a coalition of states. In some circumstances, the UN will stand back in very much an oversight role; in other cases it will be a supporting player with the other entity playing the lead role.³

1 See *An Agenda for Peace*, UN document no. A/47/277, June 17, 1992.

2 Statement delivered October 18, 1993, at opening of committee debate.

3 For example, the CSCE leading in Nagorny Karabakh, the UN in Georgia.

