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**CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE
THROUGH PRACTICAL
DISARMAMENT MEASURES:
THE CONTEXT**



APRIL 1998

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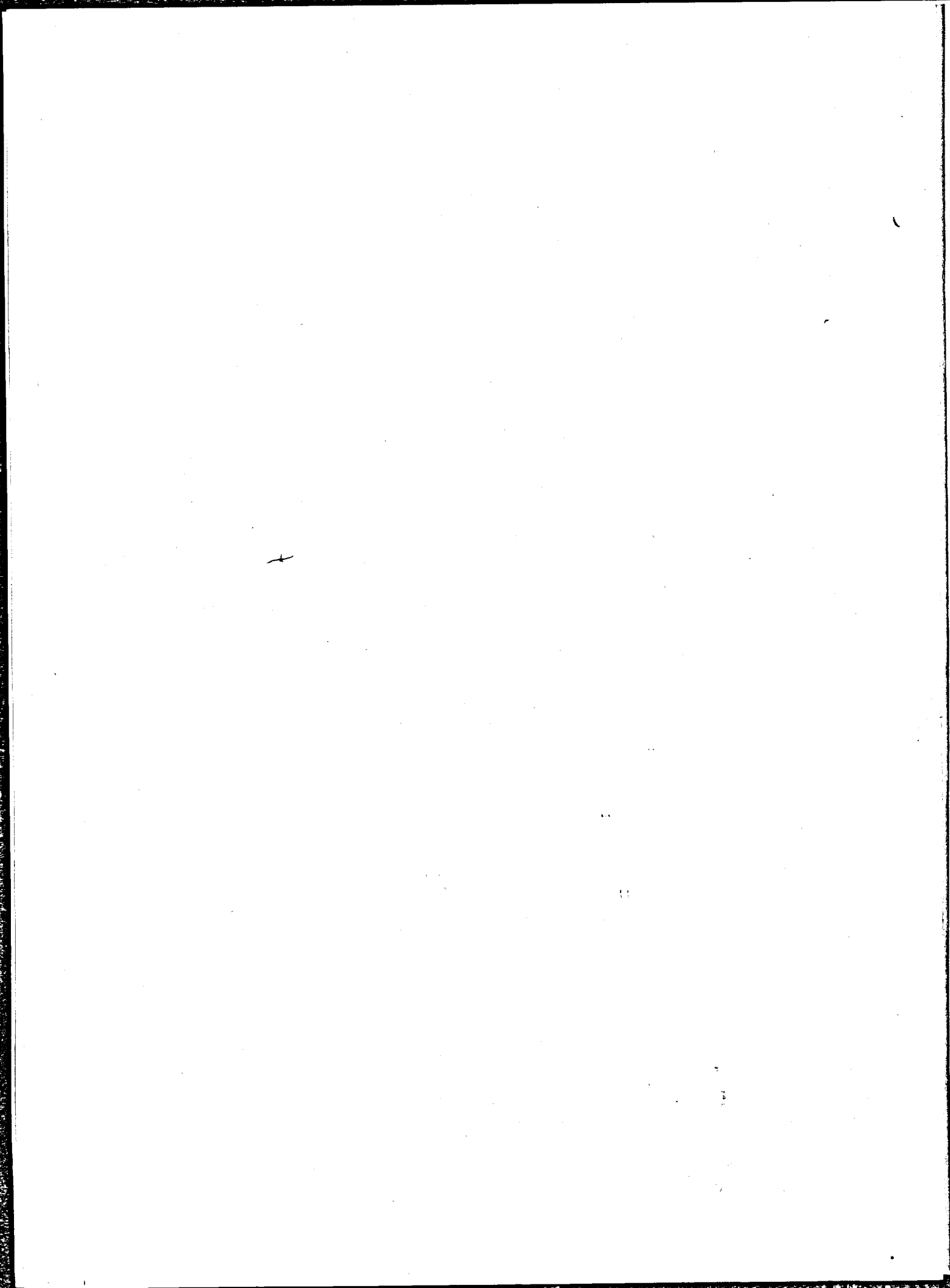


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	ii
Acknowledgements	ii
1. Summary	1
2. The Interrelated Nature of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration	2
3. The Need for a Balanced and Practical Approach to Arms Control and Disarmament	3
4. The Need for an Integrated and Coordinated Approach to Overlapping Issues	5
The Importance of the Disarmament Dimension of DDRPs	5
The Importance of a Coordinated and Integrated Approach to DDRPs	7
Disarmament in the Context of International Peace and Security	8
DDRPs as Practical Examples of Disarmament and Development	9
5. DDRP as a Regional Issue with Global Implications	11
6. The Role of the Disarmament Commission and Other Relevant Bodies	13
7. Conclusion	14
Annex A: A Compilation of Selected Consensus Guidelines, Principles and Recommendations Produced by the UNDC Relevant to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration	17

PREFACE

The United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) is continuing its consideration of the agenda item "Guidelines on conventional arms control/limitation and disarmament, with particular emphasis on consolidation of peace in the context of General Assembly resolution 51/45 N", which it began at its 1997 session. Since the conclusion of the UNDC's work in May 1997, there have been several notable developments.

These developments, discussed to some extent in this paper, underline the growing focus of the international community on practical disarmament measures. In addition to the above institutional activities associated with the United Nations, there have been important developments closer to the field.

The following report has been prepared as background for the discussions on the subject of consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures at the 1998 session of the UNDC. It is being made available to assist officials and researchers in their work on this subject, as part of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's policy to share the results of independent research undertaken by the Verification Research Program.

The views presented in this report do not necessarily reflect those of the Government of Canada or of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
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CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE THROUGH PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT MEASURES: THE CONTEXT

1. Summary

The 1997 session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) saw the first year of a three-year consideration of the topic "guidelines on conventional arms control/limitation and disarmament, with particular emphasis on consolidation of peace" through practical disarmament measures. Canada participated actively in these discussions and submitted an extensive background paper¹. Because of the relationship of the topic to small arms proliferation, these deliberations have assumed a heightened importance in multilateral disarmament fora.

Among the questions on which delegations expressed a variety of perspectives was how disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in post-conflict situations fits within the scope of the UNDC's terms of reference and within the arms control and disarmament agenda as commonly understood. This paper attempts to answer these questions. It examines the United Nations' traditional approach to arms control and disarmament to determine the extent to which disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme (DDRP) related issues have already been addressed by the General Assembly and the UNDC, and to see if past decisions by these bodies offer insights for dealing with DDRP related issues in future.

The paper concludes that an integrated and coordinated approach to DDRPs is essential for the success of post-conflict peacebuilding efforts. Within such an approach, the disarmament dimension must receive specialized attention by the UN disarmament fora, in consultation and coordination with other relevant bodies, to ensure that the many potential benefits of DDRPs are fully realized. The paper also concludes that an integrated approach to DDRPs is fully consistent with the historical record. DDRP related issues, such as disarmament and development, have been considered within the global disarmament agenda since at least the First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. Moreover, an integrated approach to DDRPs fits logically within the post-Cold War development of the arms control and disarmament agenda and accords with UN principles on how to proceed with topics having global and regional implications.

These discussions within the UNDC are of particular relevance given the organizational changes that have taken place at the senior bureaucratic level of the United Nations since the last meeting of the UNDC. These initiatives, which facilitate an integrated approach to peacebuilding in order that there might be greater unity of purpose, coherence of efforts and agility in the Organization's response, give further strength to the argument that

¹ *Practical Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Measures for Peacebuilding*, The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, with the assistance of the Canadian Council for International Peace and Security, April 1997.

the Disarmament Commission must address its agenda in a manner that contributes pragmatically to the real challenges facing the United Nations and Member States.²

2. The Interrelated Nature of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

The experience of the United Nations and Member States -- particularly in Central America, Cambodia and Africa over the last ten years -- has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants are interrelated and necessary for successful post-conflict peacebuilding. The experience strongly suggests the futility of pursuing small arms and light weapons-related disarmament measures without also considering demobilization and reintegration measures. Successful demobilization has been possible only when accompanied by a certain degree of disarmament; and disarmament and demobilization, in turn, have been sustainable only when former combatants were rehabilitated and integrated into civilian life or the restructured state army.

Failure to deal effectively with demobilization and reintegration at the time of small arms disarmament:

- a) seriously complicates the process of disarmament, as ex-combatants, with no alternative training or occupational opportunities in prospect, will be less likely to relinquish their arms and will attempt to circumvent prescribed arms control and disarmament measures;
- b) risks a return to hostilities;
- c) risks an increase in crime, banditry and other violent behaviour by ex-combatants, which leads to new problems of arms control as well as to social and economic disruption; and
- d) increases the likelihood of small arms proliferation and illicit trafficking in weapons.³

On the other hand, effective demobilization and reintegration measures can assist the disarmament process by encouraging compliance with agreed measures and by providing for the removal of combat materiel such as mines and explosive ordnance. At a more general level, successful and integrated DDRPs can provide the basis for the reestablishment of confidence in social institutions, such as the judicial system and police, as well as a secure

² These are among the reasons cited by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan for the sweeping reforms announced by him in document A/51/950 which he presented to the General Assembly on July 16, 1997.

³ See the *Report of the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms*, A/52/298, 27 August 1997.

environment for normal peaceful interaction. In addition, there is an increasing body of research suggesting that successful DDRPs help to prevent new conflicts from erupting.⁴

The interrelated nature of the topic was clearly recognized in resolution 51/45 N of 10 December 1996, entitled *Consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures*, a resolution co-sponsored by delegations from different regions and adopted by consensus. In it the General Assembly stressed the particular importance of "the collection, control and disposal of arms, especially small arms and light weapons, coupled with restraint over the production, procurement and transfer of such arms, the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, demining and conversion," for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in areas that have suffered from conflict.

But Member States' recognition of the inherently close relationship between disarmament and demobilization has an even longer pedigree. The Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (UNSSOD I, 1978) observed that: "Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control [*italics added*]."⁵ Member States have always considered the reduction of *armed forces* -- which by its nature entails demobilization -- to be a disarmament issue.

3. The Need for a Balanced and Practical Approach to Arms Control and Disarmament

Timely consideration of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is consistent with the longstanding practice of seeking balance in the multilateral disarmament agenda and will result in arms control and disarmament recommendations with immediate and direct practical relevance.

? what does this mean?

The Final Document of UNSSOD I listed the priorities in disarmament negotiations as being nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons, and reduction of armed forces. It then noted that "[n]othing should preclude States from conducting negotiations on all priority items concurrently."⁶ This statement has led in practice to concerted efforts within the multilateral disarmament fora to identify both nuclear and non-nuclear issues in respect of which progress might be facilitated.

⁴ Note, for example, the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) project on Disarmament, Development and Conflict Prevention in West Africa (1996 -).

⁵ *Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly* (First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament), A/S-10/2, Introduction, para. 13 (1978).

⁶ *Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly* (First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament), A/S-10/2, paras. 45-46.

The end of the Cold War affected both the nature of the disarmament challenges facing the international community and the United Nations' capacity to deal with such problems. The 1990s have been marked by a host of ethnic, religious and other local conflicts in which the primary instruments of war are conventional, notably small arms and light weapons. The end of the Cold War has also required and enabled increased United Nations involvement in such conflict-stricken areas, as mediator, peacekeeper and peacebuilder. As a result, and in parallel with ongoing and in some cases considerably increased activities relating to weapons of mass destruction,⁷ United Nations disarmament related work has also increasingly focussed on:

- a) issues of conventional arms, including conventional arms transfers, the register of conventional arms, the proliferation of small arms, the illicit arms trade, and antipersonnel land mines; and
- b) practical disarmament measures, as indicated by the subject title of UNDC's Working Group III (consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures).⁸

In the debates and resolutions surrounding the post-Cold War review and rationalization of the UN disarmament machinery, Member States consistently stressed the need for the multilateral arms control fora to respond effectively to changes in the international situation.⁹

As pointed out in the Secretary-General's report entitled "General and complete disarmament: consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures,"¹⁰ several Member States are now dealing with the challenges of post-conflict disarming of factions, demobilization and reintegration into society. There is a pressing need for the work of United Nations' disarmament fora to be grounded in this reality and to produce recommendations relevant to it. Addressing DDRPs -- an area where progress is most urgent and practicable -- is consistent with the tradition of balancing the multilateral arms control agenda in an effort to adequately address the concerns of the international community and the challenges facing Member States.

⁷ The work of the United Nations Special Commission in Iraq (UNSCOM) has placed the United Nations at the forefront of multilateral verification efforts in relation to weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems. See for example, "Verification in All Its Aspects, including the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Verification", A/50/377, 22 September 1995.

⁸ Other examples of the practical focus which is now possible would be the move from the negotiation of the Chemical Weapons Treaty to its implementation and the focus of the United States and Russia on the challenges of weapons dismantlement and destruction under START agreements I and II.

⁹ See, for example, resolution 48/87 of 16 December 1993.

¹⁰ A/52/289, 19 August 1997.

4. The Need for an Integrated and Coordinated Approach to Overlapping Issues

Given that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration are interrelated and overlapping issues requiring urgent attention, the question becomes: how should they best be addressed? The trend in United Nations consideration of peace and security issues is towards an integrated and coordinated approach.¹¹

The Importance of the Disarmament Dimension of DDRPs

The Secretary-General's report of 16 July 1997, entitled "Renewing the UN, a Programme for Reform," points out that "present-day conflicts have many dimensions that must be addressed comprehensively and require more integrated and coordinated action."¹² In particular, the practical disarmament dimension of the "concurrent and integrated actions undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of armed confrontation"¹³ requires greater and more systematic attention.

To date DDRPs have been considered in the planning and implementation of many peacekeeping operations, but they have generally not been dealt with effectively, in part because the disarmament dimension has been ignored or misunderstood, and in part because the integrated nature of the three components -- disarmament, demobilization and reintegration -- has only recently begun to be fully comprehended. Empirical evidence for the view that effective disarmament measures are an integral and essential part of a successful DDRP can be found in the conclusions of the UNIDIR project on Disarmament and Conflict Resolution, launched in November 1994 and completed in 1996.¹⁴

¹¹ Coordination here refers to the effort to bring all necessary components of a solution into their proper relation. Integration, the combining of all necessary parts into one whole, is thus a specific example of the proper relation. As a result in particular of the experience that the Organization has gained in responding to a series of complex post-Cold War emergencies requiring a multidisciplinary response, the United Nations has concluded that a system of individual units with little strategic focus or coherence must be replaced by a more coherent structure, suffused with a unity of purpose which reflects the holistic nature of the many challenges facing it.

¹² A/51/950, para. 117 (1997).

¹³ A/51/950, para. 120 (1997).

¹⁴ See *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: The Issues*, UNIDIR/96/46, 1996. The project looked at the seldom-researched field of disarmament during multinational peacekeeping operations and the links among disarmament, conflict resolution and regional stability. An important component of the project was consideration of weapons control, disarmament and demobilization during peacekeeping operations, with a focus on the field experiences of United Nations peacekeeping and other peace missions in Cambodia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haiti, Liberia, Mozambique, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and Somalia. The project concluded that the effective control and reduction of weapons during peace operations can be an important component of the settlement of conflicts, a fundamental aid to diplomacy in the prevention and deflation of conflict, and a critical element of the reconstruction

The Canadian background paper of April 1997, entitled *Practical Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Measures for Peacebuilding*, built on the work of the UNIDIR project, substantiating and expanding many of its premises. One of the paper's most important findings was the importance of a disarmament dimension in peace operations, for both short and long term security. In the immediate post-conflict phase, disarmament is a vital confidence-building measure that will allow the peace process to continue. Over the longer term, a responsible arms management program that includes restraint in the production, procurement and transfer of arms is essential to the consolidation of peace. The paper also underlined the need for an integrated approach to DDRPs from the outset. DDRP planning and implementation must be regarded as an integrated and often overlapping continuum within the overall peacebuilding process, with importance being attached not only to the disarmament and demobilization aspects at the front end, but also to the reintegration aspects of the program over the longer term. In short, both the UNIDIR and Canadian studies demonstrated that when disarmament expertise was finally brought to bear on the broader problem of peacebuilding, the result was a far better understanding of the problem.

Perhaps the most compelling argument for the need to deal with DDRP on an integrated basis, with substantial attention to the disarmament dimension, is found in the Report of the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms.¹⁵ Owing to the unique characteristics of small arms and light weapons, the Panel found it impossible to conduct its work¹⁶ without also looking at issues of demobilization and the reintegration into society of former combatants. Moreover, like the Canadian and UNIDIR studies, the Panel found that insufficient attention to disarmament in the overall conduct of a peace operation resulted in severe problems. "Several United Nations peacekeeping or post-conflict peace-building operations have resulted in the incomplete disarmament of former combatants owing to peace agreements or mandates which did not cover small arms and light weapons disarmament, or to shortfalls in the implementation of mandates because of inadequate operational guidance or resources. Thus, large numbers of surplus weapons became available in the conflict areas for criminal activities, recirculation and illicit trafficking."¹⁷

The recent experience in Mali, where arms control has been an integral part of the conflict resolution and peacebuilding process undertaken by the Malians themselves, with United Nations assistance, has also increased the analytical understanding of the role of arms

process in post-conflict societies.

¹⁵ A/52/298, 27 August 1997.

¹⁶ As set out in paragraph 1 of its Report, the Group's mandate was to analyze the nature and causes of excessive accumulation and transfer of small arms and light weapons and to propose ways and means to solve the problem.

¹⁷ *Report of the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms, A/52/298, 27 August 1997, para. 49.*

control in conflict prevention, management and resolution, and provided evidence in favour of a "security first" strategy, which recognized that arms control measures could succeed only after security conditions had been improved.¹⁸

One of the recommendations of the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms calls for the United Nations to extend the proportional and integrated approach to security and development initiated with respect to Mali and other West African states to other regions suffering from the aftermath of conflict and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The Panel further recommends that the United Nations support, with the assistance of the donor community, all appropriate post-conflict initiatives related to disarmament and demobilization. The recommendations of the Panel also place considerable emphasis on the importance of the disarmament aspects of peacekeeping operations and include a suggestion to develop guidelines for both the negotiation and implementation phases of the disarmament part of a peace process.

The Importance of a Coordinated and Integrated Approach to DDRPs

DDRPs clearly involve arms control and disarmament considerations -- such as collecting and destroying arms, and verification -- that should be addressed by bodies with disarmament expertise. In addition, they involve humanitarian, economic and societal considerations that require attention from other international or regional fora, including donor countries and institutions, humanitarian and development agencies, and non-governmental organizations. The fact that other bodies may also be trying to deal with aspects of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is not a reason for disarmament fora to ignore the issue. Rather, it reinforces the need for a deliberative body like the UNDC to deal *effectively* with the issue, taking due account of the work of other UN bodies, such as the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 34), in order that findings can be shared, duplication of effort avoided and best practices identified and promoted.

The importance of taking a coordinated and integrated approach to overlapping and interrelated issues has been recognized in recent changes at the Secretariat level of the United Nations. New initiatives, including the establishment of the Senior Management Group and Executive Committees, the provisions for Task Forces on UN Operations, the Framework for Coordination, the principle of "One UN House" and the broad authority of Special Representatives heading UN peace support operations, are designed to facilitate a more coherent approach by the United Nations system to the diverse array of issues involved in peacebuilding and thus to help ensure the sustainability of such efforts in a post-conflict situation. Deliberative bodies like the Disarmament Commission must also find practical ways and means to address issues like disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in a

¹⁸ See Joseph P. Smaldone, "Mali's Proposed Small Arms Moratorium: A West African Regional Arms Control Initiative," Paper presented at the Policy Workshop on Controlling the Global Trade in Light Weapons: Policy Options for National Governments and the International Community, Washington, D.C., December 11-12, 1997.

comprehensive manner if they are to remain relevant to the practical challenges facing the United Nations.

In addition to efforts at the Secretariat level, Member States are also developing more informal mechanisms for the application of practical disarmament measures in specific circumstances. For example, the Group of Interested Member States established in accordance with resolution 52/38G (Consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures) met in early March 1998 and identified as its first objective the examination and support of concrete projects of practical disarmament.¹⁹ At the level of Main Committees and related bodies, in addition to work by the Committee of 34 noted above, the DPKO is working on the development of comprehensive guidelines and doctrine for the implementation of DDRPs. The UNDC can make an important contribution to this work by ensuring that the disarmament perspective is brought adequately to bear on all stages of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, from conceptualization to implementation, so that the overall results are complementary, synergistic and mutually reinforcing.

Disarmament in the Context of International Peace and Security

Historically, Member States have always recognized that disarmament is never an end in itself, but a means to international peace and security. The reference to disarmament in the UN Charter is clear on this point; the General Assembly is empowered to formulate "general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments." Similarly, in its 1990 consensus agreement on the *Review of the role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament*, the General Assembly observed that "[d]isarmament should be pursued in the context of strengthening international peace and security, in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations."²⁰ In this same document, Member States affirmed the importance of an integrated approach to peace and security:

"Disarmament, development, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, non-interference in internal affairs of

¹⁹ See the report of the Meeting of the Group of interested states established in accordance with GA Resolution 52/38G "Consolidation of Peace Through Practical Disarmament Measures", dated 18 March 1998, by Mrs. Swadesh Rana, Senior Political Affairs Officer, UN Department of Disarmament Affairs, circulated to the 56 attendees at the Meeting held at UN Headquarters, Conference Room 6 on March 3, 1998.

²⁰ A/45/42, para. 7 (1990). Note also UNDC agreement that "Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others." Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade (A/35/42, 3 December 1980, para. 18.)

States, respect for human rights, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter and the strengthening of international peace and security are related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere can have negative effects on the others."²¹

The ability for the United Nations to effectively take an integrated approach to international peace and security was stymied by the Cold War. After the Cold War, the Secretary-General's New Dimensions for Arms Resolution and Disarmament in the Post-Cold War Era proposed the practical integration of disarmament into the broader peace and security agenda.²² As evidence of its support for this proposition, the First Committee, in resolution 47/233 (1993) changed its name from the "Political and Security Committee" to the "Disarmament and International Security Committee" and, in consensus resolution 48/87 of 16 December 1993, expressed its consciousness of the need to improve the interrelationship between disarmament and arms regulation issues and their broader context.

Bringing this principle to bear on the work of the UNDC, if post-conflict peacebuilding efforts are to be effective, the disarmament dimension must be addressed in context, not in isolation and this is exactly what an integrated approach to DDRP's seeks to do.

DDRPs as Practical Examples of Disarmament and Development

One of the recommendations of the Canadian background paper of April 1997 is the need for an integrated approach to security and development by UN bodies. Again, this is something that has long been recognized by Member States in their historical approach to the relationship between disarmament and development at the United Nations. As noted in the Final Document of UNSSOD I and repeated in many resolutions thereafter,

"[t]he hundreds of billions of dollars spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons are in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live. This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material but also technical and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries.... Consequently, resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a

²¹ *Review of the role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament*, A/45/42, para. 6 (1990). Note also the *Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly* (First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament), A/S-10/2, para. 5 (1978), which states: "The Members of the United Nations are fully aware of the conviction of their peoples that the question of general and complete disarmament is of utmost importance and that peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible...."

²² A/C.1/47/7 (1992).

manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries."²³

DDRPs are a practical example of the relationship between disarmament and development operationalized in a post-cold war context. DDRPs involve the immediate release of resources -- particularly human resources -- to civilian needs and, if successfully implemented, help to promote the economic and social well-being of the countries at hand. Although they do not involve a straightforward transfer of monies from defence budgets to development assistance, they do involve often significant contributions from defence budgets for military peacekeepers and professional training of the military in democratization, particularly civilian oversight. In addition, development assistance is increasingly used for some DDRPs, most notably for the reintegration portion but increasingly now also for funding of the disarmament and demobilization aspects.²⁴ More broadly, the huge amounts of monies expended by the international community for peace operations in general and for the DDRP components in particular, coupled with the very sharp decrease in military transfers to many of those very same countries, clearly represent a change in focus from military expenditures to development expenditures by developed countries. Beyond this, successful DDRPs help to provide the security required for poverty alleviation and development. The UN Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms found that when the states in Central America were able to deal effectively with disarmament, demobilization and

²³ *Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament)*, A/S-10/2, para. 16 (1978). See also the *Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade (A/35/42)*, 3 December 1980, which observes: "Peace and development are indivisible. During the Second Disarmament Decade, utmost efforts should be made towards the implementation of the specific measures whereby disarmament will contribute effectively to economic and social development and thus facilitate the full and early realization of the new international economic order. To this end, renewed efforts should be made to reach agreement on the reduction of military expenditures and the reallocation of resources from military purposes to economic and social development especially for the benefit of developing countries." (para. 15) The *Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade (A/45/42)* again emphasizes, "In the conventional field, we must seek reductions in arms and armed forces in all areas of the world.... Resources freed through disarmament could be used for the benefit of a balanced world development." (para. 4) In the *Final Document of the 1987 Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development*, the international community agreed there existed a close and multidimensional relationship between disarmament and development. The *Final Document*, whose adoption was welcomed by consensus in General Assembly resolution 42/45, aimed at fostering an interrelated perspective on disarmament, development and security, promoting multilateralism and strengthening the central role of the UN.

²⁴ For example, during the first phase of the Mali peace process (August 1994), Canada used international development assistance funds (ODA) to help finance the disarmament and demobilization of the Tuareg rebels.

reintegration of ex-combatants, they were able to provide for further economic and social development.²⁵

Just as peacebuilding processes that have not take adequate account of the disarmament dimension have fallen well short of expectations, disarmament efforts that do not take into account the wider context of development and conflict prevention could result in technically proficient, but misguided, endeavours out of touch with important socio-political realities.²⁶ In Mali, aid commitments to the region were blocked because of local insecurity. In this case personal security concerns had to be addressed before either development or arms control could proceed.²⁷

Related to this is the point that DDRPs are important for the security not only of nations but of individuals. The post-Cold War focus on "human security" represents a logical widening of "security" to include not only "territorial" or "national" security, but also the security of individuals, and this latter understanding is much more in accord with the Charter's injunction to deal with disarmament within the context of international peace and security, as was noted in *An Agenda for Peace*. It was the "old," Cold War approach that was unduly narrow rather than the new, post-Cold War approach being unduly wide.

5. DDRP as a Regional Issue with Global Implications

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is a regional issue with global implications. As the April 1997 Canadian background paper noted, the proliferation of small

²⁵ "The States in Central America have a particular challenge in demobilizing and reintegrating a large number of former combatants into useful and productive roles in society, since much of the crime and armed violence is perpetrated by ex-combatants with the weapons they retained after the conflicts were concluded. As a result of post-conflict peace-building processes, the subregion is marked by demilitarization and the development of democratic Governments which are increasingly able to build the basic institutions that can provide security for citizens of the State and its further economic and social development." Report of the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms, A/52/298, 27 August 1997, para. 69. See also Appendix I of the report (joint appeal on small arms issued at the conclusion of the first regional workshop of the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms, held at Pretoria from 23-25 Sept. 1996), which notes the threats to new democracies posed by the challenge of reintegrating former military personnel into civil society.

²⁶ This is one of the premises of UNIDIR's current project on Disarmament, Development and Conflict Prevention in West Africa. UNIDIR posits that development concerns and priorities must be reflected from the very beginning of arms control efforts, thereby influencing strategic choices regarding the collection, disposal and destruction of arms, and taking into consideration the geographical and specific weapon problems in the region.

²⁷ See Joseph P. Smaldone, "Mali's Proposed Small Arms Moratorium: A West African Regional Arms Control Initiative," Paper presented at the Policy Workshop on Controlling the Global Trade in Light Weapons: Policy Options for National Governments and the International Community, Washington, D.C., December 11-12, 1997.

arms and light weapons has particularly important implications for the consolidation of peace processes at the regional level. Despite many similarities, each region is unique and care must be taken when attempting to establish global norms that will be widely applicable and acceptable. Regional approaches may well offer the most opportunity for progress in addressing the problem of light weapons proliferation. On the other hand, the cross-border aspect of arms transfers and the need of many affected states for multilateral assistance in building the capacity to effectively respond to the problem suggest the need for an overarching global approach to DDRPs. At minimum, the international community should identify steps it can take to enhance the prospects for success of regional and subregional efforts.

The First Committee and the UNDC have always emphasized the need:

- a) not to deal with regional approaches in isolation of the implications for international security; and
- b) to ensure that the specific conditions and characteristics of the region and the wishes of the regional Member States are taken into account.

The UNDC's 1993 consensus *Guidelines and recommendations for regional approaches to disarmament within the context of global security* observe:

"Regional and global approaches to disarmament and arms limitation complement each other and both should be pursued simultaneously in order to promote regional and international peace and security," and

"[r]egional approaches and arrangements should seek to address all aspects of disarmament and arms limitation considered to be necessary by all of the participating States in the region and relevant to the specific security situation of the region concerned, and should use step-by-step approaches whenever appropriate."²⁸

The last point is of particular relevance to DDRP since most of the countries suffering from problems related to inadequate post-conflict disarmament, demobilization and reintegration have expressed a desire for the UNDC to deal with the issue. For states in these regions, DDRPs involve life and death issues and are clearly a priority to be addressed. Just as it is well-recognized in respect of both nuclear and conventional weapons that not every state is obligated to proceed at the same pace but rather that those with the largest

²⁸ A/48/42, paras. 1 and 24 (1993). Note also the UNDC consensus text on *Issues related to conventional disarmament* (A/45/42, 1990): "Taking into consideration the progress accomplished in the field of conventional disarmament, the important role of efforts at disarmament on a regional scale must be recognized. The regional approach to disarmament is one of the essential elements in global efforts. Regional disarmament measures should be taken at the initiative and with the participation of States concerned and must take into account the specific characteristics of each region." (para. 11).

most affected by post-conflict DDRP problems have the greater say in how best to address them.²⁹

6. The Role of the Disarmament Commission and Other Relevant Bodies

The UNDC is a specialized deliberative body within the United Nations multilateral disarmament machinery, mandated to consider and make concrete recommendations on various disarmament-related issues and to follow up the relevant decisions and recommendations of the special sessions devoted to disarmament held so far.³⁰ The UNDC takes its direction from, and reports to, the First Committee of the General Assembly, the resolutions of which have clearly indicated the need to deal with disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.³¹

Since 1978, the Disarmament Commission has dealt with numerous disarmament-related questions, both nuclear and conventional, and has submitted consensus guidelines, principles or recommendations on various subject items.³² A number of these are of direct relevance to the consideration of DDRPs and offer examples of how the UNDC has addressed the interrelationship of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, how it has viewed the appropriateness of addressing DDRP-related issues, and the method by which it has approached such issues in the past. They are summarized in Annex A.

As noted earlier, UNIDIR, which is mandated to carry out forward-looking and long-term research on disarmament, has been looking in depth at the issue of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration since 1994. The First Committee addressed the issue in its deliberations in 1996 and 1997. The Conference on Disarmament has not considered

²⁹ See, for example, the UNDC consensus document on *Issues related to conventional disarmament* (A/45/42, 1990): "Whereas States with the largest military arsenals have a special responsibility in pursuing the process of conventional disarmament, it is incumbent upon all States, while taking into account the need to protect their security and maintain necessary defensive capabilities, to intensify their efforts and take, either on their own or by agreement, appropriate steps in the field of conventional disarmament that would enhance peace and security in their regions as well as globally and contribute to overall progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament." (para. 6).

³⁰ The Mandate of the UNDC is contained in the *Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly*, A/S-10/2, para. 118(a) (1978). This mandate was confirmed in the *Review of the role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament* (A/45/42, para. 10c, 1990) and reaffirmed in resolution 48/77A of 16 December 1993.

³¹ See, for example, resolution 51/45N (1996) and resolution 52/38G (1997).

³² The texts of all "Principles, Guidelines or Recommendations on Subject Items that Have Been Unanimously Adopted by the Disarmament Commission Since its Inception Since 1978" are included in the *Review of the Implementation of the Recommendations and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly at its Tenth Special Session: Report of the Disarmament Commission*, A/51/182, 1 July 1996.

deliberations in 1996 and 1997. The Conference on Disarmament has not considered DDRPs, but this is not surprising given its role as the sole multilateral negotiating body and the inappropriateness of seeking to negotiate generic DDRPs. It is therefore falls primarily to the deliberative bodies to develop the general principles upon which negotiators can draw in the context of specific negotiations. The UNDC, a deliberative body including all Member States and with a three-year work programme on a limited number of agenda items, would therefore appear to be the logical place to develop general guidelines, principles and recommendations for DDRPs, while not ignoring that other multilateral fora are simultaneously looking at the issue from other, non-disarmament perspectives. In so doing, the UNDC can also build upon the guidelines, principles and recommendations it has already developed on related issues.

7. Conclusion

The experience of the United Nations and Member States presents an overwhelming case for an integrated and coordinated approach to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the design and implementation of disarmament measures within a peacebuilding process. Experience shows that a successful DDRP is fundamental to the longer-term stability of the country or region in question. Where provisions for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants are explicitly spelled out in peace and disarmament agreements, and where the parties' commitment to the peace process is matched by funding support from the international community, the agreements are much more likely to succeed.

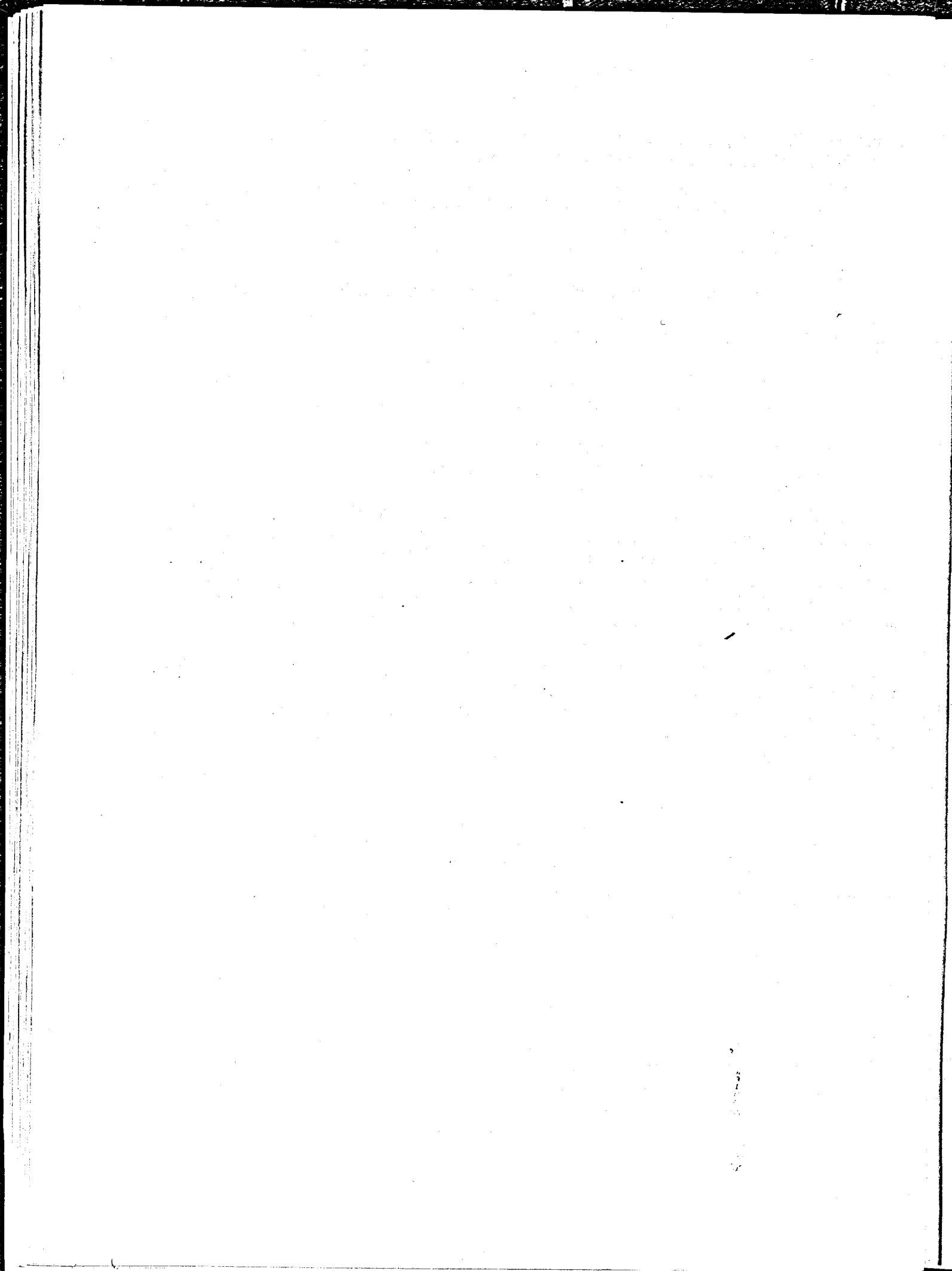
Because disarmament, demobilization and reintegration have to be seen in the wider political and socio-economic framework of conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding, there is need for a coherent and comprehensive approach to DDRPs, in which the experience and expertise of many international, regional and local actors are brought to bear. There must be adequate coordination in areas of legitimate overlap, in order that findings can be shared, duplication of effort avoided and best practices identified and promoted. Full consideration of the wider context does not mean that DDRPs lose their disarmament dimension but, rather, that disarmament expertise is appropriately applied so that the considerable potential benefits of a well-designed DDRP are not lost. The UNDC can make an important contribution to this work by ensuring that the disarmament perspective is brought adequately to bear on all stages of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, from conceptualization to implementation, so that the overall results are complementary, synergistic and mutually reinforcing. An integrated approach to DDRP's is thus not only necessary to minimize duplication of effort; it is necessary because the complexity and interrelated nature of the problems being addressed require such sophisticated and comprehensive solutions.

An integrated and coordinated approach to DDRPs is consistent with the post-Cold War trend in United Nations consideration of peace and security issues and with recent organizational changes at senior UN levels. It also carries forward the traditional arms

control and disarmament agenda pursued by the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission. These bodies have historically recognized:

- a) that disarmament is not an end in itself, but rather a means to international peace and security;
- b) that the multilateral disarmament agenda necessarily includes both nuclear and conventional issues, to facilitate progress where possible and necessary;
- c) that disarmament entails demobilization;
- d) that disarmament has important socio-economic implications which must, to the extent possible, be concurrently addressed; and
- e) that -- in the case of regional issues with global implications -- the wishes of the regional Member States should have due priority.

The need for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in post-conflict situations is one of the most pressing issues facing the United Nations and Member States today and one on which UNDC action can have immediate and direct practical effect. It is appropriate and timely for this unique deliberative body to turn its attention to developing general guidelines, principles and recommendations for DDRPs, in coordination and consultation with other relevant fora. The UNDC has already addressed related issues and has a wealth of material and the experience of Member States on which to draw. It is well-placed to ensure that disarmament expertise is appropriately brought to bear in a multidisciplinary and holistic approach to the complex issue of designing and implementing effective and sustainable disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.



ANNEX A

A Compilation of Selected Consensus Guidelines, Principles and Recommendations Produced by the UNDC Relevant to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

- In the *Elements of a comprehensive program of disarmament*, the UNDC agreed that such a program should encompass: “[a]greements and measures...on the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces,” “confidence-building measures, taking into account the characteristics of each region,” and “measures aimed at preventing the use of force in international relations, subject to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.” The UNDC also noted that given the close relationship between disarmament and development, the comprehensive programme of disarmament should include “measures aimed at ensuring that disarmament makes an effective contribution to economic and social development.”³³
- In the *Guidelines for the Study on Conventional Disarmament*, the UNDC noted that: “[t]ogether with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament,” and that the study “should analyse the global dimension of the arms race in the conventional field and take due account of its regional aspects.”³⁴
- In the *Guidelines for appropriate types of confidence-building measures and for the implementation of such measures on a global or regional level*,³⁵ the UNDC observed that although the guidelines were drafted with recent experiences in mind, they also purported “to provide further support to these and other endeavours on the regional and global level” and did not exclude “the simultaneous application of other security-enhancing measures.” The guidelines clearly recognized the difficulty of disaggregating disarmament from other related factors.³⁶ In addition, in outlining the

³³ A/34/42, 1979.

³⁴ A/S-12/3, 12th Special Session, 1982.

³⁵ A/S-15/3, (1988).

³⁶ “In many regions of the world economic and other phenomena touch upon the security of a country with such immediacy that they cannot be disassociated from defence and military matters. Concrete measures of a non-military nature that are directly relevant to the national security and survival of States are therefore fully within the focus of the guidelines. In such cases military and non-military measures are complementary and reinforce each other’s confidence-building value.” A/S-15/3, para. 1.3.2.4 (1988).

characteristics of CBMs, the UNDC was clearly providing global guidelines for regional situations.³⁷

- In *Issues related to conventional disarmament*, the UNDC has already put forward general guidelines on conventional disarmament and demobilization, to wit: "The limitation and reduction of conventional arms and armed forces could relate to weapons and manpower, and include their deployment. The objective of conventional disarmament measures should be undiminished or increased security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces. Weapons and equipment which are the subject of conventional forces reductions agreements should not be transferred, directly or indirectly, to States not party to the agreement in question. The principal method of dealing with such reductions should be destruction."³⁸
- The need for both global and regional approaches, evidenced in the UNDC's *Guidelines and recommendations for regional approaches to disarmament within the context of global security*³⁹ has been discussed earlier. This document also includes a number of recommendations of direct relevance to DDRP. In particular:

"Regional approaches to disarmament and arms limitation should take into account the necessity to address broader, non-military factors which may affect security."

"Regional approaches to disarmament and arms limitation should take into account the need to give due priority to eradicating the illicit trade in all kinds of weapons and military equipment, a most disturbing and dangerous phenomenon often associated with terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime, mercenary and other destabilizing activities."

"Bearing in mind the need to maintain and develop an integrated approach to international peace and security, regional arrangements aimed at building security and confidence need not be confined to the military field, but could,

³⁷ "A detailed universal model being obviously impractical, confidence-building measures must be tailored to specific situations. The effectiveness of a concrete measure will increase the more it is adjusted to the specific perceptions of threat or the confidence requirements of a given situation or a particular region." (A/S-15/3, para. 2.3.6) and "Confidence-building measures should be implemented on the global as well as on regional levels. Regional and global approaches are not contradictory but rather complementary and interrelated. In view of the interaction between global and regional events, progress on one level contributes to advancement on the other level; however, one is not a pre-condition for the other." (A/S-15/3, para. 2.4.7, 1988.)

³⁸ A/45/42, para. 7 (1990).

³⁹ A/48/42, annex II (1993).

as appropriate, also extend to the political, economic, social, environmental and cultural fields.”

“Regional disarmament and arms limitation agreements should aim to reduce armaments and military forces to the lowest possible level on the basis of undiminished security of States. Forces thus reduced should be demobilized and weapons, equipment and facilities above permitted levels within a region should be disposed of by means of destruction or, where appropriate, conversion.”

- The *Guidelines for international arms transfers in the context of General Assembly resolution 46/36H of 6 December 1991* are note the need to go beyond the narrow confines of "traditional" disarmament if the problem of illicit transfers is to be effectively dealt with:

“The problem of the illicit traffic in arms has a social and humanitarian component in addition to its technical, economic and political dimensions. The human suffering that is caused, inter alia, by the devastating consequences of war, destabilizing violence and conflicts, terrorism, mercenary activities, subversion, drug trafficking, common and organized crime and other criminal actions cannot be ignored. The negative effects of illicit arms trafficking can often be disproportionately large, particularly for the internal security and socio-economic development of affected States....”⁴⁰

⁴⁰ A/51/42, annex I, para. 3 (1996).

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