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REMARKS BY

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MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON
THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE

2ND DECEMBER 2004
UNITED NATIONS
APEADU CONFERENCE HALL
DAR ES SALAAM

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DAR ES SALAAM, 2ND DECEMBER 2004, 11.00 HOURS

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to join the UN Resident Coordinator Mr. John Hendra in welcoming you to this Press Conference. I am delighted that it has been possible for all of you to be here.

As has been explained, the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change established by The United Nations Secretary General in November last year has now completed its work and submitted its report to the Secretary General. As a person who was privileged to be a member of that distinguished Panel of 16, I would like to share with you some of the highlights of the report and of my reflection on this report.

In a letter dated 4th November addressed to me and separately to the other members of the Panel, The Secretary General Mr. Kofi Annan *interalia* stated and here I quote:

> *"As you know, the events of the past year have shaken the foundations of collective security and undermined faith in the possibility of multilateral solutions. The Panel should bear in mind the need to demonstrate that a collective response is not only preferable as a matter of principle, but is more effective and efficient in practice than its alternatives. To that end, I will be asking you to look closely at the divergent perception of threats and solutions, at the problems that make some states feel uniquely vulnerable, at concerns about preventive war and its lawless and unilateral proliferation, and at the areas of common ground amongst the Membership. Only on this basis can we identify the necessary steps to make our collective institutions more effective."*

Terms of Reference

The Panel, which has been chaired by the former Prime Minister of Thailand Mr. Anand Panyarachun and included eminent personalities from across the globe who between them combine political and diplomatic experience as well as knowledge of the United Nations. (Many of the Panel Members have served

at one time as accredited Representatives to the United Nation or had top posts within the UN system).

We were tasked to recommend clear and practical measures for ensuring effective collective action, based upon a rigorous analysis of future threats to peace and security. We were also to provide a new assessment of the challenges ahead and to recommend changes which would be required if these challenges were to be met effectively through collective action.

Broadly, the Panel was expected to:

> Examine today's global threats and provide an analysis of future challenges to international peace and security. Whilst there may continue to exist a diversity of perception on relative importance of the various threats facing particular member States on an individual basis, it was important to find an appropriate balance at a global level. It was also important to understand the connections between different threats.

> Identify clearly the contribution that collective action can make in addressing these challenges.

> Recommend the changes necessary to ensure effective collective action, including, but not limited to a review of the principal organs of the UN.

As Panel Members we were tasked to consider how the UN could respond to Threats and be better equipped to deal with such threats collectively in the 21st Century.

The Panel's work was confined to the field of Peace and Security broadly interpreted. This meant that we should extend our analysis and recommendations to other issues and institutions including economic and social to the extent that they have a direct bearing of future threats to peace and security.

Methods of Work

The Panel had 6 substantive meetings. These were held in Princeton, New Jersey, USA; Mont Pelerin, Switzerland; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Baden, Austria; TarryTown, New York, USA and the last in New York City, USA. In addition, there were regional consultations and institutional workshops in different parts of the world in which some of the Panel Members attended and whose outcome enriched the work of the Panel. For example, I attended the regional consultations held in Warsaw, Poland; Hangzhou, China and New Delhi, India. The Panel also received individual presentations from experts, academics,

institutions and foundations. Before and after the 5th meeting in New York in September this year, we had the opportunity to meet with a significant number of Foreign Ministers who appeared before the Panel.

Main Messages of the Panel

In our deliberations, the Panel recognized and underscored the fact that the world has changed and is dynamic. Not only has the membership of the United Nations grown from 51 when it was founded in 1945 to today's 193 but also we are faced with evolving threats that were not anticipated at the time of the UN's creation.

In considering the issue of threats we agreed from the very beginning that these threats – old and new, the so called "hard" and "soft" threats should be viewed in their totality. Whether it is international terrorism, or the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction or Poverty and Civil War, they all constitute threats and – there should be no hierarchical approach. The Panel's message is that in today's world, **a threat to one is a threat to all, and therefore nations must work together to maintain security**.

The Panel acknowledges that while the United Nations and the collective Security institutions have shown that they can be effective, there is great need for the United Nations to be modernized so that it is able to respond more effectively to the full range of threats that confront the world.

The Panel has identified six clusters of threat which the world must be concerned now and in the years and decades ahead:

> ➢ War between states;

> ➢ Violence within states, including civil wars, large-scale human rights abuses and genocide;

> ➢ Poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation;

> ➢ Nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological weapons;

> ➢ Terrorism; and

> ➢ Transnational organized crime.

Although not all states face these threats equally, a collective security system must take all member states' threats seriously, and deal with them equitably.

The UN has not always been equitable in its response to threats – this is shown by the different speed with which the UN responds with peacekeepers to civil wars in Africa, versus in Europe and the appallingly slow response to AIDS.

This inequity in response undermines confidence in the legitimacy of the UN and must be redressed.

Policies for prevention

The report contains many proposals to prevent conflict and other global threats, with **development as the first line of response**. Development, the report says, "*serves multiple functions. It helps to combat poverty, disease and environmental degradation that kill millions and threaten human security. It is vital in helping states prevent or reverse erosion of State capacity, key to meeting almost every class of threat*". Development, according to the report, is part of a long-term strategy for preventing civil war, and for addressing the environments in which both terrorism and organized crime flourish. **Development has to be the first line of response for a collective security that takes prevention seriously.**

The Panel notes that preventing wars within states and between them is in the collective interest of everyone. Therefore, the United Nations needs to improve its capacity for preventive diplomacy and mediation. Governments need to be protected from unconstitutional overthrow and minorities need protection. There is also need for collective efforts to find ways to regulate the management of natural resources which often fuel conflicts.

Preventing the spread and use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons is also essential to ensure a secure world. The report gives detailed proposals for strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime, as well as additional steps to prevent the spread of biological and chemical weapons.

The Report has emphasized that:

➤ **Terrorism is a threat to all states, and to the UN as a whole.**

➤ New aspects of the threat – including the rise of a global terrorist network, and the potential for terrorist use of nuclear or biological weapons – need new responses.

> The UN has not done all that it can. The report urges the United Nations to forge a strategy of counter terrorism respectful of human rights and the rule of law.

> The report gives a clear definition of terrorism, arguing that it can never be justified, and calls on the General Assembly of the UN to overcome its divisions and finally conclude a comprehensive convention on terrorism.

The Panel argues that the spread of transnational organized crime increases the risk of all the other threats. There is movement of money, men and materials around the globe by terrorist groups. There is corruption and no rule of law. Therefore, combating organized crime is essential for helping states build capacity to exercise their sovereign responsibilities.

Response to threats

The report acknowledges that sometimes **prevention fails and therefore at times, threats will have to be met by military means.** It notes that **the UN Charter provides a clear framework for the use of force and states have an inherent right to self-defence, enshrined in Article 51.** Long–established customary international law makes it clear that states can take military action as long as the threatened attack is imminent, no other means would deflect it, and the action is proportionate.

The Security Council, it says, has the authority to act preventively, but rarely does so. Thus, there is the need for **the Security Council to be more proactive in the future and take decisive action earlier.**

States that fear the emergence of distant threats have an obligation to bring these concerns to the Security Council.

Responsibility to Protect

The report endorses the idea of a collective responsibility to protect civilians from genocide, ethnic cleansing and other comparable atrocities. The report stresses that when a state fails to protect its civilians, the international community then has a further responsibility to act, through humanitarian operations, monitoring missions, and diplomatic pressure - and with force if necessary, and always as a last resort.

Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement

The report also addresses issues that arise during and after violent conflict including the capacities needed for peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peace

building and the protection of civilians. It argues that the global supply of available peacekeepers is dangerously low and calls on countries to be more prepared to provide and support military deployments. The report says that developed states should do more to have suitable contingents ready for peace operations, and provide financial and logistical resources when and where they are needed.

Peace Building

When wars have ended, post-conflict peace building is vital.

> ➢ The UN has often devoted too little attention and too few resources to this critical challenge.

> ➢ Successful peace building requires the deployment of peacekeepers with the right mandates and sufficient capacity to deter would-be spoilers.

> ➢ It also requires funds for demobilization and disarmament, built into peacekeeping budgets, and a new trust fund to fill critical gaps in early reconstruction.

> ➢ It also requires a focus on building state institutions and capacity, especially in the rule of law sector.

> ➢ **Doing this job successfully should be a core function of the United Nations.**

To meet the challenges of Post-conflict peace building, we have recommended the setting up of a new Institution – **The Peace Building Commission**. This is a new mechanism within the UN, drawing on the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, donors, and national authorities.

> ➢ It would work closely with regional organizations and the international financial institutions.

> ➢ It would fill a crucial gap by providing the necessary attention to countries emerging from conflict.

UN Reform

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I stated at the very beginning of my remarks, the mandate given to us by Secretary General Kofi Annan was to examine leading global threats and provide an analysis of future challenges to international peace and security. It was also to identify clearly the contribution that collective action can make in addressing these challenges. We were to consider instruments and policies and recommend effective action. Such action included a review where necessary of the principal organs of the United Nations.

The Panel recognizes that the UN has been much more effective in addressing the major threats to peace and security than it is given credit for, but nonetheless major changes are needed if it is to be effective, efficient and equitable in providing collective security for all in the 21st century. To meet the challenges, the UN needs existing institutions to work better.

The report also recommends **changes in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations' relationship with regional organizations.**

It also proposes strengthening the Secretary-General's critical role in peace and security. It argues that for the Secretary-General to be more effective, he should be given substantially more latitude to manage the Secretariat and be held accountable. He also needs better support for his mediation role and new capacities to develop effective peace building strategies. The Panel recommends another Deputy Secretary-General responsible for peace and security, prepare early warning reports and strategy options for decision by the Secretary-General - thus complementing the achievements of the present Deputy in "*bringing far greater coherence to the work of the UN in the social, economic and development fields.*"

Let me touch on the reform which seems to have generated considerable interest. This is the issue of the Security Council.

The Panel was of the strong view that increasing the effectiveness and credibility of the Security Council was vital if the UN is able to deal more effectively with the challenges of peace and security. It was in this context our view that such effectiveness and credibility would be enhanced if the Security Council better reflected today's realities both in terms of its membership and its conduct of business.

We have recommended a set of principles for the reform of the Security Council and have called for its expansion from its present membership of 15 to 24.

We have provided two options on how to achieve them – one involving new permanent members and the other involving new long term, renewable seats. **But in neither option are any new Vetos created.**

Furthermore, the Panel has argued that any reforms must be reviewed in 2020.

Relationship with Regional Organizations

At the same time, the Panel has urged for better cooperation and collaboration between the UN and the Regional organizations. The Report sets out a series of principles that govern a more structured partnership with the UN. In this respect, I should like to point out that the Panel had a very useful and constructive meeting with the Chairperson and members of the Commission of the African Union in Addis Ababa in April this year. It also met with the African civil society drawn from all parts of the continent.

At these meetings a number of issues were clarified in terms of how best the UN and the AU can work together in efforts to end conflict and promote peace and security in the continent. In this respect, I wish to draw your particular attention to the recommendation 272 (c) to (f) of the Report which if implemented will assist the African continent and sub regional organizations. These recommendations read:

(c) In the case of African regional and sub-regional capacities, donor countries should commit a 10-year process of sustained capacity-building support, within the African Union strategic framework;

(d) Regional organizations that have a capacity for conflict prevention or peacekeeping should place such capacities in the framework of the United Nations Standby Arrangements System;

(e) Member States should agree to allow the United Nations to provide equipment support from the United Nations-owned resources to regional operations, as needed;

(f) The rules for the United Nations peacekeeping budget should be amended to give the United Nations the option on a case-by-case basis to finance regional operations authorized by the Security Council with assessed contributions.

Conclusion

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The report is not an end in itself but rather a beginning of a process. Member states have to decide whether they want an effective UN and the 2005 will be a crucial opportunity for Member States to discuss and build on the recommendations in the report, some of which will be considered by a summit of heads of state when they meet in New York during the 60th Anniversary Session of the United Nations.

Building a more secure world takes much more than a report or a summit. It will take resources commensurate with the scale of the challenges ahead: commitments that are long-term and sustained; and most of all it will take leadership- from within states and between them.