



**LES NATIONS UNIES, L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE  
ET L'UNION EUROPÉENNE  
"HARD SECURITY" ET "SOFT SECURITY"  
DANS UN MONDE GLOBALISÉ**

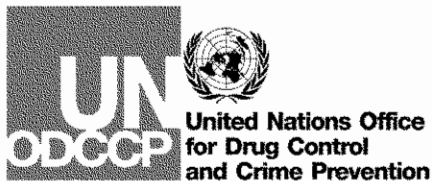
*25 - 26 OCTOBRE 1999*

*BRUXELLES*

**Highlights of policies discussed at the 54<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly  
in the field of interest for the colloquium**

by

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The world communities, the Parliaments and the governments feel more insecurity in the globalised world emerging at the end of this century.

In time of crisis the first response is to talk more to each other in search of possible solutions. In this framework a consultation like the one proposed and organised by IEPRI is most welcome and should be supported. In the same vein this year - more than ever before - Heads of State and Governments convened at the 54<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly to share their analysis on the areas of global governance which cause concern to their peoples. This year, 180 Member States addressed the Assembly: 36 Heads of State or Governments participated in the debate, 10 more than last year and 18 more than in 1997.

### **1. Main Trends and Issues of concern.**

The most topical issue of this year's General Debate was **humanitarian intervention** and its political and legal ramifications. The debate showed that the UN Member countries are increasingly preoccupied with **globalisation** and its political, economic and social effects. Many countries focused on the negative impact of globalisation on their economic and social development and stressed the need to ensure that the benefits of globalisation - markets, resources, technology and ideas - are distributed equitably.

Emphasis was given to the need for the UN to take a comprehensive approach to peace, security, democracy and development. There were also calls for the strengthening of regional conflict prevention and peacekeeping capacities and for greater interaction between the UN and regional organisations in these fields. Other colleagues from the UN programmes will discuss later in this colloquium the humanitarian challenge.

While the interconnection between **development, peace and security** was stressed particular reference was made to the **transnational linkages** between **terrorism, drug trafficking and organised crime** and the challenge they posed to the authority of States. For example, the government of Bahamas - a member of the small Islands Developing States group as well as of the ACP group that is very active in international affairs - stated that "drug trafficking into and through Bahamas is a major threat to our socio-economic development". The government of Suriname went further and stated that " traffic of illegal drugs has become a serious threat to the national security of many nations".

Similar concerns were also expressed at the related problem of **illicit small arms trafficking** in fuelling and financing protracted conflicts in unstable regions. This was probably the most mentioned issue in the area of interest of this colloquium. Norway in particular pointed out that "the proliferation of small arms and the use of child soldiers pose a threat to human security."

There was an emphasis on the need for "**global solutions to global problems**" and for strengthening the capacity of multilateral systems to address the multifaceted political, economic, social and cultural challenges posed by globalisation.

In this context, many speakers underscored that the UN was uniquely suited to develop a required framework of rules and standards in the view of solving global problems through **global governance**. Nonetheless, most agreed that the functioning of all multilateral institutions had to be reviewed to better reflect the new global realities as well as the need for a democratisation of international governance. Such a situation was well depicted by French Prime Minister Jospin in his paragraph "Plus le monde se globalise, plus il a besoin de règles"; he specified that after 50 years of specialised institutions, it is now time to open **the collaboration to complementarity**.

In this context, I would like to quote a very forceful statement by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his speech at the General Assembly this year. It was a call to prevention as an alternative to "sometime" impossible cures: "[...] Any armed intervention is itself a result of the failure of prevention. As we consider the future of intervention, we must redouble our efforts to enhance our preventive capabilities - including early warning, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment and preventive disarmament". (end of quote)

The majority of the Member States made specific reference to some fundamental issues at the core of the colloquium:

1. **Globalisation and its effects on citizens' freedom and security;**
2. **The threats from "uncivil society" and their implications on national sovereignty;**
3. **The need to address the new threats in the light of the concept of comprehensive human security.**

I will address them in turn in order to highlight their interconnection. Given the informal character of this colloquium and my selection of issues, it cannot be said that the following are in any way UN thinking or UN policies. Rather, they are reflections that some UN Member Countries and some UN top executives have recently expressed in their speeches and reports.

### **1. Globalisation and its effects on citizens' freedom and security**

The globalisation of economic activity is affecting every country's economic prospects. New technology is disseminating knowledge and information and opening up potential economic opportunity to many people throughout the world. However, the same globalising processes that enable us to communicate transnationally are also exploited by criminal networks, drug traffickers and money launderers. This is what was defined by the UN University as "**the dark side of globalisation**".<sup>1</sup>

Many governments are deeply concerned by such emerging threats to peace, development and citizens' freedom and security. For example, in some parts of the world global demand for particular commodities - such as timber, diamonds and drugs, has provided the funds that have allowed warring

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<sup>1</sup> "Work in Progress", The United Nations University, vol.15, n.3, summer 1999, pg.8

factions to sustain fighting over many years.<sup>2</sup> The government of the UK was one of those particularly concerned with this problem and its evil connections. Foreign Secretary Robin Cook stated at the General Assembly that "we must stop the illegal trade in diamonds and other precious commodities which pay for the small arms and all too often the mercenaries, which sustain conflicts. Many of the markets for those commodities, especially in diamonds are small and tightly located in a few centres. We must encourage co-operation with those who manage these markets to cut off the supply of funds to those who are promoting conflict".

The same Internet that has facilitated the spread of human rights and good governance norms has also been a conduit for propagating intolerance and has diffused information necessary for building weapons of terror. Also fraud and crimes through cyber-technology are now booming around the world.

Globalisation has brought many benefits but it has also been associated with the **unrelenting growth of cross-border illegal activities, which have created a nether-world economy, running into hundreds of billions of dollars, which threatens the institutions of the State and civil society in many countries.** Production, trafficking and abuse of illicit drugs and the spread of transnational organised crime are among the main challenges posed by "uncivil society".

## **2. The threats from "uncivil society" and their implications on national sovereignty**

Nowadays, no society can claim to be immune from outside influence. Threats travel more easily across borders. It is no secret that transnational organised criminal groups have proliferated very quickly in the past decade. They are taking advantage of weakening state control and the dismantling of barriers to trade, commerce and the movement of persons. These new syndicates are different from traditional criminal gangs. They exploit the opportunities that world economic liberalisation and globalisation puts in front of them. And they are very violent. For ex.: Russia's Department for Prevention of Organised Crime reports a 750% increase in criminal offences in the past seven years and more than 200 contract murders in 1998.

The end of the Cold War and the North-South divide has changed the spectrum.

Such a fundamental shift was stressed in the speech of Benita Ferrero Waldner, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Austria.

**There is no longer debate at the international level about whether organised crime poses a world-wide threat to economic growth and political stability. In the past year the international community has recognised that global crime constitutes one of the gravest threats to prosperity in the next century.**

Let me mention some basic data and indicators:

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<sup>2</sup> "Preventing War and Disaster", 1999 Annual Report on the Work of the Organisation, UN Department of Public Information, pg. 89.

- **Illicit drug trade:** it is estimated that global illicit drug trade supplies around 200 million customers and it is worth \$ 400 billion or 8% of the world trade. We have collected thousands of definitions of this scourge. This is how Colombia has defined the drug problem at the UN General Assembly : "[...] immoral trafficking that destroys lives, feeds violence, promotes corruption and destroys our ecosystems, must be fought by all Nations with all available means... To defeat it demands a real alliance between the countries consuming and producing illegal drugs, under the principle of joint responsibility, reciprocity and fairness."
- **Money Laundering:** money laundering, bank secrecy and off-shores allow for the advent of a new economic power which manages ca. \$ 500 billion, equivalent to ca. 2% to 3% of the world's Gross National Product. This new economic illegal power is ranked 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> in the hierarchy of the greatest world powers, while the illicit market which it manages represents the 4/5 of what we could define as the "Gross Criminal Product".
- **Human beings in slavery-like conditions:** UN Under Secretary General Pino Arlacchi - in his speech of two days ago at the Verona's International Conference on "New Frontiers of Crime: Trafficking in Human Beings and New Forms of Slavery" - pointed out that recent estimates talk about 27 million people living under conditions of slavery or slavery-like conditions. This is nearly half of the population of Italy. A very dark forecast of citizens security is defined when one observes that from the antique slave trade, modern "uncivil society" has now developed slaves for rent, for lease, for sexual exploitation, even available on-line to be charged to credit cards.
- **Trafficking in women:** it is estimated that 500.000 women are trafficked yearly to Western Europe alone. This business is worth around \$ 5 - 7 billions a year.
- **Fraud:** It is estimated that fraud in the European Union costs such each tax payer 10 UK sterling per year. In the US, banks lost \$ 53 million as a result of bank robberies in 1993, while bank fraud losses were an unbelievable \$815 million. In the UK, 70% of top companies have been victims of fraud - 60% of it carried out by the companies' own management.
- **Corruption:** according to the World Bank, widespread corruption can cause the growth rate of a country to be 1/2 to 1% lower than that of a similar country without corruption. And equally significant widespread corruption slows investment.
- **Organised Crime:** at the heart of the above figures is the growing power of organised crime syndicates, estimated to gross \$ 1.5 trillion a year - a major economic power rivalling the multinational corporations.

No country can cope successfully on its own with the growth of international crime. The combination of corruption, organised crime and money laundering - what is called "crony" capitalism - can destabilise political, economic and social systems. In the last year, this issue has rocketed to the top of national and international agendas.

Transnational organised crime, drug trafficking and international terrorism are the real major challenges to European and international security.

Although referred to as "new risks" or "non-traditional risks", they are not new *per se*:

**the element of novelty lies in the considerations that they should be accorded, because their importance and impact are growing at an unprecedented speed.**

It is important to understand that given the modern means of communication and the greater openness of frontiers in Europe, organised crime is not only a national problem but has international ramifications with the potential to provoke both internal instability and to affect relations between countries.

These new risks affect all countries, calling into question the authority of the state itself. Complex modern societies, in fact, are increasingly unable by themselves to control key aspects of their sovereignty, while on the other hand supranational actors now have the resources that were once the preserve of nation-states alone.

More and more scholars suggest that in Europe the nation-state is progressively experiencing a process of dual erosion, both downwards at the local level and upwards at the international level, thus becoming more sensitive - and certainly more vulnerable - to the new security risks.

National security, understood as a function of military capability, meant that in the past the complementary definitions of security - such as referring to economic and social prosperity, human well-being and soft security of citizens at home and in the streets - were perceived as secondary and marginal. Today, however, the news tell us that when thousands of citizens can be deprived of their lifetimes savings by a financial scam, when thousands can lose their house and their fridge with their food in a matter of few hours for a civil strife or an ethnic crisis, it is hard to think that a military tank could easily re-establish law and order.

"Soft" security issues - related to more indirect threats to the well-being of a State's citizen - are emerging as more complex concerns about what must be tackled by the concept of modern comprehensive citizens' security.

**Since security is a politically defined and *not* intrinsically a self-contained concept**, when political priorities change, the nature and the means of security should follow and adapt to the changed circumstances.

This brings us to the new concept of comprehensive "human security".

### **3. The need to address comprehensive human security**

"Human security" has gained a place next to other security concepts such as "global security", "international security", "common security" and "citizens' security". These all try to supplement the traditional concept of "national security" which was based on the idea of protecting territorial integrity and political sovereignty.

#### **What role could and should international organisations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century assume towards human security?**

This precise question is at the core of the current UN General Assembly debate in New York. The Secretary General opened this year's session by stating that "State sovereignty, in its most basic sense, is being redefined by the forces of globalisation and international co-operation." [...] As the world has changed in profound ways since the end of the Cold War, our conceptions of national interest have failed to follow suit. [...] **A global era requires "global engagement"**<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, in a growing number of challenges facing humanity, the collective interest is the national interest." (end of quote).

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<sup>3</sup>"Global engagement" is a new way to define some form of global responsibility

**When we think at citizens freedom and security, there should be no contradiction between a local, national and an international approach.**

None of these distinctions are relevant or justifiable if they do not contribute to improve citizens security every day in every way.

Human security is a complex and variegated concept. Some of its fundamental aspects relevant for this colloquium are the threats deriving from the "uncivil society". In such a context, what any citizen feels about his own security has to do with the quality and effectiveness of community, State and international response to **the personal physical insecurity of the individual caused by criminal acts. It also has to do with the deterioration of the quality of health because of the impact of illicit drugs.**

Why is this aspect important? Because when people do not enjoy physical security on the streets due to the impact of drugs, organised crime and terrorist violence, they cannot develop their human potential. UN/ODCCP also uses the concept of "public security" to express the concern for safety of citizens from crime in their public life.

For most countries today, and for the individual human beings who live in them, the primary security concerns are internal. The main worry of many people is no longer national security and the defence of borders and territory. Rather, they are concerned with how those responsible are defending the public space in their own countries against criminals; terrorists, street gangs, drug dealers, arms smugglers, kidnapers, hostage-takers, armed robbers and others endangering the wellbeing of all citizens.

If the law cannot be fully enforced, our inner defences crumble. If a State cannot provide protection to its people and its residents, it is on its way to becoming a failed state. State failure is a clear and present danger in some parts of the world. Some States face half a dozen violent challenges simultaneously, some political, some criminal, all violent. In some places, States have not only lost the monopoly of violence but are at risk of being infiltrated by criminal elements. In such States drug production and consumption, kidnapping and the illegal trade in firearms are the order of the day.<sup>4</sup>

It is now recognised that re-establishing law and order in failing States and in States in transition to democracy requires major commitment by the international community. Some of these weak States can no longer escape from the downward spiral of violence and lawlessness without the help of international institutions - regional ones like the EU, and global ones like the UN.

The Italian Foreign Minister Dini, in his address to the General Assembly, stated that: "The aftermath of the Cold War has proved that large political and economic groupings can more easily guarantee ethnic co-existence, religious tolerance and economic advancement. This should be kept in mind whenever pressure builds to release the genie of self-determination from the bottle of State sovereignty. Only great institutions, whether regional such as the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance, or universal such as the UN, can close the gap between democratic codification of laws and their effective enforcement."

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<sup>4</sup> Most of the above are excerpts from "UN/ODCCP Executive Director Pino Arlacchi addresses Panel on Human Security - Marking 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the VIC", 9. October 1999.

#### **4. UN Instruments**

At the end of this century, one great success story of world-wide consensus to bring about more justice for all is the International Criminal Court. It is impressive that all EU Member States have signed the Rome Statute of the Court adopted in July 1998. At the General Assembly the growing consensus on such trend was evident.

At the General Assembly, there was a concerted call for concrete action to fight the threats from "uncivil society" on the basis of commonality of interests and partnerships and through specific legal actions in the form of **UN Conventions** on terrorism and organised crime. Germany in particular advocated "the adoption of a convention on preventing the illegal transfer of small arms world-wide" and stated that "the heinous crimes of child trafficking and child prostitution must be banned throughout the world". Brazil was among the many States which attached considerable importance to the work being done on the draft "Convention against Transnational Organised Crime".

The Convention has two over-reaching goals. It aims at enhancing international co-operation by providing the framework to overcome differences among legal systems, which in the past have blocked mutual assistance. And second, it will set the standards that domestic legislation must meet to effectively combat organised crime. The Convention will extend to all countries the benefits of measures like the confiscation of criminal assets, witness protection programmes and enhanced judicial co-operation. We also have to reach the goal of abolishing bank secrecy in criminal investigations world-wide. And it is time to consider strong actions against criminals who abuse offshore financial centres to launder their dirty money.

In preparation there are three Protocols that address the manufacture and trafficking in firearms, the smuggling of migrants and the trafficking in persons, especially women and children. More than 125 Member states are participating in the negotiations.

It is expected that the Convention and the Protocols will be presented for adoption by the Plenipotentiary Conference in Palermo in October 2000.

A particular strong appeal towards international co-operative partnerships in this area was voiced by Ms. Tarja Halonen, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Finland speaking on behalf on the European Union : "The Union fully supports efforts to negotiate an effective United Nations convention against transnational organised crime, including protocols on trafficking in persons, especially women and children [...]."

#### **Fight against Drugs**

At the twentieth special session of the General Assembly (UNGASS 1998) Member States made a historic commitment to eliminate, or significantly reduce, the illicit cultivation of opium poppy, coca bush and cannabis by the year 2008. UNDCP strategy has four main planks: 1) information, advocacy and policy support; 2) elimination of illicit crops; 3) law enforcement; 4) demand reduction. The critical importance of demand reduction in the campaign to curtail drug consumption within 10 years was also high-lighted. On the supply side, UNDCP is playing a catalytic role in developing an overall strategy for eliminating illicit crops and drug trafficking.

As Pino Arlacchi stated in his address to the Third Committee of the General Assembly on the 15 October 1999 "We are now moving from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention. Even the costliest policy of prevention is far cheaper, in lives and in resources, than law enforcement. The stage



is thus set, for the first time, to apply a truly balanced approach". This strategy is predicated on the assumption that the drug problem needs to be addressed holistically, which in turns requires close co-operation between the Programme and its national and international partners, as well as the international financial institutions.

UNDCP has now developed a programme on how to assist approximately 100 countries to develop know-how and institutional capacity for drug abuse data collection.

In the words on Ms. Tarja Halonen, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Finland speaking on behalf on the European Union " The EU strongly supports the efforts made by the UN to strengthen international co-operation in the framework of UN Conventions, based on the principles agreed at UNGASS and in accordance with existing national instruments. [...] The EU will continue to support the work of UNDCP as the leading agency in the global efforts to combat the world drug problem". French Prime Minister Jospin also stated that "Les Nations Unies ont de longue date, dans la lutte contre le trafic international de drogue, accumulé une expertise, créé des services spécialisés, élaboré un corps de doctrine et un cadre juridique. Il faut les renforcer."

#### Global Programmes against "uncivil forces"

In March 1999 UN/ODCCP launched three global programmes against transnational organised crime, trafficking in human beings and corruption.

The Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings incorporates policy-oriented research and targeted technical co-operation. It aims at bringing to the forefront the involvement of organised crime groups in the smuggling and trafficking of persons and promote the development of effective criminal justice responses. It will also assist Member States, especially in transit and origin countries, to improve their capacity to counter smuggling and trafficking networks. In close co-operation with governments, NGOs and other concerned institutions, a series of "demonstration projects" will be developed in selected countries. These two will be carefully analysed and assessed.

At the end of the three-year Programme, a Strategic Plan against human smuggling and trafficking will be presented for adoption at a global forum in 2002.

The Global Programme on Organised Crime is assessing organized criminal groups world-wide to provide reliable information, trends and analyses. The findings will feed back into our assistance programme. In addition, these studies will be the foundation for a biennial World Report on Organised Crime. The report will provide an overview of current trends and allow Member States to make more informed policy decision to combat the international aspect of organised crime.

The purpose of Global Programme against Corruption is to assist Member States in their efforts to curb corruption. It is articulated in two main components: research and technical Co-operation. With regards to research, the project will provide reliable and timely information on trends in corruption as well as on effective policy strategies to reduce and control corruption. A study will deal with three main types of corruption: 1) corruption in public administration; 2) business corruption; 3) top-level/political and financial corruption. Information will be kept in an international database set up by UNICRI from where best practices will be available.

The technical Co-operation component is meant to assist member States to build and/or strengthen their institutional capacity in preventing, detecting and fighting corruption.

A module approach will be applied consisting of measure which could be implemented singularly or as a package and in different stages at national and international level - all depending on the outcome

of the study.

The global expansion of the global financial systems has increased the challenges posed by money-laundering. In response, and in addition to the above-mentioned Programmes, the Global Programme against Money Laundering of the ODCCP is currently designing a global initiative - the United Nations Offshore Forum - to be launched early in 2000, to prevent the misuse of the offshore financial sector for the laundering of criminal proceeds. The wider objectives of this initiative are to improve transparency in international transactions and to stimulate greater international Co-operation in dealing with transnational criminal activity involving off-shore financial centres. The Global Programme against Money Laundering will also continue to help Governments to meet the commitment they made at the twentieth special session of the General Assembly to adopt national money-laundering legislation and programmes by 2003.

Unequivocally condemning all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation, the Security Council adopted a resolution on 19 October calling upon all States to fully implement the international anti-terrorist conventions to which they were parties and encouraged them to consider, as a matter of priority, adhering to those to which they are not parties. Also, it encouraged the speedy adoption of the pending convention. By unanimously adopting the resolution 1269 (1999), the Security Council stressed the vital role of the UN in strengthening international co-operation in combating terrorism, and emphasised the importance of enhanced co-ordination among States, international and regional organisations. In the context of such co-operation, it called upon all States to: take appropriate steps to co-operate with each other, particularly through bilateral and multilateral agreements and arrangements; prevent and suppress terrorist attacks; and bring justice the perpetrators of such acts. States should also exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law, co-operate on administrative and judicial matters and suppress the preparation and financing of any such acts in their territories. The Council called on all States to deny safe havens for those who planned, financed or committed terrorists acts by ensuring their apprehension and prosecution or extradition. Further, before granting refugee status, States should take appropriate measures in conformity with national and international law, including international standards of human rights, to ensure that the asylum-seeker had not participated in terrorist acts.

## **5. Conclusion**

" A l'origine, le projet d'organiser au niveau mondial les relations entre Etats a pu paraître utopique à certains. Il était seulement en avance sur son temps. Je pense en effet que l'ONU est moderne. Parce-que notre monde globalisé et instable a besoin d'organisation et que les Nations Unies ont pour vocation, depuis toujours, de rechercher une meilleure organisation du monde." French Prime Minister Jospin at the General Assembly.

For many years the international community has been the driving force in poverty eradication. In fact, the UN has recently begun a new campaign to that effect.

However, without freedom from fear - human security - there can be no development - no freedom from want. Fearful people do not invest in their future. They have to survive one day to the next.

**Our concerns for human security require that the international community forge a new consensus on way and means to tackle those "global public bads" that are eroding the great achievements of "global public goods" in the last decades. Our globalised age does bring global responsibility.**

In the twentieth century the UN emphasised the strengthening of collective security to reduce the likelihood of inter-state war. Now more and more member countries call upon the UN also to facilitate, develop and implement new strategies to strengthen human securities.

The European Union and its Member States today provide more than half of the funds for international development aid and more than 50% of world humanitarian aid. They finance one third of world aid to aid to the Middle East (50% for the Palestinian Territories), almost 60% to Russia and the Republics born of the former Soviet Union, 40% of the reconstruction effort in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That substantial aid is supplemented by a political aspect: a contribution to international peace-keeping, the promotion of Co-operation, democracy and human rights.

There is no doubt then, in any part of the world, that the next century's global ways and means to face the world "insecurities" will be largely due to the decisions taken by the European peoples and their governments. Surely, China, the US, Japan, Africa and Latin America are also facing similar threats but European contribution to shaping and enforcing the new concept of citizens' liberties and securities will be fundamental. Once the EU becomes a true area of freedom, security and justice, while the EU citizens will benefit fully from their fundamental freedoms and will be protected against threats to their security, the rest of the world will have a new great experience to look at and effective synergies will become possible to strengthen also other peoples' securities and freedoms.

Thank you