

PREVENTING CONFLICTS

“There is near-universal agreement that prevention is preferable to cure, and that strategies of prevention must address the root causes of conflicts, not simply their violent symptoms.”

From the Millennium Report

Vital Statistics

- The year 2000 marks 55 years without a conflict between the world’s major powers, the longest such period in the history of the modern system of States.
- The year 2000 also marks the end of a decade in which civil wars, ethnic cleansing and actions of genocide—fuelled by weapons widely available in the global arms bazaar—claimed more than 5 million lives, many or most of them civilians.
- Almost one third of all countries in the world have experienced violent conflict in the past 10 years.
- In the 1990s deadly conflict cost the international community an estimated \$200 billion, not including the untold cost to the countries concerned, where economic development has been set back by decades.
- More than 40 eminent diplomats and senior United Nations officials are currently assigned by the Secretary-General as special representatives, special envoys or advisers to head peacekeeping or peace-building missions or to track evolving situations, provide good offices and act as mediators.

An ounce of prevention ...

You usually would not think that controlling the trade in diamonds would help prevent armed conflict. Diamonds are generally thought of as things of great beauty. For many people, they are symbols of love and devotion. We do not usually ask where they come from or who mined them. And we usually do not associate them with civil wars. Unfortunately, some diamonds—the so-called “bloody diamonds”—are mined illegally and used to buy small arms.

In Sierra Leone, a brutal struggle has taken thousands of lives. In breach of the peace agreement, rebels are continuing that struggle. These groups control the diamond mining areas of the country, and they use their illegal profits to finance their war. On 5 July 2000, in an effort to control this illicit traffic, the Security Council banned the import of unlicensed diamonds from Sierra Leone.

The ban is part of the Security Council’s growing determination to prevent the illicit use of natural resources to fuel armed conflict. The diamond industry has also begun to play its part to ensure that the trade in “bloody diamonds” stops. The International Diamonds Manufacturers Association and the World Federation of Diamond Bourses have recently announced a system of certificates intended to prove the origin of the diamonds.

... is worth a pound of cure

Conflict occurs normally and continually in human society. It is not always violent, and it may not even be a problem. It is one means through which we express our diversity or bring

about change. When conflict in society is properly managed and transformed, it may even help produce growth. On the other hand, when opposing groups do not have the skills to keep the conflict in check, and where other factors such as injustice, inequality or unfulfilled aspirations are present, conflict can become violent and protracted.

Armed conflict can have terrible consequences. Some of us bear these consequences directly. We lose a family member or we must flee our home. We go through life with a mutilated arm or leg. Others among us witness the suffering of friends or acquaintances who bear these losses. Still others learn about these tragedies in the newspapers or from television.

Statistics tell us a grim story. During the last century, wars between nations took the lives of some 100 million people, and political violence took 170 million more lives. Today, the number of inter-State armed conflicts seems to be on the wane. The main killers today are wars within nations—brought about by insurrection, ethnic cleansing and greed. Five million people have died in armed struggles within national borders in the last ten years. Many of these victims, in some cases as many as 90 per cent, were civilians. Today's wars have produced some 20 million refugees and another 24 million displaced persons.

These conflicts destroy the lives of their victims and the quality of life for the survivors. Their legacy is widespread social breakdown and lawlessness. They set back economic development by decades. And who can calculate the cost to society of the loss of doctors, teachers and other professionals when schools and infrastructure are destroyed. How does one measure the impact on a nation of a lost generation of its children?

Addressing the root causes

Natural disasters can be explained scientifically, but it is far more difficult to understand the causes of war. Social behaviour is not subject to physical laws in the same way as cyclones or earthquakes. People make their own history, sometimes violently and sometimes inexplicably. The forces at work can be very complex. And yet, if we are to be successful at preventing deadly conflicts, we must have a clearer understanding of what brings them about.

We are able to identify some conditions that increase the probability of war.

- **Poverty.** In recent years, for example, poor countries have been far more likely to engage in armed conflicts than rich ones. Poor countries have fewer economic and political resources with which to manage conflicts. Poverty itself, however, does not appear to be the decisive factor, and most poor countries live in peace most of the time.
- **Inequality.** Countries afflicted by war often suffer from inequality among domestic social groups. This inequality may be based on ethnicity, religion, national identity or economic and social class. Its effect is to block equal access to political power and close the road to peaceful change. Sometimes, violent conflict breaks out as the result of the deliberate mobilization of grievances. “Identity politics”—the promotion of ethnic, religious or nationalist myths and dehumanizing ideologies—provides political demagogues with easy targets of opportunity to mobilize support for chauvinist causes. This is particularly so since fewer than 20 per cent of all States are ethnically homogeneous.

- Economic decline. By their very nature, the politics of a shrinking economy are more conflict-prone than those of economic growth. Furthermore, when economic reforms and structural adjustment are not accompanied with compensating social policies, stability can be undermined. In addition, a weak Government has little capacity to stop the eruption and spread of violence.
- Greed. Although war is costly for society as a whole, it nevertheless may be profitable for some. In these cases, the fight is over the control of natural resources, such as diamonds, timber or other commodities. Drugs are often involved as well. These conflicts are often kept alive by opportunistic individuals or interests in neighbouring States. International business interests might also be involved in buying the ill-gotten gains, helping to launder funds and feeding a steady flow of weapons into the conflict zone.

Prevention is good, but ...

Many organizations and individuals are working to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict, or to prevent it from spreading once it does break out, or to ensure that it does not break out again. The United Nations was itself founded for the purpose of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”

This general acknowledgement that prevention is good, however, does not necessarily translate into practical support for preventive measures. States do not always agree on how much “outside interference” they will allow in their internal struggles or if their national interests are served by preventing a conflict in another part of the world. Furthermore, it is easier to react when something happens than to act in order for something not to happen. For this reason, political leaders might find it hard to convince the public at home that prevention policies abroad are worth the investment. These policies might carry heavy costs, and the benefit—a tragic event that does not occur—is a vague concept when weighed against those costs. For this reason, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has noted that “prevention is first and foremost a challenge of political leadership.”

Useful tools

“For the United Nations, there is no goal more overriding, no commitment more compelling, no aspiration more profound than the prevention of armed conflict. Ensuring human security, in the broadest sense, is the United Nations cardinal mission. The means to achieve that mission lie in genuine and lasting prevention. Democratization, the establishment of the rule of law, and respect for human rights are crucial ingredients.”

Secretary-General Kofi Annan

The Charter of the United Nations made the prevention as well as the removal of threats against international peace and security one of the priorities of the United Nations and a common responsibility of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the International Court of Justice and even the Economic and Social Council. The Security Council, in fact, has recently held a series of meetings specifically devoted to conflict prevention and has reaffirmed its role in taking appropriate steps aimed at the prevention of armed conflicts.

Among the tools available to these bodies are negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement. In terms of preventive action, the United Nations may use:

- Preventive diplomacy

We generally do not hear much about preventive diplomacy while it is in progress. Very often it is a confidential, behind-the-scenes series of high-level contacts. It might also take the form of mediation or negotiation, and it is most successful when it is applied early. At the end of the day, it is sometimes hard for observers to know if preventive diplomacy actually averted the deterioration of a situation or if the situation simply resolved itself. On the other hand, it is easy to see when preventive diplomacy fails.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for preventive diplomacy. The Council can undertake fact-finding and observation, it can impose sanctions, or it can dispatch a peacekeeping mission. The Secretary-General also engages in preventive diplomacy, often directly through his “good offices” and sometimes through Special Representatives or Special Envoys. These skilled and trusted individuals act as heads of peacekeeping or peace-building missions; they represent the Secretary-General in protracted negotiating processes; they undertake special missions or help track developing situations.

Private individuals and civil society organizations can also play a role in conflict prevention, management and resolution through what is called “citizen diplomacy”. In the Middle East peace process, for example, it was a small Norwegian research institute that played the critical initial role in paving the way for the 1993 Oslo Agreement.

- Preventive deployment

Preventive deployment is intended to provide a “thin blue line” to help build confidence in areas of tension or between highly polarized communities. So far, there has been only one instance of preventive deployment. In 1992, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia requested the deployment of United Nations military observers to prevent the possible spillover onto its territory of a regional war. In doing so, the country showed that it was more concerned with peace and stability than with a possible perception of foreign interference. (See *Case Studies*, below.)

- Preventive disarmament

Preventive disarmament seeks to reduce the number of small arms and light weapons in conflict-prone regions. In Eastern Slavonia, for example, the United Nations peacekeeping mission undertook a “buy-back” programme among civilians. In Albania, a UN Development Programme initiative called “Arms for Development” provided support for community development projects in exchange for small arms and ammunition. In El Salvador, Mozambique and elsewhere the United Nations has helped demobilize combat forces and collect and destroy their weapons as part of the implementation of an overall peace agreement. Other United Nations efforts are being directed towards slowing small arms and light weapons trafficking, the only weapons used in most of today's armed conflicts. While these weapons do not cause war, they provide the means to wage war.

- Preventive peace-building

Once the fighting stops, action is necessary to prevent it from starting again. In recent years, the United Nations has adopted a more comprehensive approach in creating conditions necessary for a sustainable peace. This process might include traditional peacekeeping, electoral assistance or setting up a peace-building support office to help establish good governance or rebuild respect for human rights and the rule of law. It may involve not only the United Nations, but also a number of United Nations agencies and other participants.

In Guinea-Bissau, for example, the United Nations Peace-building Support Office is working to coordinate an integrated response to the challenges of peace-building. (See *Case Studies*, below.) In Liberia, the UN is supporting national reconciliation. In Guatemala, it is carrying out a range of post-conflict peace-building activities in addition to verifying the peace agreements, providing good offices and undertaking advisory and public information activities. In Cambodia, the UN is helping the Government in its nation-building efforts, including the strengthening of democratic institutions and assistance in the promotion and protection of human rights.

- Other strategies include preventive humanitarian action and preventive development activities.

Can sanctions be smart?

“... allow me to suggest that it is not enough merely to make sanctions ‘smarter’. The challenge is to achieve consensus about the precise and specific aims of the sanctions, adjust the instruments accordingly and then provide the necessary means. This requires, on the part of the Security Council and Member States, a willingness not only to tackle technical operational questions, but also the broader political questions of how best we ensure the fullest and broadest compliance with the will of the international community on the part of recalcitrant States.”

Secretary-General Kofi Annan

Sanctions offer the Security Council an important instrument to enforce its decisions. They show that the Council means business without using armed force. Sanctions might include a ban on arms sales or trade and financial restrictions. They might involve cutting off air travel or closing overseas missions. In general, the Council imposes sanctions to try to change the behaviour of a government or regime which poses a threat to international peace and security. In a conflict situation, the sanctions are designed to shorten the fight by blocking access to weapons or fuel. In the same way, sanctions can be effective tools to prevent armed conflict or to limit its spread.

While sanctions are supposed to bring about a good result, they can and do hurt large numbers of people who are not their primary targets. In the case of Iraq, for example, a sanctions regime which enjoyed considerable success in its disarmament mission has also been accused of worsening the humanitarian crisis. In other instances, those in power transfer the cost of the sanctions to the less privileged, and actually benefit from the sanctions by controlling distribution of limited resources and profiting from black market activity. The existence of sanctions might transform a society for the worse, as sanctions-evaders, smugglers and the like rise to the top of the economic ladder. In this way, innocent civilians might become victims not only of their own government, but of the actions of the international community as well.

Sanctions might also prove to be ineffective or difficult to enforce, inviting widespread evasion. Or they might not be sufficiently targeted. In the case of the Bosnian war, the arms embargo was seen by many States as favouring the aggressor and effectively denying a Member State its Charter right to self-defence. In some cases, the losses to neighbouring countries, which must bear significant losses due to their compliance, are not compensated.

Sovereignty and humanitarian intervention

“We confront a real dilemma. Few would disagree that both the defence of humanity and the defence of sovereignty are principles that must be supported. Alas, that does not tell us which principle should prevail when they are in conflict.”
From the Millennium Report

In September 1999, the Secretary-General invited Member States to take a fresh look at what means, including intervention, the United Nations uses to respond to political, human rights and humanitarian crises. “From Sierra Leone to the Sudan”, the Secretary-General said, “to Angola to the Balkans to Cambodia and to Afghanistan, there are a great number of peoples who need more than just words of sympathy from the international community. They need a real and sustained commitment to help end their cycles of violence”

The Secretary-General suggested that the concept of intervention should be defined broadly. It should include a range of actions from those that are mostly symbolic to those designed to force the desired result. It should also go hand in hand with the commitment to apply the criteria for intervention fairly and consistently, irrespective of region or nation.

In some crises, no action is taken because States do not want any outside interference, or because it is not in their national interest to act. The Secretary-General suggested that, in a new century, a new concept of national interest might “induce States to find far greater unity in the pursuit of such basic Charter values as democracy, pluralism, human rights, and the rule of law.” We are all human, and in the defence of common humanity, United Nations Member States should be able to find common ground in upholding the principles of the Charter.

The unresolved debate on intervention is directly related to the unresolved question of how and when to act to prevent armed conflict. All States support conflict prevention in principle, but in practice such support is often qualified by restrictions, sometimes for financial reasons, sometimes for reasons related to preserving sovereignty. Some States express support for a proactive, prevention-oriented Security Council. They note that resistance to intervention might itself result in reduced sovereignty in the event armed conflict breaks out. Other States emphasize that any action by the Council to institute a “culture of prevention” must be examined carefully. In their view, intervention must not infringe on the territorial integrity of States. In the case of internal conflict, States may not wish to “internationalize” the situation or to accept that there are other solutions to the conflict in addition to the military option.

Case studies

- **Preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping: Tajikistan**

In 1992, Tajikistan faced an acute social and economic crisis following the breakup of the Soviet Union. Its stability was further upset by clan, regional and political tensions, and by differences between secularists and pro-Islamic traditionalists. In May 1992, the Tajik opposition seized power de facto, but, defeated by government forces eight months later, fled to Afghanistan

and continued a sporadic armed insurgency from across the border. By mid-1993, an estimated 50,000 people, mostly civilians, had been killed, some 600,000 had been displaced internally, and many thousands of others had fled to other countries.

In September 1992, the President of Uzbekistan invited the United Nations Secretary-General to dispatch a fact-finding mission to the area. This mission was followed in succession first by a “good offices” mission and then by a small group of political, military and humanitarian officers. In April 1993, the group warned of a possible escalation of the conflict. Acting urgently, the Secretary-General appointed, on 26 April, a Special Envoy for Tajikistan to help obtain agreement on a ceasefire and, among other things, make good offices available to help set up a process of negotiation.

These efforts began to bear fruit with the holding of a series of inter-Tajik talks and the signing, in September 1994, of a temporary ceasefire, the establishment of a monitoring mechanism and a request for United Nations military observers. The Secretary-General attached a small number of observers to the UN group pending a decision by the Security Council to establish an observer mission. That decision came in December 1994, when the Security Council set up the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). UNMOT assisted Tajikistan until 15 May 2000.

Reflecting on these efforts and the overall positive outcome of the peace process, the Secretary-General noted the early engagement of the United Nations, sustained political support of the Security Council and regional States, cooperation with other organizations, effective crisis management, and, above all, the clear will of the Tajik people to end the war and pursue a political solution.

- **Preventive action: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

In mid-1991, the break-up of Yugoslavia resulted in armed conflict between, among and within its various parts. Although the fighting had not spread to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the president of that republic requested the presence of United Nations observers. Their mandate would be essentially preventive, that is, they would monitor and report any developments that could undermine the stability of the republic and threaten its territory. Accordingly, UN troops, observers and civilian police monitors were deployed along the border areas and were successful in reducing tensions, facilitating the management of border areas, and defusing border incidents.

By 1994, it was recognized that likely sources of instability included internal factors. The political situation in the country was extremely complex, in part because of the country’s ethnic mix. Tensions were high between the Government and elements among the ethnic Albanian population, who were demanding improvements in their political, economic, social, cultural and educational status. There were also tensions between the Government and nationalist elements among the ethnic Macedonian majority. In addition, the economy was in decline and unemployment was high. In this context, the Security Council encouraged the Secretary-General’s Special Representative to use his good offices to contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability. Accordingly, the UN mission began monitoring developments in the country, including possible areas of conflict, with a view to promoting reconciliation among the various groups. The mission also offered ad hoc community services and humanitarian assistance. The Security Council eventually expanded the mission’s tasks to include monitoring and reporting on illicit arms flows and other prohibited activities.

At its height, the mission comprised some 1,050 troops, 35 observers, 26 police monitors and other civilians from 50 countries. In February 1999, the mandate of the UN Preventive

Deployment Force came to an end when the permanent members of the Security Council were unable to come to a unanimous decision to maintain the mission.

UNPREDEP was a comprehensive model of preventive action. In addition to the duties described above, UNPREDEP was also involved in a wide range of programmes related to good governance and the rule of law, strengthening of national capacity and infrastructure, institution-building and human resources development in the governmental and civil sectors. The mission worked with many groups in the society to encourage them to contribute to the country's development and to serve as agents of conflict prevention and promoters of democracy and human rights. It helped to obtain international expertise through long-term programmes and activities aimed at enhancing social peace and stability. It also worked in close cooperation with a number of international organizations.

- **Preventive disarmament: Albania**

In Albania, over half a million weapons, mainly semi-automatic guns, and several million hand grenades and landmines were in circulation among the civilian population. In 1999, the United Nations launched its Weapons Exchange for Development campaign. Within a few months, more than 5,770 weapons and more than 100 tons of ammunition were collected in Gramsh district alone. In return, some 100 villages in the district were connected by telephone, giving the villagers access to assistance from the police and the health-care system. Streetlights have also been provided for the town of Gramsh as a result.

- **Peace-building: Guinea-Bissau**

On 7 June 1998, fighting broke out between forces loyal to the President and those loyal to the former Army Chief of Staff. The President had dismissed the Army Chief over allegations relating to the smuggling of arms to separatist rebels in a neighbouring country. Over the next few months, the two sides negotiated a series of agreements aimed at resolving the conflict. The UN Security Council welcomed the agreements and requested the Secretary-General to look into ways the United Nations could assist Guinea-Bissau in the process of national reconciliation.

By April 1999, the Secretary-General had appointed a Representative to head a Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau. The office became operational a short time thereafter and comprised political affairs and human rights officers, an electoral officer and a military adviser. One of its first tasks was to work towards creating conditions appropriate for holding orderly and peaceful legislative and presidential elections.

From the time it was set up through the present, the Secretary-General has fine-tuned the mandate of the office as events have altered the pace and the nature of the peace process. With the approval of the Security Council, the office will stay in Guinea-Bissau well into the year 2001. Its current duties are as follows:

- To support national efforts to consolidate and maintain peace, democracy and the rule of law, including the strengthening of democratic institutions;
- To support national efforts, including those of civil society towards reconciliation, tolerance and peaceful management of difference;
- To encourage initiatives aimed at building confidence and maintaining friendly relations between Guinea-Bissau and its neighbours and its international partners;

- To seek the commitment of the Government and other parties to adopt a programme of voluntary arms collection, disposal and destruction;
- To provide the political framework and leadership for harmonizing and integrating the activities of the United Nations system in the country;
- In close cooperation with the United Nations system, including the Bretton Woods institutions, to facilitate the mobilization of international political support and resources for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development priorities of Guinea-Bissau.

Suggested Activities for students:

- (1) Choose an area in which deadly conflict broke out during the 1990s: Haiti, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Liberia, Sudan, Iraq, Bosnia. Research to find out: Who was involved in the conflict? What issues fueled the fighting? Under which category/-ies of root causes would you place them? What efforts have been made to end the fighting, or to negotiate a settlement? Who has been involved in these efforts? What factors are impeding/supporting progress towards a resolution?
- (2) Research the sanction process. You might wish to begin with an examination of sanctions used in the case of South Africa. For how long were these sanctions in effect? What kind of sanctions were imposed? Who cooperated with them? What was the result of the sanctions? In how many other situations have sanctions been used? By whom? Why? What has been the effect? Has the compliance with the sanctions had negative effects on parties not directly involved with the conflict? What was the result?
- (3) Has your country been involved in a conflict or in intervening in a conflict in another country? What are/were the issues defining that conflict? What actions were taken by your country? Who initiated the intervention? What was public opinion like surrounding that issue? Who were proponents/opponents of the intervention? What arguments were used by each side? Share the results of the study with the class and poll class feeling regarding intervention? What is the current status?
- (4) Select a conflict under current negotiation in the Security Council. Having different class members assuming the role of the Security Council members, research and present a simulation of a Security Council meeting in the classroom. UN Member Missions are very helpful in supplying their views for such simulations. They may be accessed from the UN website: www.un.org. Look for Member States, then home pages of Permanent Missions to the United Nations.
- (5) Consider the following objectives of a foreign policy for a nation or for a group pursuing foreign policy interests: *socio-psychological factors* (desire for power or restoration of national pride); securing needed *raw materials*; securing *markets*; spreading an *ideology*; protecting *national security* from external threat; satisfying the need of additional land for *overpopulation*; advancing *ethnocentrism*; obtaining *internal cohesion*; pursuing *self determination*; and supporting *humanitarian efforts*. Working in small groups, rank order the three most important objectives. Share your findings with the class. Choose one of the selected areas in Activity (1) above. Rank order those objectives which you feel are operating in that particular conflict. Compare your findings. Consider the actions of your country with regard to that conflict. What appear to be the operating objectives? Do you agree or disagree?

- (6) Consider the tools of foreign policy available to a nation regarding its actions towards another nation: propaganda; diplomacy; trade relations; foreign aid; forming/maintaining alliances; efforts through an international organization like the United Nations; boycotts, sanctions and other inducements; use of military force (list from Educational Resources for Preventing Deadly Conflict by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflicts). Find examples for the use of each tool. Use examples from your own country's experiences whenever possible. Which tools do you feel were particularly effective? Why? How do these tools compare with those available to the United Nations as listed in this paper? How would you like your tax money to be directed when it comes to foreign policy actions of your government? Why?
- (7) Consider a current area of deadly conflict. What emotional reaction do you have to this situation? How might you feel if you were a person directly involved? Consider the viewpoint of each person directly affected? How might this situation influence you, your family, friends, community, your country and the world? Do you have a responsibility to do anything about this situation? Why? Why not? Who does? What would happen if everyone felt the way you do? If you wanted to do something what are some actions you might take? How would these actions address the needs? What are some possible unanticipated results of each action? Which options seem most promising? Why? What steps must you take to implement your option? Take them!
- (8) The following efforts can help resolve root causes of violence. As a class project, research to find local efforts being made and write letter of commendation to those individuals or groups making them. Invite them to class and learn ways to support these efforts:
- *Control, reduce, eventually eliminate weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, chemical and biological
 - *Control the trade in conventional weapons
 - *Promote the establishment of stable, democratic governments
 - *Encourage the rule of law and an honest, effective judiciary
 - *Promote tolerance and peaceful coexistence of minorities
 - *Assist in economic development
 - *Promote the development of conflict resolution strategies
 - *Work to improve health standards and practices
 - *Improve literacy
 - *Manage resources and technologies to advance the development of a large middle class
- (list from Educational Resources for Preventing Deadly Conflict by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflicts)

Selected resources

On the World Wide Web

www.un.org/peace

www.un.org/news

www.sipri.org

Publications:

Preventing War and Disaster: A Growing Global Challenge. Kofi A. Annan
<http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/Report99/toc.htm>

Promoting social integration in post-conflict situations: Report of the Secretary-General
A/AC.253/23, 24 February 2000

Strengthening of the United Nations system capacity for conflict prevention. Joint Inspection
Unit. A/50/853, 22 December 1995

Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report. Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict,
Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1997. <http://www.ccpdc.org/pubs/rept97/finfr.htm>

The Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in
Africa: Report of the Secretary-General. A/52/871-S/1998/318.
<http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/sgreport/index.html>

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the recommendations
contained in the report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and
sustainable development in Africa. S/1999/1008.

Graphs/charts**Global armed conflicts**

(from *Facing the Humanitarian Challenge: Towards a culture of prevention*, page 9)