

**TO PEACE, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY  
THROUGH UNITED NATIONS LEADERSHIP  
AND COMMON ACTION**

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**Your Excellencies,**

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

1. I am most grateful to the Inter-European Union for Cooperation which provided me with the opportunity to address this gathering of the distinguished representatives of the non-governmental organisations of France, in particular business community. It is both an honour and a challenge. It was once said that businessmen and politicians exist in two separate dimensions. They are preoccupied with different problems, they look at the world from dissimilar points of view and there is not much exchange of ideas between these two realms. However, close ties between the business community and politicians are of great importance. If we want to solve the problems of our world we should learn to work together. Thus, in my statement today I will try to contribute to bridging this gap and will share with you some of the ideas which are being

actively discussed by diplomats, in particular within the United Nations.

2. UN and the public at large, business in particular need each other, because they share the common aim of the maintenance peace and creation conditions for friendly relations between the nations. It was always the case, but it is more important, than ever before nowadays, when the world is undergoing a profound and rapid change, a shift in the civilization paradigm, which affects all spheres of our lives. For centuries progress took place within separate civilizations which existed in relative autonomy if not isolation. Cultural and economic exchange and, in general, mutual influence between these civilizations was not a dominant factor of their development. Now the situation is entirely different. We live in a global interdependent community where the events in one part of the world has an immediate effect on the others and where local cultures enrich each other contributing to the global civilization.

3. The powerful transnational forces manifest themselves primarily in economic and technological fields. In fact, now we face a major discrepancy between economic and technological



advances and the old-fashioned way in which world politics are conducted. International trade and financial transactions, for example, have already evolved into a transnational system. The advances in communication technology are amazing in their rapidity. They make the world transparent and create a spirit of new internationalism and commonalty. On the other hand, international political structures have not yet entered a truly transnational mode of democratic performance. Their foundations date back to the XVII century, to be precise, to the Treaty of Westfalia of 1648, which ended the 30-years war in Europe and created the cult of the sovereign state as the major if not the only actor of international politics.

4. The adaptation of practical politics to the new social and economic environment is taking place simultaneously with the end of the cold war, which considerably complicate this historical turnover. As always, the change, particularly of such magnitude, contains the opportunity for revival and new dynamism as well as the danger of chaos and anarchy. In fact, the destructive processes in international politics have already revealed themselves.

5. Old tensions which smouldered for decades during the cold

war manifested themselves in powerful and destructive confrontations. Regional conflicts are multiplying in Africa and Asia. In the heart of Europe - in the former Yugoslavia - we are now witnessing a full-scale civil war. Five of the fifteen former Soviet Republics are engaged in armed conflict. The ideological vacuum which was left after the confrontation between East and West was filled by militant fundamentalism or, rather aggressive religious and political dogmatism. The situation is aggravated by the proliferation of weapons and by problems we had never dealt with before - demographic tensions and uncontrollable migration flows.

6. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the world is at a cross-road. Either we shall overcome the difficulties and build a new, more democratic and dynamic global society, or the world will be swept over by a wave of fragmentation and instability. To safely pass this transitional period both the UN and business community need to make the process of change evolutionary and non-violent. We need not only to ameliorate the destabilizing effects of global changes but also support the world-wide strive for peace, development, more democracy and the promotion of human rights. And to achieve this aim we need action and initiative.



**7. Initiative presupposes leadership. From time immemorial there has never been a lack of contestants for world leadership. Some of them were inspired by the best intentions. Alexander the Great dreamed of uniting the world to stop wars and to spread civilization. History knows Pax Romana, Pax Britannica, Pax Americana and numerous other attempts to establish peace under the hegemony of one power. However, none of them succeeded.**

**8. The contemporary interdependent world, with its cultural, social and economic diversity, is even less suitable for one-power dominance. Perhaps one of the major lessons of the recent decades is that no single country, however powerful, can prescribe its cure for the world's illnesses. Neither can it solve a political problem without the support of the international community. The American defeat in Vietnam and the Soviet failure in Afghanistan are the most vivid examples. Thus, we have to consider the possibility of setting up a collective, multilateral world governance which would be based on a balance of interests rather than a balance of power and would allow common action - preferably by consensus.**

**9. The first attempt to set up a system of collective leadership**

in the form of a universal international organization was associated with the League of Nations. It is often assumed that the League failed to accomplish its main aim - to maintain peace. Essentially, this is true. However, the League, when it acted on the basis of consensus, demonstrated an impressive performance. It accumulated considerable experience in the peaceful settlement of disputes, which cannot be underestimated. In fact, the list of the League's achievements in conflict settlement is rather impressive. For example, in 1920 the League of Nations resolved the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aland Islands. Without the intervention of this international organization, the dispute could easily have developed into an armed conflict. In 1925 it settled territorial disputes between Turkey and Iraq and between Greece and Bulgaria.

10. In many respects, the United Nations is the successor to the League of Nations. Thus, the question arises whether the UN can be more successful in providing world leadership, maintaining international security and solving numerous other problems facing humankind. I know this question gives the ground for many debates in public and business circles. Let me add to these debates my own considerations.



11. The first decades of the UN history were not the most fortunate. Squeezed in the confrontation between two powerful blocks, the Organization often resembled a battlefield rather than a forum for international cooperation. Still, its very existence provided significant benefits. Ideological warfare at the UN General Assembly hall was a convenient substitute for direct confrontation. The Organization served as a safety valve which often prevented the over-heated engine of the international political system from blowing up. It also served as a yard stick to check the opinion of the international community and the correlation of forces. Even during the cold war, the United Nations managed to contribute to the maintenance of international security. Peace-keeping operations which, by the way, were not envisioned in the UN Charter, helped to stop the spread of a number of regional conflicts. Some of these operations which started during the cold war are still instrumental for the maintenance of peace. The UN military presence in Kashmir, the Middle East or Cyprus are just a few examples.

12. For the UN, the cold war ended in 1989, when at the 44th session of the General Assembly, Member States adopted a resolution which was entitled "Enhancing of international

peace, security and cooperation in all its aspects in accordance with the UN Charter" (res. 44/21). This resolution was co-sponsored by both the USA and the Soviet Union and was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. It removed the ideological obstacles for the revival of the UN as the centre for harmonization of interests of its Member States and opened the door for practical actions to ensure peace and security in all aspects through cooperative means.

13. Today, in the post cold war era, the Organization has the mandate to considerably enhance its role in maintaining international peace and security. It also has a strategy and a set of cooperative means to achieve this aim. In this connection, I would like to mention two important documents - the reports of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" and "New Dimensions of Arms Limitation and Disarmament" - which contain the most comprehensive account of this peace-promotion strategy.

14. In the field of crisis management the Organization is currently involved in the settlement of about 30 regional conflicts and is closely monitoring numerous other potential international disputes. The degree of involvement varies,



depending on the situation, and ranges from dispatching fact-finding missions to large-scale military and civilian operations.

15. Today, the UN is putting major emphasis on preventive diplomacy, such as early warning and implementation of confidence-building measures. Perhaps one of the UN's most important recent initiatives in this field is the preventive deployment of a limited UN contingent in the zone of instability or potential conflict with the aim to avoid the outbreak of violence. At present, we have such preventive deployment - in Macedonia.

16. Traditionally, the major field of UN activities has been peace-keeping - deployment of the UN presence in the field. Currently, the UN is conducting 13 such operations worldwide. Its efforts in this field are carried out by 66,000 people provided by about 70 countries. These are relatively small numbers in comparison, for example, with 300.000 employees of IBM.

17. Judging by recent experience, one of the most promising tools of conflict settlement is peace-building which means the creation of structures for the solution of social and economic problems, and for the restoration of peace. The most significant

experiment in this field is now going on in Cambodia, where the UN has assumed broad responsibilities for governing the country including the arrangements for elections.

18. Maintenance of peace is inseparable from development and democratization. These three aims are the top priorities of the UN itself and its Specialized Agencies, which are involved in working out the standards of behavior and providing the technical assistance. There are 10 such agencies in Europe, 6 of them located in Switzerland, and the rest in France, United Kingdom, Italy and Austria. Their work covers, without exaggeration, all the main fields of global activity - economic development, international trade, labour-business relations, science and culture and many other things. I hope that the World Summit for Social Development in 1995, which is now being prepared by the UN, will significantly contribute to the solution of the numerous economic and social problems facing humankind.

19. The UN will not be able to play its leading role in world affairs without the close cooperation and support of other international organizations, particularly regional ones. As it stems from the UN Charter, there should be a network of



international bodies interlocked with the United Nations and united under its roof. A year ago, when I resumed my service with the United Nations, I was particularly enthusiastic about our relations with the European structures. Europe has accumulated considerable experience of international cooperation in such fields as disarmament and security related matters as well as economic and humanitarian affairs. We have set our hopes primarily with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which, in fact, now is a transcontinental organization covering most of the Northern hemisphere - a kind of a Northern ring.

20. The CSCE permanent institutions are still in the process of formation while other European structures are mainly preoccupied with regional problems. However, I continue to believe that European organizations could, and should, be able to set a good example for other regions of the world. Today, Europe is, perhaps, the best place to initiate a new world-wide quest for peace, democracy and development. What we need today is a new UN based European idea - I would call it Euro-realism - a new sense of responsibility for the future which incorporates the European humanitarian tradition with its emphasis on equity and justice. Euro-realism could provide for

**UN a sound alternative to both Euro-pessimism and world fatalism.**

**22. The European example is particularly important today when we are witnessing a dangerous trend towards fragmentation of the international political structures. Three major economic blocks are now in the process of formation in North America, in Western Europe and in the Pacific Rim. As the industrially-developed countries are reluctant to admit others to their circle the rest of the world is convulsively trying to avoid economic isolation inventing substitutes for genuine international economic cooperation. In 1992, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade had registered 18 free trade zones, most of them comprising two or three neighbouring countries. This is twice the number of such agreements signed in 1991. Economic fragmentation is accompanied by a similar process in the political sphere. Small sub-regional associations, such as the Vishegrad Group, the Carpathian Group or the Central-Asian Union are mushrooming. If they do not become open, transparent and integrated into the European and world system this may create additional problems for international cooperation.**



23. While the regions, and Europe in particular have not yet assumed an active role in their own regional and global affairs the United Nations has to take the major burden of dealing with problems of peace, development and democratization, and first of all with conflict settlement all around the globe. In fact, the Organization has already been caught between two contradictory demands. On one hand, governments as well as people in general expect much more than ever before from the Organization. Whatever happens, be it a conflict, a natural disaster or violation of human rights, the first appeal for help is addressed to the UN. On the other hand, Member States are reluctant to provide the Organization with more resources. As a result, the UN involvement considerably exceeds its capabilities and the Organization is now in a severe financial crisis.

24. In this connection, I would like to mention a few figures. By the end of 1992, there was no cash available in the regular budget of the Organization. In 1993, out of 1 billion 700 million dollars of assessed contributions Member States paid only 341 million dollars or about 20%.

25. In this situation, it is somewhat discouraging to encounter

a certain misunderstanding of the UN aims and purposes. There are people who tend to look at the UN as a sort of business enterprise, a big corporation with its members as shareholders, and are upset that the Organization does not bring them enough dividends. This approach is entirely wrong. The UN was not created to make money. It does, however, provide a most valuable output, too valuable to be measured in dollars. These are saved human lives; alleviated suffering; normal relations among nations.

26. No doubt, the UN like any other administrative structure, has many shortcomings and there is plenty of room for improvement, including the cost-effectiveness of its operations. As the head of one of the UN Headquarters, I have my own experience of fighting administrative inefficiency. However, there are certain problems, the solution to which is beyond the Organization's reach. Two different things are often mixed: the United Nations as an institution and the United Nations as an assembly of the Member States. It should be kept in mind that all the major decisions on how the Organization should act with regard to this or that situation are not taken by its officials nor even by the Secretary-General, who is the head of Executive branch. The work of the Organization is determined by the



**Member States in the major bodies - Security Council, General Assembly and ECOSOC.**

**27. What the Organization really needs now is the support of Member-States not only in words, but in deeds.**

**However, the peace, development and democratization, which we are interested in, cannot be accomplished by the UN system or by Governments alone.**

**Non-governmental organizations, and in particular business community and mass media, should become the partners of the UN in this turbulent period of world history.**

**As for the business community, it is one of the driving forces for the development, it is the glue that keeps the world together.**

**In the new post cold-war conditions which remove the negative attitudes of the past to business, there is the ground for the balance of interests between the UN and the business community. The UN provides the business as well as public at large with the rules of behavior, codes of conduct in international transactions and guarantee them with its authority. UN new development strategy implies the closes cooperation with private sector. The business community gets the opportunity to be directly involed in the implementation of**

**UN projects and operation in developing countries.**

**28. In practical terms, the UN Headquarters at Geneva, which conducts up to 65% of all UN operations in economic and social field, are open for close cooperation with business community in Europe.**

**What is very important that business community should also be organized for such cooperation. For example, there is a Business Council for the UN in New York. Why not to have a Business Council of Europe for the United Nations.**

**29. The forthcoming 50th anniversary of the UN in 1995 provides the right moment for the closer cooperation between the UN and business community.**

**However the turbulent times in which we live today demand a new kind of celebration - not only festivities, conferences and symposiums, but first of all - common practical actions to avoid anarchy and destruction, to bring the change within the global stability.**

**30. Concluding my statement I would like to stress with all frankness that all the talks about the UN leadership and common action will bring little success, unless the new spirit of internationalism and communality is propelled by the will of**



**governments and public at large to take hard decisions demanded by the time of challenges and opportunities.**

**Thank you for attention.**

