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**"ASPIRATIONS & REALITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS:
THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE"**

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Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

1. It is ^{now} a pleasure ~~for me to address this distinguished~~ gathering today and to share my views on the problems of security and cooperation in Europe in a global context. From the point of view of the United Nations, European security is one of the major components - in fact, the cornerstone - of the world's security structure. Accordingly, ^{of the UN} our main aspiration is that Europe will be able to settle its problems and establish within the continent a stable system of cooperative security. However, Europe is not the only focus of attention of the World Organization; it is also concerned about the situation in other continents. Thus, I would like to start by outlining the blueprint for a new international system of security and cooperation as envisaged by the United Nations.

2. The emerging new world order can be called Pax Multilateralis - a system based on the consensus of all its Member States and built on the solid foundations of international law, the pillar of which is the United Nations Charter. Indeed, multilateral diplomacy is gradually becoming the major tool for international interaction. The rise of multilateralism in contemporary international politics is natural: only multilateralism allows us to solve the numerous global problems which humankind is now facing; and only multilateralism has the unique advantage of making it possible to reconcile the discrepancy between change and stability by safeguarding transformations whilst guiding them into evolutionary and non-violent channels.

3. The origins of the contemporary global multilateral structure can be traced back to the Moscow Declaration of 30 October 1943 and to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944 which drew up the concept and guidelines for the new world organization and resolved what seemed to be a conflict between universalism and

regionalism. In fact, there is no contradiction between global and regional arrangements. On the contrary, they can be mutually supportive and enriching. Dealing with a variety of disputes requires a variety of means at different levels of interaction.

4. The contemporary system of multilateral interactions consists of four major layers. At the top of it is the United Nations, the world's only universal international organization, with its system of specialized agencies, organs and programmes. The UN is involved in a wide range of activities in political, economic and social fields and its role in promoting international peace and security is universally recognized. It would not be an exaggeration to say that, in our turbulent times, the UN is the glue that helps to keep the world together. However, the UN cannot - and was never intended to - solve all the problems of the international community or to play the starring role in every political drama. Its major aim is to initiate, encourage and to harmonize the actions of States in the interests of peace, stability and the well-being of their people.

5. The second layer comprises the transcontinental organizations. Some of these, such as the Non-Aligned Movement or the Group of 77, have been in existence for many years. Nowadays, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has obtained these dimensions. Although the CSCE has at last proclaimed itself to be a regional organization, today it incorporates members, not only from Europe, but also from North America and Asia and covers half of the Northern hemisphere. Recently, Japan has also become a member with observer status. This organization stretches from Vladivostok to Vancouver, from Murmansk to Malta and from Dublin to Dushanbe. The most important feature of the CSCE and other intercontinental organizations is that they are formed not only on the basis of economic interests. Among CSCE members, for example, are the most advanced industrial nations of the

world, as well as developing countries such as some of the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. This is a positive trend because such intercontinental structures may help to overcome the dangerous tendency to divide the world into rich and poor, developed North and underdeveloped South.

6. The third layer includes the bodies which I would call classical regional organizations, such as the European Community, Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, etc. There are a number of these in Europe and all around the world. Finally, the last layer is the subregional organizations. These last two layers of the international multilateral structure are the fastest growing. In particular, in Europe in recent years, a large number of new regional and sub-regional organizations have been set up - for example, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Central European Initiative (also known as the Pentagonal Initiative or the Adriatic-Danube Initiative), the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, the Council of Baltic States, etc.

7. Ideally, as is envisioned in the report of the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali "An Agenda for Peace", these four layers should be integrated into a single, interactive structure, a sort of safety net built on division of labour and mutual support. Any crisis situation or major problem in relations among States should immediately spark a reaction by international bodies, starting with the sub-regional organizations, and, if necessary, up to the UN Security Council - the only multilateral body which is empowered, under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, to undertake enforcement action.

8. If we now look at international reality from the point of view of these global aspirations, we will have to admit that to build and put into effect the system of international security according to this blueprint is not an easy task. Take Europe, for

example, which was strongly affected by the radical changes that have taken place recently in the international political system. The threat of confrontation between two powerful blocs which made this continent the most heavily armed region in the world has faded. There is no more ideological struggle and no "iron curtain". Though all the consequences of this process are not yet clear, it would be safe to say that Europe is now in a state of transition to a vast area of democratic security. The present situation offers European politicians a rare chance, in fact, *carte blanche*. They can boldly go ahead with the most ambitious of plans to change the patterns of interaction amongst the countries of the continent and finally establish a new model of peaceful and cooperative relations among European nations.

9. First, however, Europeans have to solve a number of rather urgent problems. Europe is not a divided continent any more; but it is not yet a single geopolitical entity. False perceptions, ages-old national and religious animosities and prejudices continue to separate the peoples of the continent. The situation in the former Yugoslavia is the most tragic manifestation of this legacy. Perhaps, one of the historic peculiarities of Europe is that for centuries it was affected by two opposite tendencies - integrational and disintegrational.

10. Integration processes in Europe started way back in time. Many centuries ago, the continent - or that is to say, its larger part - had been united by the Romans. Both parts of Europe - Eastern and Western - experienced the powerful influence of Greek and Roman tradition. With all the diversity of modern Christianity and despite the Congress of Florence and the Reformation, the overwhelming majority of Europeans believed in the same God and followed the same sacred writings. From the economic point of view, Europe also started to move towards a single market rather a long time ago. Somewhere towards the end of the 13th, beginning of the 14th, centuries, two previously separate regional economies merged: the Southern - with its centre in Italy

- and the Northern - led by the Netherlands. Since then, the whole continent has been covered by a network of trade flows. From a cultural point of view, in a broad sense, Europe is also more or less homogeneous. Only two of its fringe states - Spain in the West and Russia in the East - sometimes doubted their "European-ness". Today, all European countries adhere to the same basic social and economic values - democracy, rule of law, protection of human rights and orientation towards a market economy. Finally, beyond the states, economic and technological forces are compelling Europe towards integration. These forces are engendering further political liberalization, economic entrepreneurship and social protection.

11. However, these same economic and technological forces threaten to destroy the insularity and independence of national economies, quickening the pace of change and causing many people to feel insecure. In Europe, there still exist rather powerful centrifugal forces. One of these is micro-nationalism - the numerous tensions within European societies based on ethnic or religious grounds. In fact, almost all the nations of the continent, both in the West and in the East, to varying degrees, have confronted nationalist or separatist movements. Some of these conflicts, such as those in Moldova or Northern Ireland, are well known. Others do not receive as much media coverage. The problem of national minorities is potentially the major disruptive force which could destroy the delicate tissue of the emerging system of European security. To preserve peace in the continent, Europeans need to find the solution to this problem.

12. The second problem is no less alarming. This is the persistent economic gap between Western and Eastern Europe. It must be said that the aspirations of the former Eastern bloc countries to integrate with Western European political and economic institutions have, until now, failed to materialize. Although EC leaders agreed at their recent summit in Copenhagen that some former socialist countries of

Eastern and Central Europe should have the prospect of full EC membership, they were reluctant even to commence formal talks on the subject. Access to Western markets for companies from Eastern Europe is largely blocked by numerous trade restrictions. Eastern politicians are complaining about the inefficiency of the European organizations which are supposed to assist market reforms in the East.

13. The countries of Eastern Europe are now trying to devise alternatives for genuine economic cooperation by setting up new regional and subregional organizations and by signing trade agreements which they hope will assist them in avoiding economic and political isolation. This year, as many as 18 new regional trade agreements have been reported to GATT, 13 of which involve Central and Eastern European States. Until now, the Western approach to bridging this gap have been rather simple - credit and loans should do the job. However, a country cannot live on credit forever, especially if not particularly generous. Eastern and Central European nations have to solve their economic problems themselves, but in order to do so they need to participate in the international system of division of labour and to have a fair chance to compete with others.

14. One more point should be added to this thesis. Due to certain geopolitical realities and the expansion of the CSCE, Europe, from a political point of view, no longer coincides with Europe in the traditional geographical sense. Some countries, located outside Europe, are, in a certain sense, part of this continent and their role in the European security structure is of tremendous importance. For example, Kazakhstan, with nuclear and outer-space capabilities, belongs both to the European and Asian worlds. It has a mixed population and maintains close cultural, political and economic ties with European nations, such as Russia and Ukraine. Indeed, Russia is also a special case. Since the middle of the 18th century, Russia has been actively involved in European affairs. It continues to be the largest country of the continent

and its role in the new European security structure is difficult to overestimate and, thus, deserves special attention.

15. From a purely geographical point of view, Russia has always been a part of Europe. However, in the 15th to 17th centuries it was blocked from the main European centres of economic and cultural development and turned its attention to Asia. Russia grew - conquering or acquiring Asian lands - and, as a result, was gradually transformed into a giant Eurasian power. From the point of view of Russia's role in Europe, this transformation had two major consequences: firstly, Russia's Western neighbours always looked at it with some sort of apprehension - regardless of the political or economic relations between Russia and the rest of Europe, the mere fact of the existence of this huge Eastern empire couldn't but raise suspicions; secondly, it produced a peculiar feature in the Russian national mentality.

16. From the time of Peter the Great, Russians felt like Asians in Europe and Europeans in Asia. There have always been two trends in Russian culture, the so-called westernizers and the slavophiles, who quarrelled about the cultural and political orientation of the country. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the communist ideology, there was a powerful urge in Russia to establish close relations with the West, thereby returning to Europe. Today, Russia is dominated by the democratic, European-minded politicians. However, conservative, nationalistic forces in the country are still rather strong. If Russia is prevented from reintegrating with Europe the consequences for the future of security in the continent could be most disastrous.

17. European security is the major problem for all the States which are members of the CSCE. It can and should be solved only within the framework of multilateral, united efforts. Europe already possesses a rather developed structure of regional and

sub-regional bodies. However, in practice this structure has a number of missing links which prevent it from functioning properly.

18. Europe is the geopolitical area of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This organization is now in the process of transforming itself from a rather loose forum for diplomatic deliberations into a fully-fledged intercontinental organization. A number of CSCE permanent institutions have been established and the post of Secretary-General was created. Sweden, which chairs the CSCE this year, is making considerable efforts to strengthen the organization. Europe has accumulated considerable experience in such fields as reduction of conventional weapons and confidence-building measures which could be shared with other regions. In the protection of human rights, CSCE standards are very impressive. For many years, I have been involved in efforts aimed at the promotion of human rights and I recall with deep satisfaction my service as Executive Secretary of the Conference on the Humanitarian Dimension of the CSCE held in Moscow in Autumn 1991. This Conference set a very high standard for the observation of human rights in Europe - a process which began in 1975 - bringing together European nations - some with very diverse traditions and governments - in a joint effort to secure peace and improve human rights. The Moscow Conference accepted a most important formula, according to which the way a CSCE participating State honours its commitments in the humanitarian dimension is not a matter which can be regarded exclusively as an internal affair of the State.

19. Despite these developments, however, the CSCE is still facing challenges in the handling of major crisis situations within its area. Yugoslavia and Nagorny Karabakh are the two sad examples of this. As the UN Secretary-General stressed in his message to the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the development of this organization "with a real capacity to provide solutions to the regional problems of the

Eurasian area will need persistence, patience and much work". I would like to add that the CSCE also needs to strengthen its institutional structures. As with any other organization, it requires a "reasonable sufficiency" of bureaucracy.

20. Unfortunately, the economic activities of the CSCE are practically non-existent and its "second basket" is empty. Meanwhile, the economic situation in the continent needs immediate attention. I think that it is worth considering the organization of some kind of forum, within the framework of the CSCE, which should help all the organizations active in economic cooperation in Europe to coordinate their work in order to avoid duplication of efforts, waste of available resources and conflict of spheres of competence. This forum should also encourage the work of economic organizations in an action-oriented direction.

21. Other old European-based security arrangements also seem to still be in the process of searching for their new roles in the changing international environment. This is true with regard to NATO, for example, or the Western European Union. The more time this process takes, the more difficult it becomes to proceed. The direct result of this slow pace of transformation of existing European institutions is the mushrooming of new bodies which may eventually have certain negative consequences. There is a real danger of fragmentation of the European political system and erection of new walls on the ruins of those which have just been destroyed.

22. In this connection, I would like to stress, that the United Nations welcomes regional arrangements provided that they meet with the following criteria:

- first, its aims and principles should comply with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter;

- second, this should be an open organization, not a closed bloc set up to oppose or counterbalance a non-member;
- third, regional organizations should be mutually reinforcing and open to cooperation with each other. This point is rather important and I would like to deliberate on it in some detail.

23. Close cooperation between regional organizations and between themselves and the UN should be one of the major features of the emerging system of international security. Such cooperation is particularly important when we have to deal with conflict situations. Joint efforts allow us to combine resources and to apply maximum pressure on the parties to the conflict. Another advantage of inter-regional cooperation is the possibility of sharing experience and expertise. In recent years, the UN has accumulated valuable experience in cooperating with regional organizations in this field. For instance, the escalation of the armed conflict in Moldova was stopped by the joint efforts of the UN and the CIS. The recent progress in the settlement of conflicts in Rwanda and Liberia was achieved due to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and the UN. Now the UN is actively cooperating with regional organizations in the resolution of conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Mozambique, Western Sahara, Tajikistan, Georgia and Nagorny Karabakh. The UN is currently developing close working relations with a number of European institutions, such as the Council of Europe, the EC and NATO.

24. Regional organizations are potentially able to cope with any problem and the scope of the means at their disposal is limited only by the imagination of those who implement them. For me, a good example of this is the Council of Europe. The recent Summit in Vienna demonstrates that in the emerging European construction the regional structures of this part of the world can play a substantive role as vehicles of the democratic evolutionary process of change. In practical terms, however, the

activities of some European organizations are usually reduced to a rather modest set of tools, borrowed from the UN workshop, such as international conferences or fact-finding missions.

25. It is surprising that Europe, with its strong legal traditions, has almost completely forgotten about the numerous legal means for the settlement of disputes and the existence of such well-established organizations as the International Court of Justice or the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The only recent case of the use of the ICJ which I can remember was the dispute between Hungary and Slovakia about the Gabčíkovo Dam Project. It is worth mentioning that legal means of conflict settlement are very frequently and productively used in other regions. For example, the Organization of African Unity handled the border dispute between Algeria and Morocco; the Organization of American States persuaded Honduras and Nicaragua to resolve their dispute over the arbitral award by the King of Spain by referring it to adjudication. The OAU is particularly active in the implementation of legal means for settling disputes.

26. The multilateral structure will work only if it is firmly supported by States. Despite certain anti-etatist tendencies in contemporary political philosophy, the State remains the major actor in international politics. Accordingly, effective action by any international organization, including the UN, is possible only insofar as States are prepared to encourage it. Unfortunately, in some cases, governments still perceive multilateral institutions as a sort of appendage to traditional bilateral diplomacy. One of the results of this approach is the current financial crisis of the UN and the considerable difficulties it encounters in dealing with problems of which the solution would be beneficial to everyone.

27. Today, history gives Europe a unique chance not only to rebuild its security structure but also to set an example for other regions of the world, in the same way as the reconciliation between France and Germany, sought by General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer, did for the rest of Europe in its day. It is obvious that European security is not possible without global security. Moreover, by building not only a prosperous and democratic, but also a generous Europe, the countries of the continent can significantly contribute to world peace as well as to its own stability .

28. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Europe has a historical mission to accomplish. In the contemporary world, there is an evident lack of moral and political leadership. No single State, however powerful, can be a leader in the stormy waters of modern politics. However, Europe - the cradle of democracy and the ideal of human rights - could significantly contribute to the collective leadership of the UN in advancing an ethical approach to international politics.

29. It seems that the time has come for Europeans to mobilize political will for practical action. They should put aside their minor disputes and immediate concerns and act for the sake of their common future. With all due respect to the national interests of European States today, it is imperative that they look at them through the prism of the interests of the continent and the planet as a whole. Otherwise, the chance for Europe may be lost.

Thank you for your attention.