

4.3. Statement at the 49th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, 15 November 1994

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates,

It is indeed a great pleasure for the Secretary General of the CSCE, to have been invited by the Italian Chairmanship of the CSCE to address the United Nations General Assembly. It is becoming a tradition that this, the most comprehensive body of the United Nations, allocates time for discussion of the co-operation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The Charter of the United Nations establishes an organic link between the United Nations and regional arrangements. This link is one of those elements of the Charter which, in an era marked by confrontation, could not really be developed or applied to the fullest extent. Today we are beginning to understand the potential of Chapter VIII of the Charter for strengthening the United Nations. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali has put it, "regional entities can enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the UN efforts for peace." It is in this spirit and with the aim of strengthening the United Nations that the CSCE declared itself in the 1992 Helsinki Summit Document as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter. CSCE participating States were aware that doing so meant an increased responsibility for ensuring stability in the CSCE area. It was also well understood that this entailed a readiness to bear part of the burden for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The UN Charter does not prescribe detailed modalities for regional involvement. The allocation of tasks between the UN and regional arrangements and organizations remains a challenge. The meeting convened on 1 August 1994 in New York by the UN Secretary-General – the first meeting of its kind 50 years after the founding of the UN – was helpful in addressing the problems related to the practical application of Chapter VIII. While co-operation and co-ordination between the UN and regional organizations should be approached on an individual basis, it seems that many regional organizations feel that they are particularly well fitted to engaging in a broad range of conflict prevention activities and might offer comparative advantages in that area. Transforming the CSCE from the traditional and very successful conference framework it has been until now into a fully operational institution was not the result of careful and long-term political planning. The CSCE was not going around looking out for new tasks to justify its post-conflict existence. It was the other way around: new challenges, new crises and indeed new armed conflicts were crying out for a structure designed to deal with these phenomena and ready to do so. The CSCE, like other regional arrangements and organizations, could not wait for new grand designs for the new security architecture in the CSCE area; it had to set about its task right now of contributing to finding pragmatic solutions to acutely urgent problems. The CSCE is making this contribution in three main areas:

- promoting common values, especially those relating to human rights, democracy and the rule of law, the market economy, social justice and other key areas of a civic society;
- conflict prevention and crisis management;
- promoting the development of co-operative security.

Mr. Chairman,

Since November last year, when I had the honour to address this Assembly, a further significant expansion of the CSCE operations has taken place. Persisting threats to stability throughout the CSCE area have made its contribution to strengthening internal and international stability more important than ever.

Preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention and crisis management continue to be key areas of CSCE action. Three new resident CSCE missions have been established: in Tajikistan to compliment the United Nation's effort; in Sarajevo to assist the work of the Ombudsman; and in Ukraine to support the activities of CSCE experts dealing with problems concerning Crimea. These have brought the total number of CSCE resident missions in the field up to nine.

The CSCE mission in Georgia has received a broader mandate to promote respect for human rights throughout the country and to monitor the activities of the Joint Peacekeeping Forces in South Ossetia. Following the Rome Council Meeting, the possibilities for CSCE action in Moldova through its mission there have improved, including monitoring of the situation in the Security Zone where tripartite peacekeeping forces are deployed.

The past year has seen the realization of important political developments supported by the CSCE. As promised in the 1992 Helsinki Summit Declaration, the Russian Federation did indeed withdraw its troops from Estonia and Latvia. Agreements related to these important withdrawals established new collateral tasks for the CSCE, in particular concerning a radar station in Latvia and social welfare for retired Russian military personnel in Estonia and Latvia. In an effort to make full use of the potential of all the CSCE participating States in the demanding tasks of crisis management, the Ministerial Council in Rome agreed that the CSCE should consider, on a case-by-case basis and under specific circumstances, the setting up of CSCE co-operative arrangements concerning "third-party peacekeeping". Pioneering efforts are continuing to further define the details of such arrangements and reach final agreement.

But there have been failures too. One of them is that, despite continued efforts at all levels, it has not yet proved possible to reinstall the CSCE missions to Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina in Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro). The authorities in Belgrade continue to refuse re-admission of these CSCE missions.

With the encouragement and support of the Security Council, the CSCE is sparing no effort to contribute to a political settlement of the conflict in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. In response to suggestions from parties to the conflict, the CSCE is now exploring the possibility of dispatching an international peacekeeping force to that region.

In 1994, the activities of the High Commissioner on National Minorities were stepped up. He deployed particular efforts in developing solutions for minority problems in the Balkans and the Baltic States and he visited also Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

The CSCE's potential for conflict prevention will be considerably enhanced by a new instrument. On 5 December 1994 the Convention of Conciliation and Arbitration within the CSCE will enter into force following its ratification by more than 12 CSCE participating States.

Finally, the CSCE has considerably expanded the potential for conflict prevention afforded by dialogue and multilateral consultations. Since January 1994, the Permanent Committee in Vienna, meeting every week at the level of Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives, ensures also continuity and constant availability for decision-making.

Mr. Chairman,

In promoting the human dimension, the CSCE relies mainly on its Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. In its fourth year of operation the Office gained new strength and consolidated its profile as an entity specializing in election monitoring, advising on the rule of law and human rights. It also provides a forum for human dimension development that is open to NGOs. In the last 12 months, the ODIHR has supported the monitoring of elections in Russia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Hungary, Latvia, Belarus, Slovakia, Kyrgyzstan and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It has helped to draft or analyse new constitutions in Tajikistan, Georgia and Armenia, and has held several CSCE-wide seminars on Human Dimension issues. In practically all areas of its activities the Office co-operates closely with other international organizations, in particular with the Council of Europe.

Regarding military aspects of security, the CSCE has made a new contribution to its arms control and confidence-building agreements with the adoption in November 1993 of four new documents on stabilizing measures for localized crisis situations; defence planning; military contacts; and principles governing conventional arms transfers. The latter document, combined with the constant attention devoted by the CSCE to non-proliferation issues, constitutes its practical input to the strengthening of global arms control regimes pursued under the auspices of the UN.

Mr. Chairman,

With its all-inclusive membership, comprehensive open-ended agenda and high political credibility, the CSCE has a central role to play in the emerging regional security architecture within its area. The CSCE can offer a political basis and a channel for action for individual States and also for other multilateral organizations in the area. This has been the essence of its supportive role in preparing the Stability Pact initiative. Other examples are the political support provided by the CSCE for specific, practical steps as the WEU Danube patrolling operation or the EU monitoring activity in former Yugoslavia.

Practically all CSCE operational activities open up broad vistas for co-operation with the United Nations and other international organizations. A lot has been done to develop practical links. Political support by the Security Council for the CSCE's role in Nagorno-Karabakh, the invitation to the CSCE to observe UN-sponsored talks in Georgia (Abkhazia) and Tajikistan and the logistical support provided by the UNPROFOR to the CSCE mission in Sarajevo are the highlights of this expanding co-operation. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is absolutely right when he says in his report on co-operation between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that "1994 has seen further development of the practical links between the United Nations and the CSCE" and that "This co-operation and co-ordination will be maintained and enhanced with the aim of extracting the best possible use from the resources made available by governments to international organizations to carry out tasks assigned to them."

While the CSCE strengthens mutually reinforcing co-operation with international organizations it also is developing its contacts with countries outside the CSCE area. The traditional links between the CSCE and non-participating Mediterranean States are about to develop into new dimensions in the framework of substantially increased contacts with Israel, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Specific relations have been established and further developed with Japan and, as of 1994, broad contacts have been agreed with South-Korea.

Mr. Chairman,

As we analyse our situation and our possibilities, there is no reason for complacency. But we must not be discouraged if in the short term we cannot find the right answers to the multitude of old and new challenges confronting us. Let me end by quoting a US analyst who pleaded for a "little respect for the historical newness and complexity of the situation, a little patience while we do sensible things."

That, Mr. Chairman, is what the CSCE is aiming at: to do sensible things. The CSCE-Summit to be held in Budapest on December 5 and 6 will strengthen the CSCE's capability to do just this: doing sensible things and develop the CSCE's contribution to new stability. This will at the same time give a clear profile to the CSCE as a bulwark against the development of new divisions and as the guardian of indivisible security in the CSCE area.

Thank you for your attention.