

**FINAL**  
**HELSINKI DECLARATION**  
**OF THE CSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

9 JULY 1993

**The Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE, meeting in Helsinki from 6 to 9 July 1993, adopts the following resolutions:**

**Chapter I: Political Affairs and Security**

**Chapter II: Economic Affairs, Science, Technology and Environment**

**Chapter III: Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions**

**Chapter IV: The Former Yugoslavia**

**CHAPTER I**

**POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND SECURITY**

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly,

1. Aware of the role that members of parliament can play in the process of maintaining peace and security in Europe based on the Charter of Paris;
2. Convinced that the holding of free elections, the establishment and strengthening of democratic and rule-of-law structures, as well as the respect of human and minority rights in all CSCE participating states will contribute considerably towards being able to reduce risks of conflict;
3. Determined to keep a close watch on the activities of government bodies in this field, and, to this end, develop its relations with the Chairman-in-Office of the Council and with the Secretary General of the CSCE;
4. Considering that contributing to the prevention, management and solution of crises caused by national, ethnic or religious tensions, as well as to the strengthening of cooperation between Member States, constitute therefore priority tasks of the CSCE;
5. Recognizing that at the Helsinki Summit in July 1992 the CSCE created a comprehensive set of instruments for early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management, involving rapporteur and fact-finding missions, mediation and conciliation efforts, observation and monitoring missions as well as the use of armed forces;
6. Judging that the inability of the CSCE and other international institutions to prevent and stifle the war and re-establish the peace in the former Yugoslavia is a consequence of the lack of political will among its members, and that to change the situation in the former Yugoslavia real implementation of resolutions of the Security Council, including military protection of safe areas, is as important as strengthening the CSCE institutions;
7. Asking the governments of CSCE member states to implement fully the UN resolutions and to strengthen CSCE institutions;
8. Convinced that justice and implementation of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro require, in conformity with Article 50 of the United Nations Charter, efforts to compensate for the economic difficulties of certain countries from the region in the strict application of these sanctions;
9. Pointing out that the CSCE is a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, which implies close coordination of its activities with those of the United Nations;
10. Indicating its satisfaction that certain measures, tending towards strengthening the CSCE, have already been taken, such as the creation of the function of Secretary General, the High Commissioner for National Minorities and the Forum for Security Cooperation;
11. Convinced nevertheless that the implementation of a system of collective security requires more than mere adaptation of institutions, and requires, in particular, a radical

modification of the way the CSCE functions;

12. Persuaded that because of the disruptive element constituted by the lack of political control over the armed forces in numerous CSCE participating states, the development of democratic control over the armed forces of the former Warsaw Pact countries is urgently needed;
13. Urges the Council of Ministers to pursue a more active policy and in particular to adopt the following working principles so as to realize this objective:
  - greater speed in the decision-making process;
  - a decision-making procedure which no longer requires consensus or "consensus minus one";
  - an internal balance avoiding any supremacy or domination by a group of participating states;
  - strengthening internal institutional coherence;
14. Encourages the Secretary General, in conformity with these working principles, to coordinate the activities of all the current institutions of the CSCE and limit their geographical dispersion;
15. Requests the Secretary General to give thought to the effects on the objectives and procedures of the CSCE of the draft "For a Treaty of Stability of Europe" presented to the European Council in Copenhagen on 21 and 22 June 1993 and to submit his conclusions thereon to the meeting of the CSCE Council of Ministers to be held in Rome in December 1993;
16. Requests the Council of Ministers to set up a Council of Permanent Representatives with headquarters in Vienna, with the task of preparing for meetings of the Council and implementing and following-up the decisions of the Council;
17. Invites the Council of Ministers to consider setting up a CSCE security committee, based on an annual rotation system between representatives of Member States which would examine all subjects relating to peace keeping and peace enforcement;

18. Requests the Council of Ministers, and the Security Committee if it is established, to propose suitable confidence-building and security measures so that progress can be made in dismantling nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union;
19. Invites the Council of Ministers to consider whether a defence counterpart to the CSO, including a subordinate permanent defence planning cell in the CPC, would promote the efficiency of CSCE conflict prevention and peacekeeping;
20. Requests the participating States of the CSCE to support in the competent international organizations the immediate implementation of effective measures to alleviate the economic problems of the countries most seriously affected by the United Nations sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro;
21. Urges the Council of Ministers to support the work of the High Commissioner for National Minorities and implement his recommendations accordingly;
22. Urges the Council of Ministers to actively support the negotiations on a code of conduct in the security field in order to strengthen the political and democratic control of armed forces;
23. Emphasises the need to develop political and administrative links with other international organisations operating in the security and cooperation field in Europe, in particular with the United Nations, the Atlantic Alliance, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States;
24. Advocates a prompt implementation of the plan for establishment of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean;
25. Wishes that the Conflict Prevention Centre destined to play a major role in the field of disarmament,
  - should have at its disposal all the information sent by States participating in the United Nations Register and, in consultation with other bodies, should formulate a programme for consideration by the Council of Ministers and Member States to limit the export of weapons from the CSCE countries to neighbouring regions and areas of tension;
  - should be charged with identifying the areas in which regional measures could be taken to prevent an armed conflict breaking out;
  - should make any proposals required to the Committee of Senior Officials, so that preventive measures may be negotiated and implemented with diligence;

26. Requests that a report should be submitted to it, concerning the capacities necessary for effective and vigorous action by the CSCE, as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, in the field of peace keeping and peace enforcement;
27. Wishes to receive in good time all essential documents, and in particular the Annual Report which the Secretary General and other bodies of the CSCE submit to the Council or the Committee of Senior Officials;
28. Requests that a CSCE public affairs office be established under the Secretary General able to provide to the public all CSCE proposals, mission reports, implementation data, and agreements, and to increase awareness of CSCE activities in the entire CSCE region;
29. Wishes to be associated with missions to areas of tension or potential conflict, and with the actions of the High Commissioner on National Minorities;
30. Welcomes the conclusion of the Convention concerning Conciliation and Arbitration, recommends the signing and the ratification of the Convention and invites the Governments to complete this instrument in order to make it more effective;
31. Emphasizes the need to instruct members of the armed forces on international law regulations concerning human rights;
32. Urges parliaments and governments of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to ensure that sufficient financial and personal resources are made available to the CSCE so that it will be able to fulfil its function effectively;
33. Determines to strengthen its own efforts to contribute towards the development and strengthening of democratic structures in the CSCE participating states, since this is a particularly effective form of conflict prevention;
34. Expresses satisfaction about the decisions of the United States and Russia to prolong the nuclear weapons test moratorium and supports the aspiration of these countries to initiate negotiations on prohibition of nuclear tests;
35. Considers this initiative as a concrete step to preserve the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons;
36. Remains concerned, despite substantial progress in the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic region, over the continued presence of Russian military personnel and equipment in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; notes that this presence constitutes an ongoing violation of the sovereignty of these states and, in keeping with basic principles of international law and recalling Article 15 of the 1992 Helsinki Summit Declaration, strongly urges the Russian Federation to conclude and implement, without further delay, appropriate bilateral agreements, including timetables, for the early, orderly and complete withdrawal of its troops from the territories of the Baltic States.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT**

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly,

1. Having in mind, human substance and sense of the whole economic transformation process in the reforming countries, mainly searching for a new quality of life and environment, broader definition of human dimension in development of mankind;
2. Convinced of the interdependencies among the three baskets of Helsinki and in particular the close relationship and synergy that exists among common security, human dimension and economic cooperation;
3. Convinced that the transition to a market economy system will be of decisive importance for the development and strengthening of democratic and rule-of-law structures in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
4. Referring to the fact that there cannot be any uniform restructuring process in the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, resulting in reforms being in different stages of advancement;
5. Realizing the fact that standard methods, forms and models broadly used in the transformation process of the reforming countries could hardly lead to efficient and in many cases sufficient results because of the variety of their specific and unique extraordinary conditions;
6. Recognizing the necessity of identifying and transforming (as fast as possible) negative factors at least into neutral ones, neutral into positive, positive into intensive, intensive into optimal and for that last group of factors to create suitable conditions for their long-term stabilisation;
7. Recognizing that the breakup of monopolistic production structures, the privatization of companies, as well as the liberalization of price formation and foreign trade are important elements of the economic reform process;
8. Aware that the restructuring of economies and the collapse of traditional Eastern markets initially led to a dramatic decline in industrial production;
9. Aware of the extensive losses and economic difficulties that certain European States meet with as a result of the strict application of UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro;
10. Taking into account the fact that in the course of the economic reform processes real-term wage levels declined drastically and the unemployment rate rose strongly in some countries;
11. Referring to the fact that the liberalization of foreign trade, in connection with very low labour costs in an international comparison and qualitative competitiveness in certain market segments, has led to an increase in exports to the Western industrial countries, and that simultaneously the opening up of new Central and Eastern European markets has resulted in a foreign trade surplus of the Western countries; and recalling the need to establish equal and mutually advantageous relations between the Western industrial

states and the reforming states of Central and Eastern Europe;

12. In view of the fact that a recovery with regard to trends in real-term income as well as an improvement in the difficult employment situation have emerged in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
13. In view of the fact that the reforming countries of Central Europe in particular have made considerable progress in stabilizing their overall economic development;
14. Welcomes the fact that in all the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the privatization of formerly government-owned companies and the founding of new private companies is an important part of the reform effort;
15. Underscores the need for increased international cooperation with a view to moving ahead with the difficult and time-consuming privatization of large government-owned companies and industrial complexes;
16. Underscores that the founding of new private companies, indispensable for a functionally viable market economy system, should be promoted by means of a specific policy on small and medium-sized companies;
17. Refers in view of the enormous capital requirement in the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to the importance of foreign investments in these countries;
18. Notes with regret recent decisions by the I.F.C. and the E.B.R.D. to withdraw from support of previously approved projects in Eastern Europe, especially when those withdrawals are based on a perceived softening of individual countries' economies and urges the financing institutions to recognize that their support of projects is needed even more now than previously as a catalyst to help create stability and growth;
19. Underscores that the investments of Western companies involving a transfer of know-how in addition to capital, can make an important contribution towards success of the economic restructuring process;
20. Calls upon the reforming countries, particularly the countries of the former Soviet Union, to encourage foreign investment by establishing as soon as possible the legal framework and guarantees to assure the safety of capital investments and the rights of ownership and profit repatriation;
21. Calls upon the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the former Soviet Union to adopt the necessary fiscal and monetary policies to control and lower the rate of inflation in their countries, thereby promoting the financial stability necessary to attract foreign investment and protect the economic well-being of their populations;
22. Urgently calls upon those European countries which experience the drastic increase in unemployment connected with the restructuring process to undertake social and employment policy measures;

23. Suggests in this connection continuing the adaptation of social security systems to the new conditions, continuing to attach priority importance to the establishment of systems of financial support for the unemployed, and in the framework of an active employment market policy placing emphasis on providing career qualifications, job-creation schemes as well as the promotion of self-employment and regional mobility;
24. Advocates an active environmental policy, including internationally recognised safety standards at nuclear power facilities since in the current situation of radical change and crisis in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the danger exists that short-term production and employment objectives will be conceded priority over protection of the natural environment;
25. Warns against the transfer of hazardous wastes and export of environmentally harmful technologies and products from other countries;
26. Recommends the establishment, at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers, of a new mechanism or institution, as appropriate, to coordinate the environmental protection policies of, and promote environmental cooperation between, all the participating States in order both to safeguard the natural environment and to protect the health and economic well-being of all peoples throughout the CSCE community;
27. Welcomes the conclusion of cooperation or association agreements between the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the European Community, which provide a necessary prospect for the political and economic integration of these countries in the European Community;

28. Calls upon the Western industrialized countries to eliminate existing trade barriers and other discriminating limitations on the access of these countries to the world markets of goods and services for the reforming countries and in this way contribute towards success of the market economy reforms in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
29. Appeals to the Western industrialized countries to continue their technical assistance and financial measures for economic support of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, including the goal-oriented credits to countries of the former Soviet Union in order to buy energy resources and in so doing to contribute towards stabilization of the new democracies;
30. Requests all CSCE participating States to support the urgent introduction of effective measures aimed at assisting European countries most seriously affected by UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro to overcome their difficulties and to continue with their transition towards a market economy and a democratic society;
31. Advocates better coordination of support measures for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union among the CSCE participating states;
32. Appeals to the parliaments of the CSCE participating states to intensify their efforts to support the transformation process in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
33. Underscores the importance of economic cooperation between the Western industrial countries and the reforming countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in addition to the need for an exchange of information in economic matters within the framework of the responsible international organizations;
34. Welcomes the work carried out thus far by the CSCE Economic Forum, which gives the reforming countries an opportunity to describe their experience in connection with the transition to a market economy system and to look for solutions to problems together with the Western industrialized countries;
35. Advocates the regular attendance of the meetings of the CSCE Economic Forum by a member of the Economic Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly, and encourages the governments of CSCE participating States to include Members of Parliament in their delegations to meetings of the CSCE Economic Forum;
36. Advocates a regular information exchange with the CSCE Economic Forum;

37. Suggests continuing to deal regularly with the status of the economic reform process in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the framework of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

**CHAPTER III**

**DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND**

**HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS**

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly,

**A. REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS**

1. Considering the role of parliamentarians in promoting and achieving respect for human rights;
2. Recognizing that displacement is often a result of violations of CSCE commitments and basic human rights;
3. Noting, in particular, the ongoing inter-ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia, which has resulted in the most serious refugee crisis in Europe since World War II;
4. Convinced that the plight of refugees and displaced persons within the CSCE region requires the urgent attention and cooperation of all participating States and competent international organizations in a common effort to find equitable solutions;
5. Reaffirms the commitment of the participating States to the strict observance of the principles of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, notably including the principle of non-refoulement, and related human rights standards for the protection of refugees and displaced persons;
6. Affirms its commitment to extend the acceding to and observance of the Convention and the Protocol to all areas of the region;
7. Recommends that Member States do not demand an entry visa from asylum seekers originating from countries where owing to prevailing circumstances it is practically impossible for them to obtain one;
8. Expresses its willingness to promote actively joint responsibility for the protection of and assistance to refugees and displaced persons, and encourages the fullest cooperation with the International Organization for Migration, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and other organizations involved in migration and refugee issues, as well as with the human rights, development, and relief communities, both governmental and non-governmental, to find viable solutions to the pressing refugee challenges of today;
9. Emphasizes that such coordinated solutions should be based on recognition of the fact that the current situation in Europe concerns refugees as defined in the Convention and the Protocol, as well as displaced persons of broader categories in need of protection from violations of basic human rights;

10. Condemns the use of rape as an instrument of war and demands the cessation of the violence and trauma experienced by women and children who have been or will continue to be the victims of mass rape and forced pregnancy at the hands of their aggressors;
11. Classifies rape as a war crime, and urges that those responsible for these aggressions be held accountable before an international war crimes tribunal;
12. Recognizes that humanitarian aid is necessary and welcome and urges the participating States to support relief efforts designed to provide humanitarian assistance for those victims of rape, but nevertheless, reaffirms the central issue that rape as a byproduct of conflict will not be tolerated and will incur the condemnation of the participating States;
13. Recognizes that the countries most vulnerable to migration are often among those least equipped to afford it, and stresses the need to pay due regard to sharing the burdens of protection and assistance, as well as to consider reorienting national resources and infrastructure for the handling of refugee problems in light of the interests of the CSCE region as a whole;
14. Concurs that, although refugee problems should, ideally, be solved in the immediate region of the country of origin, neighboring countries to the conflict areas should not be expected to bear solely the main burden of protecting and assisting refugees and displaced persons;
15. Urges close cooperation between CSCE and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and other European structures to provide practical solutions within the region;
16. Emphasizes that measures must be taken by all member states to integrate fully those legal migrants and "resident foreigners" who will be staying permanently, including the granting of political rights and citizenship and emphasizes that refugees must be given the opportunity to return to their home country and to live in security there;
17. Expresses the wish that representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly will join CSCE missions sent to the centers of potential conflicts and tension, as well as the activities of the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities;
18. Notes the necessity of sending a CSCE observer mission to monitor the safe return of refugees to Tajikistan;

**B. MINORITIES ISSUES**

19. Convinced that violations of the rights of persons belonging to minorities are among the most urgent causes of instability and concern in our region;
20. Deeply troubled by ethnic tensions, civil unrest, flagrant disregard for the rule of law, and egregious human rights abuses in several of the newly admitted CSCE states, which have resulted in significant violations of CSCE human dimension commitments;
21. Shocked and disturbed by the recent wave of violence and terrorism by radical groups such as the PKK, including hostage-taking and bombing, which resulted in death and injury to innocent civilians;
22. Considering that prevention and settlement of the conflicts, caused by national or ethnic tension are one of the priorities of CSCE activities;
23. Noting with serious concern that a climate of intolerance and anti-foreigner sentiment is growing in many CSCE states, including those with considerable democratic experience, resulting at times in violence or discrimination against immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, migrant workers, persons belonging to minorities, persons with disabilities, and others perceived as different or foreign;
24. Concerned about the situation in South-eastern Turkey and nearby areas with respect to the condition of minorities in the region;
25. Considering that the CSCE process should now contribute to finding a solution to the situation in South-eastern Turkey and closeby areas;
26. Recommends the CSCE Parliaments to appoint and coordinate delegations in order to send them to Turkey with the purpose to establish a permanent and close observation of the situation of the Kurdish population;
27. Condemns unequivocally all violations of human rights in CSCE member states, and particularly the atrocities committed against innocent civilian populations in several CSCE states;
28. Recommends the authorities of the Estonian Republic to adjust the Estonian legislation regarding the non-native population, so that it corresponds with the European standards, principles of CSCE and Council of Europe documents including the recommendations of the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities as well as the Council of Europe recommendations, and hopes that Estonian authorities will take all necessary steps to duly implement this law into practice;
29. Calls on the Estonian Republic and the Russian Federation to reopen active and constructive dialogue and negotiations on the basis of principles and commitments of CSCE on the whole complex of Russian-Estonian inter-state relations, including the issue of withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Estonia;
30. Calls for a concerted effort to strengthen existing mechanisms to advance the human

rights objectives of the Helsinki process, including those relating to minorities issues, and to bolster the determination of participating states to use these mechanisms in a coordinated and committed fashion, as well as to demand accountability from participating States which fail to respect their CSCE commitments;

31. Condemns terrorism and violence in all forms as crimes against humanity and urges international cooperation to combat such terrorism and to bring about peaceful solutions to problems of minorities of all countries;
32. Urges all CSCE participating states to demand accountability from individuals found in violation of international humanitarian law through urgent and vigorous application of domestic laws and judicial processes, and strongly supports, in addition, the realization of the International War Crimes Tribunal established under United Nations Security Council Resolution 827, as well as the creation of a central register of war crimes to be administered either by CSCE or by the United Nations in order to support the planned international war crimes tribunal;
33. Welcomes the creation of the office of the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, and urges that a broad interpretation of the HCNM's mandate be applied, so that the HCNM might address the widest possible range of minority concerns within the CSCE region;
34. Supports the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in its efforts for an additional protocol on the rights of national minorities in the European Convention on Human Rights;
35. Hopes that the forthcoming summit of Council of Europe Heads of State and Government (Vienna, 8 - 9 October 1993) will agree on an additional Protocol on the rights of minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights;
36. Expresses its determination to assist in the full implementation of relevant CSCE commitments in this area, including, inter alia, those relating to persons belonging to national minorities, women, human rights education, and promotion of tolerance and non-discrimination

37. Undertakes to support by all means the full and immediate implementation of the provisions of the Final Document of the CSCE Conference in Moscow in 1991 indicating that true democracy must be founded on equal rights for men and women;
38. Undertakes to call a meeting of the female members of the CSCE at the next session of the Parliamentary Assembly;
39. Invites Member States to take positive measures aimed at increasing the participation of women in political life;
40. Supports the appointment of CSCE observer missions as an effective means of giving minorities a feeling of protection and of alerting the authorities of the countries concerned to their responsibilities towards minorities and recommends the attachment of members of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to these observer missions;
41. Commends the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) for the seminar on National Minorities held in May, 1993 in Warsaw and urges the Council of Ministers to provide additional resources to the ODIHR so that it could play a more active role;

#### **C. DEMOCRACY**

42. Recognizing the need for promotion of the development of democracy in the new democracies in Europe;
43. Convinced that there is a need for parliamentary technical assistance in connection with the establishing of multi-party democracy;
44. Convinced that monitoring of elections are not single events but part of a continuous process, including follow up actions for promotion of democracy;
45. Taking into consideration the division of work between the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the CSCE concerning monitoring of elections and promoting democratic development;
46. Expresses its determination to have monitoring of elections as an important task on the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly agenda;
47. Considers the establishment of a Parliamentary Commission for election monitoring;

#### **D. DUE PROCESS OF LAW**

48. Expresses its deep concern regarding the fate of citizens of the Republic of Moldova held captive and placed on trial by illegal authorities at Tiraspol in Eastern Moldova;
49. Requests all answerable authorities to ensure just proceedings for these detainees before an impartial, independent court established by law and in accordance with the

constitution of Moldova, and treatment strictly complying with the principles of human rights shared by all CSCE states;

**E. OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON HUMAN RIGHTS**

50. Having regard to the inadequacy of human rights instruments in time of armed conflicts, reaffirms the importance of respect for international law on human rights, and for the Geneva Convention and additional protocols in particular, invites all states to sign them and ratify them, and calls on the governments of participating States of the CSCE to consider attending the international conference for the effective protection of victims of war to be held in Geneva from 30 August to 1 September 1993;

**F. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NATIONAL MINORITIES - REPORT**

51. Requests the Council of Ministers to be held in Rome in November - December 1993 to give a new mandate to the High Commissioner for National Minorities to work out a report on the national minorities situation in CSCE participating States with regard to:
- a) The size of the minority according to direct census or census on people speaking the minority's language as "mother-tongue"; changes in the size of the minority - if possible - in the last 50 years;
  - b) Legal guarantees of minority rights in the respective country;
  - c) The factual situation of a respective minority as represented by the total number of schools teaching in the minority's language, deputies of the minority in local and national parliaments, etc.

The report should be submitted to the next Parliamentary Assembly in 1994.

**CHAPTER IV**

**THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**

The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly,

1. **Reaffirming** the provisions of its 1992 Budapest Declaration on Yugoslavia and of the Standing Committee statement issued earlier this year;
2. **Regretting** that fundamental CSCE principles have been severely violated in connection with the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a result of the continuing threat and use of force as well as the practice of "ethnic cleansing". These serious violations of CSCE basic principles, for which Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs bear primary responsibility, but to which Croatia has also contributed, must not be tolerated by the international community;
3. **Deploing** the fact that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has resulted in organised, systematic, and pre-meditated war crimes and genocide, and threatens stability and security in Europe, especially in its Eastern and Central parts;
4. **Remaining** gravely concerned over the failure of the international community effectively to end the violence and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina;
5. **Believing** that the territorial gains in Bosnia-Herzegovina, achieved primarily as a result of continuing Serbian aggression, must not be accepted by the international community. Military aggression must never be rewarded by recognition of conquests made through the use of force. As such, the ultimate objective must continue to be that of annulling the territorial conquests made by Serbs and Croats;
6. **Convinced**, now that the Vance-Owen peace plan has failed, that the planned division of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be resolutely counteracted, a solution must be found to end the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina which will be equally acceptable to all national groups, i.e. the Bosnian Serbs, the Croats and the Moslems. There must be no approval of a solution imposed on the Moslems by the Serbs and Croats with reference to facts established by military means;
7. **Taking the view** that until such time as an internationally recognised solution can be found for former Yugoslavia as a whole, the sanctions imposed against Serbia by the UN Security Council must be maintained with a view to achieving further international isolation of the Serbian aggressors and to motivating them to make concessions in the peace negotiations;
8. **Insisting** that those who unilaterally insist on facts brought about by force, in opposition to international peace efforts, must not receive any reconstruction assistance from the international community;
9. **Disturbed** by the growing number of displaced persons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the decreasing resources available for their support and the potential requirements for their resettlement;
10. **Aware** that neither Bosnia-Herzegovina nor the neighbouring countries will be in a position to solve the growing refugee problem without intensive help from outside;

11. Condemning the brutal measures that have been recently taken against opposition forces in Serbia, including the brutal beating of opposition leader and fellow parliamentarian Vuk Draskovic;
12. Welcoming the decision of the Committee of Senior Officials to send to Belgrade a mission under the Mechanism agreed at the Moscow Meeting on the Human Dimension to investigate abuses of human rights and in particular the case of Mr. Draskovic and his wife;
13. Echoing the call of the Assembly's own delegation to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Kosovo and of the Committee of Senior Officials, for international access to Mr. and Mrs. Draskovic;
14. Expressing its deep concern over developments elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, particularly where the possibility for spillover continues, including Kosovo and the FYROM;
15. Aware of the important role of CSCE Monitoring Missions in many parts of former Yugoslavia, and in particular, in the FYROM;
16. Taking note of the recent decision of the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro to refuse the continued presence of CSCE Monitoring Missions;

The Assembly,

17. Urges the participating States to undertake resolute action, without further delay, to:
  - support the disbanding and disarming of such irregular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina with their weapons placed under effective international monitoring. In the event that such steps are not taken by irregular forces immediately, every effort, including the use of military air force, should be made to neutralize heavy arms in the hands of such forces;
  - ensure the immediate, effective and unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid to all civilian populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in keeping with international commitments and existing UN resolutions;

- ensure unimpeded access to all camps, prisons and detention centres maintained by irregular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international humanitarian organizations and facilitate the release of all detainees from such facilities;
18. Urges the participating States not to recognize the incorporation of any of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina resulting from the threat or use of force, coercion or any other means inconsistent with international law and the Principles contained in the Final Act;
  19. Welcomes efforts by the United Nations to investigate, prosecute, and try alleged war criminals responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia and urges the participating States to provide adequate funding and support for these and related activities;
  20. Condemns systematic and widespread rape and sexual abuse of women and girls of all ages in the former Yugoslavia and strongly supports the provision of assistance for the victims;
  21. Demands that a spread of the conflict to bordering areas in the Balkans, such as Kosovo and the FYROM, must be prevented by the timely use of all the conflict-prevention mechanisms available to the international community;
  22. Condemns the decision of the Government of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to end the mandate of the CSCE Mission in Kosovo;
  23. Calls upon the government of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) to allow the CSCE long-term Missions in Kosovo, Sanjak and Vojvodina to continue their work in ensuring the prevention of spillover of conflict to the region and the observance of human rights, requests the Council of Ministers not to accept the ending of the CSCE Monitoring Missions and to ensure continued and expanding functioning of these Missions, and affirms its view that the withdrawal of the Missions can only impede the readmission of Serbia to the international community presaged by the Conclusions of the Stockholm Council Meeting;
  24. Recommends the Council of Ministers to have a decision adopted by the UN Security Council which advocates all possible pressure to force the above government to accept the further activities of the CSCE within Kosovo;
  25. Concludes that in view of the failure of the international community thus far to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, it has become clear that the Mechanisms of the CSCE and other international organisations for conflict prevention and crisis management need to be strengthened;
  26. Requests the Council of Ministers to continue the co-operation with UNPROFOR and to urge the competent UN authorities to enlarge UNPROFOR's mandate to monitor traffic and the content of vehicles and trains that pass the borders of the FYROM in the direction of Serbia and to stop traffic in violation of UN sanctions;
  27. Urges all states to support relief efforts designed to provide humanitarian assistance to

those in need;

28. Recommends the development of an overall European concept for defining the quota for all countries receiving refugees. The primary concern of such a concept must be "burden-sharing" in the context of assistance for the neighbouring countries, Croatia, Hungary, Austria, and with regard to humanitarian help for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Refugee movements from this European region to Asia are no solution in the long term;
29. Requests the Council of Ministers to direct the CSCE Secretary General to examine the plight of displaced persons in the former Yugoslavia and to report on measures that member states might take to resolve their problems.
30. Calls for the admission of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia into the CSCE as a full participating State and urges those states which have not already done so to recognize that country.

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