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Report

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee

on the crisis within the UN

Rapporteur: Mr C. GALLUZZI

PE 88.481/fin.
Or. It.

The European Parliament, pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure, referred to the Political Affairs Committee the following motions for resolutions:

- at its sitting of 15 November 1982, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs GAIOTTI de BIASE and others on the crisis within the UN (Doc. 1-741/82)
- at its sitting of 11 April 1983, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr RIEGER on the provision of a European contingent for the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations (Doc. 1-49/83).

At its meeting of 19-21 January 1983, the committee decided to draw up a report.

At its meeting of 22-24 February 1983, the committee appointed Mr GALLUZZI rapporteur.

The committee considered this report at its meetings of 25-27 January 1984, 28 February-1 March 1984 and 20-22 March 1984.

At the last of these meetings the committee adopted the motion for a resolution by 7 votes in favour with 4 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr Haagerup, acting chairman and first vice-chairman; Mr Galluzzi, rapporteur; Mr Barbi, Mr Bournias, Lady Elles, Mr Ephremidis, Mrs Gaiotti de Biase (deputizing for Mr Antoniozzi), Mr Habsburg, Mr Hansch, Mr Lomas, Mr d'Ormesson and Mr Schieler.

The report was tabled on 23 March 1984.

The deadline for tabling amendments to the report will be indicated in the draft agenda for the part session at which it will be debated.

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A

The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the crisis within the UN

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-741/82) tabled by Mrs Gaiotti de Biase and others on the crisis within the UN,
- having regard to the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-49/83) tabled by Mr Rieger on the provision of a European contingent for the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations,
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc.1-65/84),
 - A. having regard to the universal character of the UN and the irreplaceable role assigned to it by the UN Charter since its foundation,
 - B. aware of the crisis that the United Nations is undergoing and the fact that it may become further exacerbated, with serious consequences for the process of detente and disarmament and international peace and security,
 - C. whereas any further weakening of the UN would remove a vital frame of reference and an essential instrument for promoting dialogue between states and the search for negotiated solutions to international conflicts and disputes,
 - D. believing that the competent Community authorities should undertake a thorough appraisal of the crisis within the UN and of its potential repercussions on Europe,

1. Appeals to all states, both large and small, to conform to the principles which they accepted when the UN was created by ensuring that their political attitudes are consistent therewith, and to refrain from regarding the UN as a body in which to assert power positions or particular interests;
2. Considers any unilateral withdrawal from the UN and its agencies, whatever justification there may be, to be an extremely serious move, which undermines the UN's prestige and authority, while adding to its difficulties;
3. Stresses the fundamental link that now exists between a strategy for strengthening the role of the UN and the development of regional groupings in the different continents of the world;
4. Considers that, with the strength derived from the reputation it has acquired within the United Nations, the European Community can and must develop closer cooperation with other existing regional groupings and non-aligned countries in order to establish within the UN a philosophy which eschews both hegemonism and rivalry;
5. To this end, calls on the Community institutions and the governments of the Member States to consider the UN as the most important forum for international concertation and to reinforce the role of Europe in such concertation, both by strengthening European political cooperation and by ensuring that the involvement of the Community as such in the activities of the UN is more effective;
6. Stresses the need, in this context, for a European initiative to encourage the immediate resumption of the process of détente and disarmament, without which the serious crisis within the UN, the most conspicuous feature of which is the present gradual deterioration of the climate of trust in international relations, cannot be tackled and overcome;
7. Stresses, moreover, that the heightening of international tensions is having a direct impact on the internal structure of the UN and, in particular, on the Security Council, which is paralyzed by the use of reciprocal vetoes, and the General Assembly, in which sectoral and bloc interests often prevail;

8. Calls, therefore, on the President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities to support the view repeatedly expressed by the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that there should be a rapid return to the principles enshrined in the San Francisco Charter and, in particular, Article 99 thereof;
9. Also takes the view that the representatives of the countries of the European Community shall champion the interests of Europe more energetically than heretofore;
10. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Ministers of the Ten meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States and the Secretary-General of the UN.

B
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

INTRODUCTION

From 23 to 31 October 1983, the rapporteur held various discussions in the UN with the organization's representatives and the directors of its different sectors and activities. He also saw politicians, important figures, ambassadors of various Community and non-Community States and, at the end of his fact finding mission, the Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar.

During these meetings, discussions were held on both internal UN matters and the international situation as well as the most serious and pressing contemporary problems. At the centre of these exchanges were, of course, the difficulties that the UN is undergoing and the ways in which they can be tackled by relaunching its role as an essential body for guaranteeing peace and security and helping to find solutions to international conflicts and disputes.

It should be pointed out that the visit took place at what can be called a crucial time. At the end of October the differences between the USA and the USSR reached a critical stage following the shooting down by a Soviet fighter of a South Korean aircraft, the conflict in the Lebanon became worse and there was armed intervention by the USA in Grenada.

All these factors helped to highlight the limitations and the real difficulties with which the UN is currently faced.

Finally, the rapporteur was accorded a warm welcome by the members of the Commission delegation in New York who did everything in their power to ensure the success of the mission.

1. Following the initial report by the Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, expressing concern at the situation in the United Nations, there was a discussion on the future of the UN and the nature of the crisis facing it. It would appear that the crisis is indeed profound, reflecting the gradual deterioration of international relations and the aggravation of East West, North South conflicts.

The most serious and alarming aspect, but not the only aspect of the crisis, is the breakdown in the talks between the two major powers on the missile crisis and the subsequent suspension of negotiations on both theatre weapons and strategic missiles. We are now in a situation that is spiralling out of control and forcing the two major powers into the position of growing conflict that is threatening to engulf the whole world.

The USSR lives under the shadow of isolation and encirclement, the iron-curtain mentality and pressure to establish its own role as a major power with the help of military force and the expansion of its political and military influence beyond its own territory. These trends, which seem to have become the guiding force behind Soviet policy in recent years, are at one and the same time the cause and effect of the new US policy which is founded on the quest for total economic, political and moral supremacy in the certain belief that the American model is superior. Convinced that détente is no more than a game to the USSR, the new American administration's policy gives the East West conflict priority over everything else. Current American policy views the USSR as the principal cause of international tensions and conflicts. This confrontation between the two blocks serves, on the one hand, to ignore the real and more complex reasons underlying the current crises and, on the other hand, is leading to increased friction with the result that their relations are at an even lower ebb than during the most difficult periods of the cold war.

In place of the idea of safeguarding national territory and their respective blocks, the two major powers are now beginning to introduce the idea of vital interests; thus the United States claims that it feels threatened in the Persian Gulf, considering this an area of vital interest, and the USSR feels the same way about Afghanistan. This is done solely to justify the establishment of military bases and the sending of expeditionary forces all over the world thereby heightening international tension and adding to the dangers of war in blatant conflict with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter which condemns the use of force and is founded on the principle of collective security.

The two superpowers now see the UN as an instrument for achieving their own political goals and protecting their own interests rather than as a place for mediation and dialogue providing an opportunity for finding suitable solutions to the most serious international problems.

In addition to this, the United States and the USSR are becoming increasingly alienated from the UN. The Americans believe that the changes that have come about in the United Nations with the entry of over 100 newly independent states, following the disintegration of the colonial system, have placed them in an untenable position, forcing them into a minority on a practically permanent basis. The Russians, in keeping with their long held conviction, believe that despite the political changes that have occurred, the UN is unable to counter effectively American imperialist policy since its administration and institutional bodies are politically and economically controlled by the United States.

2. It is obvious that an organization like the UN that bases its power, authority, opportunities for intervention and its very existence on understanding and cooperation between the two superpowers, cannot help but be adversely affected by this bitter conflict. The more this conflict widens, the more the crisis within the UN deepens and becomes insoluble. It is therefore a matter of priority, if the present crisis is to be overcome, that the dialogue between the two major powers be reopened, the process of détente resumed and the negotiations on disarmament restarted, otherwise any possibility of reviving the UN in an independent and credible role is merely wishful thinking. This is where European political cooperation can come into its own by presenting proposals and taking steps to relaunch the Geneva Conference and give a fresh and positive boost to détente, disarmament and cooperation between the East and West and between the North and South.

The fact that the major responsibility for the decline and loss of the UN's credibility lies with the two superpowers should not make us forget the damage caused by other countries. First of all there is Europe, often divided and unable to make a constructive contribution based on joint and

independent positions and often resigned to playing a subordinate role. Then there are also the so called newly independent countries. Indeed, they have helped to undermine the UN and have dented its prestige and credibility by the way in which they have tackled international problems and by their attempts to make the UN a sounding board for their own needs, often seen from a nationalistic point of view, in obstinate defiance of the principles of the UN and displaying determined and unacceptable opposition to its decisions on countries like Israel and South Africa. But this is, undoubtedly, also the result of a loss of faith on the part of third world countries in an organization in which so many hopes were placed and which, on the contrary, has gradually abdicated its proper functions even with regard to the North South dialogue and development policy where, perhaps, opportunities for independent and positive action may have been greater.

There is undoubtedly less awareness of the usefulness of, if not the need for, a central decision making body at world level in which states are prepared to cooperate to find solutions to tensions and conflicts, guarantee peace and security and tackle development problems in the best way.

The crisis in the Lebanon and the Middle East, the war between Iraq and Iran, Cambodia, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, the Falklands and Grenada, together with the suspension of the North South dialogue and the growing difficulties of development aid policy highlight not only the crisis within the UN, but also the crisis represented by the bipolar balance of world power in recent years. This crisis is becoming explosive and slowly accentuating the conflict between the multipolar balance of the world and the bipolar and nuclear balance. For this reason, it is essential that the UN be reestablished as the fulcrum of a new world order founded no longer on bipolarism but on multipolarism.

3. Awareness of the gravity of the crisis, made even more dramatic by the open threat of a unilateral withdrawal by one of the two major powers and by the deterioration in relations between the UN and certain member states of the Security Council, opens important questions over the UN's future.

It would be unthinkable to call into question the existence of the United Nations. Today it is becoming increasingly apparent that the UN is the only frame of reference in a world that is constantly becoming more ungovernable and edging towards anarchy and disintegration. Many people have written, with justification, that if the UN did not exist then it would be necessary to invent it, but, since it does already exist, it is just as important to realize that it is a useless body. If the need for the UN is not in question, there is also no question about the need for it to be adapted and reformed so that it can carry out its essential tasks and reacquire the prestige and credibility which it seems to have lost for the present.

Not only governments, but also political forces of all colours have an interest in such reform because in this way advantage can once again be taken of an international organization that can and must guarantee indeed it is the only one that can do so - security and development.

Reform must be based on the positive steps that the UN has taken since its foundation. Indeed, the UN has been the natural home for newly independent states (it is not by accident that its membership has increased from 51 countries in 1945 to 155 countries in 1982), because it has adopted as its common heritage the major principles of a new international morality based on human rights, the right to independence and development and the struggle to combat colonialism and racism. It has also managed to construct a network of high level specialized bodies, even if their policy has often been contradicted by individual states and, in particular, the major powers.

4. The crisis within the UN is also a structural crisis. The UN has neither instruments, nor means, nor structures suited to dealing with a profoundly changed reality whose internal features have altered. Indeed, it does not have measures of coercion at its disposal, it does not have armed forces and it does not have real executive powers being, so it seems, trapped in the contradiction between its democratic structure and executive power. In these circumstances it seems unlikely that the institutional reforms that are needed will be proposed in view of the internal conflicts within the organization that end up by paralyzing any attempt to interfere with the institutional mechanism and the organization's supporting structures.

However, it would appear that there are two lines of action that can be followed. The first is to create and give political weight to regional groupings with a different philosophy than that represented by the hegemonism and rivalry of the two major blocks. This would involve groupings that already exist, and not only on paper, even if all of them do seem to be in difficulty and on the verge of a genuine crisis. The EEC, the Organization for African Unity, the Arab League, Asean, Comecon and the Organization of Latin American States are all caught up in severe economic difficulties and affected by profound institutional crises. There is one way in which the Community can help to provide a lead, namely by giving central importance in its external, economic and trade policy to relations with these regional groupings acting as a supporter and, above all, a major partner. This calls for a decisive effort, supported by the European Parliament, to ensure that the European Community speaks with one voice in world politics and considers the UN the most important place for guaranteeing European political cooperation. To this end, political cooperation within the UN should be further strengthened by establishing concertation on the positions to be adopted and creating a delegation. It is therefore essential that Europe be autonomous and independent from the United States and establish stronger ties with the developing countries. This final objective is extremely important because, by acting in this manner, Europe can provide these countries with a frame of reference that is neither hegemonistic nor imperialistic, resisting both demagogic and nationalistic pressures while acting as genuine partners for the construction of a new system of international relations based on collective responsibility and the collective management of crises.

The other path to be followed involves reasserting and returning to the original principles of the United Nations Charter. This is the path on which the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Perez de Cuellar, insisted in his report of 7 September 1982. The major problem involves giving back to the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the UN their autonomy and priority established by the Charter, otherwise any chance or possibility of action becomes hopelessly compromised. The trend towards divesting the Security Council of its power and ignoring the Secretary-

General who is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the decisions and resolutions adopted by the UN in recent years, must be resisted and reversed. In this context, the European Community which has a good deal of political weight within the Supreme body of the United Nations, has a fundamental role to play. Moreover, Europe should reaffirm the Secretary-General's power of initiative, as laid down and ratified by Article 99 of the United Nations Charter, to bring to the attention of the Security Council all those situations which, in his opinion (pursuant to Article 99), may represent a threat to peace and international security.

Reaffirmation of these general principles and rules of procedure could, and should be accompanied by a reconsideration of the UN's role as a major forum and place of mediation providing special and sectoral bodies with the necessary powers, opportunities and resources to operate effectively for development and cooperation.

5. The European Parliament should play an essential role in promoting these considerations and this commitment on behalf of the European Community. Indeed, Europe must give political backing to its process of integration so that it can contribute with greater weight to the support and development of an international organization that is the essential frame of reference not only for the independence of Europe itself at international level but, above all, for a peaceful and safe world for all.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-741/82)

tabled by Mrs GAIOTTI DE BIASE, Mrs CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI, Mr ANTONIOZZI, Mr BOURNIAS, Mr HERMAN, Mr ESTGEN and Mr HABSBERG
on behalf of the EPP Group (Christian-Democratic Group)
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on the crisis within the UN

The European Parliament,

- A. - having regard to the statements made by the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Perez de Cuellar, and his report on the serious nature of the crisis within the UN,
- B. - concerned at the disappointing outcome of the North-South Assembly and the UN Conference on Disarmament,
- C. - whereas, in the course of this year, the international organization of the United Nations has seen tragic confirmation of its impotence in the face both of continuing aggression and tension, from Afghanistan to Southern Africa, and of new conflicts between Iran and Iraq, Britain and Argentina and in Lebanon,
- D. - convinced that only strong international institutions can, by their successful upholding of international law and human rights, secure peace for mankind,
- E. - mindful of the tragic demise of the League of Nations,
- F. - convinced of the intrinsic relation between a policy for strengthening the role of the UN and promoting regional cohesion in the various continents of the globe,
- G. - noting that the large international organizations have provided the Community countries with an ideal basis for political cooperation in their search for common positions,
- H. - convinced that the UN is a forum both for defining and assaying a common Europe-USA strategy for peace and for resuming negotiations with those of the non-aligned countries committed to working towards the peaceful resolution of conflicts,
- I. - determined to play its part to ensure that the European Community revives the grand design that led to the creation of the UN and takes political responsibility for resolving the current crisis,

1. Instructs its committee responsible to draw up a report on the crisis within the international organization of the United Nations and to put forward realistic proposals for resolving it, extending to this end an invitation to the Secretary-General of the UN himself;
2. Calls on the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Community meeting in political cooperation to consider the question of the role of the Community countries in responding to the crisis within the UN;
3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission, to the Governments of the Member States and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-49/83)

tabled by Mr RIEGER

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the provision of a European contingent for the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations

The European Parliament,

- A - having regard to the importance of the United Nations for the preservation of world peace and international security,**
- B - having particular regard to the United Nations' contribution to peace-keeping by the provision of peace-keeping forces,**
- C - convinced that the addition of a joint contingent of troops from the Member States of the European Community to the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations would reflect the Community's responsibility for world peace and international security and enhance the Community's standing,**

Instructs the committee responsible to consider, and submit a report on, the measures required to provide a European contingent for the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations.