

RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE
PROGRESS AND FAILURE IN CONFLICT PREVENTION
WORDWIDE SPREAD OF ANXIETY
MC GILL UNIVERSITY
5TH OF NOVEMBER 1996

OUR WORLD IS CROSSED BY A FIRE BELT OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS - 42 DECLARED OR LATENT WAS THE LAST FIGURE-. GREAT LAKE REGION, CHECHENYA, KURDISH AREA, CASHMIR, TODAY THE EXODUS IN ZAIRE, ETC... WE FEEL, IN EUROPE, AS IN THE UNITED STATES I FEEL, SHELTERED, CONCERNED BUT STILL SHELTERED. OF COURSE PUBLIC OPINIONS HAVE BEEN EMOTED BY THE EX YUGOSLAVIA CONFLICT, BUT THIS EMOTION OCCURED AFTER LONG MONTHES OF CONFLICT AND LOT OF DEATH AND DESOLATION.

THE LAST "INTERNATIONAL WAR " WAS THE IRAKI CONFLICT. A TREMENDOUS AMOUND OF MONEY TO WIN THE IRAKIAN ARMY AND AND PRESERVE THE PRECIOUS LIFES OF OUR SOLDIERS. AS TODAY THE DRAMATIC AND PREVISIBLE EXODUS IN ZAIRE. WE KNEW THIS TERRIBLE ISSUE, BUT NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE TO AVOID IT. EVERY TIME WE FEEL THE SAME EMOTION AND EVERY TIME WE SAY THAT SOMETHING COULD BE POSSIBLE TO DO TO AVOID SUCH DRAMAS. AND WE ARE WAITIONG FOR THE NEXT IMAGES ON TV SCREENS.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE END OF THE SEPARATION OF THE WORLD IN TWO BIG BLOCKS MUST PROVIDE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVISE THE MEANS TO ENSURE PEACE FOR THE PEOPLE LIVING ON THIS PLANET, AND SPECIALY THE MINORITIES. WHAT IS DOING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO PRESERVE PEACE NOT ONLY BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES BUT ALSO INSIDE THE COUNTRIES, PROTECTING THE MINORITIES. ON WHOM CAN WE RELY TO AVOID GENOCIDES, LIKE IN RWANDA? HOW

CAN WE AVOID THIS ANXIETY EMERGING WITH THE CRISIS IN ALL THE DEVELOPPED COUNTRIES LEADING TO NATIONALISM, EGOCENTRISM, AND FINALLY RACISM? WHAT KIND OF MEANS CAN WE EMPLOY? WHAT ARE THE WAYS FOR A BETTER COOPERATION BETWEEN ALL THE BODYS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, POLITICAL, NGO'S, CHURCHES, UNIVERSITARY, MEDIAS, AND PEOPLE ONE BY ONE.

IN FACT, WE ARE FACING THE SAME SITUATION THAT OUR PARENTS FACED BEFORE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THE SITUATION IS EXPLOSIVE, BECAUSE OF THE DISORDER CAUSE BY THE ECONOMICAL CRISIS. WE MUST INVENT A WORLD, REEQUILIBRATE THE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE RICHNESSES. IF WE DO NOTHING, IF WE DO NOT INVENT EQUILIBRATED AND CIVILIZED SYSTEMS, A BROTHERWOOD AND A COLLECTIVE SOLIDARITY, IF WE DO NOT FIND COMMON VALUES TO CREATE COLLECTIVE MECANISM, WE SHALL HAVE TO CURE, AGAIN AND AGAIN WARS AND DESOLATION, ALWAYS TOO LATE.

IF WE WAIT TO LONG TO BUILD SOME PREVENTIVE SYSTEMS, A NEW ECONOMICAL BALANCE, A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, OUR WORLD WILL GET MORE AND MORE DANGEROUS AND DISBALANCED. IF WE CONTINUE ON THE WAY OF INDIFERENCE AND EGOISM, WE SHALL FOR SURE CONTINUE TO PAY FOR DESASTERS TILL THE DAY WE SHALL LACK OF CASH. PAYING AND AFTER, WHAT? ON THE CONTRARY, NATIONALISM IS BACK, EVERYWHERE MAINLY IN EUROPE.

BACK TO NATIONALISM ?

IN FACT, PEOPLE FEEL THREATENED. THE FEAR IS NO LONGER THE FEAR OF AN ATTACK BY A OTHER COUNTRY, THE FEARS ARE COMING FROM THE WEAKNESS OF THE ECONOMICAL SYSTEMS, GROWING OF UNEMPLOYEMENT THE DIFFICULTIES

PEOPLE MEET IN THEIR DAILY LIVES, THE PRIVATIONS, THE PROLIFERATION OF THE FREE DELIVERED WEAPONS, REPRESSIONS, PRESSIONS OPERATED BY TERRORISTS OR DICTATORS, THE VIOLATIONS TO ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS.

SO WHAT CAN WE DO, POLITICAL BODIES, HUMANITARIANS, FONCTIONARIES OF GREAT INTERNATIONAL BODIES, MONEY PROVIDERS, WHICH ANSWER CAN WE BRING BEFORE THE BLOOD BEGIN TO BE Poured, BEFORE BAD NUTRITION AND ILLNESSES DO THEIR BAD JOB. IT IS OUR FIRST MISSION TO ANSWER THE ANGUISHES OF MEN AND WOMEN, TO FIND AND IMPLEMENT SYSTEMS TO ACT BEFORE IT IS 'TO LATE, BEFORE THE FEAR TURNS IN HATE FOR THE O'THER, THE NEIGHBOUR, THE ONE WHO IS DIFFERENT. COULD WE LET THEM DIE? DO WE REACH TO SUCH A SELFISHNESS THAT WE BECOME INDIFFERENT TO THE MASSACRE OF MINORITIES?

THE NATURE OF SOCIETY HAVE CHANGED, CAN WE STILL THINK THAT THE FACE OF SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE IS THE SAME. A SUSTAINABLE PEACE IS ACCEPTABLE AND BENEFIC ONLY IF IT IS SHARED BY EVERYBODY, IN SPITE OF ITS COLOR, REIJGION, OR CONVICTION. THIS AIM CAN BE REACHED IF, AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, A COOPERATION IS FOUND, COOPERATION BASED ON SOLIDARITY, JUSTICE AND RECIPROCITY.

LET US COME SPECIFICALLY TO OUR SUBJECT. BEFORE, MASSACRES OF MINORITIES WERE CARRIED OUT , INSIDE THE COUNTRIES, HIDDEN AND CONSIDERED AS A MATTER OF "INTERNAL AFFAIRS". IT WAS THE "WAR OF THE OTHERS", AND NOBODY FELT CONCERNED: IT WAS NOT KNOWN ABOUT. WE JUST BEGAN TO FEEL AN INTEREST IF IT OCCURED TO THREATEN OUR COUNTRIES. DEMOCRACY AND INFORMATION HAVE CHANGED THE WORLD. WE NEED ONLY A FEW HOURS TO KNOW WHAT IS OCCURING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF OUR PLANET. THIS DOES NOT PERMIT TO PREVENT CONFLICTS.

BUT WE CANNOT SAY, AS WE WERE USED TO SAY BEFORE: " SORRY, WE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IT!". BUT, FROM NOW, IS THERE A MORAL ADVANTAGE TO KNOW, IF WE REMAIN PASSIVE?

THERE ARE STILL MASSACRES, GENOCIDES, HIDDEN BEHIND FRONTIERS WALLS. WE CALL THAT, AS WE DID FOR A LONG TIME IN CHECHENYA, AN "INTERNAL RUSSIAN AFFAIR". AND WHAT ABOUT TIBET? PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, INGERENCE REMAINS BEAUTIFUL AND VOLONTARIST PROJECTS, NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY EFFICIENT TO PREVENT WHAT OCCURED IN SARAJEVO, KIGALI, MONROVIA AND CERTAINLY TOMORROW IN BURUNDI. WE NEED DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, BUT ALSO POLITICAL HARASSMENT AND PREVENTIVE INSTRUMENTS.

HUMANITARIAN ACTION

HUMANITARIAN ACTION IS TO BE CONSIDERED AS A MEAN, NOT AS AN AIM. HUMANITARIAN ACTION TENDS TO OCCUR ONCE IT IS TOO LATE. IT SIGNS AND CONFIRMS THE FAILURE OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS NECESSARY TO TREAT THE VICTIMS, BUT IT IS BETTER TO AVOID EXTERMINATIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, MORE MONEY IS USED TO CURE, MORE MONEY, TOO LATE, FOR HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES, LESS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PREVENTION.

THE CURRENT CHANGE IN MENTALITIES, IS HAPPENING BECAUSE WE FEEL THAT WE CAN REACH PREVENTION AS A RESULT OF THE GROWING INFLUENCE AND POPULARITY OF HUMANITARIAN ACTION, MAYBE ALSO BECAUSE WE FEEL WE CAN NO LONGER SPOIL ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF MONEY . DURING THE 5 PAST YEARS, THE GLOBAL HUMANITARIAN ACTION HAS REACHED MORE THAN 4 BILLIONS DOLLARS. WE MUST DEAL WITH WAR, AS WE MUST DEAL WITH QUESTIONS OF HEALTH: TO CURE IS

NOT ENOUGH. WE MUST IMPOSE PROPHYLAXY, PREVENTIVE ACTIONS. AND THIS NOTION HAVE TO STAMP THE THIRD STEP OF A PROCESS THAT BEGAN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XIX CENTURY. WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH WHAT WE ARE NOT DIRECTLY CONCERNED IN, BUT WHAT IS CONCERNING THE FATE OF OTHER PEOPLE.

HUMANITARIAN GENERATIONS

IN 1859, HENRI DUNANT, WHO WAS NOT A DOCTOR, HAD THE BRAND NEW IDEA TO TREAT THOSE WHO WERE WOUNDED ON THE BATTLE FIELDS, FROM BOTH SIDES. THIS WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE RED CROSS. THERE WERE NO GOOD OR BAD VICTIMS. JUST VICTIMS: THE DESIRE TO CARE FOR THE BOTH SIDES, JUSTIFIED THE NEUTRALITY AND REQUIRED THE AUTHORISATION OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES. TODAY A QUESTION IS TO BE RAISED: ARE THE AGRESSORS TO BENEFIT FROM THE SAME STATUS THAN THE VICTIMS? CAN THOSE WHO THROW BOMBS, BENEFIT FROM THE SAME STATUS AS THOSE WHO ARE WOUNDED BY BOMBS? THESE WERE THE LIMITS OF THIS FIRST GENERATION. BUT IT HAS BEEN A USEFUL GENERATION.

A LONG TIME AFTER THIS, THE SECOND GENERATION ARRIVED: THAT OF THE FRENCH DOCTORS, WHO BESIDES THE GUYS OF RED CROSS, WORKED DURING THE BIAFRAN WAR, AT THE END OF THE 60TIES. THEY DECIDED NOT TO REMAIN PRISONERS OF BORDERS, AND BUT TREAT EVERYWHERE THOSE WHO WERE IN NEED OF THEIR CARE, WITH OR WITHOUT THE CLEARANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT. VICTIMS WERE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THOSE WHO INITIATED THE CARING PROCESS, NOT GOVERNMENTS. THESE DOCTORS ALSO DECIDED THAT THEY HAD TO BEAR WITNESS TO WHAT THEY HAD SEEN, TO PROTECT THE VICTIMS, AND EVEN, AVOID THE WORST. ACCORDING TO THEM, ACCORDING TO ME PARTICULARLY, STATE SOVEIGNTY WAS ONE THING, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT WERE THE WOUNDED MEN AND WOMEN. THE MOST

IMPORTANT WAS THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE THIRD GENERATION WILL BE THE INGERENCE GENERATION. IT WILL PREVENT MASSACRES. SHALL WE SUCCEED? WE DO NOT KNOW. BUT WE SHALL HAVE TRIED. WE ARE ACCUSED OF "PLAYING POLITICS", AS IF TO PREVENT MASSACRES OF MINORITIES WAS NOT SIMPLY PUBLIC SALUBRITY. BECAUSE WE ARE WELL INFORMED ABOUT URGENT SITUATIONS, OUR EFFORTS ARE TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE EUROPEAN AREA. THIS AREA WAS CONSTITUTED OF COUNTRIES BORN OF WAR AND MASSACRES, AND THESE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE UNITED THEMSELVES TO AVOID A NEW AUSCHWITZ: THIS WAS THE FIRST INGERENCE: EUROPEAN UNION. HUMANITARIAN ACTION, IS A RIGHT WHICH SOFTENS AND CODIFIES WAR WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS. IT IS THE IDEA THAT, INSIDE WAR - ACCEPTED AS AN INEVITABLE HUMAN ACTIVITY- THERE ARE RULES TO RESPECT. EXCELLENT, BUT NOT SUFFICIENT! LET US GO FURTHER. EXTERMINATION OF A GROUP OF HUMAN BEINGS MUST NOT REMAIN THE DOMAIN OF THE INTERNAL POLICY OF A STATE: OVER AND ABOVE ABOVE THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OF A STATE, THERE MUST BE HUMAN RIGHTS AND EVEN THE RIGHTS OF A SINGLE HUMAN BEING. THE VICTIMS ARE PROCLAIMING AND DENYING THE RIGHT TO MASSACRE MINORITIES IN THE NAME OF CLOSED BORDERS, DICTATORS, NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA? GENOCIDE IN RWANDA?

WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE YEARS 1993-1995 HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY MARKED BY WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE "YUGOSLAVIAN DRAMA" AND THE "RWANDAN GENOCIDE". THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WHERE I AM ELECTED, HAS REACTED BY VOTING A LOT OF RESOLUTIONS. THESE RESOLUTIONS ARE NOT ENOUGH, EVEN IF, GENEROUSLY, THEY WERE PROCLAIMING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES, THE

RECOGNITION OF GENOCIDE AND ETHNIC CLEANSING, AND RIGHTS OF THE REFUGEES. SOMETIMES, AND IT HAS BECOME MORE AND MORE FREQUENT IN THESE LAST 2 YEARS, THE RESOLUTIONS WERE INSISTING ON THE NECESSITY OF THE HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A REAL SYSTEM OF CONFLICT PREVENTION.

WE ARE BUILDING THE NEW RIGHT: THE RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE.

FOR THE MOMENT, THE DEBATE ON PREVENTION, OR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY REMAINS TOO MUCH THEORETICAL, BECAUSE WE ARE INSTITUTIONALLY LIMITED. BUT WE, PARLIAMENTARIANS FEEL THAT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HAS A PART TO PLAY, AFFIRMING ITSELF AS A MORAL AUTHORITY AND TO BE USED AS A TOOL THAT CAN PUT PRESSURE ON THE UNION POLITICAL BODIES AND ON THE MEMBER STATES IN THE MATTER OF CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY.

OUR INSTITUTION, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, IN A RECENT RESOLUTION - APRIL 94- ON THE "RIGHT OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION" ADOPTED A TEXT IN WHICH IT WAS CLEARLY DEFINED THAT IT IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE TO REFER CONSTANTLY TO THE TRADITIONAL ARGUMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES IN PERMITTING ANY ARBITRARY ACTS PERPETRATED IN A COUNTRY, BY A GOVERNMENT OR BY A GROUP. THIS TEXT ALSO STATED THAT THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A COUNTRY IS NOT AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. WE, AS THE EXPRESSIN OF THE CITIZENS OF THE MEMBER STATES, HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT AUSCHWITZ WAS NOT AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. IT HAS TAKEN ALMOST 50 YEARS TO REACH THIS STATEMENT, IN AN INTERNATIONAL BODY. THERE IS NOW A FAVOURABLE TREND:: PERIOD 1993/1994 HAS LED TO THE ADOPTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OF RESOLUTIONS UPON THE RIGHT OF INTERVENTION - IN A LARGE SENSE- FOR HUMANITARIANS AND RESPECT OF MOTIVES HUMAN RIGTHS. AMONG THESE:

RESOLUTION 929 OF 22 JUNE 1994 TO APPROVE A MULTINATIONAL OPERATION WITH HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES IN RWANDA

RESOLUTION 836 OF THE 4 OF JUNE 1993, ON THE PROTECTION OF 6 REGIONS OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA DESCRIBED AS SECURITY AREAS.

RESOLUTION 45/100 OF 1990 OF THE U.N GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSACRATING THE HUMANITARIAN CORRIDOR CONCEPT, WHICH WILL BE APPLIED IN DECEMBER 92 TO SAVE DUBROVNIK

RESOLUTION 43/131 OF THE 8TH OF DECEMBER 1988, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR VICTIMS OF NATUREL DISASTERS, BUT ALSO POLITICAL OR MILITARY CONSEQUENCIES. THIS RESOLUTION WILL BE APPLIED IMMEDIATELY, IN ARMENIA FOR THE EARTHQUAKE, BY SENDIND MORE THAN 500 RESCUERS

RESOLUTION 688 OF THE 5TH OF APRIL 1991 OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IMPONING THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF FOR KURDISH REFUGEES FROM IRAK

RESOLUTION 43/131 IN 1988 LAYING DOWN THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE ACCESS TO DISASTER VICTIMS IN CASE OF NATURAL DISASTERS AND SIMILAR EMERGENCY SITUATIONS

IN FACT, THE DEFINITION OF THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF INTERVENTION LEADS TO TWO KINDS OF PROBLEMS: FIRSTLY, THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF CRIMES PREVENTION. AND SECONDLY, THE DEFINITION OF THE MEANS OF INTERVENTION AND PROCEDURES TO IMPLEMENT: THE SENDING OF OBSERVERS, SPECIAL ENVOYS, PEACE MAKING OR PEACE KEEPING ARMIES, THE PROTECTION OF HUMANITARIAN CONVEYS. IN FACT, THERE IS A GREAT CONFUSION BETWEEN THE JUDICIAL, DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL, AND BY THE WAY BUDGETARY INITIATIVES, AND THIS CONFUSION TENDS TO PARALYZE ACTION. THERE IS CONFUSION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND THE HUMANITARIAN ACTION. THERE IS NO SYNERGY, BUT SUSPICION AND BAD WILL. IT IS THE WRONG TO PROCEED. THE TWO BODIES ARE NECESSARY.

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WAY

THE FIRST BECAUSE IT HAS THE INSTRUMENTS TO DECIDE, THE SECOND BECAUSE IT CAN ACT AND OBLIGE THE OTHERS TO DECIDE, THE POLITICIAN TO MOVE.

LAST YEAR, THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SPENT MORE THAN 4 BILLIONS AS I SAID BEFORE, ON OFFICIAL HUMANITARIAN HELP. TWO THIRDS OF THIS HELP CAME FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION. IN 1994, ECHO, THE HUMANITARIAN DESK OF THE UNION PROVIDED FINANCE OF 764 MILLIONS ECUS. 20 YEARS AGO, IT FINANCED ONLY 5 MILLIONS. IT CANNOT GO ON LIKE THIS. THIS ENORMOUS INCREASE CANNOT GO ON. EVERYBODY AGREES. BUT WHO DOES WHAT? WE NEED PREVENTION. ON THE WORLD-WIDE AS WELL AS ON THE EUROPEAN SCALE. BUT WHAT ARE THE BEST SOLUTIONS AND WHO CAN DO WHAT?

HUMANITARIAN ACTION IS TOO EXPENSIVE, WE MUST IMPLEMENT PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY

THE RESOURCES, THE WILL, AND IN SOME CASE THE NECESSARY COMPETENCES TO PUT THIS IDEA OF PREVENTION INTO PRACTICE SEEM TO BE LACKING. THERE IS ALSO A LACK OF RESOURCES. WHO HAS TROOPS, WHO HAS THE PERSONNEL REQUIRED FOR TIMELY PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY: EVEN THE UNITED NATIONS DOES NOT HAVE THEM. CAN THE UNION REACH AN AGREEMENT WITHIN THE MEMBER STATES AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEXT INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, TO CREATE SUCH A BODY? IS THERE A REAL POLITICAL WILL?

THE STARTING POINT FOR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, OR ANY CONFLICT PREVENTION, IS THE MEANS TO BE PROPERLY INFORMED OF THREATS TO PEACE AND A GOOD MECHANISM TO GALVANISE ACTIONS IN TIME.

WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS, VARIOUS UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES HAVE MET REGULARLY SINCE 1993, IN ORDER TO DEVELOP A NEW EARLY WARNING MECHANISM, BUT THE SUCCESS IS NOT OBVIOUS. IN FACT, THERE ARE STILL NOT ENOUGH AGREED INDICATORS WHICH COULD INITIATE ACTION TO PREVENT CONFLICTS. IN THE SAME WAY, THERE IS STILL NO MEANS BY WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS AWARE OF A PROBLEM, AND MUST CONSIDER WHAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN.

TO BE SERIOUS, THE UNITED NATIONS NEEDS A SPECIAL OFFICE FOR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, THAT CAN RELY ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO FORWARD ITS ANALYSIS. THIS IS NOT DONE. THE UNION, TO IMPROVE ITS PREVENTIVE PERFORMANCE MUST ALSO CREATE, WITHIN ITS INSTITUTIONS, IN THE BEST AND THE RIGHT PLACE, A SIMILAR KIND OF OFFICE OR CENTER, ABLE TO MAKE CONCRETE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION TO THE COMMISSION, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND UNITED NATIONS. THE POINT IS THAT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS MUST BE PURSUED POLITICALLY. IT ALSO MEANS THAT THE UNION MUST HAVE A COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY. A CENTER FOR PREVENTION IS HELPFUL AND USEFUL ONLY IF WE CAN ACT, IF WE HAVE THE MEANS TO ACT. THAT IS WHY, OUR MAJOR EFFORTS MUST BE FOCUSED ON THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE. WE MUST ASK OUR GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT A COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY.

THE PART EUROPE CAN PLAY

THE UNION CAN PLAY AN ACTIVE PART IN THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY - IT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH JUST TO ENSURE THE PROTECTION OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS AND OF ITS OWN SECURITY. WE ARE

THE FIRST COMMERCIAL POWER OF THE PLANET, THE PREMIER PROVIDER OF HUMANITARIAN HELP, THE ORGANISM THAT HAS TWO MEMBERS WITHIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE MUST, WITH OUR OTHER PARTNERS, USA, JAPAN, CANADA AND OTHERS, EVEN OUR PARTNERS OF AUO, ASSUME RESPONSABILITIES IN THIS PERIOD FOLLOWING THE "COLD WAR", IN WHICH NEW EQUILIBRIUMS MUST BE FOUND AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL.

WE HAVE TO IMPLEMENT A MORE EFFICIENT FOREIGN POLICY, THAT TAKES ACCOUNT OF AND INTEGRATES COMMERCIAL POLICY, ALSO CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND QUESTIONS OF SECURITY, WITH A PERMANENT STRATEGY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A PERMANENT BUREAU IN BRUSSELS, BUT WE NEVER MEET THEM TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION, WHY?. ALL OUR ANACHRONISTIC MENTALITIES HAVE TO BE CHANGED, WE MUST COMMUNICATE WITH THE WORLD, NO ONE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT OR THAT, WE HAVE A COLLECTIVE RESPONSABILITY. WHAT IS INTERNET IF GENOCIDE IS STILL POSSIBLE?

THE PRESENT SYSTEM RELIES UPON A STRUCTURE AND UPON INTERGOVERNMENTAL MODES OF FUNCTIONING, HARDLY RECONCILIABLE WITH A CONCEPT OF A "COMMUNITY PILAR". UNANIMITY, THE LIMITED ROLE OF THE EXECUTIVE BODIES, THE NON EXISTENT ROLE GIVEN TO THE EXPRESSION OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY, ARE PREVENTING THE UNION, FROM FULLY PARTICIPATING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. FOR INSTANCE, TOO FREQUENTLY, COUNCIL ACTION IS PARALYSED BY VETO AND ANTAGONISM, CONSTRAINING THE EFFICIENCY OF COMMON ACTION AND EMPTYING THE COMMON POSITIONS OF ALL OF THEIR SENSE, LITTLE MORE THAN COMMON DENOMINATORS, WHEN THE TRAGICA EVENTS OF INTERNATIONAL ACTUALITY ARE REQUIRING URGENT AND DECISIVE ACTIONS. REMEMBER: BOUTROS

GHALI ASKED FOR A PREVENTIVE ACTION IN THE GREAT LAKES BORDERS OF ZAIRE, MORE THAN ONE YEAR AGO. WHO REFUSED? FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

AS EUROPEANS, AS AMERICAN, AS MEMBERS OF HUMANKIND IN FACT, WE MUST ALSO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENT. IT HAS BECOME FULLY RECOGNIZED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, THAT THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF SECURITY -THE PHYSICAL PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUALS, SOCIETIES AND STATES, DEPENDS AT LEAST IN PART ON PEOPLE'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL WELL BEING. THE 1994 UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT REPORT INCLUDED THAT FACT, IN ITS TERM OF "HUMAN SECURITY". THOUGH WE CANNOT SAY THAT THERE IS A CRUDE CAUSAL LINK BETWEEN POVERTY AND CONFLICT. WE ARE OBLIGED TO RECOGNIZE THAT A GROWING NUMBER OF CONFLICTS ARE NOW, AT LEAST IN PART, DISPUTES ABOUT THE CONTROL OF SCARCE RESOURCES. FOR INSTANCE, THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE OF 1994, WAS DESIGNED BY INDIVIDUALS FEARFUL OF LOSING POWER. THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EXARCEBATE WELL ESTABLISHED ETHNIC TENSIONS AND TO RECRUIT THOUSAND OF YOUNG HUTUS WHO EASILY CARRIED OUT THEIR PLAN IN AN EASY WAY BECAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE IN EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE, AND THE REDUCTION OF LAND HOLDING. SOME ECONOMIC FACTOR SUCH AS THE DEVALUATION OF THE RWANDESE FRANC AND THE FALL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT AFFECTED THE COUNTRY. THESE PROBLEMS LED TO A DRASTIC REDUCTION IN SOCIAL SPENDING. THE PROBLEM WAS EVEN FURTHER AMPLIFIED BY LOW LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL EDUCATION. AND WE ALL KNOW THE ROLE THAT EDUCATION PLAYS IN SHARING CIVIC IDENTITY AND TRANSCENDING ETHNICITY. I WANT TO CONGRATULATE HERE THE COMMISSION FOR MAKING A VERY STRONG EFFORT TO HELP THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO TEACH THEIR POPULATION NOTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RESPECT FOR EACH OTHERS. I THINK THIS COULD CONSTITUTE A STEP FOR THE FUTURE. I MUST HERE ADD THAT,

WHERE THERE IS A FAILURE OF DEVELOPMENT, MANY PEOPLE ARE LED TO THINK THAT THEY CANNOT SURVIVE IN PEACE, AND THEREFORE ARE IN DANGER OF FINDING A GREAT INTEREST IN WAR.

THAT IS WHY I WANT TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLICY WE IMPLEMENT IN CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE OPTIONS WE ARE TAKING RIGHT NOW. DEVELOPMENT CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE STRATEGY OF CONFLICT PREVENTION. WE MUST FIGHT FOR A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. SOME MEMBER STATES IN EUROPE ARE NOW PREFERRING TO LOOK EAST RATHER THAN TO LOOK SOUTH, AND YEAR AFTER YEAR, THE AMOUNT THEY DEVOTE TO DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION IS GOING DOWN. I REFER FOR INSTANCE, BUT NOT ONLY, TO THE PROBLEM OF THE VOLUME OF THE EUROPEAN DEVELOPEMENT FUNDING. IS IT REALISTIC AND CLEVER TO "KILL" THE ECONOMIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH UNBEARABLE LEVELS OF DEBT BURDENS, AND UNFAIR INTERNATIONAL TRADE TERMS , GIVEN THAT WE KNOW HOW EXPLOSIVE A SITUATION THEY ARE EXPERIENCING. FOR THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICTS, WE MUST TAKE A LOT OF FACTORS INTO ACCOUNT. POLITICAL, MILITARY FOR SURE, BUT ALSO, AGRICULTURAL, ECONOMICAL, CLJMATICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, ... ALL THESE FACTORS ARE CLOSELY IMPLICATED IN DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION POLICY. WE MUST BE VERY CAREFUL IN THE OPTIONS WE ARE ACTUALLY CHOOSING.

EITHER WE MAKE AN REAL EFFORT TOWARDS PREVENTION, WHICH STILL, IN MANY QUARTERS SEEMS LIKE A UTOPIA, OR THE GLOBAL POLITICAL AGENDA WILL DRAW US INTO A DISASTER OF INCONCEIVABLE PROPORTIONS.

THE RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE

THE LEVEL OF POPULATION DISPLACEMENT COULD BECOME UNMANAGEABLE. MORE

THAN 18 MILLION OF PEOPLE ARE DISPLACED OR REFUGEES. AND WHILE THE HUMANITARIAN AID BUDGET MAY BE RAISING, THERE SEEMS NOT TO BE A COMMENSURATE INCREASE IN THE POLITICAL WILL TO SUPPORT THE HUMANITARIAN AID BUDGET. TO BE REALISTIC, AND TO WORK FOR PREVENTION, WE MUST CONCENTRATE ON THREE LEVELS: PREVENTION, OUR PREPAREDNESS FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE CRISES, AND WHAT WE ARE DOING HERE NOW, THE QUEST OF SOLUTIONS. A FRAMEWORK FOR PREVENTION ALREADY EXISTS IN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S AGENDA FOR PEACE, MR BOUTROS GHALI WHICH HAS NOT THE SAME IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEM AS ALL INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, AS WE KNOW VERY WELL WITHIN THE UNION AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. MUCH HAVE ALREADY BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN. THE PROBLEM REMAINS THE SAME: THE GAP BETWEEN THE DECLARATIONS AND THE WILL TO PUT THEM IN PRACTICE. IT WILL BE THE PURPOSE OF THE NEXT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

WE ARE SWIMMING AGAINST THE TIDE. THE SITUATION IS DETERIORATING IN VARIOUS PLACES OF THE WORLD. THE TENDENCY TOWARDS ETHNICO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS AND THE MANIPULATION OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES FOR POLITICAL ENDS, THE FACT THAT IN EUROPE THERE IS CURRENTLY A RACIST, XENOPHOBIC, SELF CENTRED MOVEMENT WITH OBJECTIVE CAUSES -ECONOMIC , ONCE AGAIN-BUT WHICH IS NOT BEING COMBATTED BY OUR AUTHORITIES- ALL THESE FACTORS DEMAND THAT WE LAUNCH A HUMANITARIAN COUNTER OFFENSIVE. OTHERWISE, IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING, WE SHALL LOSE THE BATTLE FOR PUBLIC OPINION. AND IF WE LOSE THAT, THEN AS MOST OF THE "POLITICIANS" AND GOVERNMENTS CARE ONLY ABOUT THE HEADLINES FROM THE PREVIOUS DAY'S OPINION TO SET THEIR FOLLOWING DAY'S AGENDA, WE SHALL LOST OUR FIGHT ON HUMANITARIAN ACTION AND ON PREVENTION. AND FINALLY WE SHALL BE LOST OURSELVES, AND THE HUMANITARIAN CAUSE WILL BE PUSHED BACK. WE SHALL HAVE

NO MORE BUDGET, NOR WILL WE BE ABLE TO PLAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS FOR PREVENTION, AND NOR WILL WE HAVE THE RESOURCES NEEDED TO FIND SOLUTIONS AND TO IMPLEMENT THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT A MORE SECURE PEACE. AS OF NOW, IN MY OWN COUNTRY AS IN OTHERS, I CAN FEEL THE THREATS TO HUMANITARIAN ACTION.

WE MUST BUILD THE TOOLS OF THE RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE, THAT IS TO SAY THE RIGHT OF PROTECTING THE MINORITIES.

WE MUST REMAIN MODEST AND VERY AMBITIOUS AT THE SAME TIME. MODEST BECAUSE NO ONE INDIVIDUAL CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM AND BECAUSE IT WILL LAST A LONG TIME. WE NEED MORE COORDINATION, BETWEEN US, EVERY COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE INSTITUTIONS, BETWEEN AND ACROSS THE POLICIES -FOREIGN POLICIES, DEVELOPMENT POLICIES, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND ECONOMICAL. WE CANNOT SEPARATE THEM OR MAKE THEM COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER. WE HAVE TO WORK HARD TOGETHER. WE MUST OPERATE JOINTLY. WE NEED BETTER COOPERATION BETWEEN NGO'S, INSTITUTIONS, EUROPEAN AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL, LESS COMPETITION AND MORE PROFESSIONALISM AND INTEGRATION. WE MUST BE AMBITIOUS BECAUSE WE HAVE TO BE CAPABLE OF ORCHESTRATING AND MAXIMIZING OUR MOBILISATION OF ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY TO PUT OVER THE MESSAGES AND TO TRY AND HALT WHAT IS PARTICULARLY UNFAVOURABLE IN A TIME OF WORLD CRISIS. NO LONGER CAN MASSACRES, AS IN CHECHENYA OR GENOCIDE, AS IN RWANDA BE CONSIDERED AS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. THE UNHAPPINESS/FATE OF OTHERS MEN BELONGS TO ALL MEN. WHAT WE ARE DEALING WITH, THIS NEW KIND OF INTERVENTION, WILL BE CALLED NO LONGER HUMANITARIAN ACTION BUT HUMANISM TO CREATE.

I REMEMBER THE WORDS OF OUR GENERAL DALAIRE IN CHARGE OF THE TROOPS IN RWANDA: "WE NEED TO PREVENT. LET'S WORK ON BUILDING THAT. INSIDE A WAR

THE PLACE OF PREVENTION IS A JOKE"

BERNARD KOUCHNER