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REPORT

of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security

on the role of the Union within the UN and the problems of
reforming the UN

Rapporteur: Mr Renzo TRIVELLI

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** Cooperation procedure (first reading)

**II Cooperation procedure (second reading) requiring the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament
*** Parliamentary assent requiring the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament

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At the sittings of 26 October and 19 November 1990 the President of the European Parliament announced that he had forwarded the motions for resolutions by Mrs van den Brink on the future role of the European Community in the United Nations (B3-1578/90) and Mr Arbeloa Muru on the UN as the centre for a new international order (B3-1677/90), pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure, to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible.

At its meeting of 10 January 1991 the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report.

At its meeting of 6 February 1991 it appointed Mr Trivelli rapporteur.

At its meeting of 26 November 1991, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security considered the draft report.

At its meetings of 1 June, 22 September and 3 November 1993 the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security considered the draft report; at the last meeting it adopted the motion for a resolution unanimously.

The following were present for the vote: Baron Crespo, chairman; Cassanmagnago Cerretti and Catherwood, vice-chairmen; Trivelli, rapporteur; Balfe, Bertens, Debatisse (for McMillan-Scott pursuant to Rule 138(2)), Delorozoy, Fernandez Albor, Gaibisso, Guermeur, Kellet-Bowman (for Bethell pursuant to Rule 138(2)), Lacaze, Langer, Llorca Vilaplana, Lomas (for Newens), Onesta, Oostlander (for Habsburg), Penders, Piecyk, Pöttering, Prag (for Lenz), Rossetti (for Magnani Noya), Sakellariou, Sonneveld (for Günther pursuant to Rule 138(2)), Suarez Gonzalez (for Pasmazoglou), Titley and Woltjer.

The report was tabled on 8 November 1993.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda of the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

A
MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the role of the Union within the UN and the problems of reforming the UN

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motions for resolutions by:
 - (a) Mrs van den Brink on the future role of the European Community in the United Nations (B3-1578/90),
 - (b) Mr Arbeloa Muru on the UN as the centre for a new international order (B3-1677/90),
- having regard to its resolution of 18 December 1992 on the establishment of the European Community's common foreign policy¹,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security (A3-0331/93),
- A. convinced that the profound changes which have occurred in the second half of this century require the alteration of the aims and the structure of the United Nations,
- B. convinced however that the primary duty of the UN must remain the prevention of war and aggression, the promotion of collective security and the provision of the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes,
- C. having regard to the new challenges and the new goals which the UN must set itself, such as protecting human rights and the environment, conserving the ecosystem, combating the resurgence of nationalism and fighting against poverty and hunger in the world and against scourges such as AIDS and drug-taking,
- D. whereas the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the UN might be a suitable occasion for the organization to move towards greater democracy, better representation of peoples and communities of states such as the European Union, and greater effectiveness and political weight,
- E. noting that the UN's commitments have grown in number and become increasingly difficult to handle (cf. Bosnia and Somalia), adding to the need for an extremely rapid, effective reform of the UN,
- F. noting that the military interventions of the United Nations for purposes of peace-keeping, peace-making or food distribution regrettably make it clear that the UN as such is not suited to military/logistical operations,
- G. convinced of the inadequacy of the current set-up at the United Nations, both in its aims, which must be supplemented in line with the new, more pressing needs of the international community, and in the way in which its bodies operate,

¹ OJ No. C 21, 25.1.1993, p. 503

- H. whereas the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty will require the European Union and its Member States to assume new tasks and new duties, with particular regard to the activities of international organizations,
- I. having regard to the provisions of Articles J.2 and J.5 of the Maastricht Treaty which state that Member States shall coordinate their action in international organizations and that Member States which are also permanent members of the United Nations Security Council will concert and keep the other Member States fully informed and will, in the execution of their functions, ensure the defence of the positions and interests of the Union,
- J. considering the Union's current level of involvement in the day-to-day affairs of the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies, pursuant to Resolution 3208(XIX) of the General Assembly, to be inadequate,
- K. pointing out that the Community became a full member of the FAO in 1991 and is a *de facto* member of GATT, which is unofficially considered by the United Nations as one of the specialized agencies,
1. Notes the proposals set out in the Agenda for Peace drawn up by the United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, and feels that the way in which United Nations bodies (including the subsidiary bodies and specialized agencies) operate should be rationalized and coordinated in order to prevent waste and inefficiency;
 2. Supports the proposals for organizing the World Social Conference in 1995, to mark the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the organization, and calls on the Commission to play an active role in the preparation and holding thereof;
 3. Considers it vital for a precise, unambiguous definition to be given of the principles which serve as the basis for decisions on UN 'intervention';
 4. Considers it essential to establish a unified command within the UN, in accordance with Article 47 of the UN Charter, to coordinate and manage peace-keeping operations;
 5. Considers it of the utmost importance to establish clearly what powers are being vested in whom before any UN blue berets are deployed;
 6. Considers that certain UN agencies should alter their operating procedures in order to provide more effective humanitarian aid; draws attention to the fact that the WHO cannot declare that an epidemic exists and act accordingly unless the government of the country concerned has previously issued a similar declaration;
 7. Considers it of vital importance for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of member countries to be reviewed, with a view to recognizing the universal validity of the right to intervene on humanitarian grounds - which must in future be fundamental to operations conducted under United Nations auspices - and to defining the relevant principles and procedures to prevent discretionary use of this right;
 8. Considers that the UN should set up a permanent blue-beret intervention force immediately available for rapid deployment in emergencies; calls on

the Member States to contribute actively to the establishment of such a force by providing both funding and manpower;

9. Considers the selective application of international law - in this instance in the form of Security Council resolutions, for example as in the case, at least until now, of Cyprus - to be damaging to the credibility of the United Nations and calls therefore for greater consistency and for all resolutions to be enforced with the same firmness;
10. Believes that action by the UN will be credible only once its organs possess realistic, integrated, human, financial and technical resources with which to implement their decisions effectively;
11. Expresses its concern at the delays on the part of the UN and its specialized agencies in responding to certain crises (for example in Somalia, Liberia and Sudan) and considers that the UN should assign priority to investigating the causes of these delays and altering its methods accordingly;
12. Feels that changes should be made to the powers of the General Assembly so as to give this body a greater influence over the decisions adopted by the Security Council so that it can be associated with the decisions of the Security Council in a more functional and precise manner;;
13. Supports the setting-up of a permanent international tribunal, under the auspices of the UN, to try those suspected of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and in particular supports Security Council resolution 808 on the establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;
14. Wishes consideration to be given to the possibility of setting up within the UN a Parliamentary Consultative Assembly to enable the elected representatives of peoples to participate more fully in the work of UN bodies;
15. Takes the view that if indigenous peoples were grouped together for purposes of coordination by major geographical region, e.g. Amazonia, the Sahel and the Arctic, this would greatly simplify and hence assist improvements in their representation at the UN; accordingly, undertakes to promote such grouping;
16. Is convinced that the development of a common foreign and security policy should increasingly take the place of the foreign policies of the Member States in order to fulfil justified expectations vis-à-vis the Union both outside and within the United Nations;
17. Believes that the role of coordinator and representative of the Union in the United Nations should eventually be determined jointly by the Council, the Commission and Parliament, and calls upon the Commission to use the new powers conferred upon it under the Maastricht Treaty to put forward as soon as possible proposals in keeping with the views set out in this resolution;
18. Hopes that the Union will be granted the status of a full member of the United Nations and the Security Council once the common foreign and security policy has been established;

19. Considers it essential, in view of the changes which have occurred in the international political situation, for the UN to consult with other international organizations - the European Union, WEU, NATO, OECD, EFTA, Council of Europe etc - concerning its activities on the continent of Europe, with a view to improving the demarcation of responsibilities and achieving closer cooperation;
20. Questions the validity of the criteria used for permanent membership of the Security Council, as they reflect the pattern of power in 1945;
21. Believes that steps should be taken to make the Security Council more representative of world realities in the 1990s;
22. Considers that the logical conclusion of Title V of the Maastricht Treaty, on a common foreign and security policy, is for the Union to become a permanent member of the Security Council;
23. Feels an in-depth reform of the Security Council to be necessary with a view to increasing the number of permanent members over and above the present five, on the basis of criteria to be defined subsequently, so as to allow the Union (and, perhaps, other supranational organizations) to become a permanent member of this body;
24. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the governments of the Member States and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT**INTRODUCTION**

Speaking in a recent interview, the Secretary-General of the United Nations declared that the UN's problem was that it had too much credibility. His words can be interpreted as evidence of the recognition that the UN is in need of adjustment - or reform - given that there is an increasingly crass contradiction between the duties and tasks of the UN and the powers and resources on which it can draw to accomplish them.

When the subject was first discussed some months ago, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security and the Delegation for relations with the United Nations both agreed that it was impossible to consider the Union's role within the UN without also addressing the question of reform of the UN.

Subsequent developments in the international situation have demonstrated the soundness of that approach.

Two points can be made in this connection:

- (a) The UN's international commitments and operations, irrespective of the different forms they might take, have increased in number and become more complex by nature, adding to the need to bring the UN into line with the new international situation. One obvious example, although not the only one, which illustrates that need is the crisis affecting the UN operation in Somalia, seen not only in the dispute between Italy and the UN over the role of the Italian contingent and General Loi, but also in the fundamental uncertainty about the aims of the intervention and the confusion as to the respective positions of the UN command in Mogadishu - nominally in charge of operations in Somalia - the UN official who liaises with headquarters in New York, the American contingent, and the intervention forces of the other countries involved.
- (b) Title V of the Maastricht Treaty requires the European Union and its Member States to assume new tasks and adopt new lines of conduct. They will be called upon first and foremost to work out common foreign policy aims and, above all, to pursue joint strategies in international organizations and at international conferences. These points are spelt out in Articles J.1, J.2, and J.5. Some of the relevant passages might usefully be quoted:
 - Article J.2(3): *'Member States shall coordinate their action in international organizations and at international conferences. They shall uphold the common positions in such forums'*.
 - Article J.5(4): *'Member States which are also members of the United Nations Security Council will concert and keep the other Member States fully informed. Member States which are permanent members of the Security Council will, in the execution of their functions, ensure the defence of the positions and the interests of the Union ...'*

The European Union is and will become a single player on the international political stage and will have to act accordingly. Yet even at the present

juncture, it could be made to work more effectively within the United Nations if:

1. the UN and the European Parliament established machinery for intensive, regular consultation on operations and missions of particular importance;
2. the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security held meetings from time to time with the Member States' different representatives in the UN, especially those working in the various United Nations bodies, for the purpose of exchanging experiences on a regular basis and coordinating action. The current legal basis for the Union's involvement in the above bodies is resolution 3208 (XIX) of 11 October 1974, which lays down its observer status in the UN General Assembly and hence in UN subsidiary bodies, international conferences, and the different UN activities. Even as presently constituted, the Union should follow the precedent set in the case of the FAO and become a full member of the UN's various subsidiary bodies;
3. the European Parliament were to conduct an annual review of coordination by drawing up the necessary reports, holding special sessions, and employing other methods to be worked out.

By following these and possibly other procedures as well, the European Parliament could play a vital coordinating role, the need for which has been made still more urgent by the imminent reform of the UN. Today, then, the role of the Union within the UN and reform of the UN are two interlinked questions and have to be considered accordingly.

REFORM PROPOSALS: THE VIEWS OF BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

The UN Secretary-General has on several occasions put forward certain ideas for reform of the organization, focusing primarily on:

- the role and power of the most senior officials,
- the operation and - apparently - the status of the various UN agencies and campaigns (from Unesco to Unicef etc.) in their relationship with the central United Nations bodies. In the words of Dr Boutros-Ghali, *feudal lords now count for more than the king,*
- the UN's budget and financial problems.

In addition, he has raised the more general question of setting up a genuine United Nations force, or army, which could be deployed rapidly and extend far beyond the range of action of the present peacekeeping troops. Moreover, he has likewise mentioned the possibility of establishing a special fund to provide the resources required to finance the force.

LAYING DOWN A MORE CLEAR-CUT BASIS FOR UN INTERVENTION

It is becoming a matter of increasingly urgent necessity to lay down clear, binding principles to govern not only the aims, procedures, and forms of the UN's political activity and such 'intervention' as may be undertaken wherever and whenever a crisis ensues, but also the relations which the UN should foster for the purposes of the above operations, whether with individual countries or

with other international bodies of various different kinds (the European Community, the CSCE, NATO, the CIS, the OAU, the Latin American Parliament, etc.). This vital issue raises at least four problems:

1. **UN missions.** These have gradually increased in number and become more varied in nature. They fall into the categories of peace missions, to combat aggression (as in the case of the operation against Iraq), 'buffer' or protection missions, or humanitarian missions to deliver aid of various descriptions to populations affected by bloody wars, in parts of a country, say, or between ethnic groups or tribes (former Yugoslavia and Somalia are the most obvious cases), or by endemic or unforeseen natural disasters. Furthermore, there are also what might be termed 'democratic guarantee' missions, designed to assist democratization processes (as in Angola or Cambodia). The categories often tend to overlap, posing severe problems for UN operations. Scores of missions are now taking place, and the number of men serving on them - now over 50 000 - is showing a rapid upward trend. Moreover, the number of intervention operations is tending to rise at an accelerating rate. The first mission took place in Jerusalem in June 1948 and involved some 300 men. By contrast, over 15 000 soldiers are currently being deployed in former Yugoslavia. Between 1945 and 1978, that is to say, in the space of over thirty years, there were seven UN missions in all. All the others have been undertaken and been proceeding since 1991, i.e. within less than the past three years. Three of the most important missions - Yugoslavia, Cambodia, and Somalia - date back to March 1992, and other urgent needs are already emerging elsewhere (there has been a call for intervention in Zaïre, and the possibility has been raised of intervention on the territory of the former Soviet Union). The aims, nature, and procedures of UN missions consequently need to be spelt out more clearly, given that the missions are occupying an increasingly important place on the international stage and in the evolution of the UN proper.
2. **The right of intervention.** This point is clearly related to the preceding point, although it raises its own specific problems. The 'right' in question must not be defined solely on the basis of chance and expediency, but in such a way as to establish a principle. The need became acutely urgent in the aftermath of the Gulf war. Once hostilities had ceased, the Security Council adopted a resolution endorsing the right to intervene in Iraqi internal affairs, and to launch military intervention, in order to protect the Kurdish people. (To some extent, that resolution has provided the legal basis for military operations in Iraq, including the recent action). It is now more necessary than ever to lay down a well-founded, clear-cut legal definition of the right concerned, for the purposes of international law, and to place the latter unambiguously within the ambit of specific bodies. (The most recent tragic events in former Yugoslavia and Somalia further underline the need to take the above steps)¹.
3. **Consistent implementation of UN resolutions.** The key lies in devising practical means to ensure fully equal treatment of all the countries or bodies that are the subject of UN resolutions. It has always been obvious, for example, that the UN resolutions on the Arab - Israeli conflict have not been enforced with the same rigour as other resolutions such as, say, the one calling for action against Iraq on account of its aggression in Kuwait.

¹ Attention should be drawn here to the study by Christophe Lecureuil, published by the Commission, on the future institutional status of the right of intervention.

Although we understand that it is difficult to act with proper coherence, and hence that the enforcement of a given resolution cannot be considered in isolation from the material circumstances that might affect the practical implementation of that resolution, we believe that the European Parliament should make a determined effort to raise the question of consistency, as it could undermine the fundamental credibility of the United Nations in a great many parts of the world.

4. **Forms and means of intervention.** This problem is becoming more critical every day, be it from a political perspective (consensus as to and successful outcome of the measures), an operational perspective (promptness of the measures), or a financial perspective (cost and funding of the operations). The forms of UN intervention are today highly varied and often determined by the specific circumstances, the influence wielded by the various parties concerned, and, in many cases, by what appears expedient in the light of the conditions under which the UN has to operate. To sum up the forms which UN intervention or missions may take from time to time, the picture which emerges is as follows:

- direct intervention involving missions by UN peacekeeping forces: the men and units contributed by the different countries act under the direction of a UN command structure;
- intervention on the basis of a United Nations mandate, but organized, launched, supervised, and completed under the command of a dominant power, even though other countries may take part in the operation (the intervention against Iraq was run along these lines);
- operations undertaken by multinational military bodies in execution of a UN mandate (NATO operations to monitor the ban imposed on Serb air forces from flying in Bosnian airspace).

These different forms of intervention must be regulated to the highest possible degree, strengthening the role of the United Nations not only as the authority empowered to take the political decision, but also as the body in which the authority of command is vested and which is responsible for operations on the ground. Boutros Boutros-Ghali has already raised the problem, pointing out that decisions need to be taken rapidly and the necessary resources must be made available in sufficient quantities. There is talk of setting up a specific large-scale fund to finance UN peacekeeping operations and military forces. The latter could take one of two forms: a military corps constituting a UN component body or specific independent military corps which, though stationed in the individual countries of origin, would be available to and under the responsibility of a United Nations command structure and could be deployed at any time. Either variant would at last enable the Military Staff Committee to be set up in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter.

GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES AND NEW PROBLEMS

The need to reform the UN, in other words, to alter its structure and amend its Charter, stems not least from other, more general problems that will need to be identified, explored, and discussed. Many protagonists will be called upon to contribute to the latter process, and two key factors which have recently emerged will need to be borne in mind:

- (a) the geopolitical changes which have occurred in the second half of the 20th century;
- (b) the advent of serious new problems, affecting the whole human race, whose scope extends far beyond the most crucial regional issues and will consequently require world-wide decisions and coordination if they are to be resolved.

With regard to the first point, it is patently obvious that the changes to the face of the world since 1945 have been far reaching and sweeping in nature. After a very short-lived respite in the immediate post-war years, the victory of the Big Five was followed by the cold war and, later, by the tortuous era of *détente*, coexistence, and the 'bipolar world'.

Following the renewed tension of the early Reagan years, Mikhail Gorbachev ushered in a new era in which an attempt was made to reform the Soviet Union and, exploiting the opportunity thus created, build a new international order founded on peace. However, the crisis of the Soviet Union, the breakup of the Warsaw Pact bloc, and what has rather simplistically been called the crisis of Communism have created unimaginable problems that are likely to be resolved only after much effort. Moreover, the risk of virtually uncontrollable conflicts and the canker of disintegration are becoming more apparent and alarming every day. As we have already stated, the geopolitical changes brought about as a result of the above processes are far reaching, and the most significant examples are:

- the emergence of new powers alongside the Big Five (for instance Japan, Germany, India, Brazil, and so forth);
- the division between victors and enemies or erstwhile friends - which still finds abstract expression at the institutional level in the United Nations Charter - has now been overcome at the material, factual level;
- continent-wide or regional political organizations and bodies, of admittedly different natures and kinds, are coming into being. In addition to the European Community - undoubtedly the most highly developed and in the best position to develop further - similar trends, albeit far less marked, are being exemplified by the OAU, the Latin American Parliament, the CSCE, the forms of cooperation and economic integration in the Pacific area, and so forth.

As regards the new constellations of events in the second category, brief mention can be made of:

- the essential challenge of protecting and conserving the ecosystem and the problem of the environment;
- the unchanging, massive North - South divide, which has now caused the population problem and migration pressures to assume explosive proportions (some European countries have already been induced to respond to the latter sensitive issue by imposing restrictions);
- the dangers of resurgent racism and xenophobia or of new forms of barbarity which have to be resisted;

- the incipient re-emergence of nationalist and particularist leanings and of tendencies towards religious and racial intolerance, casting a dark shadow over a democratic, universalist, tolerant consciousness;
- the threat of new scourges besides starvation, for example the spread of drug abuse and epidemics such as AIDS.

Both groups of new key factors described above, which are now shaping the world situation to a decisive extent, imply an urgent need for reform of the UN and not least of its Charter.

PROBLEMS OF REFORMING THE UN

New purposes and principles

Both the preamble to and Section I, 'Purposes and Principles', (especially Articles 1 and 2) of the United Nations Charter, adopted on 26 June 1945, retain their full historical validity, and the same applies to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948. However, study and discussion should begin with a view to updating the rights and principles laid down in the Charter, bringing them into line with the new world context, and, where necessary, codifying new rights and principles. One option to consider might be to bring together men of letters, scientists, and political leaders in a forum to debate this vast and enthralling subject.

The General Assembly

In terms of the nature of its powers, the UN General Assembly is to some extent comparable to the European Parliament.

The Assembly may consider any matter referred to it by individual countries and discuss matters related to the maintenance of peace and international security. However, Article 11(2) of the Charter states that '*Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion*'.

On the other hand, giving the Assembly similar decision-making powers to those of the Security Council would probably pose very severe difficulties, not only on account of the implications as regards the changed nature of representation and the weighting of votes, but above all because an assembly in which virtually every country in the world had a seat could prove too unwieldy a structure to be capable of taking a decision and taking it within the requisite time. Nevertheless, two points should and must be considered:

- (a) the influence which the Assembly can exert over the Security Council should be made more clear cut;
- (b) the Assembly should have a more direct relationship with the peoples of the world. We do not intend here to open what might seem an abstract debate on the relative merits of two opposing conceptions, the question being whether the UN is an 'association of nations' or an 'association of peoples'. However, it is necessary to consider how the UN - which by nature is and will remain an association of states - and its subsidiary bodies might establish a more direct relationship with the peoples of the world and the various political, trade-union, cultural, and grass-roots organizations that

impart structure to modern societies, along with what is termed 'public opinion'. Although any move to make the General Assembly a directly elected body might pose complex (and at worst insurmountable) practical difficulties, it should nevertheless still be possible to set up one or more forums which would act as direct mouthpieces and representative bodies for the national, regional, or ethnic minorities living in various countries and could have a beneficial impact on the life of the United Nations.

The Security Council

Herein lies the most sensitive and crucial aspect of reform. One of the cornerstones of the Security Council is unquestionably the 'permanent member' status currently enjoyed by five countries - the United States, Russia (which has replaced the Soviet Union), China, France, and the United Kingdom - and the right of veto that it confers on them. Their permanent membership derives from the fact that those five powers won the Second World War. Even if the right to hold such status continues to be sanctioned by history, it is manifestly losing some of its force in the present international context, although it is apparently proving difficult to work out a new footing on which to place changes in the structure and role of the Security Council, not least an increase in the number of its permanent members. In the discussions on a possible change in that area, two schools of thought have come to the fore:

- the number of permanent members should be increased to include other countries. The recent informal American proposal to make Germany and Japan permanent Security Council members is in line with such thinking. However, as far as principles are concerned, it is difficult to find a sound and universally acceptable reason for approving the proposal. Why should only two countries be chosen? And on what grounds, given that many criteria can be adduced in support of such a momentous decision, for example economic might, a democratic system, a higher population, or the fact that the country in question can be considered to represent a particular region? For that matter, should one or more of the above factors be deemed to be decisive?

The Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Andreatta, has put forward another possibility, that of establishing a new 'intermediate category' of permanent Security Council members, ranking between the five permanent members with the right of veto and the countries which serve on the Security Council under the system of rotation. However, he has not fully spelt out the selection criteria or the powers that the intermediate category would enjoy as Security Council members. By contrast, there are other proposals to abolish or modify the right of veto and so forth. In the final analysis, clear-cut, universal criteria will have to be laid down before opting for, or in order to be in a position to opt for, a reform of the UN with such far-reaching implications;

- the number of permanent Security Council members should be increased to include supranational bodies, since this would lend a useful 'regional' dimension to the UN and encourage the moves to set up supranational political bodies, a trend being observed to a greater or lesser degree in various parts of the world (Africa, Asia, Latin America).

The two schools of thought, which have been summarized very briefly, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it may be possible to some extent to reconcile them.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the foregoing remarks, one essential proposal needs to be supported. The Union should submit, and indeed press, a formal application to become a full member of the UN and, moreover, a permanent member of the Security Council. As already stated, the reason for the proposal is twofold. On the one hand, the structure of the UN needs to be made consistent with the new institutional poles being formed in the world, for supranational bodies are operating, and will increasingly operate, alongside the nation-states (and that is a goal which we must seek to bring about).

However, the proposal also reflects the maturity attained by the European Community, especially taking into account the prospects opened up by the Maastricht Treaty. European Union is now irreversible, even though a great many difficulties have still to be tackled and resolved. To an ever-greater extent, the European Union will become a player in its own right on the international political stage, and its influence, distinct from that of the nation-states, is destined to become increasingly clear cut. Awaiting that outcome, the UN consequently cannot afford to exclude the European Union from the body of its members, and the time is therefore right for the European Parliament to propose that the Union should become not only a full member of the UN, but also a permanent member of the Security Council.

In putting forward this proposal (having regard also to the prospects for enlargement of the Union, it is necessary to understand the wide-ranging institutional and financial implications that it will entail - albeit in the longer term - to which we shall here refer only briefly.

It will be imperative, for example, to determine who will represent the European Union in the various United Nations bodies (the General Assembly, the Security Council, etc.) and what powers and role will fall to the three Community institutions, namely Parliament, the Council, and the Commission. A further point to bear in mind is that the Community's present institutional system may have to be altered.

Moreover, the Union will have to evaluate the scale of the financial outlay it will incur if it becomes a full member of the United Nations and establish what changes will need to be made as a result to the structure of the Union budget.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mrs van den BRINK

on the future role of the European Community in the United Nations

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the fundamental changes which have taken place in the past year in East-West relations and which have led to the end of the Cold War,
- B. whereas this détente can strengthen the role of the United Nations in the settlement of regional conflicts,
- C. having regard to the position adopted by the United Nations in the current Gulf crisis,
- D. whereas the Gulf crisis again makes it clear that the European Community should be given authority in the area of foreign policy,
 1. Welcomes the extent of involvement of the UN but continues to support military intervention under the UN flag and command;
 2. Calls on the twelve Member States to seek a solution to the Gulf crisis which involves the maximum possible unanimity and the minimum possible use of force, within the framework of the UN;
 3. Instructs its competent committee to examine the nature of the European Community's future role in the United Nations in the light of both the changes in East-West relations and present and future regional conflicts.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

by Mr ARBELOA MURU

on the UN as the centre for a new international order

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the current conflict surrounding the Persian Gulf,
 - B. having regard to the deliberations and resolutions of the recent Conference on the Anatomy of Hatred held in Oslo,
-
- 1. Instructs the appropriate parliamentary committee to study the proposals of the Japanese political leader, Takako Doi, concerning the establishment of the UN as the centre of a new international order, so that it may act effectively to oppose conflicts and be prepared to establish peaceful industries to prevent further development of those related to war, completely prohibiting trade in armaments.

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