

Appendix D

THE CSCE AND FUTURE SECURITY IN EUROPE

by

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The CSCE is a unique creation in international relations. It shaped and promoted a process of transformation of a rather rigid system of confrontation and conflict. It enabled the smaller and middle powers to play a role, and some of them to break out of the bondage of the client state. Paradoxically, it was conceived in Moscow as a means of legitimating the *status quo*, but came to develop into a means of transforming the *status quo*. It contributed to the amelioration of the consequences of the systemic division of Europe and the military confrontation by which it was buttressed and sustained. It paved the way for the transition to a post-Cold War Europe. The challenge we confront today is its adaptation and relevance to the agenda of the era of the second European reconstruction after the carnage of the Second World War.

The CSCE provided a framework for a process to unfold, a process of linkage across the systemic divide. The linkage extended beyond the arena of traditional diplomatic interplay, embracing societal relations across a broad range of basic functions. The standards for the conduct of international relations in Europe were widened and deepened. Alongside a reaffirmation of the traditional principle of the inviolability of the borders of the territorial state, it instituted the principle of the inviolability of the individual human being. The two principles are not invariably compatible and hence the CSCE has left a legacy of competing imperatives, begging the issue of humanitarian intervention. It has not been confronted, but it lingers on the horizon, hovering over the intersection between the sovereignty of the territorial state and that of the individual citizen. The mediation of that tension has attained new salience and importance in the new Europe as the confines of the territorial states are challenged and transformed from within. The issue is no longer the preservation or transformation of an international order, but rather that of its constituent parts. The challenge now is for the CSCE to adapt to the requirements for management of such processes.