

4. HISTORIC EXPECTATIONS: THE CHARTER OF PARIS

"We, the Heads of State or Government of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, have assembled in Paris at a time of profound change and historic expectations. The era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended. We declare that henceforth our relations will be founded on respect and cooperation."

- *Charter of Paris for a New Europe, November 1990*

The CSCE Paris Summit of November 19 to 21, 1990, was attended by the leaders of all 34¹³ CSCE participating states. The mood was euphoric. Delegations celebrated the collapse of repressive regimes in East and Central Europe, lauded the reunification of Germany, and toasted mutual ambitions for closer cooperation between East and West. The desire for new institutions to fill the void left by the demise of the bipolar system led to strong support for the CSCE's institutional and functional development. The French government called the summit a second Congress of Vienna and, indeed, participants felt themselves charged with turning a fluid and uncertain situation into a lasting peace.

The Summit provided an opportunity for NATO and Warsaw Pact states to sign the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the Joint Declaration of Twenty-Two States, which proclaimed a new, non-adversarial approach to European security. Leaders also endorsed the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (the "two plus four" process). The crowning Summit document, however, was the Charter of Paris for a New Europe,¹⁴ signed by all CSCE leaders.

The Summit's exultant mood was reflected in the Charter, which was both a declaration of intent and a program of action. The document was divided into three sections. The first contained a commitment to strengthen democracy and to cooperate in promoting economic liberty and "social justice," words inserted by Canada; pledged a new era of friendly relations among the participating states; endorsed a substantial new set of CSBMs (agreed in Vienna shortly before the Summit); defined the broad lines of future cooperation to build CSCE "unity"; and concluded with a declaration of support for the UN and for global solidarity. This last -- the Charter paragraphs on "The CSCE and the World" -- was the result of a Canadian effort, reflecting Canada's strong commitment to the United Nations, its belief that cooperative security must be pursued through linked global and regional efforts, and its related view that the CSCE, in rededicating itself, should not become isolated or insular.

The second section of the Charter set out guidelines for the CSCE's future. It outlined the arms control and disarmament agenda leading up to the Helsinki FUM; mandated experts meetings to discuss cooperation in strengthening democratic institutions (Oslo, November 1991) and in protecting national minorities (Geneva, July 1991); and reaffirmed commitments regarding the elimination of racial and ethnic hatred (another

¹³The drop from 35 was due to the reunification of Germany.

¹⁴Included in Annex.