

Mr. Tadeusz MAZOWIECKI (Prime Minister of Poland)

(interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the completely changed situation in Europe is a fact of fundamental importance, and one which should now become the prime focus of our attention.

This is a subject about which I feel a particular obligation to speak, as it was in my country that the heroic experience of "Solidarity" set all these changes in motion and paved the way for them in the consciousness of other nations. The transformations in Central and Eastern Europe, the rejection of totalitarianism, the unification of Germany, the changes in the Soviet Union, the end to the East-West ideological and military confrontation - these are the characteristics of the new realities of our continent.

I trust that this is a lasting reality. Our common task, and one which is not limited to the countries where those transformations are taking place, is to do our utmost to ensure the success of those changes. Indeed, their success will be the success of Europe as a whole and will define the shape and the future role of the continent.

May I be allowed, therefore, to highlight a number of issues which only seemingly depart from our immediate concerns during this Summit.

I believe that at this historic moment for our continent, it is worthwhile asking ourselves where the deepest sources of unity in the European civilization which is now on the way to revival are.

The unique value of European culture stems from the continent's never-surmounted clash between two seemingly opposite values: freedom and responsibility, the need for order and self-questioning. Christianity has given that culture a measure which protects it from extremes and sustains the creative nature of the above-mentioned clash.

Pope John Paul II, conscious that Europe's spiritual unity is composed of two great traditions, that of the East and that of the West, addressed a plea to Europe at Santiago de Compostella in Spain in 1982. He was speaking then to a divided Europe, but his plea is even more valid in the new Europe of today. It is the plea for Europe to rediscover its own sources and to restore its roots to life.

I believe that the two Europes, the one which has lived in freedom all along and the one which has only just now regained it and continues on the road to recovery, must bring their experiences together, and I believe that such a meeting will be of vital importance for the fate of our common culture.

But at the same time, however, we must all face the question as to whether the borderline of the Yalta-based division of Europe is not for a long time to come going to mark a split in our civilization. Our common future may be darkened by the sinister clouds of resurging conflicts of bygone days, unless the split into a rich and a poor Europe, an "A" class and a "B" class Europe, is overcome. The gravity of this problem must be recognized in all its magnitude. For this is the key to the unity of Europe as a whole; it is a fundamental issue of both an economic and a political nature, for which a determined and consistent solution cannot be delayed indefinitely.

Mr. Chairman, the mechanisms and the institutions of the CSCE which we are going to establish should bring the necessary element of permanence into our all-European dialogue. Last January, I had proposed the setting up of a Council of European Co-operation.

The Office for Free Elections is to be established in Poland. Allow me to thank all the States which supported the location of this Office in our country.

Poland approves with satisfaction the draft documents prepared for this Summit. They do, indeed, break new ground.

We attach great importance to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which will put an end to the doctrine of security based on the existence of blocs and confrontation.

We attach equal significance to the 22-nation joint declaration.

We value the development and strengthening of the commitments with regard to broadly-conceived human rights, economic co-operation and environmental protection in the broad sense of the term.

Our expectations for the future role of the CSCE are high. We believe also that there must be room in the Helsinki process for the Baltic republics, including Lithuania our neighbour. In addition to the CSCE, there are other institutions which play an important role in the collaborative effort to shape a new Europe.

I am thinking above all of the European Community and its contribution to the process of European integration. Poland sees closer proximity to the Communities as an important policy objective.

The European Community, NATO and the Council of Europe are permanent components of the European process. As the host of the CSCE Symposium on the Cultural Heritage, Poland hopes that the Council of Europe will make a valuable contribution to that Meeting.

It is our desire to see the full flowering of cultural co-operation across the new Europe. This may be facilitated by the activities of the International Centre for Culture which we intend to establish in Cracow.

Mr. Chairman, it is the objective of our policy to forge the closest possible links between Poland and the European institutions and organizations. This will be facilitated by a stable foreign policy.

As we have gathered here in Paris, let me invoke an idea of General de Gaulle who many years ago had said that while no country can change its geography, it can change its geopolitics. Indeed, this is our aim. We wish to be reconciled with our neighbours to the West and to the East and to build good relations with all of our neighbours.

It is my conviction that this facilitates greater stability in our part of Europe and will be of service to Europe as a whole.

Mr. Chairman, may I be allowed to thank our French hosts for their hospitality and all the efforts which they have made to organize this Summit. I also wish to express my deepest respect to the President of the French Republic, Monsieur François Mitterrand, for his tireless dedication to the European cause. Thank you.