

Mrs. Gro Harlem BRUNDTLAND (Prime Minister of Norway): Mr. Chairman, we have buried the cold war, and now we shall heat a common European house. Our challenge is to realize Europe's full potential. The political convergence between us can unleash the capacity to build a new Europe. That is what the CSCE is all about.

The Europe of our vision must be based on human rights and democracy, social justice and a safe environment on which we all depend. Let us build upon what we have achieved and set the agenda straight for the 1990s and beyond:

- We must take command of our common future. Pressing European issues cannot be solved by Nation States alone. We need more effective political decision-making on the international level. Common challenges require common solutions.
- We must make sustainable development our common objective. Ecology and economy are inextricably linked and must be addressed accordingly.
- We must establish a market of one billion people which is open to the world at large. We need market forces, but we also need firm political guidance. Market forces alone cannot protect our health or achieve social justice. Neither can they protect the environment.
- We must help abolish poverty which today condemns one billion people to a life which cannot be reconciled with human dignity.

How do we achieve these overriding objectives? First and foremost by giving ourselves the means. The CSCE process has set the example. The Final Act of Helsinki forged ideas and co-operative structures into a forceful political tool for peaceful change in Europe. Even in time of grave setbacks the process stayed alive.

The CSCE became a success, but there is no time for us to rest on our laurels. Never before has the need for bold political decisions been greater. The crucial contemporary challenges bypass what we can resolve as individual nations.

We must shape the system of international decision-making so that it can match the challenges. As Nation States we must have the maturity to unite our sovereignties.

The CSCE countries can and should take the lead in directing global trends. In our continued efforts, we should preserve the flexibility and adaptability which have been the hallmark of our own process and progress. Moreover, we should make full use of our collective institutional capacity, including the OECD and the ECE. Our next Summit in 1992 should act on a wide range of political issues.

Political consultations are a key element of the CSCE itself. The Council which will meet on a regular basis will give it a dynamic character. Regular meetings of Heads of State or Government will give us a new culture of binding political co-operation based on the best of our European political and cultural heritage. But frankly, once every two years does not guarantee the political impetus and dynamism that we will need.

Finally, we can begin to build a common culture of co-operation. Now, it is essential that democracy and political stability in Eastern and Central Europe are consolidated. We all have a responsibility to make that transition successful. No doubt it will be painful. But if it fails, we will all lose. We must make the pan-European market function as one. But economic growth cannot be bought at the expense of social justice. Our policies must be designed to combat the scourge of unemployment. It must be based on the principle of sustainable development.

To support the process of change, we must keep our existing structures of co-operation open. The EFTA countries and the major force of the European Community are now completing negotiations on the creation of a European economic area of 18 West European countries. One perspective could be that this area in time would be open also to the new European democracies. This must be our general spirit, and I refer to what President Haval said yesterday, we can both widen our co-operation and still deepen it at the same time.

The rehabilitation of our European environment will be a test case of whether we are capable of dealing with our common responsibilities. Energy

goes right to the core of the issue. We need energy efficiency and energy security. I believe we can have both and still improve our environment. But new and creative thinking is urgently required. The initiative on a European energy charter put forward by Prime Minister Lubbers and President Delors is a visionary suggestion of how we can structure our common destiny and how we can secure enough energy, indeed, without wasting it, to warm our common European house. Norway, as a major supplier of clean energy to Europe will naturally play its role.

We must make our co-operation on the environment more efficient. There is a particular need to develop a new generation of more cost-effective environmental agreements. To increase our total effort, and that we must, priority must now be given to reduce emissions with the lowest marginal cost. If this strategy is to succeed, the wealthier countries must make financial and technological resources available. Burdens must be fairly distributed. The Norwegian Government intends to establish a climate fund partly financed by a CO2 tax on our own off-shore petroleum activities. Resources from this fund will help finance the reduction of emissions from less fortunate countries.

Our nations are at present responsible for most of the emissions that now threaten the world's atmosphere, its waters and its soils. Ours, therefore, is a global responsibility. We must take the lead in the efforts to save our common future, such as in the negotiations on a world climate convention. No other group of nations is in a position to do so. We must meet the acute needs of the present. But history will judge us harshly if we continue to undermine the ability of future generations to meet their needs.

Mr. Chairman,

Yesterday we signed a milestone agreement on conventional disarmament. Tomorrow we will adopt a document on a common European vision. The sequence itself points forward.

The Conventional Armed Forces Treaty represents a quantum leap forward for European security. The arms control process must be continued. In the follow-up we must certainly deal with the manpower issues. But we should look beyond mere numbers. We must now focus on the structure and deployment of military forces. We must continue the process of restructuring and redeploying military forces in a clearly defensive way.

There is now less reason than ever for any country to deploy forces with offensive capabilities and functions close to its borders with other CSCE States. These anachronistic structures should be removed during the course of the follow-on negotiations.

We also need renewed efforts in the field of nuclear arms control. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty would be an essential contribution to further enhancing the quality of peace.

Security can no longer be defined in military terms alone. We must now deal with security in the comprehensive sense. The risk of nationalistic upsurge, ethnic confrontation and new mass movements of people are parts of this total picture. Environmental emergency situations must be anticipated and prevented. Let us now take advantage of the new means we have created to deal with all aspects of security. The convening of extraordinary meetings on the political level will be necessary. In key areas, the conflict prevention centre may have a potential for assuming wider responsibilities in the future. We should allow all these mechanisms to develop.

The end of confrontation in our part of the world has created a unique opportunity to strengthen the role of the United Nations and, just as we are now ready to create new structures of co-operation and security among ourselves, we must join forces to promote peace and justice at a global level by exploring fully the potential of our world organization as we strive together for a global democracy.

The European and North American nations share a heritage of common values, embracing the ideals of freedom and justice, of solidarity and human dignity. Fifteen years ago, however, the ideals and values expressed by the Helsinki Agreement were no more than seemingly distant hopes and aspirations for millions of Europeans suffering from oppression and totalitarianism.

Today, these dreams and aspirations are about to become real. People in many countries and regions, including the Baltic Republics, are looking to Paris with great expectations. They should be allowed to participate in the process. Personalities here today, and I see many of you around the table, from East and West, from Europe and the United States, have become living symbols of the new dawn of democracy in all of Europe.

One person in particular applied his courage and willpower to produce change without which we would not have been here today. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1990. President Gorbachev, we pay tribute to you for your decisive role.

Our obligation now is to turn the Charter of Paris into practical policy, not only among ourselves but for the benefit of all. These values represent the best that we can offer the global community. Based on these values we will take responsibility for coming generations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.