

Mr. Ingvar Carlsson (Prime Minister of Sweden): Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, the people of Europe are now regaining their hope for a future in peace, unity and co-operation.

This century has seen some of the darkest chapters in the history of Europe, chapters of untold suffering and destruction, followed by more than four decades of tension, division and discord.

But now, Europe is breathing freely.

We have witnessed change and reform in the Soviet Union, and we have seen the reduction of old tensions between the military superpowers. Then, last year, all over Eastern and Central Europe, people sensed that freedom was a real possibility. They grasped the historic opportunity. Old structures, oppressive and ineffective, were replaced by systems which would give all citizens their say. The real winner was democracy itself.

The peaceful revolution of 1989 was crowned by the unification of Germany. Its artificial division is at an end, and there is a new opening for our continent. The German people have regained their full sovereignty and freedom, and we all rejoice with them.

In the same way, we are looking forward to the day when the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania attain the same goal. The Government of Sweden fully supports their right to self-determination, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. It is difficult to envisage a future Europe in peace and co-operation without the full participation of these peoples.

It is to be hoped that the Baltic Republics will be attending as full participants in the near future, after due negotiations.

The political map of this continent is now being completely redrawn. We are no longer locked in the iron grip of the cold war. The whole of Europe is being freed from the obsession with threats and confrontation. This is a source of joy for all of us - victories which have been won, and dreams which have come true.

Mr. Carlsson

What has been happening in Europe over the last few years is a breakthrough for the ideas of Jean Monnet, Willy Brandt and Olof Palme. They had a vision of a Europe with no boundaries, where dialogue and co-operation would replace confrontation and rearmament.

Now, we have the opportunity to transform these visions into practical political decisions, and there is no better way to do this than through the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

On behalf of the people of Sweden, I wish to state our total commitment to the goals and aspirations of this Conference. Sweden wants to participate, fully and actively, with all the other nations of Europe in this important endeavour.

We now see the opportunity to form a future system for common security on our continent.

We would like to see an order which makes all European nations so integrated that a war on our continent would be as unthinkable as a war between the Nordic countries would be today.

We would like to see a system with institutions and mechanisms which work so well that conflicts and antagonisms can be resolved before they develop into violent confrontation.

Sweden is non-aligned in peacetime, aiming at neutrality in case of war. This policy is supported by a strong defence, and we believe that it has contributed to stability and calm in northern Europe throughout the postwar era.

Sweden's policy does not imply any ideological neutrality. We are not neutral between democracy and dictatorship, or between the rules of international law and crimes against international law. Nor does our policy prevent us from co-operating with other States.

Owing to the positive development in Europe, the conditions for Swedish membership in the European Communities has changed. Our Government has recently clarified its ambition to become a member of the Communities while maintaining our policy of neutrality.

I can also pledge to you today that Sweden will participate, actively and wholeheartedly, in the efforts to achieve a new era of security, peace and co-operation throughout Europe.

This Conference on Co-operation and Security in Europe constitutes an excellent framework for the co-operation we seek. Here all States, large and small, can make their voices heard. In this forum, we can all participate in the shaping of the future destinies of our continent.

When the Final Act was signed in Helsinki, fifteen years ago, Europe was deeply divided - politically and ideologically, as well as economically. The document was the result of careful balancing. On the one hand, there were efforts to strengthen security and to confirm the political status quo. On the other, there was the ambition to promote change and reform, specifically by strengthening human rights.

In time, this human dimension and democratic ideas gained a political significance that overwhelmed resistance to reform and justice. The ideas of 1975 inspired the peaceful revolution of 1989. Again it has been proved that the dreams and aspirations of individual citizens, the will of the people, are forces that cannot in the end be restrained.

At this meeting in Paris, we will be able to identify many new prospects for co-operation.

We must further promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, on the basis of democracy and the rule of law. Democracy shall be the only form of government for our States, and the Council of Europe will play an even more important role.

Economic liberty cannot be a progressive force if it is not coupled with social justice which gives the individual fairness and participation. To combat unemployment and to work against social divides are also policies which favour peace and security.

Mr. Carlsson

We should strengthen our support for the change to democracy in Eastern and Central Europe by facilitating economic reforms and social progress. One important way is to involve scientific and technical research more actively in pan-European co-operation.

We have to expand co-operation in the environmental field. Impending ecological disasters threaten large parts of this continent, but environmental problems cannot be settled within the confines of national borders. They must also be subject to genuine pan-European co-operation, where the European Environment Agency is a suitable forum.

We must deal with the situation of ethnic minorities on our continent. If we do not find effective ways of doing this, unsolved problems in this field are likely to become destabilizing security factors for Europe in the years to come.

We should intensify our efforts to find a common way to handle the problems of migratory movements. These may soon pose an even greater challenge for many of us. This question should be dealt with in a generous and open-minded manner.

We must continue our efforts to achieve real disarmament in Europe. The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces which was signed today is of historic significance, in both scope and substance, but more conventional forces than are needed for credible defence will still be in place on this continent, and short-range nuclear weapons will remain on European soil. Negotiations aiming at even lower levels of armament should continue, and they should be open to all 34 participating States. We are glad that this now seems to be agreed.

We must broaden the search for new confidence- and security-building measures. The set of measures which has been agreed prior to this Meeting will further increase transparency and openness in military matters. They will be of great help in preserving military stability.

We can start to build a new security order for all States participating in this Conference. Our nations no longer have to live under the shadow of military threats, mistrust and tension. Through a new system of political consultations, we can now create unique forms of co-operation between our States.

Despite all these co-operative efforts, serious problems could of course still emerge. A political crisis can go out of hand and explode in a military conflagration.

But we now have the means to reduce such risks. The proposed conflict prevention system can build a sort of a firebreak in tense situations. It can be fast and sharp in implementation, because it does not depend on a consensus procedure. One single State can trigger the mechanism in case of an unusual military activity, if that State feels that it raises concerns about its security, and this in turn gives time for consultation and reflection. This can help cool down the whole situation, and the crisis can be settled by peaceful means.

The people of Europe are actively involved in a joint search for security and increased co-operation. This Meeting in Paris is a symbol for all these efforts. But, as human beings, we can never turn away from the global problems which threaten the very existence of many millions of people on other continents and their prospects of a life in dignity.

Recently we were reminded that security and development in one region - Europe - can be seriously affected by a conflict in another - by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

In the United Nations we have a unique institution for promoting international peace and security, as well as social welfare and economic prosperity. The work of this organization in conflict resolution has lately given rise to great hopes. Its system is crucial to defend the rights of individuals and of States. Europe must continue to give the United Nations its full support in these endeavours.

We all live different lives, but in material standards, in the health of our children, in educational systems, in social services, in the quality of life, the peoples of Europe are far more privileged than most other nations of the world.

Mr. Carlsson

We now need a global attack on poverty. We need to save the lives of thousands of children who die unnecessarily each day, from sickness and disease, from famine and malnutrition, and we must avoid a future global confrontation between developing nations and the richer industrial countries.

The new climate of co-operation makes all this possible. Working together, we in Europe can now show that our values of justice and solidarity do not apply just to our own countries, or our own continent.

And just now, we have a unique chance. At this time, spending on military armaments can start to decrease. It should be possible to use a substantial part of these savings to promote the development of the poorer nations. This is a question of solidarity, but it is also an issue which concerns our global common security.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.