

Mr. Giulio ANDREOTTI (President of the Council of Ministers, Italy) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, in my capacity as President of the Council of the European Community, I have the honour to take the floor here both on behalf of the European Community and of Italy.

This Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of Europe, of Canada and the United States, fifteen years after the meeting that concluded with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, marks a historic transition between two eras of European history: the triumph throughout the continent of democracy and the rule of law as a result of the steadfast will of peoples to see their dream for a free and just society come true; the end of the cold war and of the last vestiges of the divisions of the Second World War; and the beginning of an era that we wish for, an era of peace and friendship among our peoples.

The whole of Europe today identifies itself with the shared values of the rule of law, a pluralist society and the common respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

This is the outcome of a process that lasted for decades and one whose outcome is due for the most part to the decisive courage of those who kept the flame of reason glowing even when it seemed Utopian to make it shine in the darkness of repression.

Under the new circumstances we trust that the respect and esteem of all the participating States will be channelled towards the efforts of the peoples that are peacefully trying to regain the full expression of the national identity they enjoyed until recently.

The contribution of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was also decisive. The ten Helsinki Principles constituted both a start in giving a divided Europe a common reference point, and the finishing point of its newly-found unity.

Mr. Andreotti

Years of long and patient negotiations kept the lines of communication open, even at a time when communication seemed more difficult. This CSCE forum has strengthened the conviction that there is no alternative to dialogue to solve problems among States. The success that we celebrate today is the best hope that we have for the future. Our Meeting in Paris is not a mere celebration; it is also, and I would say first and foremost, a solemn commitment to build a community of nations where peace and friendship shall prevail.

We will not repeat the mistakes of the past. We are sure of this, not only because of the conviction of our aim but also because we know that it is deeply rooted in the minds of our people. The wish to live among friends and with friends is now a shared feeling.

What can better illustrate the new climate in Europe than the fact that the German people are now united in a single State in keeping with the principles of the Final Act and in full agreement with neighbouring countries.

Mr. Chairman, the CSCE has united the destinies of the countries of Europe and North America, thus making the common commitment to co-operation and security irreversible.

Within the CSCE, the European Community and its Member States have emphasised their conviction that the protection and promotion of human rights is the prime responsibility of governments. We have always stated that their effective enjoyment is the legitimate interest of the international community and that it is inseparable from the pursuit of peace and international security. I do believe that this conviction of ours, which we have shared with many of you, has borne fruit in the course of the events which we have witnessed in Europe.

Respect for human rights is, and always will be, the cornerstone of the CSCE process. Our common interest reiterated today in Paris is that of promoting the political values and principles based on the dignity of human beings. This interest will stand as a natural barrier against any exaggerated interpretation of the role of governments and against ways of thinking, so common in the past, according to which States are islands aiming at self-sufficiency in an essentially hostile environment.

However, respect for human rights must include the role that individuals can play in economic and social development.

It is our increasingly shared opinion that the responsible and creative activity of individuals, exercised with respect for human dignity and in the context of social justice, is the foundation of the well-being of all our nations. This is the kind of message that we wish to convey from Paris, together with the assurance of our willingness to work more closely together in fields such as the protection of the environment, scientific co-operation and culture, and to develop and expand the quality of our relations with the Mediterranean countries.

Mr. Chairman, the European Community has participated since the very beginning in the CSCE process. Back in 1975 when we signed the Final Act, Mr Aldo Moro, then Prime Minister of Italy and President of the Council of the European Community, stated that he was signing the Final Act of the Conference in his two-fold capacity. Since then European integration has made major steps forward, and this is what we see in the growing participation of its institutions in the CSCE process and in the building of the new political architecture in Europe. The Community and its Member States underscore the importance that they attach to the development within the framework of the CSCE of close-knit inter-European relations, in particular with the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. My colleague Jacques Delors, President of the Commission, will illustrate the Commission's contribution to the CSCE process, together with the Council, in the areas that fall within its purview. I would also emphasise that the European Parliament is represented at the Conference for the first time by its Vice-President, Mr. Georges Romeos.

The CSCE has contributed significantly to the strengthening of security in Europe by limiting armaments, as shown by the signing here in Paris of the basic CFE Treaty, and also by the gradual process of strengthening security which was started with the Final Act and further developed in Stockholm and Vienna. Specific and verifiable arms control measures and security-building measures contributed to an overall climate of confidence. This in turn makes it easier to achieve agreement on other security measures.

Mr. Andreotti

The negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and on CSEMs will continue on the basis of their current mandate, with a view to the 1992 Helsinki Follow-up Meeting. We express the wish for more structured co-operation in the field of security through discussions and consultations among the 34, so as to have, after the Helsinki Meeting, new negotiations on disarmament and on confidence- and security-building measures open to all CSCE participating States.

The depth of understanding and co-operation amongst us has reached a level which, we believe, warrants the development of a new institutional framework, one that will enable us to strengthen our dialogue. Along these lines we have decided to meet more frequently and establish a Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, backed up by a Secretariat with a view to establishing the political nucleus of this new stage of the CSCE. The latter will also be marked by the establishment of two other institutions: a Conflict Prevention Centre whose functions we can develop later and an Office for Free Elections. Lastly, we would like to emphasize the role that the parliamentary dimension can effectively play in the development of a coherent, harmonious and complete CSCE framework.

Concurrently, however, we should focus our attention on the factors of instability in Europe, whose implications for security are real, though very difficult to tackle in terms of traditional defence concepts.

We welcome the prospect of holding the first CSCE Meeting on National Minorities. There is also room to further develop mechanisms for third-party involvement in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We should therefore take full advantage of the opportunity tendered by the Valletta Meeting at the beginning of next year.

Mr. Chairman, Europe today can look forward to the future with enthusiasm. This Europe of ours, which is now taking shape in institutional form, stands as the fulfilment of a dream that Victor Hugo described back in 1849, and I quote: "The day will dawn in which France, Italy, Russia, England, Germany, all of you nations of the continent, will merge, without losing your distinctive features and your glorious

identities, in a higher unity, and you will form a brotherhood of Europe. The day will dawn when we shall see these two immense groupings, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, facing each other and reaching out towards the other across the seas".

Perhaps this wish, Mr. Chairman, is now becoming true. Thank you.