

The Hon. Charles J. HAUGHEY (Prime Minister, Ireland):

Mr. Chairman, I wish first of all to express my sincerest gratitude and appreciation to the President of the French Republic, Mr. François Mitterrand, to the French Government and the French people for the warm and friendly hospitality which they have extended to all of us on this important and historic occasion.

The address to the Conference by the Secretary-General of the United Nations yesterday underlines the fact that our co-operation in Europe is situated against the larger background of the world scene and in particular North and South relationships. In this larger scene, the United Nations plays an indispensable role, one that is being tested especially today. The progress in Europe, to which this Meeting of the CSCE bears witness, is entirely compatible with the purposes and the principles of the United Nations Charter. We would, of course, like to see similar progress in other areas of the world also.

I wish also to associate myself fully, as a member of the European Community, with the sentiments expressed in our name by the distinguished Prime Minister of Italy, Mr. Giu'io Andreotti, when he spoke to us yesterday.

It is more than fitting that this Summit Meeting, a milestone in the history of Europe, should be held here in Paris, which, two centuries ago, saw the birth of the Republic founded on what were then regarded as revolutionary ideals - liberty, equality and fraternity. 1989, two centuries later, saw the peoples in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in their turn assert their human rights, their liberties and their demand to be governed in accordance with democratic principles. The irresistible force of the will of the people, once it could be expressed, led to the fall of the old systems in those countries. These old systems have been replaced by governments which owe their legitimacy to the will of the people, a foundation which has now been confirmed for the most part through free and fair elections. I too would like to join with the utmost sincerity in paying tribute here to President Gorbachev, who had the wisdom and the courage to recognize that there can be no acceptable European order that is not based on such firm foundations.

These historic events have resounded throughout Europe and brought with them the prospect of ending, at last and definitively, the old order characterized by division, mistrust and ideological confrontation. In its place, we have now the opportunity to build a new secure and stable Europe, a Europe founded on democracy, on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, material prosperity and the rule of law. We are committed to establishing lasting relationships based on co-operation, friendship and the recognition of a common European identity.

The most tangible proof that we are really overcoming the divisions of our continent is to be found in the unification of Germany on 3 October. The European Community and we in Ireland have welcomed warmly and wholeheartedly the fulfilment of the long-held dream of Germans on both sides of the former divide to be united as one people, and to overcome the artificial division of their country. We are pleased in particular to see one Germany, united at last, represented here at this historic Conference.

Our joint decision, some 15 years after the signature of the Helsinki Final Act, to endow the CSCE with permanent institutions underlines our conviction of the enduring nature of the radical changes which have taken place and which are continuing. It gives tangible expression to our commitment, entered into at the highest level of government, to sustain our support for these changes and to enlarge and deepen the co-operation among the participating States.

The countries of the European Community are at present in the process of strengthening and deepening their co-operation. At the same time, we are strengthening our links with other CSCE participating States, and not least the newly-emerged democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. The Community has been intimately involved in the CSCE process since its inception, and it is the firm intention of Ireland and our Community partners that the Community should participate in the construction of a wider Europe. We therefore welcome the fact that the Community, represented by Italy, which holds the current Presidency, and by the Commission in the areas for which it has competence will sign the Paris Document.

Mr. Chairman, Ireland has always held the view that the individual is central to the CSCE process. It is the individual who must first and foremost be the beneficiary of all our efforts. More importantly, unless individuals are guaranteed the effective enjoyment of their fundamental rights and democratic freedoms, there can be no lasting basis for such co-operation, nor can genuine security exist between the participating States. We have therefore promoted the development over the years of the human dimension of the CSCE and welcomed the important new provisions agreed in this domain, most notably at the Copenhagen Meeting in June this year. We will work for the further strengthening of the CSCE provisions relating to the individual, both in terms of new commitments and of stronger mechanisms to ensure their implementation.

I would like to express the satisfaction of my Government at the positive and concrete results attained in the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-building Measures. We believe that the newly-agreed measures will significantly contribute to increased understanding in our relations and to the overall reduction of the military dimension and threat to international relations. We believe that the measures reflect a shared will to overcome the divisions of the past and to contribute to the development of a new era of co-operation in the security field.

I believe that we can only bring Europe close to real security through a co-operative approach, which seeks to build confidence among nations and remove the fear of attack by eliminating the means of waging war. We therefore welcome the CFE Treaty as an important step towards the mutual reduction of armaments and armed forces, and one which represents a qualitative increase in the security of all of us. We very much hope that this agreement will also help to move us nearer to the attainment of what we regard as a key objective: the halting of the nuclear arms race, and the elimination ultimately of all nuclear weapons.

Ireland has long been of the view that security in Europe in all its aspects is the concern of all the participating States, irrespective of whether or not they belong to a military alliance. We therefore strongly welcome the recognition of this fundamental fact in the document which we will

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sign. On this basis, my Government looks forward to the early commencement of discussions among the 34 aimed at establishing, by 1992, a process of disarmament and confidence-building measures open to all CSCE members who wish to participate. We trust that this process will rapidly lead to further substantial reductions in all types of armaments.

Ireland considers that economic co-operation, and co-operation in the fields of science and technology, are essential components of the new Europe whose Charter we aim to adopt. The Bonn Document on Economic Co-operation, with its emphasis on the connection between democratic liberty, the open economy, and economic and social progress, forms an excellent basis for further advances. We should proceed to develop a vigorous co-operation in the fields of energy - as so strongly advocated by my colleague, the Netherlands Prime Minister - transport and tourism.

The decisions we will take at this Summit Meeting are historic, in the very truest sense of the term. They will set the guidelines for co-operation at a Pan-European level for the foreseeable future in strengthening peace, security and co-operation in Europe. In so doing, we do not close the door on the future evolution of the shape of our continent, nor do we seek to suppress the expression of legitimate aspirations. On the contrary, we are establishing channels by which change can be achieved by peaceful and democratic means. It is not in our interest to inhibit diversity, which after all has been the source of genius of our continent, but in recognising its value and protecting it for the benefit of all Europeans.

The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe have set us a challenge. That challenge is to find a fitting response to their clearly proclaimed desire to live together in peaceful unity, with their rights and liberties fully protected by the rule of law, and with a market system oriented towards their well-being and their prosperity. We are taking an important step towards meeting that challenge. Let us be courageous in our vision of the new democratic and undivided Europe. Ireland commits herself fully to the attainment of this noble objective.