

Mr. Gabriele GATTI (Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, San Marino) (interpretation from Italian): Mr. Chairman, distinguished Heads of State and Government, Ladies and Gentlemen, the extraordinary wind of democracy and freedom which suddenly started blowing in Eastern Europe in 1989, and which became irresistible as it blew with increasing force, has led to Paris and 34 Heads of State and Government, spurred by the will to pursue together an irreversible path.

The holding of this very special Meeting, that the commitment of the French authorities and people have made even more solemn and organized perfectly, is the first main reason for the validity of the CSCE process, of its capacity to change things from within and the fact that it is constantly up to date, which requires for the future quick adjustments and flexible mechanisms.

The Paris Summit can be correctly defined as the "Summit of change" and its opening has brought new certainties and new reasons for hope in the peace expectations of European peoples. The signing of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe brings the reward of disarmament and confirms that our Meeting is the guarantor of a new security because of the elimination of armaments which are offensive and not merely defensive instruments and, in any case, instruments of war.

San Marino's view is that today's high-level Meeting takes place at two points in time that appear disconnected only on the surface. The first is the result of profound changes in the European scenario, changes taking place at a more rapid pace in some countries and more slowly, perhaps, and with greater problems, in others. These changes, however, have occurred everywhere, associating Albania to a process as well, a country which, it is to be hoped, will soon undertake the renewal allowing it to become a fully-fledged member of the CSCE.

Mr. Gatti

The second moment in time is characterized by sure promises and important expectations. The very document that we will be signing at the end of our Meeting, committing ourselves to its full application and with no interruptions, states that the era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended. San Marino is convinced that man is the author of this happy ending - all the men and women of the 34 participating States, who have proved their firm conviction of their natural right to peace and security.

Today in Paris, in the capital of the Great Revolution, we celebrate yet another victory of man, the victory over the fall of ideologies and systems that appeared unassailable and unchangeable, the victory over the fall of walls that divided a people who had spontaneously and immediately found their own identity with the other half that it had been so unnaturally separated from, the victory over the division in economic freedoms and in military pacts.

However, what we celebrate first and foremost is the victory of man over everything that ran contrary to him, that was against him. The birth of the man of the new Europe that has finally found himself, his identity and the dignity of being human through a complex but peaceful process. The birth of the man who counts, who is involved in the forging of his own destiny with no more anti-democratic or imposed systems, with ever-fewer differences on account of colour, ethnic origin, religious faith and political ideals. The new man who knows how to live and experience his own democracy because he knows what it is and can demand it because, at long last he can exercise the right to go into the palaces where democracy is being practised, to make sure that it is correctly applied.

The Paris document deals in details with the most important subjects of our times, referring to friendly relations, security, co-operation, economic freedom which is closely linked with social justice, the environment, culture, the need to step up relations with non-participating Mediterranean States, and so on and so forth, but it also clearly points to the importance and the role of democracy as the only form of government.

The future of Europe, in the context of new promises and new understandings in the fields of security and co-operation, is now based on the human dimension which has finally been enriched with the concept of participation. One of the more important aspects of the development

of the CSCE process in the human dimension, one that serves to better qualify this dimension, as it gives it more means of expression, is that we have agreed together that any citizen of any country has the right to have a say in the building of his or her own national society, and that is tantamount to stating that any citizen must be considered and must act as a responsible and free person, and that Europe, the new Europe of changes that we are building and gradually making more secure, more open, more friendly, will never again be against man.

The future and most important commitment of the CSCE process, therefore, revolves round democracy and the rule of law, the natural concomitant of democracy and inseparable from it.

Our task is a hard one, but our objective is so important that nothing must stop us. The process of democratization is an irreversible one. It might falter, it might be influenced by external factors and serious economic reasons, sometimes it might move more rapidly and sometimes more slowly, but it can never turn back. There might even be - and there are plenty of examples in our long history - periods of backwardness, but no reasonable person can regard these as moments of civil growth.

If we ask the question "Where is the world heading?", it would be wiser, perhaps, to leave the question unanswered, but if we ask the question "Where is Europe heading?", the answer is that the CSCE process points the way forward to us, while at the same time telling us the path to avoid. Our objective, which we should pursue with certainty and energy, is freedom, a complex freedom, negative and positive, if I may use these terms together, where the former - that is positive freedom - means not depending on the will and terms dictated by others, and the latter means involvement in the decision-making process affecting us.

For the sake of achieving these objectives and the many other objectives that qualify and complete the CSCE process, San Marino welcomes the establishment of new structures and new institutions, first and foremost the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Ours is a small country and our commitment to participate is, of course, a burdensome one but I am happy to state that the Republic of San Marino will spare no effort in ensuring its regular participation and, wherever possible, its best contribution.

Mr. Gatti

In this context, I do recommend that we pay special attention to the decisive role of the Council of Europe. It has over 40 years experience in the field of effective legal instruments, mechanisms to protect, control and develop human rights in the cultural, social, economic, political and civil fields. I would also recommend warmly that very special attention be devoted to the parliamentary dimension of the CSCE, which is something that we lack totally in our process, while I believe that we need to involve our parliaments in our quest to achieve common objectives.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Carlo Botta, a well-known Italian historian in the first half of the last century, wrote as follows on my country, referring in flattering terms to its long history of free survival: "San Marino continued to live in peace and quiet and freedom; it continued to respect human rights without boasting about them, which is better than boasting about them without respecting them", and he went on to add: "There continued around the happy mountain the sound, the fury and the abuse of peoples and soldiers".

My hope and my sincere wish is that around the mountain on which the small republic of San Marino is perched, Mount Titan, and far from it, throughout Europe, and as far as the North American continent, there be no more fury, no more abuse, no more soldiers. This is the promise the CSCE holds, the commitment we solemnly and sincerely assume in Paris.

Thank you.