

Mr. Franz VRANITZKY, (Federal Chancellor, Austria) (interpretation from German): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, only last year did we have an opportunity to recall that over two hundred years ago here in this great city, whose hospitality we are now enjoying with appreciation, the great ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity were spelled out, and that it was from here that their practical force so deeply and lastingly shaped the face of Europe and the world beyond. I mention this because those ideals and the image of the human being that corresponds to them also permeate the CSCE and run as a leitmotiv through the Declaration that we shall be signing here at this Conference.

Somewhat more than fifteen years have passed since the Helsinki Final Act was signed at the first CSCE Summit Meeting. On that occasion another Austrian Head of Government, Bruno Kreisky, noted that the great significance of the CSCE was that it guided the confrontation between the two great social systems on our continent along peaceful paths; but he also noted, and at the time he was the only man who put it so clearly, that this in no way meant the end of the ideological confrontation, and that in the final analysis it was the principle of democracy as the more humane principle that would prevail in that confrontation. History has proved him right.

The CSCE process that thus began fifteen years ago in Helsinki was intended to bring under political control the escalating momentum of the east-west confrontation. It was to do this first and foremost by widening areas of contact, and by bringing to the forefront what was common to all of us Europeans in and despite that conflict.

Now the great antagonism, the great confrontation, is over; and with it the question arises as to what the future tasks might be in a process which was created for the express purpose of overcoming confrontation. The answer is simple. With the disappearance of confrontation a new and lasting order is far from being created. Change is essential and inexorable, but at the same time it necessarily breeds insecurity. To counter that insecurity requires intensified co-operation, and co-operation on a very broad basis. Indeed,

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it cannot be expected that after the disappearance of antagonism a new and harmonic order will automatically and organically arise on our continent.

Between the former adversaries there is today readiness to talk, there is consciousness of common interest, and also the recognition of common responsibilities. With the declining importance of military alliances and pacts systems our field of vision has become free for those issues which concern the continent as a whole. We have regained room for action in which to devote ourselves to the pursuit of wider European interests.

It was one of the great successes of the CSCE process that it proceeded on the basis of a very comprehensive and broadly defined concept of security, into which the strengthening of military security, the respect for human rights and the development of co-operation merged to form a balanced whole. Security, that is, as the comprehensive end product of freedom, equality and fraternity.

For me there is no doubt that military security in Europe has been considerably enhanced in the last few years; but it would be naive and politically short-sighted to overlook the other new problems which could well come to constitute a threat to security if we were to neglect to take effective and prompt counter measures here. First and foremost are the economic imbalances, the considerable differences in living standards, the many unresolved social problems, the increasing environmental pollution, as well as the resurgence of nationalism, with all the tensions that arise therefrom.

The division of Europe had deep and long-lasting effects, and this may also be seen in the economic sphere. The fact that the communist economic system, the system of central planning, was not particularly efficient, that it lead to a widening technological gap and to declining living standards, had long been known. It is indeed praiseworthy that

the principles of a market economy have now been universally recognized, most recently at the CSCE Conference in Bonn; but as yet it is little more than a long-overdue adaptation to reality. But with this commitment to market economy alone we will not be able, as though by some magic formula, immediately to solve the practical difficulties which now confront the former communist States. Those difficulties cannot be overcome without co-operation with the affluent states.

It has of course been noted that any such assistance would be pointless if in the States concerned themselves the necessary reforms were not pursued with energy and determination, but it would be highly irresponsible to create the impression that those reforms can be simple or quickly effective, and that all that is required for that purpose would be the amendment of a few laws and a few framework conditions.

There is going to be a need for considerably larger external assistance than anything we have previously envisaged. There will also have to be grants, the sort of grants which in the post-war period the western European States, among them for example my own country, Austria, also received. Finally, a generally acceptable solution to the problem of debt will have to be found.

It is also unrealistic to assume that it will be possible for the States of Eastern and Central Europe to make good, on their own and without massive assistance, the devastating assaults on the environment which were knowingly perpetrated by governments that despised human beings and hence despised also the environment.

Many States in the West have entered into bilateral relations of assistance and co-operation with various States in the East, and an effective, internationally organized and coordinated economic and financial co-operation must now parallel these bilateral relations.

We must lose no time in instituting this co-operation politically and organizationally. This automatically requires concrete economic contributions by our prosperous industrial States. We have to persuade

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our populations too that economic destabilization in our eastern European neighbours would bring political destabilization in its wake, and that this must be avoided in the interests of stability throughout Europe, and hence in the interests of the stability of each of our countries too.

Alongside the economic problems and the social and political repercussions, there is a further threat to the future of the continent: the threat of growing conflicts between ethnic minorities and nationalities. Conflicts between States themselves are today receding into the background. This does not mean, however, that the evil spirits of intolerance, of mutual fear, of mutual contempt and of mutual hatred have yet been exorcised. They arise today from divisions other than those between nation states.

Finally, there is no other antidote than the constant commitment to diversity, which is experienced as constructive enriching and creative. Co-operation and integration must be combined with tolerance and even the promotion of diversity. I believe that in Western Europe this has been at least somewhat successful already. It must therefore be our purpose to involve the new democratic States of Central and Eastern Europe in the network of co-operation which has long existed among the Western European States.

There are many institutions that are called upon to make their contribution in this process of support for the Central and Eastern European countries. This convergent action by a variety of institutions is also good and useful in itself. It is particularly gratifying that the European Community has decided to play a leading and coordinating role in this process. We, too, wish to co-operate as fully as possible in their programmes as well as in the projects of OECD, the ECE or EFTA. We also welcome the renewed importance of the Council of Europe as a symbol and bulwark of the rule of law and democracy.

But above and beyond these various institutions there must undoubtedly be one organization in which all these issues and activities can be considered and tackled in a wider context, and for this purpose there can be no doubt that the CSCE will continue to be necessary and even indispensable.

I would think it dangerous if the various problems I have mentioned were only to be tackled after all the military aspects of security policy had been resolved, and all the corresponding confidence-building measures decided. The new Centre for Prevention of Conflicts should therefore become operational very quickly in these areas.

The Disarmament Treaty which was signed yesterday has fulfilled a prerequisite for the establishment of a new peaceful order in our continent. The principles of the Helsinki process have lost nothing of their usefulness for this process of construction. It will continue to be our task to weave together elements of economic and social development of collective and individual human rights and elements of domestic and external security into a flexible and lasting structure; it will be our task to work towards a modern interpretation of the ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity. We must now be aware that at this moment, with the overcoming of the division of Europe we have, as yet, in no way provided the guarantee of a good future for Europe.

We must also be aware that the greater part of this task will have to be borne by the European States themselves. We should and must be aware of the fact that, as the history of this century has so vividly illustrated, nothing could be more harmful than the illusion that North America or the Soviet Union could be excluded from the European reality. Their destinies are interwoven with those of our continent. Failure to recognize that fact would be damaging to them, but it would be particularly damaging to Europe. It is the advantage of this process, the process which began in Helsinki and which, through our Conference today, will be continued into the future, that it takes account of these realities.