

Mr. Felipe GONZALEZ (Prime Minister, Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, for fifteen years the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has faithfully witnessed the events in Europe, which was also playing the leading role because it paved the way to the deep changes which have occurred on our continent. The CSCE is on the threshold today of a qualitatively new stage. For a long period of time it has been the confrontation between the two blocs establishing patterns of behaviour. What we have to do now, at the CSCE is to forget about any of those blocs, we must look for a common objectives, whatever will enable us to ensure security and co-operation in all areas, and on the basis of shared values. Such as freedom of individuals and political pluralism.

In recent years, at different paces of course, in both east and west, we have seen deeply in our continent a change of trend. I am referring to the fact that Europe is now recovering, the history of Europe can be read as a chronicle of a very difficult path towards unity. The starting point was diversity, it is like a melting pot, with a tremendous amount of creativity among particular identities but on a common background.

However, it was the very highlighting of these national diversities which has lead to rivalry with two conflicts that swept over the continent in just one generation.

The effects of the Second World War which have lingered on until this very day have acted as a collective catharsis, and this compelled us to acquire a good perspective again. Now that the echoes of the cold war have died down we are again in a position to negotiate on our continent a new commitment, a new compromise solution between unity and diversity.

The more joyful consequence of the new paths that Europe is following has been reconciliation, first of all in western Europe. Our prospects have been reversed. Now we focus on what unites us, and not

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what separates us, and that has led to the establishment of the European Community. This is now an essential reference point for the new architecture that we are drawing for our continent, and now we are solemnly concluding the second reconciliation. A new encounter.

What was begun in Germany between the old rivals of east and west, now this twofold reconciliation has an in depth significance, and it is important to underline this. This means a restoration of Europe. At long last the vocation of Europe is going to coincide with our will to build Europe. At long last the old Europe is going to be at peace with others and itself.

This is Europe's new attitude, and the CSCE must be the interpreter of this new attitude. New collective requirements may also be met by the CSCE. I believe that there are two which are particularly urgent. We must build a common space in Europe, and we must ensure general stability on our continent.

The common space should be an area where the countries of Europe together with the United States and Canada can begin a new co-existence. This must be based on our common principles, and also the development of other collective dimensions. The collective dimension which is to be considered our priority is co-operation in all fields, whether it is the economy, science and technology, the environment or culture.

Our shared values are the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The commitment that we are renewing at our Summit on the basis of our ten principles all in all, amounts to our commitment to democracy in our countries, and in our attitudes towards other peoples, whether in Europe or elsewhere in the world.

Europe must endeavour to achieve the universal promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. At the same time we are all aware of the fact that Europe now needs and is increasingly going to need stability. The CSCE is called upon to become a collective guarantee. We

need a framework of stability, we need it to fit in the changes which are now occurring in Europe and we need it to soften the blow of maladjustments. That is why we should avoid any temptation to go back to exacerbated nationalisms. We need a framework of stability to build a new peace order in Europe.

One of the safest ways towards a lasting and sound peace is disarmament. The Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, the one that we the 22 member countries of the alliances have signed, is a major step forward in the process of transition towards structures of forces and doctrines of a defensive nature. As for the immediate future we are to pursue our efforts so that the negotiations among the 22 countries might achieve substantive additional results before the 1992 Helsinki Meeting. At that meeting we must also adopt a new mandate, which will enable us to continue the disarmament talks open to the 34 CSCE participating States. In addition to that, we shall soon pursue negotiations to enhance military confident measures, taking advantage of the momentum that we have acquired with the measures that have just been agreed upon.

To enable the CSCE to fulfil its tasks we need to endow it with a sufficient institutional backing in order to ensure its effectiveness, without overburdening it with bureaucratization. By establishing a mechanism of regular consultations we will include in our common space a dimension of sustained political dialogue. We will add parliamentary dimension with a future assembly of Europe.

In this connection I should like to state that soon the President of the Spanish Parliament will extend an invitation to the other parliaments of the CSCE participants with a view to holding a meeting early in 1991 to exchange views and to table proposals as to the membership tasks and working methods of this parliamentary forum.

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In this area, and in other areas the experience and the tradition of the Council of Europe, an organization that groups most of the CSCE participating States, and which without doubt will sooner or later have to group all Eastern Europe countries.

The new European order that the CSCE will have to shape will last only if it is just. We can hardly expect to build a solid order on fragile foundations. We cannot prolong or extend the existence of anachronistic vestiges that are obsolete, these are incompatible with the new Europe that we want to shape. That is why we believe and we trust that through the negotiating process that has been established between the United Kingdom and Spain will manage to solve the conflict of Gibraltar.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe must act consistently with the responsibility of Europe in the world as the Secretary-General of the United Nations told us yesterday, instead of trying to achieve an isolated Europe our stakes must be for an open Europe, a Europe that is sensitive to independence. In the past the world was conditioned by conflicting relations amongst ourselves, between East and West. The future will be shaped by our relations with others and in particular with the countries that are located in the southern part of our common planet.

To us, in Spain, this means in particular that Europe must accept the responsibility that it has to contribute to the strengthening of democracy and development of Latin American countries. These countries too are an extension because of their language, culture and values, of Europe beyond the Atlantic. This is what we say of Canada and the United States of America.

There is no doubt to Europe the south means first and foremost the Mediterranean, and I am sure that the Mediterranean is going to acquire increasing importance on our continent, and that is why we have suggested and proposed that the spirit and method that has scored so many successes within the CSCE be applied as well to the Mediterranean.

This concern for what is going on south of the boundaries is dramatically spotlighted by the Gulf crisis. The Gulf crisis which is a consequence of the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. This is a challenge to all of us and to the new peace order. This is a challenge which we must confront together in keeping with the guidelines laid down by the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, Europe has now reached the end of an historical cycle and we are in the threshold of a new one. It is a very promising stage of transition in the difficult path towards unity when our starting point was diversity. We are seeking a new co-existence which will be more than mere co-existence. I believe that we all can feel that we are on the threshold of something new. We still consider ourselves however, as an epilogue, as a sequence of bygone days. We know what we are inheriting but we do not know that we are forerunners as far as I am concerned I feel that what we are experiencing now be the building of a Europe which is a legacy, but it is also a hope. A restored co-existence, but also an ambitious common task, a lofty common project.

If I may, Mr Chairman, I should like to thank the President of the French Republic and the Government of France for their excellent organization of this Conference. Some months ago Mr Gorbachev took this initiative and we thank him very much for taking that initiative. Thank you.