<u>Mr. Turgut ÖZAL</u> (President of the Republic, Turkey): Mr. Chairman, we have assembled in Paris at a time of historic change and profound expectations. After decades of division, confrontation and ideological rigidity, we meet today to inaugurate a new era of peace, democracy and unity in Europe. This new era will be based on trust, co-operation and friendly relations among us.

When we gathered 15 years ago in Helsinki, the CSCE was a vehicle for facilitating efforts to overcome the artificial division of the continent. Now, the CSCE represents the high common ground where we foster democracy, human rights and the rule of law as well as military security, confidence and economic and environmental co-operation.

In this major undertaking, we come together as the States of Europe, the United States and Canada. The transatlantic characteristic of the CSCE, fundamental for its past achievements as well as for its future, underlines its unique nature.

The States of Europe and North America now constitute an integral community of nations bound together by an abidi v commitment to democracy and prosperity.

For making possible all these achievements I should like to pay a special tribute to the courage and statesmanship shown by Presidents Reagan, Bush and Gorbachev.

United Germany symbolizes the new unity of Europe. The Turkish people and Government strongly welcome and rejoice in the fact that the German people have united to become one State after decades of division. United Germany will be one of the main pillars of stability, co-operation and peace in Europe.

As we chart the future course of our co-operation, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act will continue to guide our relations. Each of the ten principles, applying equally, can only be interpreted taking due account of the others.

Our relations should be based on our collective determination to put the ten principles effectively into practice. This is enshrined in the Charter of Paris for a new Europe, which we will soon sign. This comprehensive commitment constitutes the foundation of friendly relations among us. It reinforces the declaration between the members of the Nato Alliance and the Warsaw Pact, by which 22 States declare that they are no longer adversaries. We have thus formally ended a period of history in Europe, a period often referred to as the Cold War.

The CFE Treaty, which we have signed earlier today, is a major step in the attainment of Europe's common destiny. Turkey is proud to have played an active part in the construction of this edifice to Europe's emerging security order. Its implementation will irreversibly free European relations from the dominance of the military factor. Turkey's understandings in the signature of the Treaty have already been registered.

Recent developments culminating in this Summit have brought about a radically different context in which future security decisions will be taken. While the context has changed, the fundamental need for security has not.

Military forces will be maintained as an expression of sovereignty and a levels necessary for legitimate self-defence. Collective structures that hav endured the test of these turbulent times and have helped us in the managemen of change will continue to exist.

An integral part of the process is to make the military structures stable, mutually reassuring and open. The scope of the package of confidence and security-building measures to be adopted reflects new and ambitious standards for military conduct in Europe.

It is a testimony to Europe's collective will to accelerate unification and to foster all aspects of co-operative relations by reducing the risk of military confrontation. Confidence, a rare commodity in times past, is now c offer in larger helpings. It is on this element of confidence that the futur of European relations will rest and Turkey is willing to play its part with its neighbours to complement and reinforce this wider process of building stability through measures at a regional level. Turkey welcomes this new state of affairs where co-operation will become ever more deeply engrained in the fabric of international relations on a European scale. From the solid foundation of the CFE Treaty and the common starting point it represents, Europe will forge ahead with building security and stability within the CSCE framework. When the whole world is looking at us for inspiration and ideals, this is not a moment to pause and doubt the prospect but to redouble our efforts to achieve a truly united Europe.

As the threat of military conflict diminishes in Europe, we must be aware of dangers which pose no lesser threat to the stability of our societies. We need enhanced co-operation in combating terrorism, which threatens the fabric of democratic institutions. We welcome the relevant provision of the Charter of Paris in this regard.

Consolidation and strengthening of democracy with all its institutions and procedures, will be one of the main challenges ahead. Last year's democratic revolutions need to be supplemented with the traditions of pluralism. We all know that free and fair elections by themselves are not sufficient to sustain democracy and ensure the protection of human rights. Democratization is a continuous process. As there will, for a long time, be differences in the stages of democratic evolution, we can benefit from each other's experiences and from constructive dialogue.

Mr. Chairman, in the new Europe, national minorities have emerged as a major issue. The issue, with its human and political dimensions, is a complex one. National minorities can either serve as a bridge for co-operation between the participating States, particularly between neighbours, or as a source of discord and distrust between them. We in Turkey know this fact too well. As we look to the future, however, there is hope that national minorities will serve as an additional link in bringing neighbouring countries closer. For the issue of natinal minorities can only be satisfactorily resolved in a democratic framework.

Mr. Chairman, there are other communities in Europe whose rights deserve special attention. Migrant worker and their families, constituting some 15 million people, are one such community. The Charter of Paris reaffirms our common concern for the protection and promotion of the rights of migrant workers, which we specially welcome. This important issue, particularly its human dimension, deserves greater attention in the future work of the CSCE. Mr. Özal

As the division of Europe has come to an end, increased human contacts and unimpeded movement among our citizens become even more important. The legitimate concern to regulate immigration should not create hard-to-cross borders. We need increased co-operation to ensure that freedom to travel will not result in illegal immigration. On the basis of such co-operation, restrictions to free travel should be lifted, in accordance with CSCE commitments.

Mr. Chairman, the democratic evolution in Europe is now proceeding in tandem with the transformation to market economies. This transformation is indeed the construction of a prospercus and united Europe in the long term, since it is the market economy which fosters economic growth, prosperity, social justice and efficient use of resources.

We, in Turkey, already know that the transition from a State-regulated, closed economy to an open market economy is a difficult process. Having embarked on that course ten years ago, we have gained wide experience in it, and are sharing that experience with the new democracies.

The transition to market economies requires the support of us all. Since it is our common interest, co-operation to this end should be an essential element of our relations. Our overall co-operation should encourage free enterprise, as well as free and diversified trade. It should give new impetus to collective endeavours in energy, transport and protection of the environment.

We, for our part, are extending a supportive hand to the Central and Eastern European countries, and to the Soviet Union, within the limits of our means.

Since it is becoming a forum for increased co-operation, we urge the CSCE to take into greater account the interests of developing participating States. To this end, we need wider sharing of scientific and technological knowledge to reduce the gap between us.

Regional co-operation among our States should be a vital dimension of overall endeavours. The Balkans constitute one region where expanded co-operation carries the promise of huge dividends. As we leave behind the divisions of a past era, I call on all Balkan States to assume a qualitatively new undertaking for enhanced regional co-operation, from which we all stand to benefit.

We have recently set in motion a new initiative for economic co-operation in the Black Sea region. The initial reaction it received is very encouraging.

Throughout history, the Mediterranean has had particular relevance for security and co-operation in Europe. Turkey, a Mediterranean country, hopes that the emergence of a democratic Europe will contribute to the development of harmonious relations and the promotion of stability and co-operation in this region as well.

Mr. Chairman, as we collectively reaffirm our commitment to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, we cannot remain indifferent to the violations of these principles in other parts of the world. The Paris Summit takes place at a time when the international community is confronted with a major crisis in the Gulf, arising from the flagrant violation of international law. The repercussions of the crisis are felt by all participating States. Reacting to the crisis in conformity with United Nations principles, Turkey is one of the countries most seriously affected by it. The crisis also confronts the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe with additional difficulties in their efforts towards the transformation to market economies. Unity and solidarity among us are imperative in facing up to the challenges created by the Gulf crisis, as well as for its peaceful resolution. We need to convey an unambiguous and strong message that aggression cannot and will not be rewarded.

The Paris Summit will establish regular political consultations among us, and new CSCE institutions. This political and institutional strengthening of the CSCE is required to shape our future co-operation and meet new challenges as a new era unfolds in Europe. Turkey will be an active participant in this great undertaking. No capital is a more fitting venue than Paris in which to inaugurate a new chapter in European history. France has always been at the centre of Europe, politically and culturally. Our host, President Mitterrand, is one of the most eminent advocates of democracy and unity in Europe. I wish to conclude my remarks by thanking President Mitterrand and the French Government for their gracious welcome and hospitality. Thank you.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.