

Mr. Hans BRUNHART (Head of Government, Liechtenstein)

(interpretation from German): Mr. Chairman, my dear colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen, by way of introduction I should like to begin by thanking President Mitterrand, the French Government and the city of Paris for their hospitality. The host country has made available a glittering framework for this CSCE Summit Meeting. Even more remarkable, it seems to me, is the spirit of understanding and openness which has brought all of the participating States together around what might be seen as a sort of European and transatlantic family table.

In this atmosphere everyone, great and small, feels taken care of, and this has had its effect on the course of negotiations in Paris.

We regard this as a good augury for the new phase of the CSCE which is now beginning here, the phase of more intensive co-operation and of institutionalization. The decisions to this effect will remain associated with the name of the French capital just as the CSCE process itself remains associated with Helsinki.

Without forgetting the major stages of the CSCE process or the minor ones - in all these places standards were set and guidelines were developed which were of the utmost importance for relations among the participating States and for the coexistence of human beings in those States - we came to Paris in order to carry out an assessment and to take decisions which will point the way to the future.

From Liechtenstein's point of view the following may be stated: first of all we recognize, 18 years after the start of the CSCE, the correctness of the decisions then taken.

At the opening of the negotiations in Helsinki we stated - and I should like to quote from the statement by Liechtenstein made at that time:

"The idea of setting relations among the nations of Europe on a new basis of peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourliness, while at the same

Mr. Brunhart

time preserving their identity and their sovereign rights, is a concern which evokes a powerful response among the human beings who live in this area, be it the older generation which suffered unspeakably in the course of the last war, or be it the younger generation which looks towards new horizons and a more positive future. There is no doubt that most people now living in Europe are moved by a deep desire to move beyond the consequences of the war. Old prejudices and bastions which were based on fear and mistrust must be dismantled. Progress towards this goal will admittedly only be achieved if the causes of fear and tension can be realistically brought into the work of the Conference."

So much for my quotation from the year 1972. Today, we can say here in Paris that we have got there: Europe is free, democratic and united. The document of the Paris Summit, a Magna Carta for European co-operation, is an eloquent expression of this fact. We can draw on this success in confidence for the future.

However, the document of the Paris Summit is also a reminder of the fact that we must not forget two things: no matter how steadfastly the delegations involved in the negotiations may have pursued their goal, they would have had no success if brave men and women, dissidents, workers, young persons and indeed whole peoples and their leaders, had not all raised their voices, if they had not repeatedly borne heroic witness for the sake of freedom and honesty in dealings with the State authority. All our representatives at the negotiating table could do then was to confirm things for which people elsewhere were ready to risk their lives.

Then a second point: the CSCE knows neither victors nor vanquished. Given the futility of another European war, the 35 States had to find a new approach.

The fair negotiating model of the CSCE which allows everyone to insist on his position until such time as he himself understands that a new way is opening up, this laborious way through consensus has allowed former rivals and adversaries to become partners in the end or even to become friends.

I should like to give expression, at this point in my remarks, to my joy at what is stated in the section concerning unity in the Paris document. We are happy to greet one Germany in one Europe, together with the United States and Canada, within the CSCE circle.

We regard the conclusion of the agreement on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, too, as an important success of the CSCE. Thanks to this Treaty the armed forces of the 22 States which bear a particular responsibility for security in Europe will, for the first time, be substantially reduced.

What made for the success of the CSCE in the past must also determine the relationship of the participating States in the future. Only a friendly relationship which is marked by respect for the sovereign equality of all participants can lay the foundation for the future, and this is particularly true of new steps towards the so-called institutionalization of the CSCE.

Life will confront us with new tasks and difficulties. The problems of human beings are going to have to be resolved. What those problems are, we are learning day after day, more urgently and above all, from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. People must be helped with their problems. The institutions of the CSCE must serve this purpose, new institutions of co-operation which will be decided upon here in Paris and will thus mark the start of a second stage of the CSCE process.

The aim of this institutionalization cannot be achieved if a bureaucracy is generated within the CSCE. Institutions, as we have seen, must serve human beings and nations. As in the past, it will be essential to maintain an open attitude to fundamental issues. Differences of view must be respected, and above all the CSCE must maintain its ability to react to new problems spontaneously, imaginatively and with sensitivity towards all the partners involved.

The spirit of true Europeans must prevail, the spirit which sees diversity as providing an opportunity and loyalty to one's own identity as offering the possibility of building bridges to one's neighbours. I am thinking in this connection of the problem of minorities or, perhaps better said, the task of minorities in Europe, the task of building bridges which cross frontiers and which can enrich our coexistence in Europe, as outlined in the document of the Paris Summit.

Mr. Brunhart

There is no doubt that the Council of the Foreign Ministers of the participating States will be of great importance in future, for it is their responsibility to guide the co-operation of the 34 sovereign partners along the lines established, and thereby to maintain their mutual friendship.

The Council of Europe has recently opened itself to co-operation with the Central and Eastern European States. That organization should, accordingly, play a role in the framework of the CSCE process which will make use of its experience, particularly in building up democracy, in ensuring and extending human rights and in cultural co-operation.

The development of a parliamentary body in the CSCE, we believe, should be based on a model of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.

The considerably expanded CSCE programme will make great demands on everyone, and I should like therefore to quote once again what we said in 1972 on this subject:

"All proportions maintained, the people and Government of Liechtenstein are therefore ready and willing, together with the other peoples and governments, to make its contribution here."

That was the statement that we made at that time and I should like to add to that today. Encouraged by the success of the CSCE, our small country, too, would like to collaborate in the further construction of a democratic Europe which is united in its aims.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.