

Mr. Jacques SANTER (Prime Minister, Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, the drawing of lots has made me one of the last speakers to address you on this very important occasion.

All the preceding speeches have noted the fact that these are extraordinary times for the future of our continent. At the very outset, the President of the French Republic set our Meeting in its historical context. He did so with the lucidity and eloquence that are typical of him. I would like to express to him the gratitude of my delegation for the warm hospitality that France and its capital have shown us.

Mr. Chairman, for Europe, our Meeting represents the culmination of a long and often painful process. It is also the point of departure for new and unfamiliar horizons.

I shall take up the culmination first. With the benefit of hindsight, analysts and historians will surely expatiate on the event that we are celebrating together today. I would like you to know that, as far as Luxembourg is concerned, this Summit represents the end of a long process, lasting 175 years, which started on 9 June 1815 in Vienna. On that day, the great powers, weary of war, jointly sketched out for the first time a new architecture for Europe. In so doing, they "recreated" from scratch a Luxembourg that three centuries of occupation and amalgamation had deleted from the map of Europe. My country owes its "rebirth" to the military value of its fortress, which was a key element in a security system designed at the time to take account of the greed of some and the ambitions of others. Decisions were imposed from above and the people were not consulted. There was no form of democratic control: there were grants and cessions, indemnities and compensations. In the quest for a new order of peace, such ambiguous concepts as "natural frontiers" were invoked. In short, the Europe of that time was based on legal-military constructs, which are the archetype of diplomatic expediency.

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The Vienna Final Act, with its 129 articles, ensured an order of peace which arbitrarily prolonged a centuries-old discrimination among the large countries, which advanced for themselves alone the claim to "be Europe". The medium-sized countries could not make their voices heard. They were not even parties to this Act. The absence of any reference to the people who were supposed to live in this new Europe meant that the new order of peace inevitably underwent tensions over the years and subsequently crises that led, in the end, to terrible wars. Today we have a genuine opportunity to put an end to this legacy for once and for all. There are three positive features of the Vienna Congress that recur 175 years later:

- a certain respect for territorial integrity,
- the virtues of conference diplomacy; and
- a style of confidential contacts and confrontations.

When, on 1 August 1975, the Heads of State or Government of the thirty-five countries of Europe, the United States and Canada signed the Helsinki Final Act, a slow process of "divorce" began that we have ratified here. As a matter of fact, it took fifteen years and many dramas, despite the solemn commitments made, to get rid of the last vestiges of the old order based on force and intimidation. The Helsinki Final Act, criticized by some and manipulated at times by others, today emerges as the constitution of the "Greater Europe" that we are now building together.

I must therefore express our gratitude to all those who have striven, from the outset, through the meanders of a long list of conferences, to achieve the results that we will adopt tomorrow. I would also like to mention the courage and abnegation of all those in Central and Eastern Europe who have tirelessly worked, sometimes at the cost of their lives, to secure the application of the principles that their Governments had solemnly endorsed. We cannot mention them all, but Sakharov, Havel, Hayek and the leadership of Solidarity among many others will surely remain the outstanding figures of the dynamic process set in motion fifteen years ago in the capital of Finland.

For Luxembourg, today is also the point of departure for new and unfamiliar horizons. By virtue of its three-fold structure, the CSCE process meets all the conditions necessary for a "second rebirth" of Europe:

- it enshrines first the equality of all States, whether large, medium-sized or small;
- it ensures their security and their sovereignty by protecting them from any large-scale surprise attack;
- it advocates at all times respect for the rule of law and democratic institutions;
- it holds the defence of the individual, his basic rights and cultural aspirations above all other considerations;
- it lays the foundations, on the basis of a social market economy, for economic, industrial and scientific co-operation throughout Europe; and
- finally, it is called upon to contribute to preserving our way of life.

The CSCE process has clearly won its spurs in the field of the defence of human rights. What government today would ever dare to try repressing or intimidating its citizens after the peaceful demonstrations that took place on Venceslas Square in Prague, at Gdansk naval shipyards or on the streets of Moscow? Martial law, censorship, jamming, the seizure of books and publications, the banning of all religious activities, anti-semitism, the prohibition of marriages, the prevention of family reunions and travel restrictions are among the violations which until quite recently still affronted our consciences. And, in truth, without freedom there could be no real peace in Europe. After the

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peaceful revolutions of that amazing year of 1989, peace is now within our grasp. And in order to consolidate it, the way is clear:

First, we must continue to implement the principles of the Final Act wherever there are shortcomings, whether it be guarantees ensuring the basic rights of the individual or, above all, the aspirations of the minorities and ethnic groups living within our continent;

Secondly, we must continue the process of disarmament. Current mandates give us full authority to do so. Our goal is still peace with less armaments and more security for all. The signing yesterday of the first disarmament agreement on conventional weapons and the adoption of a new package of CSEMs show the way in that respect;

Thirdly, in the area of relations between States, the establishment of a Conflict Prevention Centre and the work to be undertaken soon on agreed principles for the peaceful settlement of disputes, represent a qualitatively new departure;

Fourthly, as far as cultural co-operation is concerned, the meeting next Spring in Cracow should raise the last remaining barriers and restrictions in this area. Beyond that, it should lay down ground rules that would foster more joint ventures. Being designated as the European capital of culture for 1995, Luxembourg will spare no effort to put on a whole panoply of events so that for twelve months we really will be the cultural focal point of the continent of Europe;

Fifthly, and finally, we must now put all our energies into economic, industrial and scientific co-operation. The dogmas derived from outdated ideologies being now superseded, the acceptance by all of the workings of a social market economy provides the framework for projects of common interest throughout the continent. I am delighted in this context at the fact that very interesting ideas were put forward for energy by my colleague from the Netherlands, Ruud Lubbers, and also by Jacques Delors.

In general terms, our priorities should be these: in the short term we have to provide a viable way of life for the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe who have been exposed to the vicissitudes of change because of their restructured economies and the increasing cost of energy.

I would like to stress that in future we must add a new principle in Europe: the duty to show solidarity.

All our societies are based on solidarity. It is also the basis for the process of European integration, in which we have been engaged for more than thirty years. This is much more important than making our by-laws agree. In a few weeks, my country will have the privilege of assuming the Presidency of the European Communities. The response of the twelve to this duty of solidarity towards our new partners in Central and Eastern Europe will be a test of our credibility. And, therefore, it must be one of our priorities. Which leads me to conclude by stressing, if there is any need to do so, the value of the three institutions that are complementary to those which we are setting up today. These three institutions have been largely responsible for the success of what we started fifteen years ago in Helsinki, and we are sure that their role in the future will be no less important.

- Firstly, the Atlantic Alliance: this defensive pact is the free union of sixteen sovereign countries. Faithful to its first vocation but renewed in its structures and means, the Alliance will be an integral part of a future system of co-operative security throughout the continent. It is through NATO that we can guarantee the basic premiss essential to European stability: the presence of American and Canadian forces.

Secondly, the Council of Europe: this is the oldest of the European institutions and in tomorrow's world it will remain the primary guardian of the basic rights of the individual in Europe. Growing as it is year by year, it is now a very important partner in the establishment of new institutions in the young democracies of Central and Eastern Europe.

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And, lastly, the European Community: it has been a magnet and a catalyst for so many hopes of so many peoples in Greater Europe. As the century draws to a close, it will be the cornerstone of the future "European Confederation".

The Community is the tangible expression of solidarity in the face of the many challenges that no country, however powerful it may be, can overcome on its own. Luxembourg is proud to be a founder member of these three institutions.

We are today engaged in an ambitious process that should lead to integration. Our Community, with its institutions that have stood the test of time, can offer Europeans and the whole world a new model for the future based on dignity and shaped by the concepts of social justice, respect for individual freedoms and the fulfilment of the human personality. If we have the will, this future is within our grasp.

Thank you for your attention.