

In many ways, the easier part is over in Europe. It is easier to tear down walls than to build a strong free society. Because democracy is more than institutions or constitutions. Democracy is in this mind; by its very nature it must be cultivated, and cannot be imposed. It grows from the ground up and that process of growth is delicate and long. One major challenge for the Paris Summit is to give democracy a chance.

Second, there is the challenge of prosperity. Creating an open market is not like producing a product. There is no instruction book, no manuals. Old habits have to be unlearned, and new habits instilled. That is a long apprenticeship, which must take place in the context of a growing impatience which comes from prosperity foregone and promises made. Building on the results of the Bonn meeting, so as to help knit a European economic fabric which is open and prosperous, is also a task for the Paris Summit. And achieving that task advances our security.

Third, there is the challenge of new conflicts. In one sense, Europe is in the process of being liberated from its own history. But in another sense, it is also being liberated to confront its history once again. Old antagonisms, old prejudices, old battles, once fought but seldom won, are re-emerging. There are fears that one type of distrust and intolerance may be replaced by others, more ancient but just as virulent. That is dangerous for security, for democracy, for prosperity. That too is a challenge for Paris, to promote and protect the rights of all, including those of ethnic minorities.

There are five specific areas which should inform our deliberations here as we move towards the Summit.

The first is the requirement for the CSCE structure to have a strong element of political direction and leadership. The CSCE cannot become a distant bureaucracy or a simple set of principles. The peoples of our countries must see their leaders controlling and guiding the CSCE process if that process is to retain and build legitimacy. That is why I believe it is crucial that the Paris Summit establish regular Heads of Government meetings and Foreign Ministers meetings. These shall be meetings of substantive deliberation and decision-making, to give direction to the process.

The second are where we should move forward is that of giving the CSCE a truly democratic and representative face. The principles of the CSCE - so recently confirmed and enhanced in Copenhagen - are principles of democracy. The CSCE structure itself cannot be seen to be divorced from those principles.