

Statement

Secretary of
State for
External Affairs



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NOTES FOR A SPEECH BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE CLARK,

AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION
MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

NEW YORK

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Mr. Chairman,

Let me begin by expressing Canada's appreciation of the arrangements made by the United States to host this meeting, the first in the United States, another unmistakable demonstration of the trans-Atlantic nature of the CSCE.

The revolutionary events of the last year in Europe have many authors, some of them individuals in this room. A primary catalyst of these changes was this CSCE process, which achieved and enlarged commitments to rights by nations who previously had not acknowledged them; then provided constant and inescapable pressure to respect those commitments; and finally created a habit and example of nations working together to advance basic common values. That work is more important now than ever, because that respect for common values, that habit of working together, are essential as a strong new Europe, which truly honours the values affirmed in his Renaissance of Europe, is built by the efforts of all of us working together.

Our purpose in Paris - as it was 15 years ago in Helsinki - is to assert those values, as broadly and deeply as possible, in contemporary Europe.

The CSCE is not an end in itself, but the chosen instrument for building a strong new European order. This is the drawing board of the new European architecture.

We are here to help build a Europe which is a beacon and not a bulwark; a Europe which sees itself engaged in the wide world, and not apart from it. For forty-five years, the divisions in Europe spread tension and conflict throughout the world. Other regions, however much they benefitted from Europe's wealth or civilization, have also been infected by the tensions which divided East-West. The new Europe must be an example for others, not simply because it is prosperous and peaceful, but because common purpose here allows the world, at long last, to turn seriously to the other pressing problems confronting this planet.

A Europe which will work will not be static. It must be a Europe which grows as confidence grows, which evolves with our successes, which responds positively and actively to changes from within and from without. That is why the new CSCE should be different from previous efforts to construct order in Europe. Those efforts were static structures which did not grow. The CSCE we build must be a flexible organism, capable of growth and adaptation, and a structure which change strengthens and does not weaken.

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.

Therefore, Canada considers it important that the Paris Summit move toward an Assembly of Europe with appropriate parliamentary representation from all states which would gather to discuss and exchange views on those issues which fall under the CSCE mandate. It should be equipped to deal with all matters which fall under the CSCE umbrella, and it should have its own agenda and rules of procedure.

Third, we should give concrete approval and form to the idea of a CSCE Centre for the Prevention and Resolution of Conflict. Such a Centre is appropriate and important in its own right. It responds to growing needs in Europe, which can best be met by a multilateral instrument. But its early establishment will also signal our determination - collectively - to avoid the old ways and old dangers. Such a Centre can have a crucial role in assisting verification and data exchange arising from the negotiations on Confidence and Security-Building Measures. However, we must also look to the future and to a mechanism that is able to use all means - political, legal and technical - for the prevention and resolution of conflict. Eventually, that will require an enhanced role and real resources related to fact-finding, conciliation, mediation and the arbitration of conflicts.

Fourth, there is the question of the conventional force reduction talks. I emphasize again that the Paris Summit requires a CFE agreement. We cannot pretend to be constructing a new type of Europe when the symptoms of the old are allowed to persist and when we are unable to agree on the means to start to remove those symptoms. We take encouragement from the promising signs. There is still time to produce an agreement. There is no issue before us more important than this.

Fifth, the Paris Summit must reinforce and consecrate the trans-Atlantic and Pan-European role of the CSCE. That is the large outward-reaching spirit in which the CSCE was founded, and is the source of so much of its success. In all its actions and decisions, the Paris Summit should reflect the compelling image and reality of a European order which bridges the Atlantic, a Europe which is a concept rather than just a continent. We celebrate tomorrow the end of a war which divided Germany, divided Europe, divided the world, and we want no more walls around values and traditions which enlarge human kind.

At 7 pm today, as we close this meeting, the streets of Bonn and Berlin, Dusseldorf and Dresden will be filled with Germans rejoicing in their first precious moments of unity. That event, the symbol and substance of so much we have sought, will mark the end of one era and the beginning of another.

Meanwhile, here in New York, a different sort of summit than the one we are planning for Paris has just concluded. The Prime Minister of Canada reported to the General Assembly of the United Nations yesterday morning on the results of the World Summit for Children. That Summit focused the World's attention on the plight of the innocent child - the child who is illiterate or ill or abused. The child who is our future, a future which all members of the CSCE must act to make brighter through their actions and their example.

And across the world, another drama is unfolding, one which brings new danger but also prompts hope. The hope that finally there is a new consensus on a new international order which will not tolerate aggression and which will, therefore, deter it.

There is a question as to how quickly, or how cautiously, we should move at Paris. We are all agreed that we should build solidly, that our interest is in institutions that endure.

This is an age of change, and all of our countries are affected. But some face more fundamental challenges - some countries here are turning over history. They need the context and the support of a strong CSCE structure, more than others do.

I noted Eduard Shevardnadze's observation yesterday that, in months, we have achieved reforms that had been impossible for years. In this world, this Europe, events will not wait, nor should we. That is the future of this Europe, and we must build this new CSCE to fit that future, to make it work.