

STATEMENTS
AND
SPEECHES



DÉCLARATIONS
ET
DISCOURS

90/16

Notes for an address by
the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney,
Prime Minister of Canada,
at the Conference on Security and
Co-operation in Europe Summit

Paris, France
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Last week on Remembrance Day, as I stood at the Cenotaph in Ottawa, the sounds of sacrifice and loss blew quietly in the early winter wind. I remembered, then, the 100,000 young Canadian men and women who lie buried at Vimy Ridge and Dieppe and Ortona and other battle-fields in Europe. I thought of similar memorials in London and Leningrad and Berlin -- and the tombs of unknown soldiers in Washington and here in Paris. And I was reminded once again of our common history, our shared experiences, tragic as well as joyous -- and of how much we all -- Canadians, Americans and Europeans -- have at stake in the new Europe.

Canada is a North American country whose roots go deep into the rich and varied cultures of Europe. The struggles and triumphs of the human spirit in Europe have been our own. Our values have been influenced by Europe, tempered by our New World experience, and enriched by people from around the world.

Our earliest trade -- in furs and lumber -- was with Europe and our hinterland was charted by French explorers and the British Hudson's Bay Company. Canada's economy continues to be directly linked to the countries of this continent in mutually beneficial trade and investment.

The ravages of two world wars taught Canadians that security is indivisible, that peace in Canada is threatened if Europe is at war, that shots fired across the Rhine or the Elbe or the Danube echo along the St. Lawrence River valley, across the vast sweeps of the Canadian prairies and down through our shared history.

Canada's interests in Europe are concrete, compelling and enduring. They lie at the heart of our membership in NATO, our relationship with the European community and our belief in the important role that lies ahead for the CSCE.

Fifteen years ago, when the leaders of East and West gathered at the first CSCE summit in Helsinki, Europe was divided by antagonism and suspicion. The process of reconciliation begun in Helsinki marked the start of a long struggle to move us all to safer and better ground. The process had its critics, who feared that the CSCE's promises were empty and that its dreams of freedom and democracy would die on the barren land of geopolitics and ideology. But the leaders of the West never wavered in their convictions. And the power of an invincible idea, combined with the courage of extraordinary people -- of Havel and Antall and Mazowiecki and of countless others, not at this table -- kept the dreams alive. And so, the promises of the CSCE are being redeemed today.

The success of the CSCE is applauded by all those who are present. But there would be no summit today to inaugurate the new Europe had it not been for the vision and the courage of President Gorbachev. He recognized that the desire for peace lives in the hearts and minds of all men and women. And, at great risk to himself, he opened avenues to cooperation that consigned the East-West division of Europe to history. His statesmanship was reciprocated by President Reagan and President Bush, whose firm resolve and constructive leadership made possible the extraordinary progress that this assembly marks today.

We are here at this Summit to celebrate a Europe that is, at last, one, peaceful and free. A united, democratic Germany is the symbol and the substance of the new Europe. Canada warmly congratulates Chancellor Kohl and his colleagues and we rejoice with all Germans in their historic achievement and the contribution they make to peace and prosperity in Europe.

This Summit ends the Cold War -- firmly, formally, and, we hope, forever. And this Summit launches a pan-European, trans-Atlantic structure that stands for liberty and democracy and justice and opportunity. The declaration of friendly relations among 22 former adversaries issued this morning establishes important new principles. The historic conventional forces reduction agreement signed this morning is a good start on bringing armaments into line with these new principles. And the package of confidence and security-building measures before us represents real progress in building trust, the cornerstone of peace. But the task of ensuring that we and our children have a secure and prosperous future is never complete. NATO continues to provide much-needed stability in a rapidly changing world; but we believe that stability can be assured at much lower levels of conventional and nuclear strength. Negotiations to reduce strategic weapons should soon be concluded. And we must get back to work quickly to cut conventional forces even further.

In the meantime, we have an institution to build. If the CSCE is to achieve its full potential, continuing political direction will be crucial. Canada endorses the establishment of a framework for regular meetings among government leaders, Ministers and officials. Canada also supports the call for a parliamentary forum where elected representatives of all 34 countries can come together and cooperate on issues of concern to us all. Canadian parliamentarians will participate actively in establishing the mandate and machinery of such a parliamentary assembly. The CSCE, also, needs to promote environmental cooperation among its members -- in association with existing organizations -- to meet newer, more unconventional threats to our common security.

We have entered a world where the conventions of national sovereignty are becoming too narrow a base from which to resolve the broadening global and regional problems of environmental deterioration, debt, drugs, population growth and human rights.

Contrary to fashionable debates, what we are witnessing is not the end of history but the limits of geography; it is the recognition of the extent of our interdependence. Integration has accelerated within regions -- in Asia, in North America and, especially, here in Europe -- and between regions. These are positive developments that, managed wisely, can promote prosperity and build peace.

With the effort to integrate regions comes the risk of inadvertent exclusion -- of creating a new world of walls and protection. This is a risk that is in no one's interest to ignore and in everyone's interest to curtail. In the meantime, we should not overlook the possibility that current disagreements over agricultural policies could

jeopardize 40 years of economic diplomacy and the rules of international trade. We must resolve this issue in our own economic interests and in the interests of the international order.

International order is disproportionately affected by the character of relations among the industrialized countries. History records that the United Nations does not work well if this region is deadlocked. And this region will not have peace if the nations of the world are united only in name. Our task here, therefore, is to strengthen regional cooperation for its own sake and to create conditions in which the United Nations can succeed, a goal that has been frustrated too often in the past by the very tensions we are burying here today.

The end of the Cold War presents us with an opportunity to realize, at last, the full potential of the United Nations. The statesmen who created the United Nations were not dreamers. They were realists who had seen the consequences of a world gone mad, twice in twenty years. They created a system to encourage humanity's best qualities, without ignoring its worst instincts. But by the conclusion of the San Francisco conference, the chill winds of the Cold War had begun to swirl and the U.N.'s collective security role -- the key to peace for all humanity -- was gradually frozen into immobility. Victory over war proved more difficult to achieve than victory in war.

With the global response to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, we have rediscovered the extraordinary capability of the U.N. to protect peace and order. That aggression, were it to succeed, would undermine both international law and the basic principle of collective security enshrined in the U.N. Charter. What is really at stake in the Gulf is not oil or territory but the foundations of peace. That is why Iraq's flagrant violation of the norms of international behaviour and decency cannot be allowed to stand.

For decades, we have armed for Armageddon and our treasuries have been weakened by that effort. Just when it seemed that a "peace dividend" might be possible, billions of dollars must be spent in the Gulf. The cost to Canada alone is already extremely high. The cost to the members of the Gulf coalition is now in the tens of billions of dollars. Imagine the impact that money could have if it were applied to the deficits in our own countries. Or imagine the impact that money could have if it were used to improve the lives of the poorest people in the third world. Or imagine the impact that money could have if it were available to accelerate the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The current situation in the Persian Gulf makes clear that more effective arms control must become everyone's business. Because it is obvious that excessive arming of Iraq explains in part the grave problems we are experiencing in the region. And cooperation to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction must be redoubled.

The world needs the United Nations to function effectively on these issues and on all of the emerging threats to our common security. And the world needs the CSCE to cement the community of interests of the nations of Europe and North America if the full potential of the United Nations is to be realized.

This summit is not just a valedictory. It is the inauguration of a new Europe at peace with itself and engaged in the creation of a prosperous, peaceful and just world. That is the promise of this summit. That is the promise we must keep.