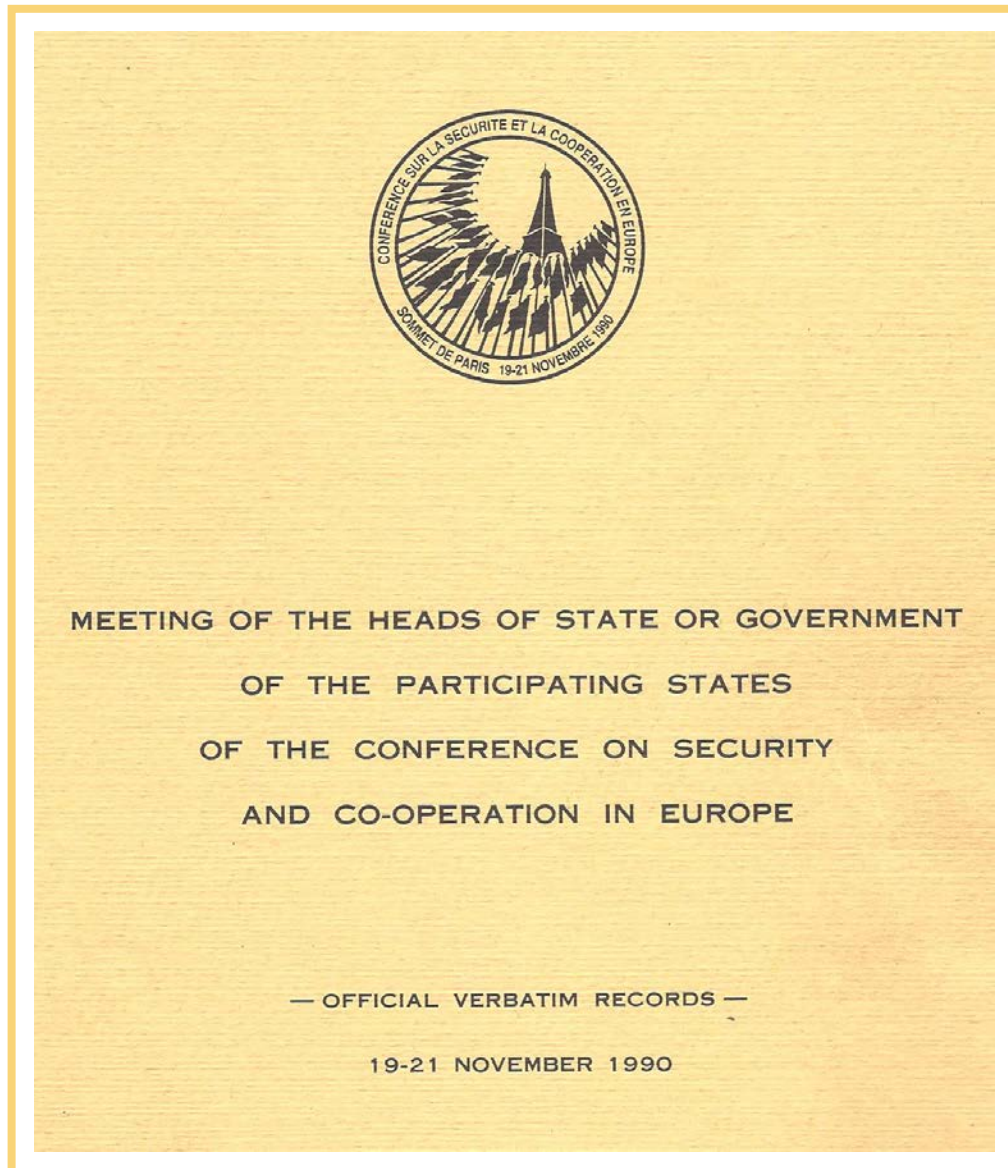


The 1990 Paris Summit:

Words of Wisdom from CSCE Leaders



Compiled and Edited by M. Merrick Yamamoto

Visual Tutor Company, 2016

The 1990 Paris Summit:

Words of Wisdom from CSCE Leaders

Thoughts from the Meeting of the Heads of State or
Government of the Participating States of the
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,
November 19–21, 1990

Compiled and Edited by M. Merrick Yamamoto

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Preface

In November 1990 the leaders of the CSCE States met in Paris for their first Summit Meeting since 1975, a meeting that formally ended a nearly half-century of Cold-War confrontation between East and West.* The Paris Summit marked the high point of the 1989–1990 political watershed in Europe—the end of the Cold War—and in a spirit of optimism, the Heads of State or Government signed the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, a landmark document that embodied the new values and vision of the CSCE community. The Paris Summit also marked the beginning of the institutionalization of the CSCE and its development into the OSCE, reflecting the changes in Europe and the new challenges of the post–Cold War period.**

This book contains selected thoughts of the Heads of State or Government at the Paris Summit. The thoughts of these leaders are particularly relevant in terms of democracy and human rights—at the end of the Cold War, democratic revolutions swept across Eastern Europe, bringing freedom to hundreds of millions of people. The peaceful overthrow of repressive Communist regimes was one of the most significant advances for individual rights in the 20th century. The adoption of democratic governments during this period led to the first time in history that the majority of the world’s governments were democracies.

The quotations in this book were drawn from the records of the statements made at the Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Official Verbatim Records, November 19–21, 1990. Most of the selections are verbatim transcripts of each speaker’s words; however, editorial changes have been made for readability, and italics have been added in some cases for emphasis. (The official OSCE record follows: Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Summit Meeting, Paris 1990; CSCE/SP/VR.1, Paris, 19 November 1990; CSCE/SP/VR.2, Paris, 19 November 1990; CSCE/SP/VR.3, Paris, 20 November 1990; and CSCE/SP/VR.4, Paris, 20 November 1990.)

Special thanks to Dr. Margaret Scheffelin for her invaluable help in studying the OSCE and its contribution to security and democracy, Edward J. Scheffelin and the Visual Tutor Company for generous support, Susan Borcharding, Robb Todd, and Clifford Yamamoto.

* CSCE: Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In January 1995, the CSCE became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

** The title of the “Paris Summit” was the “Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.”

The CSCE

The CSCE process consists of principles and a method.¹ The principles are those laid down in the Helsinki Final Act and whose purpose is to guide relations between participating States. They remain entirely valid. The method is that of dialogue among the countries involved on the European stage. It is also the right of all to a voice, in preference to a *tête-à-tête* among a select few. Well, the method has proved its worth. Let us keep it. The principles remain, let us apply them.

For forty years we have had stability without freedom in Europe. Henceforth, we want freedom with stability. By overcoming the bloc mentality and by reintroducing the neutral and non-aligned countries as fully-fledged actors, the CSCE has brought into being a school for openness, for exchange and, I would even add, a school for freedom, which now appears as it really is: the [alternative for what], until then, had offered the world only confrontation and war. The CSCE was the only place, during the years of the Cold War, where dialogue among all could be initiated and pursued. At a time when everything seemed to be frozen, the CSCE partners believed in change, and change occurred, but with a sudden acceleration whose magnitude and speed will continue to astonish the historians of tomorrow, just as they have astonished and delighted our contemporaries.

But what is the state of this Europe now awakening to itself? Let us not deceive ourselves. The conventional military threat has substantially diminished; it has not disappeared. The despotic regimes have been overthrown; the democracy which is rising on their ruins is still fragile. Freedom is proclaimed everywhere; old habits of thought remain. The peaceful course of the revolutions should not conceal the long path which remains to be travelled. —*Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, France*

Today we do justice to the original framers of the Helsinki Final Act. The goals they set have proven their worth, thanks to the courage of so many who dared not merely to hope, but to act. We salute men of courage—Vaclav Havel, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Jozsef Antall here with us today—and all the other activists who took Helsinki's goals as solemn commitments and who suffered so that these commitments would be honoured. And we salute all those individuals in private groups in the West who showed that the protection of human rights is not just the

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business of governments, it is everyone's business—nongovernmental organizations, the press, religious leaders, and ordinary citizens.

Their dreams are being realized before our eyes. The new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe have ended decades of repression to rediscover their birthright of freedom. In the Soviet Union, the seeds of democracy and human rights have found new soil. And at long last, the cruel division of Germany has come to an end. A continent frozen in hostility for so long has become a continent of revolutionary change.

Two days ago in Prague, I called on Europe and America to work in common cause toward a new commonwealth of freedom based on these shared principles: a belief in the fundamental dignity and rights of the individual; a belief that governments can be empowered only by the people and must answer to them; a belief that individuals should be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour, and a belief that governments and nations must live by the rule of law as a prerequisite for human progress. These are the principles that guide our nations and the CSCE. And yet to secure them in our two continents they must be secure in the world as a whole.

Europe is entering unknown waters. The CSCE is ideally suited to help its Member States navigate. We have articulated fine standards for national behaviour and now it is our task to bring the CSCE down to earth, making it part of everyday politics; building and drawing on its strength to address the new challenges. —*George Bush, President of the United States of America*

When the Final Act was signed in Helsinki fifteen years ago, Europe was deeply divided—politically and ideologically, as well as economically. The document was the result of careful balancing. On the one hand, there were efforts to strengthen security and to confirm the political *status quo*. On the other, there was the ambition to promote change and reform, specifically by strengthening human rights.

In time, this human dimension and democratic ideas gained a political significance that overwhelmed resistance to reform and justice. The ideas of 1975 inspired the peaceful revolution of 1989. Again it has been proved that the dreams and aspirations of individual citizens, the will of the people, are forces that cannot in the end be restrained.

We have witnessed change and reform in the Soviet Union, and we have seen the reduction of old tensions between the military superpowers. Then, last year, all over Eastern and Central Europe, people sensed that freedom was a real possibility. They grasped the historic opportunity. Old structures, oppressive and ineffective, were replaced by systems which would give all citizens their say. The real winner was democracy itself.

The political map of this continent is now being completely redrawn. We are no longer locked in the iron grip of the Cold War. The whole of Europe is being

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freed from the obsession with threats and confrontation. This is a source of joy for all of us—victories which have been won, and dreams which have come true.

What has been happening in Europe over the last few years is a breakthrough for the ideas of Jean Monnet, Willy Brandt, and Olof Palme. They had a vision of a Europe with no boundaries, where dialogue and cooperation would replace confrontation and rearmament. —*Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of Sweden*

In this splendid hall, a fitting venue for one of the most remarkable meetings of our century, we can feel that as participants we have sat at the same table as history itself. In this hall, Europe is forging history just as history is forging Europe. We have had reason recently to note that however solid the basis on which statues stand, the statues themselves are easy to topple and to break. So let us stay where history has put us.

Our Europe, which has known two catastrophes that left its plains and mountains scattered with so many dead young soldiers and dead young hopes, which has known the pain of a confrontation which was cold but not with the cold light of reason—it is this new Europe which today is experiencing the warmth of *entente* and of a common will.

In the past, of course, there have also been meetings which were thought of as prestigious, yet there is one aspect in which most of them were very different from this Meeting. Most of them were meetings of victors and vanquished, whereas at this Meeting there are only victors.

We now all believe in human ideals. Empires of States are giving way to the empire of the individual—the individual's rights and the individual's freedoms. Our actions, our decisions, and our expectations are inspired by the great ideals of democracy and freedom. —*Constantin Mitsotakis, Prime Minister, Greece*

The holding of this very special Meeting is the first main reason for the validity of the CSCE process, of its capacity to change things from within and the fact that it is constantly up to date, which requires for the future quick adjustments and flexible mechanisms. The Paris Summit can be correctly defined as the “Summit of Change,” and its opening has brought new certainties and new reasons for hope for the peace expectations of the European peoples. —*Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, San Marino*

The situation is different after the spectacular rapprochement of recent months. A new epoch is opening for the CSCE. Since yesterday morning a good many speakers have referred to the Council of Europe. The Council must be one of the artisans in the process of building the new Europe, or to use an expression much favored by President Mikhail Gorbachev, the building of the common European home. —*Catherine Lalumiere, Secretary General, Council of Europe*

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I consider the honor of taking part as a representative of the Czech and the Slovak peoples in the activity of this assembly, so historically important for the whole European Continent—and for the whole world too—to be the paramount moment in my life so far. We are witnessing a moment which brings us closer to the commonwealth of freedom that President George Bush talked about a while ago.
—*Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*

The road from Helsinki to Paris has been both long and bumpy. The journey has taken fifteen years and it has, indeed, been full of disappointments and setbacks. It is a wonder that the nations of Europe did not give up on the difficult road. It was the high ideals of the Helsinki Final Act that kept the train going. It was the vision of a better Europe, a Europe free from fear of war, free from violence and torture, a Europe of human liberties and human rights and dignities.

Little progress was made until the last two or three years. The real breakthrough came when the winds of freedom started blowing through Europe, when the walls and fences were torn down and neighbors were allowed to become acquainted again.

The very important chapter in security and cooperation in Europe, which we are now signing and celebrating, is the work of the people of this continent. The people of all countries are long since fed up with the Cold War and the nuclear arms race. They demand to be allowed to live in peace and dignity as human beings, without the fear of war. The journey from Helsinki to Paris took fifteen years. We are planning to make the return trip in less than two years.* —*Steingrímur Hermannsson, Prime Minister, Iceland* *The 1992 CSCE Meeting was scheduled, and held, in Helsinki.

The CSCE process that began fifteen years ago in Helsinki was intended to bring under political control the escalating momentum of the East-West confrontation. Somewhat more than fifteen years have passed since the Helsinki Final Act was signed at the first CSCE Summit Meeting. On that occasion another Austrian Head of Government, Bruno Kreisky, noted that the great significance of the CSCE was that it guided the confrontation between the two great social systems on our continent along peaceful paths, but he also noted that this in no way meant the end of the ideological confrontation, and that in the final analysis it was the principle of democracy, as the more humane principle, that would prevail in that confrontation. History has proved him right. —*Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor, Austria*

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The CSCE and the End of the Cold War

This Meeting marks the end of an era in European history. It is the point of confluence of those forces that set in motion the breathtaking sequence of events which swept away the order that reigned in Europe for forty-five years now. In the course of a year, the confrontation line in the heart of our continent, the division of Europe and the heritage of the Cold War, became things of the past, rendering well-established concepts and attitudes meaningless. We express our gratitude to President Mikhail Gorbachev for his vision for a new Europe and to President George Bush for helping to make it a reality. —*George Vassiliou, President of the Republic, Cyprus*

The Helsinki Final Act can be seen as a masterpiece of peacemaking which really began the process of the end of World War II. In particular, it brought out the combinatory nature of the military and the political (including the economic and cultural) aspects of security. It did this by focusing on the twin topics of armaments and human rights—1989 is in all likelihood the year which historians will recognize as the real end of World War II; the end of the War's forty-four-year-long second phase, what seemed like the interminable "cold" phase, with Europe sundered in two parts frozen in hostile postures. The ice was so hard that the unfreezing process itself, winding from Helsinki to Paris, has taken no less than fifteen years.

Helsinki was only the first step towards the conclusion of the political ice-age of Europe. The success of the CSCE at Helsinki was essentially due to the fact that it reflected the deep aspirations of the people of Europe. The task before us is new: to begin to build the institutions which can be the foundations of a new peaceful order in Europe. —*Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of Malta*

A year ago, who could have predicted the revolutionary upheavals taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. Upheavals which with one exception have had a peaceful course. And who could a year ago have envisaged a united Germany. We welcome the Governments of the Central and Eastern European countries in the family of democracies. We all admire the dignity with which their peoples became arbiters of their own fate and implemented the changes. —*Poul Schluter, Prime Minister of Denmark*

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This Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of Europe, Canada, and the United States, fifteen years after the meeting that concluded with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, marks a historic transition between two eras of European history: the triumph throughout the continent of democracy and the rule of law as a result of the steadfast will of peoples to see their dream for a free and just society come true; the end of the Cold War and of the last vestiges of the divisions of the Second World War; and the beginning of an era that we wish for, an era of peace and friendship among our peoples. —*Giulio Andreotti, President of the Council of Ministers, Italy*

With hindsight, it is clear that we underestimated the long-term effects of the Helsinki Agreements, effects which were felt in a number of ways. The first was the effect on individuals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In the darkest days of their struggle for basic human rights, the Agreements were a tremendous encouragement and inspiration, which helped them not to lose heart. They knew that theirs was no longer a private or lonely battle: they had the backing of a solemn and binding international agreement. They had a charter to which they could appeal, to show that not only was their cause a just one, but that the governments and authorities who were denying them their rights were in breach of specific obligations. The human rights monitoring groups set up under the banner of the Helsinki Final Act in the Soviet Union and in East European countries in those years—headed by such names as Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, President Vaclav Havel—were a specific and very positive result of Helsinki.

But the Agreements were not just an inspiration for those living under dictatorship. They gave governments and peoples in the West a locus to enquire into what would otherwise be regarded as strictly internal matters, and insist on observance of basic human rights in the then-communist countries. Every bilateral meeting we held in those days with communist governments became an occasion to raise specific cases, and to challenge failure to live up to the obligations accepted in the Helsinki Agreements.

It was the combination of internal and external pressures which finally achieved freedom and human rights. So in a very real sense, many people in Eastern and Central Europe today can trace their new freedom back to the Helsinki Agreements. And a process which some envisaged as perpetuating the division of Europe has actually helped to overcome that division.

We should keep the basic focus on human rights and the rule of law. Some months ago I suggested that we should agree on a European Magna Carta enshrining for every European citizen the basic rights which we in the West take for granted. I am glad that the final document from this Meeting, which we shall sign on Wednesday, endorses those freedoms for every individual. —*Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom*

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We are witnessing a rapid speeding up of the progress of history, unthinkable a year or two ago, and which is displayed by a deep change in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe through peaceful and democratic revolutions made possible by the determination of their peoples and by the courage and vision of the leaders who have since emerged. —*Anibal Cavaco Silva, Prime Minister, Portugal*

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. —*Hans Brunhart, Head of Government, Liechtenstein*

The signatories of the Helsinki Final Act committed themselves to abide by the principles adopted independently of their political, economic, or social system. Those principles thus constituted a meeting ground between systems which remained profoundly different. The division of Europe until very recently meant the division of the world into two opposing blocs. The disappearance of this fault line through the old continent, of which the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was the symbol, opens the heart to the hope that the ideological wounds of the world which still persist may also yet be healed. —*Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Holy See*

Today, without regret, we turn the page of the Cold War. —*Wilfried Martens, Prime Minister, Belgium*

The end of the Cold War presents us with an opportunity to realize at last the full remarkable 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 United Nations' 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. This Summit ends the Cold War—firmly, formally, and, we hope, forever. —*Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister, Canada*

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Security

Fifteen years have passed since that day in Helsinki when thirty-five Heads of State or Government set their seal upon the desire of their countries to place their future relations on a new footing based on trust and reason. This act of faith in the future took place during a period of tension generated by the division of Europe into two blocs, which seemed at the time to be opposed in every respect, and above all by their fundamental beliefs.

There was, of course, some reason to think that the process to which we had committed ourselves might lead to greater understanding and hence to some favorable developments in a situation that had been till then, to say the least, frozen. But how could any of us have ever imagined that we would be gathered here today in 1990, in Paris, in this capital city which has seen the emergence throughout history of so many ideas and concepts of universal value, to celebrate the birth of a new Europe resulting from a peaceful revolution?

The Principality of Monaco, which has always supported a liberal trend in international relations, could only rejoice to see the collapse at last, under irresistible popular pressure, of the many walls put up after the Second World War to cut off one half of the Continent from the other. We were satisfied to see basic human values, to which we are so deeply committed, finally recognized, and that mistrust and tension was replaced by a more peaceful political climate. —*Jean Ausseil, Minister of State, Monaco*

If proof of the CSCE's vitality were ever needed, then it has been provided not least by the propitious turning-point in the history of my country and people. After than more than forty years of division, we Germans were able at the beginning of October to achieve our unity.

We express our cordial thanks to all our partners, and especially to the Heads of State and Government at this table, who made possible and facilitated our path to unity. Thanks are due also to the political leaders who helped the "new thinking" to prevail in international relations, above all in the heart of Europe. We owe special thanks to all peoples in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe. Placing their faith in the CSCE ideals, they stood up for their rights, for freedom and for self-determination.

The Federal Republic of Germany has always regarded its great goal of eliminating walls and barbed wire from our country forever as a part of the great historical task of overcoming the unnatural division of Europe as a whole. Today, we can note this with gratitude: without the foundation laid fifteen years ago for a peaceful order encompassing the whole of Europe, it would not have been possible today to achieve German unity and to restore the historical unity of our

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continent, as we are doing here in Paris. As an idea and as a forum for forward-looking policies, the CSCE has stood the test of time.

Our Summit Meeting here in Paris, as everyone recognizes, is a milestone, a watershed in the history of Europe. And it is a good thing that this Meeting in Paris is, as it were, in the middle, in the centre of European history. We are setting the seal on the end of confrontation and of the Cold War. We are continuing the great work started in Helsinki.

The united Germany remains committed to the CSCE as the engine behind a pan-European peace policy. The CSCE is also the framework in which—in addition to the Atlantic Alliance [NATO]—the particular responsibility of the United States and Canada in and for Europe is lastingly anchored. In all these endeavors we are looking not only to the future of our continent; we are also looking at the world as a whole and especially at the conflict regions around Europe. With the ideas, common values, and successful policies embodied by the CSCE, we in Europe want to send signals of hope, and chart paths of peace.

Conscious of German history and the resultant moral and political responsibility, the united Germany will be a cornerstone of the peaceful European order. Our constitution imposes upon us the obligation to serve the peace of the world as an equal partner in a united Europe. Only peace will in future emanate from German soil. —*Helmut Kohl, Federal Chancellor of Germany*

Security, like nature, abhors a vacuum. Without a collective security system that provides equal security for all States, small States could be left at the mercy of all kinds of opportunists who might be tempted to find a way out of self-created difficulties through intimidation, coercion, or aggression. —*George Vassiliou, President of the Republic, Cyprus*

Belgium is aware of the value of security and of reliable guarantees of peace in freedom. It is also aware of the interdependence of the security of all the participating States, without exception. A state of international tension, arising wherever it might on our continent, concerns all of us. No one, indeed, might hope to be safe from its repercussions. —*Wilfried Martens, Prime Minister, Belgium*

Helsinki is about getting rid of blocs, not creating or encouraging new ones. But what should be an example to others is the way we have insisted on the observance of basic human rights and liberties, how we behave to each other, and the methods by which we settle our disputes. That should become a pattern for others, and a model for stability and good neighbourliness. If we can achieve that we shall have done well for future generations and a more peaceful world will be theirs. —*Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom*

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Institutions must serve human beings and nations. *–Hans Brunhart, Head of Government, Liechtenstein*

Change is essential and inexorable, but at the same time it necessarily breeds insecurity. To counter that insecurity requires intensified cooperation, and cooperation on a very broad basis. *–Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor, Austria*

NATO has proved itself to be a guarantee of freedom and democracy. *–Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*

NATO will remain the core of Western defence. At a time of great change it is important to preserve familiar and well-tried structures. *–Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom*

We wish to be reconciled with our neighbors to the West and to the East and to build good relations with all of our neighbors. It is my conviction that this facilitates greater stability in our part of Europe and will be of service to Europe as a whole. *–Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Prime Minister of Poland*

Building trust is the cornerstone of peace. *–Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister, Canada*

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Europe and North America

The United States and Canada are tied to Europe by a thousandfold historical, spiritual, economic, political as well as strategic bonds. It seems to us that the CSCE is an entirely logical framework for a future united Europe, a solid foundation on which it can be built. –*Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*

The CSCE process represents a chance for all of us, Europeans and North Americans alike. Europeans who are linked in a common destiny by virtue of geography. And North Americans, with their European roots, have demonstrated their community of interests by having twice this century made great human sacrifices for peace and freedom to prevail in Europe. –*Poul Schluter, Prime Minister of Denmark*

The European and North American nations share a heritage of common values, embracing the ideals of freedom and justice, of solidarity and human dignity. Fifteen years ago, however, the ideals and values expressed by the Helsinki Agreement were no more than seemingly distant hopes and aspirations for millions of Europeans suffering from oppression and totalitarianism. Many of you around the table, from East and West, from Europe and the United States, have become living symbols of the new dawn of democracy in all of Europe. One person in particular applied his courage and willpower to produce change without which we would not be here today. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1990. President Gorbachev, we pay tribute to you for your decisive role. –*Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway*

North America and Europe form part of the same civilization. Not only are they linked by historical and economic ties, they also share a common vision of democracy, constitutional government, and liberty. –*Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands*

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The transatlantic characteristic of the CSCE, fundamental for its past achievements as well as for its future, underlines its unique nature. The States of Europe and North America now constitute an integral community of nations bound together by an abiding commitment to democracy and prosperity. –*Turgut Ozal, President of the Republic, Turkey*

The ravages of two world wars have taught us that security is indivisible, that peace in Canada is threatened if Europe is at war, that shots fired across the Rhine, 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. –*Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister, Canada*

We should and must be aware of the fact that, as the history of this century has so vividly illustrated, nothing could be more harmful than the illusion that North America or the Soviet Union can be excluded from the European reality. Their destinies are interwoven with those of our continent. Failure to recognize that fact would be damaging to them, but it would be particularly damaging to Europe. It is the advantage of this process, the process which began in Helsinki and which, through our Conference today, will be continued into the future, that it takes account of these realities. –*Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor, Austria*

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Democracy and Human Rights

We are entering into a world of new dimensions, in which universal human values are acquiring the same meaning for all, and in which human freedom and well-being and the unique value of human life must become both the foundation and basis for universal security and the supreme criterion by which we measure progress. –*Mikhail Gorbachev, President, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

The common basis of organization and of life in the European States is democracy. Democracy founded on recognition of and commitment to respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of citizens. A Europe of human rights and of peoples, that is what must be more and more realized. Henceforth, there is one conviction which all the continent shares: respect for human dignity is the greatest good to be pursued in the moral order, but also in terms of legal obligations. The CSCE has gradually sought to provide the participating States with means and mechanisms for verifying the implementation of the commitments undertaken with regard to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. –*Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Holy See*

Considerable progress has been made in the field of human rights. The achievements, which are still precarious, can be made irreversible by transforming proclaimed rights into guaranteed rights. Machinery for observation and enquiry has a useful part to play. That a State could be called to account is not in itself shocking if our aim is to create a legal space and for the same standard to apply to everyone everywhere, which is the absolute prerequisite for overcoming longstanding divisions. There will be no true stability in Europe as long as some areas remain outside the rule of law. –*Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, France*

Our new Europe recognizes human dignity as its highest value and that value is the measure of everything else: human rights and basic freedoms, which belong to each individual as an inalienable birthright; the rule of law, which regulates human society in our countries; pluralistic democracy, which best expresses the will of the people; economic freedom, which brings prosperity; and social justice, which provides for the weaker members of society. All of us, in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and in Canada, want to give practical effect to the same concept of human rights,

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democracy, the rule of law, the market economy, security, and freedom. –*Arnold Koller, President of the Swiss Confederation*

We are living though days of which previous generations could only dream, for there were always people who longed for a Europe which could live without conflict, where all nations could enjoy the benefits of civilization, security, and cooperation. That dream has always been alive, and here we are called upon at last to give form and substance, through the decisions to be taken, to a new structure for peace, security, and cooperation that will cover the whole continent. A Europe which will be democratic and united, faithful to its ideals of peace and freedom.

For the Romanian people who struggled for so many years to preserve their national identity in such a sensitive part of Europe, at the crossroads of the great powers' self-interest, with pressure of all kinds brought to bear on them, commitment to political and legal instruments as the main way of communicating between States has always been our guiding light. –*Ion Iliescu, President of the Republic, Romania*

Europe is going through the greatest transformation in its post-war history. Its greatness lies in the fact that it is being carried out by peaceful means, through the will of the people and the power of reason, and not by the force of arms. In these changes we are all winners, as we are brought closer together and made stronger by the common values of peace, political stability, confidence, equal rights, cooperation, human rights, and democracy. At this point, when democracy triumphs, let us not forget that democracy has not been won once and for all, but that it has to be constantly reaffirmed and developed. –*Borisav Jovic, President of the Presidency, Yugoslavia*

It has been confirmed that democracy based on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, pluralism in popular representation, and the primacy of the rule of law correspond to deep aspirations. We are here celebrating less an ideological event than the application of universal principles before which ideological competition must yield pride of place. –*Wilfried Martens, Prime Minister, Belgium*

The individual is central to the CSCE process. It is the individual who must first and foremost be the beneficiary of all our efforts. More importantly, unless individuals are guaranteed the effective enjoyment of their fundamental rights and democratic freedoms, there can be no lasting basis for such cooperation, nor can

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genuine security exist between the participating States. –*Charles Haughey, Prime Minister, Ireland*

All European States should agree on a sort of European Magna Carta—a common bill of civil rights and freedoms. I assume that it is precisely the basic political document resulting from our Summit that is to express in clear terms the common will of the countries involved in the Helsinki process, to profess their allegiance to all well-trying values and traditions of European democracy. –*Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*

The exercise of the freedom of religion is indicative of the qualitative level of a society. As recent history has shown, where freedom of religion does not exist, freedom does not exist either. –*Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Holy See*

For this success at the Conference we also have to thank France, her President, Francois Mitterrand, and the spirit of freedom and tolerance which are the very breath of this marvelous city of Paris. –*Jelju Jeleu, President of the Republic, Bulgaria*

The force of the ideas contained in the Helsinki process goes beyond our continent. –*Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of European Communities*

Our effort has a universal significance and transcends the confines of Europe. –*George Vassiliou, President of the Republic, Cyprus*

The CSCE process has clearly won its spurs in the field of the defense of human rights. What government today would ever dare to try repressing or intimidating its citizens after the peaceful demonstrations that took place on Wenceslas Square in Prague, at the 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 can be no real peace in Europe. –*Jacques Santer, Prime Minister, Luxembourg*

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Culture and Diversity

What is culture but the spiritual treasure house of the peoples of this continent, which is not only the source, but the glue which holds this unity together. Education, in all its various forms, must change the attitudes of the past, and in all our countries must develop an awareness of our common heritage of intellectual and spiritual values within the European cultural space. It is only in this way that we will be able to complete the work which we have embarked upon.

This promise that we call Europe—this is the expression that President Francois Mitterrand used at the conclusion of his address—this promise is here before us, stimulating us in our spirit and in our actions. The challenge is huge. We are entering a period of free exchanges between different civilizations and different peoples who are so different in their national origins, a period of openness to universal values, marked by the dynamism of cultural enrichment. – *Ion Iliescu, President of the Republic, Romania*

The disappearance of ideological division and political barriers in Europe holds the promise of a new era of diversity and pluralism. National minorities are part of the diversity of Europe and contribute to its richness. Their identity must be protected and the human rights of their members honored. We are a Nordic country, proud of our Scandinavian heritage of values and of Nordic cooperation. Historically at the crossroads of East and West, we have been enriched by influences from both directions. For centuries the countries around the Baltic Sea have been our partners in material and cultural exchange. We have consistently taken part in the growth and unification of the economic and cultural community of European nations. –*Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic, Finland*

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 neighbors. 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. – *Hans Brunhart, Head of Government, Liechtenstein*

The natural desire of countries to regain their national traditions, restore their legitimate sovereignty, and celebrate their national genius and dignity is in no way incompatible with modern and humanitarian trends that rule out all parochial selfishness. Promoting dialogue between those whose views differ, and practicing tolerance and wisdom, are prerequisites for that European understanding for

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which we all yearn so ardently. We have tried to arouse the ancient values of our national spirit—tolerance, wisdom, and calm—which for so many centuries made Bulgaria a refuge for people of different religions and races. —*Jelju Jeleu, President of the Republic, Bulgaria*

Europe has paid a high price to learn that you cannot play with frontiers with impunity. But too many communities have experienced frontiers as the blade of a guillotine. Regarding the situation of national minorities: all of us here can foresee how much patience will be required by the societies in question, how much wisdom on the part of government leaders, in order to find, through dialogue and negotiation, satisfactory balances. —*Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, France*

It is not in our interest to inhibit diversity, which after all has been the source of genius of our continent, but rather to recognize its value and protect it for the benefit of all Europeans. —*Charles Haughey, Prime Minister, Ireland*

It is a basic misconception of nationalists that the identity, well-being, and safety of an ethnic group can only be assured within the narrow confines of homogeneity and always to the detriment of other groups. Chauvinists, whatever their proclaimed aims and intentions, engage in a road the outcome of which is the negation of human rights and those values—the dignity of the human person, tolerance, and freedom—which form our common European humanistic heritage.

Diversity and the creative contact of human groups account for the vitality of our European civilization and have always constituted the major source of change and progress. As many countries in Europe have proved, such an achievement becomes possible only through meticulous respect for the human rights and freedoms of the individual citizen. The rules and principles of the Helsinki process, and our achievements in the field of the human dimension,* constitute a valuable contribution towards the attainment of this objective.

The need to safeguard human rights as an essential component of security and the interrelationship between security, human rights, and economic development has been a major source of the strength of the Helsinki process which we must preserve and extend in our drive towards integration. The accomplishments of the human dimension* of the CSCE have been spectacular and a source of justified satisfaction for all of us. Democracy and respect for human rights are now within reach of all Europeans. —*George Vassiliou, President of the Republic, Cyprus* * The “human dimension” consisted of those commitments made by the CSCE (OSCE) States to ensure full respect for individual rights and fundamental freedoms; abide by the rule of law; promote the principles of democracy; and build, strengthen, and protect democratic institutions.

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The Economy and the Environment

Economic freedom underpins political freedom. More and more people want the policies of political freedom. More and more people want the policies of economic freedom and we have an obligation to help them to achieve that. But you cannot hand out a market economy freely like a gift: it takes time for freedom to work through and for people to think in new ways. It involves people taking their own decisions and accepting responsibility for them. It is to encourage this that we have established Know-How Funds, because a market economy is not a matter of theory, but something which has to be learned in practice. –*Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom*

Freedom in the political sphere is inseparable from freedom in the economic sphere. Both of these components constitute the basis of a democratic order. –*Borisav Jovic, President of the Presidency, Yugoslavia*

The CSCE community enjoys a large percentage of the world's productive capacity, of its advanced technology, and of its capital wealth, which are all essential elements in overcoming the poverty and social upheavals that lie at the roots of many disputes and conflicts in other regions. The leaders assembled here today will all, I am sure, recognize that the great achievements in their countries carry with them an increased responsibility for the peace and well-being of the global community and for strengthening the multilateral institutions that serve it. The arc of developed nations that now stretches across our northern hemisphere must not stop at a line dividing North from South; it must continue and form a circle within which North and South can jointly prosper. –*Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations*

The advantages of economic freedom and the market economy have been recognized. They stimulate the initiative and work essential for the creation of wealth. –*Wilfried Martens, Prime Minister, Belgium*

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A plan I put forward at the Dublin Meeting of the European Council in June [1990], was the development of a European energy community as the basis for closer cooperation in Europe. Why should a cooperative scheme focus on energy in particular? The idea behind my proposal is political, because energy lends itself to the operation of market forces, and the market will be an important element in future pan-European cooperation. The market I refer to here is the “invisible hand” of which Adam Smith wrote. But at the same time, energy is an area where action and direction by governments are likewise called for. That could be defined as the “visible hand.” The very process of working out how to combine the visible and invisible hands and what action we should take is of great importance. As Mr. Gorbachev rightly said, we need new structures or at least arrangements by which the Europe of energy will be shaped. –*Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands*

Environmental problems cannot be brushed aside by claiming lack of scientific proof. Such proof may come too late. All the wealth that we generate in monetary terms is of little use for future generations, if the earth is not habitable. –*Steingrímur Hermannsson, Prime Minister, Iceland*

It is unrealistic to assume that it will be possible for the States of Eastern and Central Europe to make good, on their own and without massive assistance, the devastating assaults on the environment which were knowingly perpetrated by governments that despised human beings and hence despised also the environment. –*Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor, Austria*

Our continent is so beautiful that we must not allow it to be despoiled. –*Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands*

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The CSCE and the Future

We can all feel that we are on the threshold of something new. The more joyful consequence of the new paths that Europe is following has been reconciliation, first of all in Western Europe. Our prospects have been reversed. Now we focus on what unites us, and not what separates us. The history of Europe can be read as a chronicle of a very difficult path towards unity. The starting point was diversity: it is like a melting pot, with a tremendous amount of creativity among particular identities but on a common background. —*Felipe Gonzalez, Prime Minister, Spain*

What we are faced with here is a situation without precedent in history—the opportunity to establish a single economic, political, and cultural space in which standards of democracy, the market economy, and human rights will be fully respected. —*Jeliu Jeleu, President of the Republic, Bulgaria*

The European countries living together in peace and security are now laying the foundations of a continent of stability and prosperity. There has never been a more promising moment in the history of Europe than now, and it is in our common interest to turn this promise into reality. —*Jozsef Antall, Prime Minister, Republic of Hungary*

We are facing the challenging and ambitious task of building the Europe of eternal peace that was envisaged almost 200 years ago by that great European, Immanuel Kant. —*Helmut Kohl, Federal Chancellor of Germany (Second Meeting, November 19, 1990)*

To speak of a community of values through support by all for democracy and human rights is no longer a vain word. Indeed, words henceforth have the same meaning everywhere. This stage has been passed. The next stage remains to harmonize words and facts. For freedom and law are less a matter of definition than of enforcement and implementation.

On the great issues of the world, our convergences are so new that they almost surprise us. In fact, our coming together should not be cemented by the fear of tensions to come but by the will to reduce them. Europe has not travelled the longer part of the road to stumble over secondary obstacles. One of you mentioned a second generation of Helsinki agreements. It seems to me that the prevention of conflicts, the peaceful settlement of disputes, or the legal and political machinery which will prevent a spark from setting the powder on fire fall within this framework. From now to the turn of the millennium, we have before

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us ten years to win the race which Europeans have started against history. Against history or with it. –*Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, France*

As we entered the Cold War in the spring of 1947, the American secretary of state, George Marshall, made an important point which I would like to quote: “Problems which bear directly on the future of our civilization cannot be disposed of by general talk or vague formulae. They require concrete solutions for definite and extremely complicated questions—questions that have to do with boundaries, with power to prevent military aggression, with people who have bitter memories, with the production and control of things which are essential to the lives of millions of people.” We in the CSCE have come far in the last few months in finding those concrete solutions, and now we should build on this success here and we should stand on it squarely everywhere. –*George Bush, President of the United States of America*

The extraordinary wind of democracy and freedom which suddenly started blowing in Eastern Europe in 1989, and which became irresistible as it blew with increasing force, has led to Paris and the thirty-four Heads of States and Government, spurred by the will to pursue together an irreversible path. The CSCE process points the way forward to us. –*Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, San Marino*

We have buried the Cold War, and now we shall heat a common European house. Our challenge is to realize Europe’s full potential. The political convergence between us can unleash the capacity to build a new Europe. This is what the CSCE is all about. Finally we can begin to build a common culture of cooperation.

The Europe of our vision must be based on human rights and democracy, social justice, and a safe environment on which we all depend. Let us build upon what we have achieved and set the agenda straight for the 1990s and beyond. We must take command of our common future. Pressing European issues cannot be solved by nation-states alone. We need more effective political decisionmaking on the international level. Common challenges require common solutions. We must make sustainable development our common objective. Ecology and economy are inextricably linked and must be addressed accordingly.

Our obligation now is to turn the Charter of Paris into practical policy, not only among ourselves but for the benefit of all. These values represent the best that we can offer the global community. Based on these values we will take responsibility for coming generations. –*Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway*

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Wilfried Martens, Prime Minister, Belgium.
Jeliu Jeleu, President of the Republic, Bulgaria.
Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister, Canada.
George Vassiliou, President of the Republic, Cyprus.
Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.
Poul Schluter, Prime Minister of Denmark.
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Giulio Andreotti, President of the Council of Ministers, Italy.
Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of European Communities.
Hans Brunhart, Head of Government, Liechtenstein.
Jacques Santer, Prime Minister, Luxembourg.
Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of Malta.
Jean Ausseil, Minister of State, Monaco.
Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands.
Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway.
Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Prime Minister of Poland.
Anibal Cavaco Silva, Prime Minister, Portugal.
Ion Iliescu, President of the Republic, Romania.
Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, San Marino.
Felipe Gonzalez, Prime Minister, Spain.
Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of Sweden.
Arnold Koller, President of the Swiss Confederation.
Turgut Ozal, President of the Republic, Turkey.
Mikhail Gorbachev, President, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.
George Bush, President of the United States of America.
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