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BRUSSELS

COMPTE RENDU

de la

REUNION SPECIALE DU CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
EN SESSION MINISTERIELLE

tenue le

MERICEDI, 3 JULIET 1991 A 10h15

au

SIEGE DE L'OTAN
BRUXELLES

NATO/OTAN,
1110 Brussels.
VISIT TO NATO BY MR. LECH WALESIA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Mr. WÖRNER

Today our Alliance is honoured to welcome President Walesa of the Republic of Poland. This visit is another important milestone in our Alliance's endeavour to develop a relationship of trust, friendship and co-operation with the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Allow me thus, on behalf of the North Atlantic Council, to extend a very warm welcome to President Walesa and also to Foreign Minister Skubiszewski.

Vous êtes, Monsieur le Président, le symbole de l'Europe nouvelle et de la lutte universelle pour la liberté, la démocratie et la dignité humaine, forces motrices des bouleversements historiques que connaissent les pays du centre et de l'est de notre continent. Solidarité - Solidarnosc - l'organisation dont vous avez si courageusement pris la tête, a vu le jour en août 1980, précédant de neuf années la révolution démocratique. Sa naissance marquait le commencement de la fin pour le totalitarisme en Europe. Solidarnosc était un mouvement de masse en faveur de la démocratie et du renouveau; ce n'était pas seulement un syndicat au sens classique du terme. Solidarnosc a déclenché, dans l'Europe communiste d'alors, une contagion sans laquelle le changement n'aurait pu être préparé aussi bien et aussi rapidement.

Le prix Nobel de la paix qui vous a été décerné en 1983, Monsieur le Président, atteste le respect que le monde éprouve pour votre bravoure et votre persévérance. Avec les années 90 un rôle différent vous est échu : vous n'êtes plus désormais le chef de file d'une opposition qui réclamait le changement, mais bien le détenteur du pouvoir, celui qui incombe l'avènement de ce changement. L'Alliance tout entière admire la détermination avec laquelle vous voulez instaurer une véritable démocratie parlementaire dans votre pays et faire aboutir d'audacieuses réformes allant dans le sens de l'économie de marché, malgré les difficultés internes que ce genre de démarche engendre inévitablement à court terme. Depuis votre accession à la fonction suprême, vous avez fait preuve du courage et de la clairvoyance qui étaient déjà les vôtres pendant les heures sombres où, électrifiant les chantiers navals Lénine de Gdansk, vous vous êtes hissé sur le devant de la scène, adversaire aussi habile qu'acharné de la répression.

We in the Alliance appreciate the difficult reality of reform and reconstruction of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe today. We have pledged our support and active co-operation to this most fundamental of tasks. Never will our Alliance's concerns be confined only to the security and well-being of our members. Security is indivisible. It would be undermined by lasting economic divisions no less than by ideological ones. So the material as well as moral
assistance of Allies to the new democracies will be our best security policy.

Just one month ago in Copenhagen, our Alliance’s Foreign Ministers decided to extend and deepen our co-operation with the Central and Eastern European nations, making it even more substantive. In a special Ministerial Statement, they spoke about direct and material concern for the security and well-being of these nations. Our vision of a Europe whole and free has no place for those of unequal security, for spheres of influence, for military blocks. We are striving for a Europe truly whole and truly free.

As this process of building a new European security system unfolds, our Alliance will preserve stability and provide the reassuring conditions for peaceful change.

President Walesa, we attach great importance to your visit and we are looking forward to what you have to say to us. Let me now give the floor to the Président d’Honneur of the North Atlantic Council, the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. de Deus Pinheiro.

Mr. PINHEIRO

Thank you, Chairman. President Lech Walesa, Secretary General, Minister Skubiszewski, colleagues, Ambassadors, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am very honoured and extremely happy to participate in the historic event we are living today. The presence of President Lech Walesa in the Headquarters of NATO symbolises the extraordinary changes which have taken place in Europe and the equally great hopes for a lasting peace and new relationship across the whole continent and the Atlantic that the end of the Cold War has finally put within our grasp.

You are, Mr. President, not only the leader of a great and courageous country, but also the example of the will to resist oppression and to fight for national liberty and dignity which made you and your companions in Solidarity a beacon in the darkness that pervaded over Central and Eastern Europe just one decade ago.

One must recall now the somber days at the end of 1981 when martial law was imposed in Poland and the declaration that was issued from the Special Ministerial Session of this Council on the events in Poland on 11th January 1982. At that time the Alliance stated that, and I quote:
Mr. PINHEIRO (Cont'd)

"The process of renewal and reform which began in Poland in August 1980 was watched with sympathy and hope by all who believe in freedom and self-determination; it resulted from a genuine effort by the overwhelming majority of the Polish people to achieve a more open society in accordance with the principles of the Final Act of Helsinki."

NATO further affirmed that, "Only with reconciliation and genuine negotiation can the basic rights of the Polish people and workers be protected, and the economic and social progress of the country be secured. Poland could then expect to enjoy fully the benefits of stability in Europe and of constructive political and economic relations with the West."

The staunch cohesion of the NATO Allies, the constant pressure exerted by public opinion as well as by Western governments, both in bilateral contacts and at CSCE meetings from Madrid to Vienna, reflected our determination to support the courageous struggle of those who like you, President Walesa, carried the torch of freedom and liberty in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and gave a unique meaning to the motto "Let Poland be Poland."

Today we can say that, thanks to those untiring efforts, the artificial divisions that for so long were part of European reality are rapidly receding into the past. Similarly, the grave military threats are being defused, not by confrontation but by negotiated, equitable and deep reductions in conventional forces as well as in the nuclear field.

The rapid progress towards the new Europe, hopefully a part of the new world order with the values of democracy, human rights, rule of law and equal security for all, is not achieved without the normal share of expectations and frustrations, hopes and failures of a transitional period. Our task at NATO in such a phase has been to support wholeheartedly the great transformations taking place in Central and Eastern Europe whilst adapting the Alliance itself to its new environment in order that it can continue to play a useful role.

Stability and security remain major objectives in a free and undivided Europe. These have been clearly underlined by this Council on the 6th June in a statement concerning partnerships with countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The Alliance recognizes that our security is inseparably linked to that of all other states in Europe. At the same time we seek to promote greater stability by consolidating the CSCE process and its new institutional components.
Mr. PINHEIRO (Cont'd)

NATO is today an organization of great vitality which has shown its adaptability to new challenges and is ready to share with the whole of Europe the principles of its success of more than 40 years. This implies that we are open to partnerships with the new democracies so that we can contribute to the consolidation of a common system of values. Such support will not be limited to initiatives in the field of contacts between military authorities and officials. It will also include, among other actions, the participation of Central and Eastern European experts in activities related to the so-called Third Dimension of NATO, a less-known but fundamental aspect of our experience of sharing scientific and environmental studies and programmes of great interest to the academic world.

The construction of a new Europe is the most urgent task in which not only the 16 Allies but all the 35 participating countries in the CSCE are engaged today. Our peoples rightly expect us to promote a network of relationships, taking due consideration of the already existing institutions such as the European Community, the Council of Europe, WEU and NATO, and develop an architecture that will bring to all our countries political, economic and military security. The increased significance of the political role of the Alliance takes in consideration such expectations.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the importance of achieving further progress in the field of arms control and disarmament. We are encouraged by the recent developments in the CFE negotiations which now augur well for a future CFE 1A agreement. We are also hopeful that the Alliance's initiative of Open Skies will finally receive a positive answer from all parties since it embodies a most important aspect of the transparency and predictability we believe to be essential for a Europe free from military threats.

Mr. Chairman, the Berlin ministerial meeting of the CSCE has provided an encouraging impetus to conflict prevention, a very timely and vital item on our agenda for the future architecture of Europe. We are all aware of the multiple sources of ethnic, economic and historic frictions that occur across our continent and of which Yugoslavia is unfortunately a good example.

The building of the European Community is a success story which shows how to integrate without sacrificing national attributes, an experience we are prepared to share. The new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe have not had the benefit of this experience and neither do they have the time to wait for a similar process to mature at the same speed. Therefore we must all work together, with solidarity and decision, towards a coherent network of regional organizations,
Mr. PINHEIRO (Cont'd)

association agreements and bilateral programmes in order to give Europe as a whole the stability and prosperity that are the fruits of democratic political systems and free market economies.

A valuable contribution to this end has been the treaty of friendship and co-operation recently signed between Poland and Germany. I wish to salute this historic event that so positively concurs in a stable relationship in the centre of Europe. I am also very much in favour of proposals such as the one put forward by Secretary Baker concerning a Euro-Atlantic architecture from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Like him, I believe the transatlantic community should reach towards Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. NATO, with its stabilising influence, is well prepared to provide an indispensable contribution to that end. I would like to add that the EC partners in their movement towards political as well as economic and monetary union are also a vital element in the construction of a European identity which is the key to a Europe whole and free.

We must all therefore prevent the emergence of new divisions between countries, of ethnic and nationalistic egocentrism, of suspicions based on old historic animosities. We must strive collectively to build a European society rooted in a pluralistic democratic system of government and representation that unites our peoples through common ideals and principles. This has been the cement that binds the NATO Allies and in our times it can become the cornerstone of a continental structure with a transatlantic dimension.

I want to express, in conclusion, my heartfelt satisfaction at having President Walesa at this meeting table. I am sure that all my colleagues share my feeling as well as my expectation of a very fruitful and memorable dialogue.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you, Mr. Minister, for these thoughtful words. I now pass the floor to the President of the Republic of Poland.

Mr. WALESA

Mr. Secretary General, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. I reaffirm our belief in the goals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and our desire to live in peace with people and governments of the world. We are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. These and other words from the historical treaty are the ones the Polish people have always been wishing to articulate.
Mr. WALESA (Cont'd)

In the divided Europe we have always been standing on the side of these same values. These values were championed by Polish soldiers in 1939 and later on the fronts and in the underground. These values were taken over by Solidarity and once it became victorious they became the foundation of the new Poland. Today the sovereign 3rd Republic being created today resumes its place in Europe for the sake of these values.

The Warsaw Treaty was not an element of European security but rather a factor of power-based equilibrium.

Today we reject the rôle of force in European relationships. The Warsaw Treaty lost its meaning the moment that the change took place in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the signing on July 1st of the protocol on the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty brings the legal state of affairs to conform with reality. I am glad that that document will be deposited in Prague, Prague stricken 23 years ago by the hand of the Pact, now finally liquidated. Our Czechoslovak friends are the ones who merit most to receive this symbol of the victory of values. The Poles trust, along with other peoples of Central Europe, that values shall not be betrayed any more, that the division of the Continent shall be overcome completely.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the North Atlantic Alliance has stood the test of history. We view the Alliance as a lasting element of the European architecture. It continues its important rôle in safeguarding European security in the new situation as well. For us, of special importance is the military presence of the United States and Canada on the European Continent. It confirms the shared ideas and common interests of democratic peoples of Europe and North America. It constitutes an element of stability and security on our Continent. This is an important and positive fact.

Poland's response to the Alliance's London Declaration of 16th July 1990 was that of satisfaction and interest. The Declaration expresses courageous thinking and attunes the Alliance to new opportunities, thus reaffirming its continuing viability. The results of the recent North Atlantic Council meeting in Ministerial session in Copenhagen constitute another meaningful step in concord with our expectations. I have in mind the statement on the partnership with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, dated June 6th. For us, of primary importance is the wording that the security of the states of the Alliance is inseparably linked to the security of all other states in Europe and that of direct concern to the states of the Alliance is the consolidation and preservation throughout the Continent of democratic societies and their freedom from any form of coercion or intimidation. This position takes account of the interests of new Central European
democracies and all European states. The rôle of the North Atlantic Alliance as that of the principal pillar of the European security system is thereby reinforced. The Republic of Poland shares the beliefs and political goals of the North Atlantic Alliance. What we want is a partnership with the Alliance and we assume that working together will be further continued and developed. Its forms are convergent with our aspirations to strengthen Poland's security and freedom in Europe. Such working together is not directed against anyone.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I repeat, we do not intend to act, and we are not acting, against any State. We wish for one Europe. The Soviet Union has its place in it. At the same time, we resolutely reject any ideas of grey or buffer zones: they imply a continued division of the Continent. Yet, European security is indivisible, also indivisible is the security of the Central European region. That is why at Vesegrad we have given to that co-operation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary also the dimension of security to other variants of co-operation. Our security depends to a tremendous degree on all European solutions, yet without a secure Poland and a secure Central Europe there is no secure and stable Europe. We trust that European peoples will make full use of the opportunity that arises for a gradual construction of a new European order. We staunchly support the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It constitutes an extremely valuable component of European architecture. The changing political conditions offer a new opening for the process of CSCE, placing new perspectives and putting new goals before it. One of the principal objectives should be to create a broad zone of permanent security encompassing the entire Euro-Atlantic area of the CSCE. Such security should be based not on confrontation but rather on the working together of States and institutions engaged in it. This will provide a secure framework, not only for expanding co-operation but also for the ongoing change in the area.

The positive evolution over the recent years notwithstanding, relations in Europe are not free from dangers, the most serious of them being the economic division or, even more, the civilizational division of Europe. These divisions threaten European stabilization. Tasks facing the new democracies are tremendous. There are no previous models or valid experience to go by in constructing multi-party and effective democracy or introducing a market economy in post-Communist States. Practice often proves more difficult than we assumed, and the costs are higher than expected. But we have to succeed: on the success hinges not only the future of our compatriots but also the development of the situation in Europe at large. The existing economic divide is to a considerable degree the result of former political division of the Continent. Economic action and political decisions are required to
Mr. WALES (Cont'd)

summount it. We appreciate your support and assistance. I trust that this posture will continue. Our common work for the introduction of political and economic reforms in Central and Eastern European countries constitutes also a common effort in favour of European security.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our objective is to integrate with Europe and developing relations with NATO and expanding co-operation with it is an essential element. We also have in mind the good working contacts with the Western European Union. We aspire to Poland's participation in the European Communities. We have embarked upon the necessary long-term process of adjustment in terms of economic as well as systemic adjustment. It includes the system of national security. We are resolved to bring this arduous process to its conclusion.

The expanding system of our connections with European institutions is being supplemented by new bilateral and regional link-ups. We have signed new treaties with France and Germany. We have signed declarations with the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium. Preparatory work is well advanced to sign similar treaties with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Italy. Later, treaties will be concluded with other European countries. We adhere to the principle that the treaties and declarations may not and are not directed against anyone. Our important objective is to expand trilateral co-operation with Hungary and Czechoslovakia; our membership in the Pentagonale is close at hand. Together with Sweden we are working to have a basic quickening of the pulse of co-operation in the Baltic area.

A separate formula is required for relations with the Soviet Union. Their importance is unquestionable. We are in the process of negotiation of a treaty of good neighbourhood and friendly relations with that state. We have strong resolve to arrange mutual relations according to the principle of partnership and co-operation.

At the same time we have begun to enter into new relationships with certain republics, primarily the neighbouring ones. We bear in mind here the transformations ongoing in the USSR and in the situation of the republics. In our policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union we emphasize elements that link us together. We are working hard to have genuine friends on our Eastern border. I am convinced that it is in our general interest. We are not interested in the isolation of the Soviet Union. Just the reverse. We are vitally interested in its becoming an integral part of the new Europe. Without USSR participation it is impossible to have a lasting solution to the issue of peace and security on our continent.
Mr. WALES (Cont'd)

Ladies and Gentlemen, a secure Europe is one Europe, a Europe reaching with its border on the Pacific as the structure of CSCE and continental Europe as a political structure. Poland shall do everything it can do to contribute to the construction of such a Europe.

Mr. WÖRNER

Mr. President, on behalf of the North Atlantic Council may I very cordially thank you for your inspiring thoughts. As I said, we admire your courage and perseverance and we congratulate you and the Polish people on the achievements on the road towards the goals which you have set out so eloquently. Once more, thank you. We are now turning to the discussion, and I would kindly ask the media now if possible to leave us alone.

M. WÖRNER

Je passe la parole à M. Eyskens, de la Belgique.

M. EYSKENS

Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, c'est pour nous un grand privilège de pouvoir accueillir le Président polonais. En sa personne, nous accueillons, nous saluons un personnage qui est entré dans l'histoire de notre siècle. Rarement un seul homme aura réalisé tant de changements pour tant d'hommes en si peu de temps.

Vous avez, Monsieur le Président, esquissé la grande mutation qui s'est produite en Europe dans les relations entre l'Est et l'Ouest, la fin de la guerre froide et une série d'événements assez inattendus qui se sont produits et qui ont profondément modifié nos approches, nos attitudes politiques et nos réflexions sur l'avenir. Le Pacte de Varsovie a vécu, vous l'avez enterré avant-hier. La leçon qu'on doit en tirer c'est qu'il n'y a jamais eu de symétrie entre les deux pactes, que le pacte de l'Alliance atlantique a toujours été une alliance essentiellement défensive. Les chars de l'Alliance atlantique n'ont jamais roulé ni dans les rues de Budapest, ni dans les rues de Prague, ni dans les rues de Varsovie.

Bien entendu, la nouvelle situation, la disparition du Pacte de Varsovie et tous les autres événements nous placent devant de nouvelles responsabilités, et c'est à cela que nous travaillons ici, ensemble, dans un esprit d'ouverture, de coopération et de la main tendue, comme nous l'avons clairement indiqué dans notre Déclaration de Londres, quand le Conseil s'y est réuni l'année passée. Votre sort, M. le Président, celui de votre pays, situé au centre de l'Europe, est évidemment intimement lié à l'avenir de cette Europe.
M. EYSKENS (Suite)

Nous avons eu l'occasion, au niveau bilatéral, d'avoir des conversations avec vous hier, et la Belgique et la Pologne ont constaté, ensemble, que la Pologne appartient à cette Europe et que nous devons, ensemble, faire un effort de plus grande convergence et d'intégration et que, dès lors que cette convergence sera suffisante, particulièrement sur le plan économique, les portes de l'Europe devront s'ouvrir pour votre pays, comme cela devra se faire aussi pour d'autres pays qui auront le courage de pratiquer les politiques de réforme politique et économique courageuses. C'est votre cas. Les statistiques démontrent déjà les premiers succès de votre politique de redressement, et vous avez cité votre attachement à la démocratie dont le complément économique est l'économie de marché. L'un ne va pas sans l'autre. Si on accorde des libertés politiques aux citoyens, il faut leur accorder aussi la liberté d'investir, la liberté d'épargner, la liberté d'exporter et d'importer, la liberté de créer des entreprises. L'un ne va pas sans l'autre. Une des grandes conclusions de la grande crise économique qui a frappé bon nombre de pays à partir de 1975, c'est que démocratie pluraliste et économie pluraliste, donc économie de marché, sont indissociablement liées l'une à l'autre. Mais il faut être objectif, n'importe quelle économie de marché n'est pas la bonne; il y a beaucoup d'économies de marché, dont plusieurs sont très mauvaises, dès lors qu'elles ne sont pas suffisamment concurrentielles, dès lors qu'elles sont trop dominées par des abus de puissance économique, par des monopoles ou des oligopoles, qui sont aussi nocifs en termes de bien-être de la population que les monopoles étatiques. C'est donc une économie de marché concurrentielle qui doit être la base aussi d'une suffisante redistribution des revenus et de la construction d'un système de sécurité sociale qui permette à chaque citoyen de couvrir ses besoins les plus élémentaires. C'est à cela que vous vous attélevez avec notre soutien, y compris sur le plan financier et sur le plan technique.

Dois-je vous rappeler tout ce que nous faisons ensemble, au sein de la Communauté européenne, avec les vingt-quatre pays dans le cadre des programmes phares, l'importance que nous accordons à la solution de votre problème d'endettement, avec les mesures récentes que nous avons prises ? Tout cela repose sur un sens aigu de la solidarité. Mais nous ajoutons, comme nous l'avons fait hier, que votre pays, étant donné son importance et sa situation, constitue un pont entre l'Ouest et l'Est et qu'entre autres en termes économiques, l'Union soviétique continue à constituer pour vous, comme pour nous d'ailleurs, un hinterland très important et qu'il est donc extrêmement utile que votre redressement économique puisse aussi servir la cause de relations économiques intenses avec les autres pays de l'Europe de l'Est et de l'Union soviétique. Car, si nous sommes ici pour parler sécurité, il est évident que la sécurité est conditionnée (a) par l'environnement politique, et plus précisément par la réalisation et la défense.
M. EYSKENS (Suite)

quotidiennes de la démocratie, et (b) par le développement économique; et, dans votre cas, par le redressement économique de vos pays.

Dernière réflexion consacrée à cette sécurité: c'est un constat, à savoir que toute menace extérieure dirigée contre votre pays, contre la sécurité de la Pologne, aurait des conséquences extrêmement graves pour notre propre sécurité. C'est une évidence politique, c'est aussi une évidence militaire tactique et stratégique. Et je vous rappelle un extrait de nos décisions de notre réunion des 6 et 7 juin qui s'est tenue à Copenhague, je cite: "Notre sécurité est indissociable de celle de tous les autres États européens. C'est pourquoi la consolidation et la sauvegarde, sur l'ensemble du continent, de sociétés démocratiques libres de toute forme de coercition ou d'intimidation sont pour nous une préoccupation directe et bien réelle, comme elles le sont pour tous les autres membres de la CSCE, en vertu des engagements de l'Acte final d'Helsinki et de la Charte de Paris."

C'est là l'essentiel, et c'est là aussi la base de notre solidarité: en plus de notre solidarité d'intérêt, en termes de sécurité, en termes de développement économique, il y a bien entendu cette solidarité humaine qui a été forgée par l'histoire, une histoire souvent dramatique, mais qui aujourd'hui s'ouvre sur un grand espoir.

Je vous remercie.

M. WÖRNER

Je vous remercie, Monsieur le Ministre.

I pass the floor to Minister Enggaard from Denmark.

Mr. ENGGAARD

Mr. President, on behalf of the Danish government and as a Representative of a NATO State, I too wish to welcome you here at NATO Headquarters. I fully share the views of preceding speakers on the importance of this meeting as yet another example of the positive changes in the political situation of Europe. I will also take advantage of this opportunity to express the admiration of the government and the people of Denmark for the rôle played by yourself, Mr. President, and your country in the dramatic and peaceful process of reform in Central and Eastern Europe.

It has been said already on a number of occasions, but it is still worth repeating, that Poland in many ways sets the example for all Central and Eastern European countries. We follow with deep respect and sympathy the efforts of the Polish Government to transform Poland into a truly democratic state based on political pluralism and a market
Mr. ENGGAARD (Cont'd)

economy. We realize that this is an enormous task; we stand ready to support you as far as we possibly can in these endeavours bilaterally, as well together with our Western partners. We understand the uncertainty of Poland and all Central and Eastern European countries at a time when a new European security structure is being established. The recent NATO Ministerial in Copenhagen has shown the outline of such a structure with NATO, CSCE and European integration as key elements in a system of interlocking institutions. I believe that the process of European integration will be most important in offering the Central and Eastern European countries the stability they seek but certainly no single component can master the task alone. They all have essential roles to play. Mr. President, as you know, NATO is for the time being not in a position to formalize new security policy relations, but we are looking forward to further intensifying the contacts with Poland on a broad basis as outlined in the Copenhagen Declaration a few weeks ago. Diplomatic liaisons may be one of the most important steps NATO has taken to respond to the changes in Europe. I am confident that also the coming disarmament negotiations following the CFE Treaty will contribute to strengthening the links between our countries and help build the foundation for a stable and durable security structure in Europe. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you, Mr. Minister, and I call now on the Norwegian Minister, Mr. Holst.

Mr. HOLST

Thank you, Chairman. President Walesa, on behalf of the government of Norway, I should like to join in welcoming President Walesa to the NATO Council. Your presence here, Sir, today is a tangible proof that the nations of Central Europe, formerly members of the Warsaw Pact, have responded positively to the hand of friendship extended by our Alliance at its London Summit in 1989.

This is the second time this year that we have the honour and the pleasure to welcome here a prominent fighter for democracy and human rights from Central Europe. President Havel and Charter 77 led a fight against a suppressive Communist system in Czechoslovakia and you, President Walesa, led Solidarnosc in a similar struggle in Poland. In fact, you stirred the imagination and the hope of your own people and of peoples far beyond the borders of Poland. The Polish fight for human decency and dignity, solidarity and compassion was not only a fight for political power and transformation in Poland. It was an inspiration and a torch lit for human beings striving to rid themselves of imposed
bondage everywhere, and in Europe in particular. The successful struggle demonstrated that the presumed imperatives of geo-politics can no longer constrain the rights of people to be free, to choose their own form of government, to chart their own trajectories into the future. It is only with the spread of democracy that peace may be ensured in Europe. It constitutes a necessary if not a sufficient condition for peace to prevail. And in recognition of this essential condition and the heroic manner in which you, Mr. President, strived to bring it about in your own country, you were deservedly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Poland is located in the heart of Europe, across its historical crossroads. Geography has frequently conspired to transform the land of the Poles to a transit zone for armies, hence Poland has a larger stake than most of us in the process of peaceful change, and in the construction of a viable security order in Europe replacing the system of military confrontation.

Peace must be organized in order to endure. It is too important to be left to itself. It must be nurtured and tended. It requires the construction of a community transcending the loyalties and identifications of the nations and states of Europe. The territorial state has been overtaken by the train of history. It lacks the wherewithal to ensure the security and prosperity of human beings in our continent. Therefore, we have to build new communities which can transform and transcend all conflicts and animosities. The tragic events in Yugoslavia demonstrate the overriding importance of this perspective and of its transformation into policy and institutions.

We have embarked, Mr. President, on a long journey towards a new Europe of security, stability, equity and prosperity. It needs to be an open and inclusive Europe, encompassing all the nations of Europe, including those of the Soviet Union. It needs to be a Europe which comprises also the United States of America and Canada. We comprise one civilization of tremendous diversity, but that very diversity lends vitality and relevance to its combustion and momentum. The diversity notwithstanding, we share certain basic values which are at the core of the very essence of societies and communities. They constitute the foundation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, embodied in the decalogue. You have come to the Headquarters, Sir, of an Alliance which was and remains dedicated to the protection and promotion of those shared values. Our Alliance was not and will never be resigned to pursue policies of confrontation and competitive security. We are willing and eager partners in the precious task of creating common security. In the age of weapons of mass destruction and in the space of a densely populated continent, no nation can obtain security at the expense of other nations - they have to seek security
Mr. HOLST (Cont'd)

through co-operation, common security. Democracy and prosperity cannot be created by any single state on its own. They constitute a joint responsibility and you can remain assured that we in this Alliance recognize our responsibilities.

Allow me finally, Mr. President, to wish you every success in your continued efforts to develop and strengthen democracy in the new Poland. We are all looking forward to the parliamentary elections later this year, which will sweep away the last vestiges of the old régime. Thank you for your attention.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you. May I pass now the floor to Deputy Minister Borruso, Italy.

M. BORRUSO

Merci, Monsieur le Président. Monsieur le Président Walesa, permettez-moi à mon tour et au nom de mon gouvernement de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au quartier général de l'OTAN, à Bruxelles.

Votre visite est un événement particulièrement significatif. Elle symbolise, au plus haut degré, le courage d'un peuple fidèle et les résultats de notre politique du dialogue et de la co-opération avec les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale qui a été lancée au Sommet de Londres en 1990, comme vous l'avez souligné, et que nous avons reaffirmée lors du Conseil ministériel de Copenhague, le mois dernier.

Nous sommes tous conscients de l'importance de l'histoire récente de votre pays et de vos efforts personnels pour en favoriser les changements profonds et guider la Pologne sur la voie de la démocratie, sur laquelle elle s'est désormais définitivement engagée.

Cette première visite à l'OTAN d'un Président polonais librement élu par son peuple se tient dans un moment où, sur la scène politique continentale, on enregistre une évolution fort positive, et cela en dépit de phénomènes de désagrégation potentielle qui nous préoccupent.

Je pense à la crise en Yougoslavie, que mon pays, à cause de sa position géographique, vit d'une manière particulièrement intense. Les conséquences de cette crise pourraient mettre en cause le développement positif du nouvel ordre international en Europe, auquel nous travaillons.
M. BORRUSO (Suite)

En tenant compte aussi de cette crise, l'Italie considère que la réunion ministérielle de la CSCE à Berlin a marqué une étape décisive dans l'approfondissement du processus d'Helsinki et l'institutionnalisation des mécanismes prévus par la Charte de Paris. Mon gouvernement attribue une importance capitale au cadre de la CSCE en tant qu'instrument d'intégration de tous les pays européens et de création d'un système continental, incluant aussi les États-Unis et le Canada, qui ont un rôle indispensable à jouer en Europe dans le domaine de la sécurité et de la stabilité.

Au fur et à mesure que les aspirations relatives au processus d'Helsinki aboutiront à des résultats concrets, les pays européens se sentiront sauvégardés dans leur sécurité. La CSCE s'est révélée un modèle valable et efficace pour des initiatives analogues dans d'autres régions où il est nécessaire de renforcer la confiance et la stabilité.

A son tour, l'Alliance atlantique a fait preuve de sa volonté et de sa capacité de fournir un appui essentiel à la CSCE, dans le cadre d'un réseau d'institutions complémentaires et étroitement liées, parmi lesquelles je mentionnerai la Communauté européenne, le Conseil de l'Europe, et des cadres de coopération régionale. Nous attachons une importance particulière à ces derniers qui, à notre avis, sont destinés à jouer un rôle majeur dans le processus d'intégration de notre continent. A cet égard, nous nous félicitons du fait que la Pologne, qui participe déjà à la coopération baltique, va devenir membre, comme vous l'avez dit, à part entière de la "Pentagonale".

La dissolution du Pacte de Varsovie, le retrait des forces soviétiques de certains pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale, les accords finalement conclus à 22 sur la réduction des forces conventionnelles en Europe - tous ces développements ont contribué à consolider une architecture européenne dans laquelle il faudra éviter les lacunes en matière de sécurité et mettre un frein efficace aux phénomènes de désagrégation.

La construction d'un tel système de sécurité unique sera facilitée, à notre avis, si certains critères sont respectés. L'Union soviétique devra se sentir et être pleinement impliquée dans le système continental qu'elle ne devra pas percevoir comme lui étant défavorable. Les différentes institutions devront être complémentaires et étroitement liées, comme nous l'avons clairement indiqué dans notre communiqué ministériel de Copenhague; enfin nous devons intensifier les contacts entre l'OTAN et les pays que la Déclaration de Londres a définis comme "nos anciens adversaires". Nous sommes convaincus que l'approfondissement du dialogue politique et l'élargissement des secteurs de coopération aboutiront à une meilleure compréhension et à
M. BORRUSO (Suite)

une confiance accrue, qui doivent être désormais les éléments de base
des relations inter-européennes.

Dans cette perspective, l'OTAN a montré sa disponibilité dans
le document approuvé à Copenhague qui parle d'un véritable partenariat
avec ces pays, précisant les secteurs spécifiques de collaboration; à
cet égard, l'Italie est prête à fournir sa propre contribution.

Nous sommes convaincus d'avoir choisi le bon chemin, en
constatant les réactions favorables que l'approche atlantique, telle
qu'elle a été présentée récemment dans le communiqué de Copenhague, a
suscitées en Union soviétique et dans les autres pays de l'Europe
centrale et orientale. Nous espérons vivement que la mission positive
de l'OTAN sera toujours mieux comprise et appréciée.

Monsieur le Président, vous avez joué un rôle historique pour
la formation des droits fondamentaux de liberté en Pologne et pour
l'instauration de la démocratie et d'un processus de réforme profonde.
Tout cela, aussi aux yeux de mon gouvernement, représente un
encouragement à approfondir la collaboration avec votre pays - auquel
nous sommes liés par un patrimoine de valeurs, de culture et
d'histoire - pour réaliser pleine liberté, stabilité et sécurité en
Europe.

L'Italie est engagée sur cette voie, tant sur le plan
bilatéral que dans le cadre des institutions multilatérales auxquelles
elle participe et, en particulier, de celle que vous honorez aujourd'hui
par votre présence.

Monsieur le Président, permettez-moi en conclusion de me
souvenir d'une parole de Saint Paul : "L'homme de Dieu est celui qui
croît en l'espérance contre tous les espoirs.", et que la patience,
c'est la force vive qui construit l'Histoire.

M. WÖRNER

Merci bien; je passe la parole au Secrétaire d'État du
Luxembourg, M. Wohlfart.

M. WOHLFART

Merci Monsieur le Secrétaire général. Monsieur le Président,
Monsieur le Secrétaire général, chers collègues, mesdames et messieurs.
M. WOHLFART (Suite)

Monsieur le président Walesa, votre présence au siège de l'Alliance atlantique honore notre Organisation. A témoin, en effet, notre volonté réciproque d'intensifier notre coopération politique et en matière de sécurité. Votre message résume parfaitement les évolutions politiques qui ont eu lieu au cours des derniers mois dans les pays de l'Europe de l'Est, évolutions et changements amorcés voilà plus de dix ans dans votre pays dans des conditions particulièrement dramatiques, ceci par le mouvement Solidarnosc et son Président, Lech Walesa, aujourd'hui Président de ce même pays.

En quête de sécurité, les nouvelles démocraties de l'Europe centrale et orientale se tournent vers l'OTAN et les autres institutions européennes afin de se rapprocher des démocraties occidentales. Pour la Pologne, au passé riche en expériences douloureuses et traditionnellement partenaire de certains pays de l'actuelle Europe des Douze, cette attitude est peut-être plus naturelle que pour d'autres. L'OTAN, facteur de stabilité par excellence pour l'ensemble du continent européen durant ces quarante années, représente un maillon essentiel, et je dirai indispensable, dans le réseau d'organisations internationales. Bien que jouant un rôle incontournable dans le domaine de la sécurité, l'OTAN ne peut pas à elle seule gérer l'ensemble des relations avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale.

Monsieur le Président, les décisions et mesures adoptées lors de la récente réunion ministérielle de la CSCE à Berlin sont un motif de satisfaction pour tous les participants. Ces mesures renforceront les potentialités de la CSCE tout particulièrement dans le domaine de la prévention et du désamorçage des conflits. C'était bien sûr l'espoir de nous tous de ne devoir recourir au nouveau mécanisme avant longtemps; malheureusement les événements tragiques en Yougoslavie nous ont donné tort. Vous connaissez sûrement les efforts déployés par les Douze visant à trouver une solution pacifique. Le Luxembourg pour sa part a pris l'initiative de déclencher un mécanisme d'urgence, et aujourd'hui même une réunion de hauts fonctionnaires se tient à Prague. Il appartient maintenant à tous les Etats membres de la CSCE d'unir leurs efforts afin que les nouveaux mécanismes puissent pleinement produire leurs effets et que la Yougoslavie trouve le plus rapidement possible sa voie de manière pacifique et ordonnée. La contribution apportée par les Douze à la préparation de la réunion de Berlin est à mes yeux une manifestation concrète de leur volonté de voir les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale solidement ancrés au monde occidental.

Vous avez également mentionné dans votre discours Monsieur le Président, un des grands défis auxquels nous aurons à faire face dans les années à venir et qui est celui du redressement des économies des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale, parmi lesquels j'inclus bien sûr...
M. WOHLFART (Suite)

L'Union soviétique. Pendant les six mois de sa présidence à la tête des Communautés européennes, le Luxembourg n'a pas ménagé ses efforts afin de pouvoir conclure rapidement les négociations sur les accords d'association avec la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Tchécoslovaquie. Le travail accompli à ce jour nous permet d'espérer que les négociations aboutiront dès l'automne prochain. Ce nouveau type d'accord, plus complet et plus substantiel que les accords de coopération traditionnels, constitue un support important pour les pays concernés sur la voie de l'économie de marché, de l'économie plus démocratique, sociale - si souvent, vous l'avez aussi mentionné Monsieur le Président, un chemin douloureux.

Ensemble, avec l'accord sur un espace économique européen qui liera la Communauté européenne aux pays de l'AELE, les accords d'association avec la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Tchécoslovaquie contribueront à façonner le paysage de cette nouvelle Europe, plus unie, que nous voulons tous construire. Quant à l'Union soviétique, les Douze appuient pleinement les efforts du Président et du gouvernement de l'Union soviétique afin d'accélérer les réformes entreprises et afin de permettre de mieux insérer leur pays dans l'économie mondiale. La Communauté est prête à poursuivre sa contribution à cet effort, notamment dans le cadre d'une action internationale concertée. Ces diverses mesures et ces accords avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale montrent que les Douze, tout en progressant vers l'union politique et vers l'union économique, n'entendent pas pour autant dresser de nouvelles barrières en Europe, je dirais, bien au contraire. Et à son tour, le processus d'intégration européenne contribuera de manière significative à la sécurité et à la stabilité politique et économique sur l'ensemble du continent européen, ceci dans un esprit de solidarité.

Merci.

M. WÖRNER

Merci. I pass the floor to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Sir Michael Alexander.

Sir Michael ALEXANDER

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, Mr. President, I am honoured to join previous speakers in bidding you welcome to Evère. This is, as others have commented, the second occasion on which the North Atlantic Council has had the
privilege of receiving the Head of State of one of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. Your presence among us, like that of President Havel, provides for all the clearest possible evidence of the new relationship between your country and the Alliance and of the new situation in our continent.

Your personal contribution, Sir, to the process of reform which freed your country and others around you from decades of oppression and misrule have been epic. The names of Gdansk, of Solidarnosc and of Walesa will always have a special resonance, not only for our generation but also, I am sure, for future generations. Your visit here today and the state visit which you were able to pay to the United Kingdom just a few weeks ago are two of many justified tributes to your courage, to your vision and to your leadership.

But as you, Sir, have reminded us today, in your eloquent statement, and as the news broadcasts are demonstrating hourly, we haven't suddenly emerged from the dramas of recent years into a trouble-free world. Old problems persist, will reappear. New worries and difficulties have been added to them. The Warsaw Pact was interred the day before yesterday, but the unhappy certainties of the past four decades which the Warsaw Pact symbolised have been replaced by preoccupying uncertainties, by evidence of growing instability, by economic dilemmas whose importance was described by the Foreign Minister of Belgium.

These problems present new and, let us be honest and frank about this, very severe and brutal challenges. But as we face them, you may be assured, Mr. President, that there is no question of the countries of Western Europe and North America isolating themselves from their neighbours in the Central and Eastern parts of our continent. Last month's CSCE Ministerial Meeting in Berlin underlined again that together we have a common agenda, at the top of which is the question of the security of your country and of all others in Europe in freedom and equality. And let me welcome, Mr. President, at this point, what I thought were your statesmanlike and wise remarks about your relationship, about Poland's relationship with the Soviet Union, about the Soviet Union's position in Europe.

Previous speakers have referred to the important statement on relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe issued by the Foreign Ministers of the Alliance in Copenhagen last month. I will add now only that Her Majesty's Government attaches special importance to that message. The statement does not offer a blank cheque, nor does it contain promises made with our fingers crossed lest we should ever be asked to honour them. What it does offer is a coherent and principled
Sir Michael ALEXANDER (Cont'd)

vision of the rôle NATO can play alongside other institutions in helping to generate a climate of stability in Europe, a climate in which no nation need fear for its safety and well-being. As you, Sir, have stressed, the last thing we need now is to create new divisions in our continent. Rather we need to develop a new environment, for common security.

The effort required for success is, as Minister Holst reminded us a moment ago, going to be long and arduous, but we have no choice other than to embark on it. To that end, Her Majesty's Government anticipates a future of the closest co-operation with Poland. We shall be working with you, Sir, bilaterally, we shall be working with you in institutions such as the CSCE, WEU, the European Community and the Council of Europe and we shall be working with you here at NATO through our rapidly developing liaison contacts.

Your visit, Mr. President, has given valuable new impetus to the process of co-operation. As such, it represents an important contribution to the security and well-being of Europe as a whole. Thank you for being with us.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you. The floor is to the Permanent Representative of Germany, Ambassador von Ploetz.

Mr. VON PLOETZ

Mr. President, as you know, Foreign Minister Genscher would have liked to be here today at this very important and historic meeting. He had to give up his plans because of the international situation, and he regrets it very much that his responsibilities as the Chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers prevent him from being here today.

I am instructed to make the following statement on behalf of my Government. Today again is a special day for NATO and Europe. For the second time a Head of State of the Central and Eastern European states and the Head of State of one of Germany's eastern neighbours pays an official visit to NATO here in Brussels. In the person of the Polish President, NATO welcomes a co-founder of Solidarity who together with his compatriots, as early as eleven years ago, laid the foundation for the liberation of Central and Eastern European peoples and thus also for the crucial political changes during the past two years in Europe.
Mr. VON PLOETZ (Cont'd)

Thereby also the peaceful unification of Germany in freedom was made possible. Germany, Europe and in fact the whole world are greatly indebted to you, Mr. President.

Based on its values, the Atlantic Alliance has formulated political objectives in the field of security which have given it an identity of its own. Since its inception it has been a community of values for freedom and democracy, the values, Mr. President, which you've mentioned specifically. Together with the European Community, well on its way to political union, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe and CSCE, NATO is one of the pillars of the European architecture of tomorrow. It links us inseparably with the North American democracies and you, Mr. President, rightly underline the vital importance of maintaining that link. The Western Alliance is, and remains, therefore, a constant in European and world stability. Nobody has a reason to view NATO as a threat, but all can consider it as a source of stability and security. Only a few days ago, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact was formally endorsed. Already since the dissolution of its military structures the Central and Eastern European States started redefining their security policy in a sovereign way. We are now called upon to build confidence on the basis of equal relationship as partners and neighbours between the States and their respective neighbours in awareness that, as has been confirmed by the Alliance in Copenhagen, in a very important statement, the security of NATO member States is inseparably linked to that of all other States in Europe.

The Helsinki Final Act in the Charter of Paris for a new Europe contained the essential elements for this order. The first CSCE Foreign Ministers meeting in Berlin adopted a mechanism for consultation and co-operation in emergency situations which today will become effective in Prague for the first time. The Committee of Senior Officials is consulting on the grave situation in Yugoslavia. The use of military force is absolutely unacceptable and unjustifiable at a time when we are consolidating the fundamentally new culture of living together in Europe. We all are responsible for CSCE translating the promises of Helsinki and Paris into concrete action for the maintenance of peace and stability in Europe on the basis of human rights and the rule of law.

Consolidating and maintaining freedom and a democratic social order in each of the CSCE participating States are of essential significance for security and stability in Europe. NATO, the process of European integration, the Council of Europe and CSCE all contribute to a comprehensive security architecture.
Mr. VON PLOETZ (Cont'd)

Together with you, Mr. President, and the Heads of State and government of the other Central and East European States, including the Soviet Union, we wish to develop further this European architecture. In Copenhagen we made very clear that the Alliance intends neither to draw unilateral advantage from the changed situation in Europe nor to isolate any country. Nor do we intend to contribute to new divisions on the Continent entailing a shifting of the former dividing line across Europe further to the East. The Alliance committed itself to deepening dialogue on security policy topics and to inviting military officials from Central and Eastern European States to participate in training programmes at NATO colleges. We trust that intensifying such contacts will contribute towards coming to understanding the respective way of thinking towards dismantling prejudices and creating confidence, thus laying the essential foundation for the construction of innovative all-European security structures.

Mr. President, not only on account of our geographic situation, but also of momentous historical experiences, the situation in Central and Eastern Europe is of particular significance to you, the Poles, and to us the Germans. During times of division of our Continent we particularly painfully experienced that division, which at the same time was also a division of my own country. A few days ago the Polish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski signed, together with the Federal Chancellor and the Foreign Minister in Bonn, the German-Polish Treaty on good neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation which you mentioned. It will serve as the foundation for comprehensive co-operation between our two countries and for a fundamentally new relationship between our two peoples. In this Treaty the bilateral relationship between our countries is firmly embedded in the European structures. The task confronting all of us in Europe far exceeds the field of security. We are called upon to create stability in a comprehensive way to prevent new lines of division from surfacing. This is why the German government is committed to work in the European bodies for the perspective of Poland's accession to the European Community - to lend a helping hand in making the reform policy in Poland and the other Central and Eastern European young democracies a full success. This is a challenge to the community of Western democracies as a whole, which also will be met within the framework of this Alliance.

Mr. President, for the sake of Europe and of the entire community of democratic States we wish you, your country and your people full success in implementing the policy of political and economic reforms for which you long since have become a symbol at home in Poland and abroad.

Thank you very much.
Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you, Ambassador, and the next on my list is the Permanent Representative of Spain, Ambassador Miranda, je vous passe la parole.

M. MIRANDA

Merci, monsieur le Secrétaire général. Monsieur le Président, au nom du gouvernement espagnol, je veux me joindre aux paroles de bienvenue de notre Secrétaire général, du Président d'honneur, des ministres et des ambassadeurs présents à cette session spéciale du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord. Aujourd'hui, nous assistons à un acte d'une haute valeur symbolique car à travers vous, en tant que Président de la Pologne, c'est le peuple polonais que nous accueillons ici.

Nous avons suivi avec attention la lutte de ce peuple pour la liberté et la démocratie. Une lutte, d'ailleurs, qui a toujours été présente dans l'histoire de la Pologne. Ses efforts vigoureux sont en train d'aboutir à l'instauration d'un ordre démocratique, au respect des libertés individuelles et de l'Etat de droit, ainsi qu'à la mise en place d'une économie respectueuse de la libre entreprise et des lois de l'économie de marché.

Les documents élaborés lors de la dernière réunion ministérielle du Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord à Copenhague ont contribué à développer l'esprit et les idées déjà esquissés lors du Sommet de l'Alliance à Londres, contribuant ainsi à fixer un nouveau cadre de relations pour les pays membres de cette Alliance avec les nouvelles démocraties d'Europe centrale et orientale. Nous nous sommes fixés comme but de promouvoir un ordre juste et stable, ce qui est essentiel pour l'Europe et la coexistence entre ses différents Etats. Cela ne pourra se faire que par la défense des libertés et la tolérance.

C'est dans cet esprit que la CSCE joue et doit continuer à jouer un rôle essentiel. Elle vient même d'établir des procédures qui doivent contribuer à résoudre les crises et à régler les conflits. L'Espagne fonde donc de grands espoirs dans ces structures issues de la CSCE et dans l'esprit qui les imprègne, car mon pays estime que la CSCE est le cadre approprié pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité en Europe.

Les dramatiques événements que nous vivons ces jours-ci en Europe lui donnent précisément l'occasion d'agir. Dans cet esprit, le respect des droits de l'homme, aussi bien collectifs qu'individuels, et du pluralisme politique, religieux et idéologique constitue un élément
M. MIRANDA (Suite)

essentiel de la construction d'une Europe nouvelle et en paix, dont personne ne doit être exclu. A cet égard, le chemin emprunté par la Pologne va constituer une expérience précieuse pour d'autres pays d'Europe centrale et orientale, qui s'efforcent d'établir une démocratie fondée sur ces valeurs.

Merci, monsieur le Président, pour votre présence ici.

M. WÖRNER

Merci Mr. l'Ambassadeur. The next on my list is the Permanent Representative of Greece, Ambassador Bourloyannis-Tsangaridis.

Mr. BOURLOYANNIS-TSANGARIDIS

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, allow me to join the preceding speakers in welcoming you here today and thanking you for your very inspiring address.

Mr. President, your visit marks a new cornerstone in the history of our Alliance. We see you as a personality who a long time ago gained the admiration and respect of all of us. Your presence here in the Council is a symbolic step in the new state of affairs in Europe which seals off the Cold War and opens a new era whose main characteristic must be the respect of human dignity and the acceptance of the rule of law and of democratic institutions through which peace, stability and security will be ensured on our continent. The indivisibility of security of all European countries, as pointed out during the NAC Ministerial of Copenhagen, constitutes the centrepiece of our keen interest to preserve throughout our continent the freedom from any form of coercion or intimidation, and to ensure our common security through further development of new relationships. In this regard, we hail Poland's endeavour to actively take part in the new European architecture. We are fully aware of the fact that the road to pluralistic democracy and a free market economy is a difficult and long one. Nevertheless we believe that there should be no setbacks. The struggle that the Polish people initiated some years ago is now being rewarded and the vision for a better society based on democratic principles becomes now reality.

Greece, on her part, will spare no efforts to support the drive to democracy of the Polish people, a people we have been linked to by long historic ties and we are ready to play an active rôle in helping your country to further develop its relations with our Alliance. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
M. WÖRNER

Je vous remercie. I pass the floor to the Permanent Representative of Iceland, Ambassador Gunnlaugsson.

Mr. GUNNLIAUGSSON

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. More than ten years have now elapsed since the first stirring for freedom in the shipyards of Gdansk. You, Mr. President, were one of the very first to take on the challenge for freedom and democracy in Poland, which at that time seemed unsurmountable. Your leadership has now brought unprecedented democratic changes, not only to Poland but indirectly to neighbouring countries. And, Mr. President, this leadership is universally deeply respected by the people of Iceland. The challenges need to be sustained and you, Mr. President, have now been called upon by your nation to lead it further in developing a sound base to safeguard the hard-won freedoms you have been instrumental in bringing forth.

The future security of Poland and the other new democratic states of Central and Eastern Europe is uppermost in the minds of the Alliance. Although there are no ready-made solutions as to how the security of these nations can be safeguarded, an important factor is the continuous dialogue with individual Alliance members and the Alliance as a whole. The security of the Central and Eastern European nations will continue to be heavily dependent on the ability of its leaders to keep the vision of democracy alive and well while these countries undergo the most difficult transition in introducing and implementing market-oriented economic policies.

For the Alliance the challenge is to make it crystal clear that it considers the positive developments in Central and Eastern Europe for the establishment of democracy based on the rule of law and the respect of human rights a top priority issue. We need the closest co-operation possible with Poland and its people. While the Alliance is in a difficult position to enter into security guarantees with Poland, we in Iceland believe that the Alliance must use all the opportunities at its disposal to indicate that any transgression of Polish security would most certainly bring changes to the positive approach which we the Alliance have laid out in the London Declaration, since as the Belgian Foreign Minister correctly stated earlier, there would be grave consequences for our own security. Thank you, Mr. President, for your visit.
Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you. The floor is to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America, Ambassador Taft.

Mr. TAFT

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, the United States joins in welcoming you to NATO.

Less than a month ago, in Copenhagen, our Alliance hailed the progressive changes that have taken place in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and that you, Mr. President, did so much to bring about. We reaffirmed our support for these countries as they make the difficult transition to democratic government.

Poland has long been at the front of this transition, and I join with my colleagues in honouring the unique and historic contribution and leadership, Mr. President, that you have provided. Your presence here today serves as a reminder of how far we have come on the road to a new Europe, a Europe whole and free, and also as an inspiration for us to redouble our efforts in meeting the challenges which lie ahead, and indeed not just ahead but which are here before us today.

As we said in Copenhagen, and as the Secretary General and our Président d'Honneur have reiterated today, the security of all states in Europe is inseparably linked, and the consolidation and preservation of democratic values and freedom throughout the continent is of direct and material concern to each of us. We believe that the best way to safeguard the common European security is through the enhancement of a network of interlocking institutions and relationships, key elements of which are the Alliance, the process of European integration and the CSCE.

We would also like to emphasize the Alliance's intention to develop further its regular diplomatic liaison with Poland, and to intensify our military contacts at various levels. We have identified numerous specific new initiatives for implementing this and we look forward to putting them into operation promptly. In doing that, we seek now to strengthen our constructive partnerships with Poland and with the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, partnerships which will promote the democratic trend in Eastern and Central Europe. In this way, we are confident that we will, in the not too distant future, attain the Europe that we seek, one that is truly whole and truly free. Now even as I say that, I realize that right now, today, our aspirations in this regard are under challenge.
Mr. TAFT (Cont'd)

Today’s emergency meeting of the CSCE senior officials in Prague represents, we hope, the start of an ongoing effort to manifest the concern of the entire international community over the recent events in Yugoslavia.

We, on our side, stand ready to support a variety of measures including the dispatch of observers to support a peaceful resolution of the current crisis there and to promote the process of negotiations among all of the parties which is necessary. We appreciate and support the continuing efforts of the EC to this end, but we strongly believe also that within this Alliance, the unique forum joining the North American and European allies, we will continue our active political consultations on this challenge to European stability and that that is important as well.

We have a profound concern regarding the course of recent developments in Yugoslavia and their implications for European security. The statement by the CSCE Foreign Ministers in Berlin fully reflects our position in support of a resolution of the current crisis based on the principles of democracy and peaceful negotiation.

Mr. President, on the eve of the fourth of July, our American Independence Day, to which I daresay my British colleague will not mind my referring, all Americans naturally think of that freedom and democracy which we have enjoyed and which you have done so much to bring to your compatriots and to the other citizens of Eastern and Central Europe in the last decade. Over the years, NATO’s commitment to freedom and the rule of law has been critical in Europe, one of Europe’s greatest blessings. Through NATO, the United States has felt that we have, in some degree, redeemed our debts over the years to the many Europeans who helped us to create our own Republic. Over the past 40 years, however, I must say that the Polish account opened by Kościuszko and many others has remained unbalanced. You have not been able to draw upon it, as we and you might have wished. Your presence here today suggests that now again, acting through NATO, certainly not less than through other institutions which we have available, we will be able to put this matter right. You are welcome.

M. WÖRNER

Je passe la parole au Représentant permanent de la France, Monsieur l'ambassadeur Robin.
M. ROBIN

Merci beaucoup, Monsieur le Président, je voudrais exprimer les profonds regrets de mon Ministre, M. Dumas, de ne pas avoir pu être présent à cette session du Conseil qui, du fait de votre présence, Monsieur le Président de la République de Pologne, revêt un caractère et une signification historiques réellement exceptionnels. Comme vous le savez, il avait formé le projet de venir et il se réjouissait de participer à votre accueil. Des empêchements inopinés l’en ont empêché et je vous prie de croire combien il en est personnellement désolé.

Puisqu’il me revient d’occuper la place où il aurait aimé se trouver, je voudrais dire combien je me sens personnellement fier et honoré de pouvoir faire entendre, dans le concert de la bienvenue collective que le Conseil atlantique vous adresse, la voix très amicale de la France.

Je ne peux pas oublier tout ce que votre nom a représenté pour l’opinion française qui, tout au long de la décennie des années 80, a vibré à l’unisson des sentiments du peuple polonais, partageant vos craintes et vos espérances, compatissant à vos épreuves et se réjouissant de votre victoire.

Et il est émouvant pour un homme de ma génération de penser que c’est autour de Gdansk, de votre ville, qu’a commencé à descendre sur notre continent la nuit d’une longue tragédie mais que, par une revanche de l’histoire, c’est dans les rues de votre ville et autour de votre combat qu’a commencé à poindre l’aube d’une Europe nouvelle enfin rendue à elle-même et à ses valeurs authentiques de liberté et de solidarité.

Et en tant que représentant de la France au sein de ce Conseil, je voudrais dire combien je me sens encouragé, spécialement après les nobles paroles que vous avez prononcées, de constater que les pays membres de l’Alliance et la Pologne partagent le même idéal d’une Europe entière et libre, comme l’a rappelé notre Secrétaire général, pacifiée et solidaire dans le respect des diversités qui ont fait au cours des siècles la richesse et la vitalité de sa culture et de sa civilisation. Merci, Monsieur le Président.

M. WÖRNER

Merci Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,
Mr. WÖRNER (Cont'd)

The floor is to the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands, Ambassador Jacobovits.

Mr. JACOBOVITS

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Van Den Broek, much regrets not being able to participate in this important event, due to a long-standing commitment to visit the United States for discussions related to the Netherlands presidency of the European Community.

Your visit here, Mr. President, underlines the radical trend that the history of Europe has taken. And you yourself personify the courage of the individual and the strength of the will of the people which, in the words of the Charter of Paris, have opened a new era of democracy, peace and unity in Europe. The interdependence of the destinies of our countries does not date from the recent momentous events in Central and Eastern Europe. However, during the long decades of the division of Europe we were prevented from taking a common approach to our shared problems. Now that we agree on the foundations on which to build a new Europe we can finally confront together the great challenge of building a society of nations free from coercion or intimidation and based on the principles of human rights, democracy, rule of law, economic liberty, social justice and responsibility for the environment.

Your visit today underlines the ties between your country and NATO. That is an important step to further development. The declaration of partnership with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which we issued last month in Copenhagen is the basis on which we want to develop our relations. And we very much value the positive appreciation you gave to it in your address a moment ago. Our security is indeed inseparably linked to that of Poland. But also in other fora steps will have to be taken to promote security in Europe, in particular the CSCE, but also the European Community and the Council of Europe have a rôle to play. The Netherlands looks forward to the accession of Poland to the Council of Europe as a full member after a general election in that country. We also support efforts towards an increasingly close relationship between Poland and the European Community.

We are well aware that words are of little value if they are not followed by deeds which may involve certain sacrifices on our part. My Prime Minister referred to this when he remarked the other day that it would be shameful for the European Community, after having so strongly urged the necessity of economic reforms in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, to deny access to the EC market for the competitive products of those countries.
Mr. JACOBVITS (Cont'd)

My authorities commend the courage of the Polish Government in embarking upon a far-reaching programme of economic reforms in the knowledge that this would initially entail a strongly negative effect on individual incomes. The Netherlands has supported this effort, both through multinational channels and bilaterally, and will continue to do so. Up till now Poland has been the largest recipient from the Netherlands special support fund for Eastern Europe.

The Netherlands wants a strong and successful Poland. We have lost, without regret, our traditional adversary and we have welcomed instead new partners in the great enterprise of building a free and undivided Europe. Going the road to this goal will be our task for the years to come. We are pleased and honoured to take this journey together with you, Mr. President. Thank you.

Mr. WÖRNER

I call upon the Permanent Representative of Turkey, Ambassador Özeri

Mr. ÖZERI

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, I should like first of all to state that my Minister has asked me to extend his apologies to you because he could not leave Ankara due to the ongoing formalities, very important formalities, as regards the vote of confidence which will soon take place in Parliament in due course.

I have also been instructed to extend our salutations to you, respectfully, and our congratulations for the achievements which both yourself and the friendly Polish people have marked in the immediate past. Your presence here today is particularly welcome as far as my own country is concerned, since not only are our relations deeply rooted in history, but also because they enjoy very good health today.

The Turkish people have followed with great admiration the struggle which you, Mr. President, almost singlehandedly have conducted, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that that struggle has led the way to the free Europe which we enjoy today.

I should like to conclude by reiterating and extending our best wishes to you and to your country for continued success in your endeavours in the many fields in which you are pursuing your efforts. Thank you very much.
Mr. WÖRNER

I call on the Permanent Representative of Canada, Ambassador Bartleman.

Mr. BARTLEMAN

Mr. President, unfortunately the Secretary for State for External Affairs was unable to be here today, but she has asked that I extend her greetings, on behalf of the government of Canada, to you on the occasion of your visit to the North Atlantic Council. Her regret at not being here is all the greater in that Canada attaches particular value to its links with Poland which traditionally have a special nature given the presence in Canada of so many Canadians of Polish origin. Since your arrival on the scene, Mr. President, and the return of pluralistic democracy to Poland, these ties have become even more intimate.

Mr. President, I would like to add my voice to those around the table who have described in some detail the rôle which you have played in the history of contemporary post-war Europe, in the description of the great changes which have occurred in Central and Eastern Europe in the last several years, and in the rôle of the Alliance, vis-à-vis the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. But as I believe I am the last speaker, I will not repeat what they have said but second their words and their sentiments.

For my part, certainly I consider it to have been a great privilege to be here today to hear your words, in particular what you had to say on the essential transatlantic nature of European security and your thoughts on the need not to isolate any country in Europe as the new security architecture is put in place. Your thoughts, which have been given to us at a time when the Alliance is well advanced in the process of its transformation and preparing for a summit meeting in Rome in November, will be of great help. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you and I turn to President Walesa. He has the floor for his response. We have still around 20 minutes and I would suggest we use it for freewheeling discussion, which we can then continue during lunch. Mr. President, you have the floor.
Mr. WALESA

May I thank you for the floor being mine once again. May I say that I am deeply satisfied by the almost unanimous understanding for our struggle, and that you understood and very heartily appreciated my leadership. Mine was a great rope dancing over a big chasm and the rope was still smeared with very slippery grease.

I think that this most dangerous force, the Warsaw Pact, has been interred. It was a merry funeral. But may I say that there may be no vacuum and that practically certain things have to be noticed. Now in Europe only one force is remaining in place, the force of the Atlantic Pact and the organizations of Western Europe, and whether you wish it or not, history is going to weigh your deeds and what is going to follow as if once on a platter we had brought to you the possibility for a one Europe, secure Europe. That is all we could have done and the remainder is beyond my reach and beyond our reach.

My situation is made easier because you understand my struggle, you understand our struggle and in this connection may I ask you to remember two pictures. The picture of Yugoslavia wagging its finger threateningly, and another the prosaic Chancellor Kohl at a rally in the former GDR territory, very badly treated by the people there. He did not deserve it, because he has done so much for his nation that something is not in order there. I refer to it, because in point of fact, the great euphoria in the post-communist countries springs from their struggle for existence. One could put it like this: in fact communism was not so bad, were it not for the economy and running economic matters, (joking of course!). May I say that those problems remain and the challenges are still here. Today one has to accept the fact that you are the only force in terms of strength that has, when need be, the possibility to react and to guarantee the unifying processes and security processes. I deeply trust that you will have succeeded in it. I deeply trust that in the forum of the CSCE political aspects will be decided upon and discussions will be held there, and arrangements will be made, but the back-up, the wise back-up, this forceful back-up is NATO, because it is the only one, unique. I would wish the East European revolution to conclude because it has not yet concluded, with a political and security and economic unification of Europe into one. True, not at once, stage by stage, but it is true that there should be a light at the end of the tunnel. The light (so that) these nations will not lose their way because if rejected and unassured those nations will have to find different solutions that continue to divide, to separate, to destroy and I would like to warn against it and I would like to be well understood.
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Mr. WALESA (Cont'd)

I know that for many matters you stand here to be thanked. But I also know that you have now shouldered the great responsibility for a single Europe. You can't jump over it. One has to take part in it and one has to take responsibility for that.

What I said is not a kind of demand or a claim. As you well know, I am a poor diplomat, but what I think I say, and what I see - that's how I present it to you, and those pictures, those observations, you will use for your purposes or reject them. But I hope that in part they will be taken into consideration. Thank you.

Mr. WÖRNER

Now I open the floor for questions, contributions. I think we should make use of these remaining twelve to thirteen minutes and I pass the floor to Ambassador Alexander.

Sir Michael ALEXANDER

It will be a great help to me, Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, if the President with his unique experience and, if I may say so, his unique access to the heart of Poland could tell us what he thinks constitutes for a citizen of Poland a light at the end of the tunnel? Is it the prospect of some economic improvement? Is it the prospect of reaching a standard comparable with her neighbours to the West or is it to be seen in some other context? The political sense of the light at the end of the tunnel, given the achievements of the last two years, is not so very obvious to me and the economic sense of the light at the end of the tunnel seems to me uncomfortably remote. So I wonder if you could tell us a bit more about that.

Mr. WALESA

I am very similar to your view. I am assessing the situation in a realistic manner. The light has to be there. May I say that the signal from the Pact is a light in the tunnel, a small light in the tunnel. When it is being said that all Europe should be secure, that Europe can't be secure when those unassociated are not secure, this direction is alright, but may I revert to this Yugoslav picture.

It is a small warning that the Warsaw Pact was not a secure pact, but certain things were kept under control - those matters pertaining to republics (at what expense, of course, is debatable) - but nowadays there is a vacuum.
Mr. WALESA (Cont'd)

Today the economic situation may be very strongly manipulated for political purposes and under this item we are quite close to it in Yugoslav terms. It can be said that it is the President who was not elected, and many arguments may be fielded in order to set one against the other and provoke confusion. What is needed is a common action in the CSCE forum. It has to be drawn out and said very clearly that freedom is for everybody to be had by all states and groups, but freedom in Europe's unity. Freedom is an openness of borders and not in closing them up.

Today it will not be able to permit such freedom for one who has to have a dangerous atomic plant in his border, but would not like to let anybody in. Then nobody would be able to sleep calmly. I refer to the Secretary General today. Now the Soviet Union is withdrawing with atomic weapons also. Where is it storing them and what is going to happen when revolutionary processes will get built up, because this is inevitable? Will you gentlemen be able to afford to sleep calmly? Every morning I am pinching myself in a sensitive place and checking whether I am still alive. In this connection, a prepared force guaranteeing peace and security has to assume the blackest vision, the blackest solutions. Chaos, first of all, lack of capability to control the chaos, may it not ever come true, but may we not be taken unawares. Yugoslavia did take us unawares. I was forecasting it. I thought that you knew that you would deal with it well. May such lessons, perhaps even more expensive ones, not be our share and similarly the lights in the tunnel, the lights of guarantees, the lights of certainty here, whether we want it or not, we are seeking those lights here in the European organization. You may not quite like it. Many people may not wish to notice it but I do suggest that it be noticed, because it is too dangerous to let it go uncontrolled.

Mr. WÖRNER

Who wants to have the floor? Ambassador Jacobovitz.

Ambassador JACOBOVITS

Mr. Chairman, today the issue of Yugoslavia is being discussed in Prague.

Today also a troika of the 12 members of the European Community is in Belgrade at the Officials level to explore with the Yugoslav authorities the possibility of deployment of observers for the ceasefire and for the withdrawal of troops to their barracks. I'm afraid they'll have a very difficult time. In Prague, I think we will strongly ask for some action being taken by the CSCE and I would be very
Ambassador JACOBOVITS (Cont'd)

much interested in President Walesa's views on the possibilities for the CSCE to act. We feel in the Netherlands that a good offices mission would now be of the highest priority - a good offices mission by the CSCE, by some members of this CSCE process, which would be able to leave in a few days time to monitor events on a steady basis and thereby help to promote stability. But I would be much interested, as I said, if President Walesa would care to give his views on this issue.

Mr. WALES

Ladies and gentlemen, again as a man of practice, I know that before you are able to accomplish anything you have to put a diagnosis. The diagnosis that there are two fellows who are fighting in one state is a poor diagnosis. For me it is like this: the situation is bad and it is being used for playing political games. I do not know if it is not so, and I am sorry if the Yugoslavs or others might feel hurt, but that's how I view it. Therefore for me, the action could proceed on two planes: with politicians first, and second to act on their public, on their societies, so that nobody joins a game that leads nowhere. Each country is entitled to have its independence, maybe counting on other nations to have this independence. But such independence may not be directed against anyone and this independence may not be won with tanks nowadays in a civilised Europe. Solutions have to be reached in a different manner now. If my diagnosis is correct, then one may talk like that. When you confuse political talks with action on the societies, Poland subscribes to any CSCE actions. Poland is ready to act because it knows those problems and encourages everybody to act in Europe, in this civilisation, to resolve matters. In fact, they seem to be insoluble. But you have to defuse this grenade, the quicker the better.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you very much. That I think is a promising start for the discussion to follow at lunch. I have one more question. We have three minutes to go. Ambassador Bartleman.

Ambassador BARTLEMAN

Mr. President. When you look at Europe, one could argue that there are two contradictory movements. One is a movement to integration in general. One could also argue that paradoxically there is also a trend towards disintegration, in a sense that a fault line along the old historic boundaries between the Western and Eastern churches running from the North right down through Yugoslavia. How can we in NATO help push the first tendency against the second one to help create a sense of
Ambassador BARTLEMAN (Cont'd)

greater integration and prevent the centrifugal forces from gaining speed.

Mr. WÖRNER

Mr. President.

Mr. WALESA

For me as a man of practice, it is a very simple question. You stand as a force, as a consequence of CSCE, to which we all belong and which we honour. The rest is techniques and propaganda and propaganda should go before technical action, so some people may not be taken unawares. When we have the media, when we have such means of communication, this is feasible. When it is guaranteed by CSCE and its back-up, its forceful back-up, then freedom will be guaranteed to everyone in one Europe. When there will be attempts to show the guidelines, how to go about those problems by Yugoslavia and by others, this will be a light in the tunnel. There is a serious force, there is a serious authority, so it has to be resolved. So don't use the stone, don't use the tank, but use your head.

Mr. WÖRNER

Thank you very much, Mr. President. I can only repeat what I just said, I am looking forward to the continuation of this free-wheeling discussion during our lunch. Let me say how much we appreciate your coming to NATO, your speech and now your comments which you made at the end of the round of the Sixteen countries. Please take it, as we have said it - all of us. You have not only our sympathy, you have our support on the very difficult rôle your country is engaged in. I think we all know how important it is to go together, to stand together, to stick together on this road to a new Europe, as we put it, 'whole and free'. Thank you very much. We will now have the usual family photos. Then the President and myself will have a brief press conference from 12.45 to 13.15, and at 13.20 we meet you all at lunch (heads of delegations and those specially invited).

Thank you very much, that concludes our meeting.