

2. The new World Order

A Speech by George H. W. Bush, President of the U.S.A. Given to a joint session of the United States Congress, Washington D.C. on 11 September 1990. (Excerpts)

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank very much for that warm welcome. We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi Army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within three days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then that I decided to act to check that aggression.

At this moment, our brave servicemen and women stand watch in that distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of more than 20 other distant nations.

They are some of the finest men and women of the United States of America. And they're doing one terrific job.

These valiant Americans were ready at a moment's notice to leave their spouses and their children, to serve on the front line halfway around the world. They remind us who keeps America strong. They do.

In the trying circumstances of the gulf, the morale of our servicemen and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they are brave, they're well-trained and dedicated.

A soldier, Pfc. Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in Saudi Arabia, wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hope for peace. But Wade also wrote: "I am proud of my country and its firm stance against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my Army and its men. . . . I am proud to serve my country."

Let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you and is grateful to every soldier, sailor, Marine and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf.

I also want to thank the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General [Colin L.] Powell, the Chiefs, here tonight, our commander in the Persian Gulf, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, and the men and women of the Department of Defense. What a magnificent job you all are doing and thank you very very much.

I wish I could say their work is done. But we all know it's not.

So if ever there was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, the time is now. And let me thank all Americans, especially those in this chamber tonight, for your support for our armed forces and for their mission.

That support will be even more important in the days to come.

* So tonight, I want to talk to you about what's at stake—what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world and maintain our economic strength at home.

U.S. Objectives in Persian Gulf

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar:

Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately and without condition.

Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored.

The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured.

And American citizens abroad must be protected.

These goals are not ours alone. They've been endorsed by the U.N. Security Council five times in as many weeks. Most countries share our concern for principle, and many have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world.

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President [*Mikhail*] Gorbachev, and I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement

affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors."

Clearly, no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression.

A new partnership of nations has begun, and we stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective—a **new world order**—can emerge: A new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, east and west, north and south, can prosper and live in harmony.

A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor, and today that new world is struggling to be born. A world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak.

This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and the other leaders from Europe, the gulf and around the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

'The Test We Face Is Great'

The test we face is great and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose; if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to actual and potential despots around the world.

America and the world must defend common vital interests. And we will.

America and the world must support the rule of law. And we will.

America and the world must stand up to aggression. And we will.

And one thing more: in the pursuit of these goals, America will not be intimidated.

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the Earth.

We do not exaggerate. Nor do we exaggerate when we say: Saddam Hussein will fail.

Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some 10 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors—neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by one so ruthless. And we won't.

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one doubt American credibility and reliability. Let no one doubt our staying power. We will stand by our friends. One way or another, the leader of Iraq must learn this fundamental truth.

From the outset, acting hand-in-hand with others, we've sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented.

Armed forces from countries spanning four continents are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from many nations, stand shoulder-to-shoulder, resolute against Saddam Hussein's ambitions.

And we can now point to five United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression. They call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government and categorically reject Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait.

Finally, the United Nations has demanded the release of all foreign nationals held hostage against their will and in contravention of international law. It's a mockery of human decency to call these people "guests." They are hostages, and the whole world knows it.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a dependable ally, said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining [*chips*]. Ever."

'Our Hearts Go Out to the Hostages'

Of course, of course, our hearts go out to the hostages, to their families. But our policy cannot change. And it will not change. America and the world will not be blackmailed by this ruthless policy.

We're now in sight of a United Nations that performs as envisioned by its founders. We owe much to the outstanding leadership of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions.

Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling Mideast waters, and they've already intercepted more than 700 ships to enforce the sanctions. Three regional leaders I spoke with just yesterday told me that these sanctions are working. Iraq is feeling the heat.

We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade, unable to sell their oil, and only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

The communique with President Gorbachev made mention of what happens when the embargo is so effective that children of Iraq literally need milk, or the sick truly need medicine. Then, under strict international supervision that guarantees the proper destination, then—food will be permitted.

At home, the material cost of our leadership can be steep. And that's why Secretary of State [*James A.*] Baker and Treasury Secretary [*Nicholas F.*] Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that the burden of

this collective effort must be shared. We're prepared to do our share and more to help carry that load; we insist that others do their share as well.

The response of most of our friends and allies has been good. To help defray costs, the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the U.A.E., the United Arab Emirates have pledged to provide our deployed troops with all the food and fuel they need. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt.

And I'm also heartened to report that this international response extends to the neediest victims of this conflict—those refugees. For our part, we have contributed \$ 28 million for relief efforts. This is but a portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, Japan and several European nations who have joined us in this purely humanitarian effort.

'Let No One Even Contemplate Profiteering'

There's an energy-related cost to be borne as well. Oil-producing nations are already replacing lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has been made up, and we're getting superb cooperation. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices and guarantee against hardship. Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves, if conditions warrant. As I've pointed out before, conservation efforts are essential to keep our energy needs as low as possible. We must then take advantage of our energy sources across the board: coal, natural gas, hydro and nuclear. Our failure, our failure to do these things has made us more dependent on foreign oil than ever before. And finally, let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis. We will not have it.

I cannot predict just how long it'll take to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Sanctions will take time to have their full intended effect. We will continue to review all options with our allies, but let it be clear: We will not let this aggression stand.

Our interest, our involvement in the gulf, is not transitory. It pre-dated Saddam Hussein's aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home, and we all hope it's soon, very soon, there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf. Our role

then is to deter future aggression. Our role is to help our friends in their own self-defense. And something else: to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, ballistic missile and, above all, nuclear technologies.

And let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator and with his aggression. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. And that's not a threat. It's not a boast. That's just the way it's going to be.

2.2 CHARTER OF PARIS FOR A NEW EUROPE.

Meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE): Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy -European Community, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia
Paris, 19 - 21 November 1990

A new era of Democracy, Peace and Unity

We, the Heads of State or Government of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, have assembled in Paris at a time of profound change and historic expectations. The era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended. We declare that henceforth our relations will be founded on respect and co-operation. Europe is liberating itself from the legacy of the past. The courage of men and women, the strength of the will of the peoples and the power of the ideas of the Helsinki Final Act have opened a new era of democracy, peace and unity in Europe. Ours is a time for fulfilling the hopes and expectations our peoples have cherished for decades : steadfast commitment to democracy based on human rights and fundamental freedoms; prosperity through economic liberty and social justice; and equal security for all our countries. The Ten Principles of the Final Act will guide us towards this ambitious future, just as

they have lighted our way towards better relations for the past fifteen years. Full implementation of all CSCE commitments must form the basis for the initiatives we are now taking to enable our nations to live in accordance with their aspirations.

Human Rights, Democracy and Rule of Law

We undertake to build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government of our nations. In this endeavour, we will abide by the following:

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings, are inalienable and are guaranteed by law. Their protection and promotion is the first

responsibility of government. Respect for them is an essential safeguard against an over mighty

State. Their observance and full exercise are the foundation of freedom, justice and peace.

Democratic government is based on the will of the people, expressed regularly

through free and fair elections. Democracy has as its foundation respect for the human

person and the rule of law. Democracy is the best safeguard of freedom of expression,

tolerance of all groups of society, and equality of opportunity for each person.

Democracy, with its representative and pluralist character, entails accountability to

the electorate, the obligation of public authorities to comply with the law and justice

administered impartially. No one will be above the law.

We affirm that, without discrimination,

every individual has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion or belief,

freedom of expression,

freedom of association and peaceful assembly,

freedom of movement;

no one will be:

subject to arbitrary arrest or detention,
subject to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or
punishment;

everyone also has the right :

to know and act upon his rights,

to participate in free and fair elections,

to fair and public trial if charged with an offence,

to own property alone or in association and to exercise individual enterprise,

to enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights.

We affirm that the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of
national

minorities will be protected and that persons belonging to national
minorities have the right

freely to express, preserve and develop that identity without any
discrimination and in full

equality before the law.

We will ensure that everyone will enjoy recourse to effective remedies,
national or

international, against any violation of his rights.

Full respect for these precepts is the bedrock on which we will seek to
construct the

new Europe.

Our States will co-operate and support each other with the aim of making
democratic

gains irreversible.

Economic Liberty and Responsibility

Economic liberty, social justice and environmental responsibility are
indispensable

for prosperity.

The free will of the individual, exercised in democracy and protected by the
rule of

law, forms the necessary basis for successful economic and social
development. We will

promote economic activity which respects and upholds human dignity.

Freedom and political pluralism are necessary elements in our common
objective of

developing market economies towards sustainable economic growth,
prosperity, social

justice, expanding employment and efficient use of economic resources. The

success of the transition to market economy by countries making efforts to this effect is important and in the interest of us all. It will enable us to share a higher level of prosperity which is our common objective. We will co-operate to this end. Preservation of the environment is a shared responsibility of all our nations. While supporting national and regional efforts in this field, we must also look to the pressing need for joint action on a wider scale.

Friendly Relations among Participating States

Now that a new era is dawning in Europe, we are determined to expand and strengthen friendly relations and co-operation among the States of Europe, the United States of America and Canada, and to promote friendship among our peoples. To uphold and promote democracy, peace and unity in Europe, we solemnly pledge our full commitment to the Ten Principles of the Helsinki Final Act. We affirm the continuing validity of the Ten Principles and our determination to put them into practice. All the Principles apply equally and unreservedly, each of them being interpreted taking into account the others. They form the basis for our relations. In accordance with our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and commitments under the Helsinki Final Act, we renew our pledge to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or from acting in any other manner inconsistent with the principles or purposes of those documents. We recall that non-compliance with obligations under the Charter of the United Nations constitutes a violation of international law. We reaffirm our commitment to settle disputes by peaceful means. We decide to

develop mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflicts among the participating States.

With the ending of the division of Europe, we will strive for a new quality in our

security relations while fully respecting each other's freedom of choice in that respect.

Security is indivisible and the security of every participating State is inseparably linked to

that of all the others. We therefore pledge to co-operate in strengthening confidence and

security among us and in promoting arms control and disarmament.

We welcome the Joint Declaration of Twenty-Two States on the improvement of their relations.

Our relations will rest on our common adherence to democratic values and to human

rights and fundamental freedoms. We are convinced that in order to strengthen peace and

security among our States, the advancement of democracy, and respect for and effective

exercise of human rights, are indispensable. We reaffirm the equal rights of peoples and their

right to self-determination in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the

relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of States.

We are determined to enhance political consultation and to widen co-operation to

solve economic, social, environmental, cultural and humanitarian problems.

This common

resolve and our growing interdependence will help to overcome the mistrust of decades, to

increase stability and to build a united Europe.

We want Europe to be a source of peace, open to dialogue and to co-operation with

other countries, welcoming exchanges and involved in the search for common responses to

the challenges of the future.

Security

Friendly relations among us will benefit from the consolidation of democracy and improved security.

We welcome the signature of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe by

twenty-two participating States, which will lead to lower levels of armed forces. We endorse

the adoption of a substantial new set of Confidence- and Security-building Measures which

will lead to increased transparency and confidence among all participating States. These are

important steps towards enhanced stability and security in Europe.

The unprecedented reduction in armed forces resulting from the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, together with new approaches to security and cooperation

within the CSCE process, will lead to a new perception of security in Europe and a

new dimension in our relations. In this context we fully recognize the freedom of States to

choose their own security arrangements.

Unity

Europe whole and free is calling for a new beginning. We invite our peoples to join

in this great endeavour.

We note with great satisfaction the Treaty on the Final Settlement with respect to

Germany signed in Moscow on 12 September 1990 and sincerely welcome the fact that the

German people have united to become one State in accordance with the principles of the

Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in full accord with

their neighbours. The establishment of the national unity of Germany is an important

contribution to a just and lasting order of peace for a united, democratic Europe aware of its

responsibility for stability, peace and co-operation.

The participation of both North American and European States is a

fundamental characteristic of the CSCE; it underlies its past achievements and is essential to the future of the CSCE process. An abiding adherence to shared values and our common heritage are the ties which bind us together. With all the rich diversity of our nations, we are united in our commitment to expand our co-operation in all fields. The challenges confronting us can only be met by common action, co-operation and solidarity.

The CSCE and the World

The destiny of our nations is linked to that of all other nations. We support fully the United Nations and the enhancement of its role in promoting international peace, security and justice. We reaffirm our commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations as enshrined in the Charter and condemn all violations of these principles. We recognize with satisfaction the growing role of the United Nations in world affairs and its increasing effectiveness, fostered by the improvement in relations among our States. Aware of the dire needs of a great part of the world, we commit ourselves to solidarity with all other countries. Therefore, we issue a call from Paris today to all the nations of the world. We stand ready to join with any and all States in common efforts to protect and advance the community of fundamental human values.

Guidelines for the future

Proceeding from our firm commitment to the full implementation of all CSCE principles and provisions, we now resolve to give a new impetus to a balanced and comprehensive development of our co-operation in order to address the needs and aspirations

of out peoples.

Human Dimension

We declare our respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms to be irrevocable.

We will fully implement and build upon the provisions relating to the human dimension of the CSCE.

Proceeding from the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the

Human Dimension, we will cooperate to strengthen democratic institutions and to promote

the application of the rule of law. To that end, we decide to convene a seminar of experts in

Oslo from 4 to 15 November 1991.

Determined to foster the rich contribution of national minorities to the life of our

societies, we undertake further to improve their situation. We reaffirm our deep conviction

that friendly relations among our peoples, as well as peace, justice, stability and democracy,

require that the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities be

protected and conditions for the promotion of that identity be created. We declare that

questions related to national minorities can only be satisfactorily resolved in a democratic

political framework. We further acknowledge that the rights of persons belonging to national

minorities must be fully respected as part of universal human rights. Being aware of the

urgent need for increased cooperation on, as well as better protection of, national minorities,

we decide to convene a meeting of experts on national minorities to be held in Geneva from 1 to 19 July 1991.

We express our determination to combat all forms of racial and ethnic hatred,

antisemitism, xenophobia and discrimination against anyone as well as persecution on

religious and ideological grounds.

In accordance with our CSCE commitments, we stress that free movement and contacts among our citizens as well as the free flow of information and ideas are crucial for the maintenance and development of free societies and flourishing cultures. We welcome increased tourism and visits among our countries. The human dimension mechanism has proved its usefulness, and we are consequently determined to expand it to include new procedures involving, inter alia, the services of experts or a roster of eminent persons experienced in human rights issues which could be raised under the mechanism. We shall provide, in the context of the mechanism, for individuals to be involved in the protection of their rights. Therefore, we undertake to develop further our commitments in this respect, in particular at the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, without prejudice to obligations under existing international instruments to which our States may be parties. We recognize the important contribution of the Council of Europe to the promotion of human rights and the principles of democracy and the rule of law as well as to the development of cultural co-operation. We welcome moves by several participating States to join the Council of Europe and adhere to its European Convention on Human Rights. We welcome as well the readiness of the Council of Europe to make its experience available to the CSCE.

Security

The changing political and military environment in Europe opens new possibilities for common efforts in the field of military security. We will build on the

important achievements attained in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and in the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-building Measures. We undertake to continue the CSBM negotiations under the same mandate, and to seek to conclude them no later than the Follow-up Meeting of the CSCE to be held in Helsinki in 1992. We also welcome the decision of the participating States concerned to continue the CFE negotiation under the same mandate and to seek to conclude it no later than the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting.

Following a period for national preparations, we look forward to a more structured cooperation among all participating States on security matters, and to discussions and consultations among the thirty-four participating States aimed at establishing by 1992, from the conclusion of the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting, new negotiations on disarmament and confidence and security building open to all participating States.

We call for the earliest possible conclusion of the Convention on an effectively verifiable, global and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, and we intend to be original signatories to it.

We reaffirm the importance of the Open Skies initiative and call for the successful conclusion of the negotiations as soon as possible.

Although the threat of conflict in Europe has diminished, other dangers threaten the stability of our societies. We are determined to co-operate in defending democratic institutions against activities which violate the independence, sovereign equality or territorial integrity of the participating States. These include illegal activities involving outside pressure, coercion and subversion.

We unreservedly condemn, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism and express our determination to work for its eradication both bilaterally

and through multilateral co-operation. We will also join together in combating illicit trafficking in drugs. Being aware that an essential complement to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force is the peaceful settlement of disputes, both being essential factors for the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, we will not only seek effective ways of preventing, through political means, conflicts which may yet emerge, but also define, in conformity with international law, appropriate mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of any disputes which may arise. Accordingly, we undertake to seek new forms of co-operation in this area, in particular a range of methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including mandatory third-party involvement. We stress that full use should be made in this context of the opportunity of the Meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes which will be convened in Valletta at the beginning of 1991. The Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs will take into account the Report of the Valletta Meeting.

Economic Co-operation

We stress that economic co-operation based on market economy constitutes an essential element of our relations and will be instrumental in the construction of a prosperous and united Europe. Democratic institutions and economic liberty foster economic and social progress, as recognized in the Document of the Bonn Conference on Economic Co-operation, the results of which we strongly support. We underline that co-operation in the economic field, science and technology is now an important pillar of the CSCE. The participating States should periodically review progress and give new impulses in these fields.

We are convinced that our overall economic co-operation should be expanded, free enterprise encouraged and trade increased and diversified according to GATT rules. We will promote social justice and progress and further the welfare of our peoples. We recognize in this context the importance of effective policies to address the problem of unemployment. We reaffirm the need to continue to support democratic countries in transition towards the establishment of market economy and the creation of the basis for self-sustained economic and social growth, as already undertaken by the Group of twenty-four countries. We further underline the necessity of their increased integration, involving the acceptance of disciplines as well as benefits, into the international economic and financial system. We consider that increased emphasis on economic co-operation within the CSCE process should take into account the interests of developing participating States. We recall the link between respect for and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and scientific progress. Co-operation in the field of science and technology will play an essential role in economic and social development. Therefore, it must evolve towards a greater sharing of appropriate scientific and technological information and knowledge with a view to overcoming the technological gap which exists among the participating States. We further encourage the participating States to work together in order to develop human potential and the spirit of free enterprise. We are determined to give the necessary impetus to co-operation among our States in the fields of energy, transport and tourism for economic and social development. We welcome, in particular, practical steps to create optimal conditions for the economic and rational development of energy resources, with due regard for

environmental considerations.

We recognize the important role of the European Community in the political and

economic development of Europe. International economic organizations such as the United

Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Bretton Woods Institutions, the

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (ECD), the European Free Trade

Association (EFTA) and the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) also have a

significant task in promoting economic co-operation, which will be further enhanced by the

establishment of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). In order

to pursue our objectives, we stress the necessity for effective co-ordination of the activities of

these organizations and emphasize the need to find methods for all our States to take part in

these activities.

Environment

We recognize the urgent need to tackle the problems of the environment and the

importance of individual and co-operative efforts in this area. We pledge to intensify our

endeavours to protect and improve our environment in order to restore and maintain a sound

ecological balance in air, water and soil. Therefore, we are determined to make full use of

the CSCE as a framework for the formulation of common environmental commitments and

objectives, and thus to pursue the work reflected in the Report of the Sofia Meeting on the

Protection of the Environment.

We emphasize the significant role of a well-informed society in enabling the public

and individuals to take initiatives to improve the environment. To this end, we commit

ourselves to promoting public awareness and education on the environment

as well as the public reporting of the environmental impact of policies, projects and programmes.

We attach priority to the introduction of clean and low-waste technology, being aware of the need to support countries which do not yet have their own means for appropriate measures.

We underline that environmental policies should be supported by appropriate legislative measures and administrative structures to ensure their effective implementation.

We stress the need for new measures providing for the systematic evaluation of compliance with the existing commitments and, moreover, for the development of more ambitious commitments with regard to notification and exchange of information about the state of the environment and potential environmental hazards. We also welcome the creation of the European Environment Agency (EEA).

We welcome the operational activities, problem-oriented studies and policy reviews in various existing international organizations engaged in the protection of the environment, such as the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). We emphasize the need for strengthening their co-operation and for their efficient co-ordination.

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Culture

We recognize the essential contribution of our common European culture and our shared values in overcoming the division of the continent. Therefore, we underline our attachment to creative freedom and to the protection and promotion of our cultural and

spiritual heritage, in all its richness and diversity.

In view of the recent changes in Europe, we stress the increased importance of the

Cracow Symposium and we look forward to its consideration of guidelines for intensified cooperation

in the field of culture. We invite the Council of Europe to contribute to this Symposium.

In order to promote greater familiarity amongst our peoples, we favour the establishment of cultural centres in cities of other participating States as well as increased cooperation

in the audio-visual field and wider exchange in music, theatre, literature and the arts.

We resolve to make special efforts in our national policies to promote better understanding, in particular among young people, through cultural exchanges, co-operation

in all fields of education and, more specifically, through teaching and training in the

languages of other participating States. We intend to consider first results of this action at the

Helsinki Follow-up Meeting in 1992.

Migrant Workers

We recognize that the issues of migrant workers and their families legally residing in

host countries have economic, cultural and social aspects as well as their human dimension.

We reaffirm that the protection and promotion of their rights, as well as the implementation

of relevant international obligations, is our common concern.

Mediterranean

We consider that the fundamental political changes that have occurred in Europe have

a positive relevance to the Mediterranean region. Thus, we will continue efforts to strengthen

security and co-operation in the Mediterranean as an important factor for stability in Europe.

We welcome the Report of the Palma de Mallorca Meeting on the Mediterranean, the results of which we all support.

We are concerned with the continuing tensions in the region, and renew our determination to intensify efforts towards finding just, viable and lasting solutions, through peaceful means, to outstanding crucial problems, based on respect for the principles of the Final Act.

We wish to promote favourable conditions for a harmonious development and diversification of relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States. Enhanced cooperation with these States will be pursued with the aim of promoting economic and social development and thereby enhancing stability in the region. To this end, we will strive together with these countries towards a substantial narrowing of the prosperity gap between Europe and its Mediterranean neighbours.

Non-governmental Organizations

We recall the major role that non-governmental organizations, religious and other groups and individuals have played in the achievement of the objectives of the CSCE and will further facilitate their activities for the implementation of the CSCE commitments by the participating States. These organizations, groups and individuals must be involved in an appropriate way in the activities and new structures of the CSCE in order to fulfil their

important tasks.

New structures and institutions of the CSCE Process

Our common efforts to consolidate respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, to strengthen peace and to promote unity in Europe require a new

quality of political

dialogue and co-operation and thus development of the structures of the CSCE.

The intensification of our consultations at all levels is of prime importance in shaping

our future relations. To this end, we decide on the following

We, the Heads of State or Government, shall meet next time in Helsinki on the

occasion of the CSCE Follow-up Meeting 1992. Thereafter, we will meet on the occasion of

subsequent follow-up meetings.

Our Ministers for Foreign Affairs will meet, as a Council, regularly and at least once a

year. These meetings will provide the central forum for political consultations within the

CSCE process. The Council will consider issues relevant to the Conference on Security and

Co-operation in Europe and take appropriate decisions.

The first meeting of the Council will take place in Berlin.

A Committee of Senior Officials will prepare the meetings of the Council and carry

out its decisions. The Committee will review current issues and may take appropriate

decisions, including in the form of recommendations to the Council.

Additional meetings of the representatives of the participating States may be agreed

upon to discuss questions of urgent concern.

The Council will examine the development of provisions for convening meetings of

the Committee of Senior Officials in emergency situations.

Meetings of other Ministers may also be agreed by the participating States.

In order to provide administrative support for these consultations we establish a

Secretariat in Prague.

Follow-up meetings of the participating States will be held, as a rule, every two years

to allow the participating States to take stock of developments, review the implementation of

their commitments and consider further steps in the CSCE process.

We decide to create a Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna to assist the Council in

reducing the risk of conflict.

We decide to establish an Office for Free Elections in Warsaw to facilitate contacts

and the exchange of information on elections within participating States.

Recognizing the important role parliamentarians can play in the CSCE process, we

call for greater parliamentary involvement in the CSCE, in particular through the creation of

a CSCE parliamentary assembly, involving members of parliaments from all participating

States. To this end, we urge that contacts be pursued at parliamentary level to discuss the

field of activities, working methods and rules of procedure of such a CSCE parliamentary

structure, drawing on existing experience and work already undertaken in this field.

We ask our Ministers for Foreign Affairs to review this matter on the occasion of their

first meeting as a Council.

* * *

Procedural and organizational modalities relating to certain provisions contained in

the Charter of Paris for a New Europe are set out in the Supplementary Document which is

adopted together with the Charter of Paris.

We entrust to the Council the further steps which may be required to ensure the

implementation of decisions contained in the present document, as well as in the

Supplementary Document, and to consider further efforts for the strengthening of security

and co-operation in Europe. The Council may adopt any amendment to the supplementary

document which it may deem appropriate.

* * *

The original of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, drawn up in English, French,

German, Italian, Russian and Spanish, will be transmitted to the Government of the French

Republic, which will retain it in its archives. Each of the participating States will receive

from the Government of the French Republic a true copy of the Charter of Paris.

The text of the Charter of Paris will be published in each participating State, which

will disseminate it and make it known as widely as possible.

The Government of the French Republic is requested to transmit to the Secretary-

General of the United Nations the text of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe which is not

eligible for registration under Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, with a view to

its circulation to all the members of the Organization as an official document of the United

Nations.