



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY
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NATO
Brussels, Belgium

May 16, 1990

Thank you, Mr. Secretary General. I appreciate your courtesy and your gracious introduction. I think it only fair for me to disclose, as I begin, that you and I are and have been friends -- and it is always better to be introduced by a friend.

At the outset, let me express on behalf of my wife and myself and on behalf of my government, our sincerest condolences to Her Majesty's government of the untimely death of my dear friend and colleague, Sir Anthony Williams, who was scheduled to head the United Kingdom's delegation at Copenhagen. We also offer our most heartfelt condolences to his lovely and intelligent wife, Hedvig. It was only two or three weeks ago that I received a warm letter from Sir Anthony, welcoming me back into the CSCE club. We made arrangements to meet shortly after our arrivals. We met in Madrid and had seen each other on numerous occasions. He was an outstanding diplomat, a dedicated public servant and a gentleman. We will miss him.

My first visit to this body took place ten years ago, as I was initiated into international diplomacy. The members of this body and their associates in Madrid were good teachers.

Together, we began a process which led to the impressive strengthening of the Helsinki Final Act and the process initiated by it. We took a weak and struggling baby, a mere 5 years of age at the time, and with encouragement, nutrition, and tender loving care, turned it into a mature and healthy institution, which is today ready to take its place as a constructive and sturdy member of our evolving European polity.

We were successful because we worked together. We were also successful because we represented the vitality and stability of universal human values, the values of human dignity. In 1975, the Helsinki Final Act was signed.

My most recent government service as head of my country's delegation to the Geneva arms talks from 1985 to 1989 also frequently and pleasantly brought me to this body. Lessons which I learned in Madrid were of invaluable assistance in leading to a successful Geneva result as well. My delegation and I consulted frequently with you. We talked together and reasoned together. Our success was a result of that togetherness. My presence with you this morning is in that same spirit.

The fruits of our success have produced tangible results on the face of Europe -- the removal of barbed wire, watch towers, and an ugly wall. Large volumes of fresh air have been pumped into Eastern Europe as millions of people are now learning to breathe the atmosphere of freedom. The changes are remarkable. The Europe of 1975 or 1980 or 1985 was a different place. The CSCE played an indispensable role in that evolution. It can continue to play a vital role as we look ahead at the challenges and opportunities that face us.

We can take satisfaction in the the changes we have experienced, but the past has a long reach. Forty years of human history have not suddenly been erased as if from a computer screen. There is every reason to rejoice when surgery has been successful, but the hard part is still to be met. The visible physical scars on the face of the European continent are being removed, but there are still human scars and they take longer to heal. They require therapy, healing and full recovery. Copenhagen must and will help address that need.

- ° There are still reports of human rights violations in Eastern Europe, particularly in Romania and Yugoslavia.

- ° The situation in the Baltic States is most worrisome and complex. We will not be able to sweep this problem under the rug. The rights of peoples and minorities, particularly as these relate to the principle of self-determination, raises sensitive issues that are not fully understood in meaning or application. Copenhagen may well advance that understanding.
- ° The entire question of the rights of minorities and inter-ethnic confidence has resurfaced in Europe after years of being unofficially frozen. Old rivalries and hostilities are re-appearing.

The U.S. has every intention of addressing these issues. We have no desire to be contentious or disruptive, but we do think it is best to be firm and direct. It is for the sake of the process we cherish that we should have a full review of implementation. This review should lead to establishing new standards and norms as we advance the human dimension.

The Copenhagen meeting is, of course, a direct descendant of the Paris meeting of last summer. In Paris, together with our British friends, we tabled a proposal on free and fair elections. That proposal was apparently ahead of its time by

about six months. It may now be slightly behind the time. Factors on the ground have moved faster than we in CSCE have been able to move, but the principle of free and fair elections is no longer in dispute. Together we should find ways and means of making a contribution, through our deliberations and product, to solidify and democractize the election mechanisms which are developing throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

We and our British colleagues have shared a new and improved version of our proposal with you. We want your comments and would welcome those of you who may wish to join us as co-sponsors of the resolution.

During the past few days, President Bush spoke at a university graduation ceremony in my country. In his talk, while emphasizing the importance within the CSCE context of free elections, political pluralism and the rule of law, he said: "I have instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman, head of our delegation, to seek a new consensus on the cornerstone of freedom, right and democracy." That is a goal I know all of us in this hall share. We should make every effort to obtain a consensus which can guide all of Europe in establishing an understanding about political democracy and the rule of law and how it can enhance security, stability and human dignity among our states. We welcome the initiative on the rule of law taken by London and Paris and we will contribute to it at Copenhagen.

The concept of the rule of law is one of those that both democracies and dictators can superficially favor. The challenge is to make certain that the law has democratic foundations and an integrity and independence separate from the whims of those currently in power.

There is also a need which my colleague, Ambassador Richard Schifter, has discussed with a number of your governments, to build a practical understanding of how a just and democratic legal system can function. We should try, in Copenhagen, to agree on language that will clarify some of these concepts and provide guidance to those in Central and Eastern Europe who urgently ask for guidance.

There will be other proposals on the table. Let us try in Copenhagen to address them together and in full consultation and harmony with one another.

I do not here wish to raise a jarring note when I refer to the tensions and uncertainties that sometimes appear at our meetings as a result of the understandable desire of the 12 to have an identity of its own. I speak in the spirit of candor which is a part of true friendship.

In Madrid, we were able to deal with that potential source of tension in a positive and constructive manner. When Madrid began, the Dutch were in the presidency and a relationship developed between me and the Dutch delegate which was, fortunately, consistently followed by successor presidencies during the course of the meeting. I was kept fully informed prior and following all meetings of the 12. We, indeed, frequently received reports from the 12 at our NATO caucuses. The spirit was totally cooperative and those of us who were not a part of the 12, but were a part of NATO, felt with rare exceptions that the integrity of the NATO caucus was constantly respected. That spirit must prevail in Copenhagen.

Now, let me say some a word about the issue of "institutionalization". In my view, one of the great strengths of the CSCE process has been its lack of institutional baggage. The CSCE has traveled light. The U.S. is aware that a number of proposals have been put forward in several areas, ranging from having more frequent meetings to creating additional mechanisms or new agencies and bureaucratic structures. I must here state a personal bias. I worry about creating new UNESCOs with their emphasis on jobs, national representation and new formal structures.

I want to assure you, however, that the U.S. is willing to look constructively at all ideas at the same time as we have some ideas of our own:

- ° We do not think the CSCE process is at all suited to replace NATO's firm and experienced security guarantee. CSCE's security basket can complement NATO and provide appropriate assurances to those states evolving away from Soviet domination, but at its moment of greatest triumph, NATO's indispensable role must be preserved and strengthened.
- ° We do not favor the creation of costly or duplicative structures involving large staffs and budgets.
- ° We believe all of these ideas should be thoroughly studied in NATO to ensure that we are all in full agreement on them.
- ° We are particularly interested in the idea of more regular political consultations among the 35, a fixed duration for future review conferences, and the proposal for a mechanism to request clarification of unusual military activities.

The issue of conflict resolution is vital. We appreciate that. We are sympathetic toward the concept of exploring how CSCE can play a constructive mediation role. We, therefore, look ahead to the Valetta meeting on peaceful settlement of disputes as a way of examining possible mechanisms for conflict resolution that are consistent with our ideas about structure and bureaucracy.

The U.S. not only looks forward to the latter, but also to the other meetings now scheduled before Helsinki as forward steps in the process of strengthening CSCE. The scheduled September 1991 Moscow Meeting on the Human Dimension will be an important one. We look to it for a breakthrough and have every expectation that Copenhagen, just as Paris before it, will provide the modality and substantive foundation for such a breakthrough.

The U.S. also looks forward to the CSCE summit of heads of government which we hope can take place before the end of the year. Such a meeting would be a symbol of CSCE's vitality as it records substantial substantive progress in each of CSCE's three baskets.

Let me here conclude by saying a few words about our delegation. I am immensely pleased at it. It is first rate. I would like to ask my principal deputy, John Evans, who is with me this morning, to stand and be recognized.

You are aware that we have a unique institution in our government, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, headed this year by Senator De Concini and Congressman Hoyer, who serve as its Chairman and Co-Chairman. Both will serve as honorary vice-chairmen of our delegation. We will make heavy use of the Commission's staff.

In addition, we will have ten public members drawn from American public life as well as professional staff from the Department of State.

Finally, you know that Secretary of State Baker will attend the opening of our conference in Copenhagen and is now planning to make the initial presentation for my country on June 6.