

OSLO, 3 June 1991

Prime Minister  
Gro Harlem Brundtland

X. European Sports Conference 1991, Oslo, 3 - 6 June 1991

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE AND POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS.

Your Majesties,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and gentlemen,

For more than 2000 years, Europe has been a breeding ground for ideas and movements which have had a decisive influence all over the world. Human rights and democracy are the most important and most viable of these. Now, as we approach the end of the twentieth century, these values are stronger than ever before, and they have never before been so powerful in a global perspective.

In the classical foundation of our common European cultural heritage, sports as practised in ancient Greece, and the Olympic ideals which were revived a century ago, are part of the broader picture of European contributions to the diversity and form of human relations.

In this perspective, it<sup>is</sup> a great honour to welcome all participants, and in particular all guests from abroad to this tenth European Sports Conference here in Norway. Many of you will be acquainted with the fundamental role of sports in the fabric of Norwegian society. Many of you will be acquainted with the keen interest of Their Majesties the King and Queen in sports and in the issues of this conference.

This Conference is taking place in a challenging period - one of integration in Europe. Former adversaries are truly moving away from confrontation and towards cooperation. Human contacts are expanding. We have a new opportunity to realize Europe's full potential. The political convergence between us can now unleash the capacity to build a new Europe.

The political revolution in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 laid the ground for the New Europe. As the objectives of the New Europe take shape, we find ourselves at a crossroads where old structures are giving way to a new dynamism. The reasons for these changes were many. In many countries, immense spending on arms were standing in the way of improved living conditions. Gradually it became clear that it was no longer possible to protect rigid structures from technological developments and international competition. It was not possible to mobilize commitment, creativity and ingenuity without democracy.

Most important, however, were the decisions made in the Soviet Union to pull its forces out of Afghanistan, to engage in serious negotiations to provide for security in Europe at a lower level of forces, as well as the new Soviet emphasis on the rule of law, human rights and the rights of people to freely choose their form of government.

These decisions, and the policy of perestroika, created a new atmosphere of confidence between East and West. A period of rapid and profound changes reached a peak in November 1990, when the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe came together in Paris to sign the milestone European Charter and the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

The role of President Gorbachev was decisive for these events to happen. In two days time he will come to Oslo to deliver the Nobel Lecture as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1990.

We can now have a vision of Europe based on human rights and democracy, social justice and a safe environment. Security can no longer be defined in military terms alone. We must now deal with security in a broad and comprehensive sense.

And truly, security policies are changing both in the West and the East. The NATO alliance is currently undertaking a thorough review of its strategy based on the recognition that East and West no longer see each other as adversaries, and that progress can be made towards a Europe that is whole and free.

The recent breakthrough of the impasse which until now has hindered the coming into force of the CFE Treaty can open up for new negotiations and concrete agreements regarding arms control and arms reductions. States should no longer need to maintain offensive capabilities close to the borders of neighbouring countries.

With the ambition of building more confidence from the Atlantic to the Urals, new forms of contact are being developed between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the NATO Alliance and its member countries. Diplomatic contacts have been established between NATO and the Central and East European countries, and the recent visit to NATO by President Havel is an important symbol of the new and undivided Europe which is emerging. However, new initiatives aiming at mutual understanding and improved confidence are needed. The meeting of NATO foreign ministers in a few days time has an opportunity to send new signals that the objective of the NATO alliance is to improve the quality of peace and to promote friendly international relations, not only among its members but also with other countries.

The ongoing discussion in the European Community on how to include security policy in its field of responsibility should be seen as a tangible expression of the strengthened emphasis

on the political rather than on the military aspects of European security issues. We have finally come to realize that we can no longer build security against one another. Only by working together, East and West, and by enhancing our mutual interdependence can we truly remove the perceived threats which kept us separated for too long.

For decades we had to live with a continent unnaturally divided. We have planned our trade and environment cooperation on a continent divided by military logic. Now, however, all European countries have become tied together in a common destiny.

But the ongoing transition will not be easy. Only now do we fully realize how far our worlds have been apart. We know that the political and economic process of reform in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will be difficult and even painful. We see that living conditions deteriorate before they get better. This entails political risks, and these risks call out loudly for solidarity and cooperation in order to give people hope for a better future. As the people of Central and Eastern Europe are taking command of their own future, we in the West must assist in the process.

Our ultimate objective must be to make the pan-European market function as one entity. But economic growth can not be bought at the expense of social justice and a safe environment. Our policies must be designed to combat the scourge of unemployment. They must be based on the principle of sustainable development.

We must establish a market of one billion people which is open to the world at large. We need market forces and we need firm political guidance. Market forces alone cannot protect our health or achieve social justice. Nor can they protect the environment. Most European countries have mixed economies. Now we need to establish a truly mixed pan-European economy.

There is little doubt that the European Community, cooperating with or including present EFTA members, will play a key role in shaping European cooperation into the next century. I see no alternative to more binding international cooperation at the European level.

The decision of the EC countries to complete the internal market by 1993 and the ongoing revision of the Treaty of Rome with the aim of establishing a political and a monetary union are facts and challenges that all European countries face whether they are EC members or not. The requirements of a more open world economy apply equally to Norway and the other EFTA countries. Moreover, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are seeking closer cooperation with the EC and with EFTA.

As the internal market will link Europe together, new all-

European institutional arrangements will be necessary to guide the continuing process of integration.

To support the process of change, Western Europe must keep existing structures of cooperation open. The EFTA countries and the European Community are now completing negotiations on the creation of a European Economic Area, the EEA, of 19 West European countries.

The EEA negotiations are now in their final phase. The focus is on the unresolved issues. This is to be expected. We have set ourselves ambitious goals within a tight time frame.

These negotiations started two years ago. Our challenge was clear: by 1 January 1993 the EC internal market will be in place. Fundamental interests of all the EFTA countries are involved. And major achievements have been made. A comprehensive EEA agreement is in sight. It will provide a common legal framework and rules for extended cooperation, including not only extensive freedom of movement of goods, capital, services and persons, but also improved cooperation in such fields as education, health, environment, and the social dimension.

These are major achievements. The EEA process has added an important political dimension to Western European cooperation. This is not only to the benefit of our own countries. It may also serve as a model for the integration of the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. We must be able both to widen our cooperation and to deepen it at the same time.

Europe has indeed undergone radical changes since the beginning of 1989. But the EEA process is as necessary as it was at the outset. Nothing has changed the EC goal of creating the internal market by 1 January 1993. We have therefore no time to lose.

Europe faces a great challenge in the environmental field. The environment will play a central role in international politics in the 1990s, and will in itself be an important force for integration. No other field shows so clearly how detrimental the division of Europe has been. The problems were and are common. But we have not managed to devise solutions that are commensurate with the nature and magnitude of the problems.

The rehabilitation of our European environment will be a test-case of whether we are capable of dealing with our common responsibilities. As national politicians we experience that the nation state is too small a scene for addressing regional and global environmental challenges. It will become increasingly contradictory to promise to remedy these international challenges through national measures alone. We need to lift the decision-making of democratic institutions to the international level. As nation states we must have the maturity to unite our sovereignties.

Europe must aim to develop a regional regime which reflects our interdependence as regards the environment. We shall need an efficient decision-making mechanism. We shall need to organize the transfer of technology and expertise to ensure that industrial reconstruction does not take place at the expense of the environment. We shall need a European surveillance system to ensure that environmental commitments are respected.

Energy goes right to the core of the issue. Europe needs energy efficiency and energy security. I believe we can have both and still improve our environment.

Central and Eastern Europe face crucial policy choices as regards future energy supplies. These are choices that will also determine the state of the environment in the future, not only in the countries directly affected, but also in the rest of Europe; and they will affect the global climate.

New and creative thinking is urgently required. Our task will be to stimulate the broadest possible process of European integration. The nations of Western Europe have a particular responsibility as well as experience in this respect. Integration in Western Europe has resulted in peace and cooperation between countries. We have models on which we can continue to build.

Now we need the courage and vision to proceed, even if the situation seems unpredictable. This in itself is nothing new in European history. The future must have seemed even more unpredictable to European leaders in the years following the Second World War than it does today. The architects of the existing Western European institutions had a single, overriding goal, to preserve the peace. That was the driving force behind the establishment of political and cultural fora for cooperation such as the Council of Europe. That was the driving force behind the European Coal and Steel Community. An institutional framework for this strategic market encouraged growth, further cooperation and political stability.

Inspired by that achievement, Prime Minister Lubbers of the Netherlands has made a visionary initiative, proposing a European Energy Charter.

The idea of the energy charter is to set out how market economy principles can be applied to energy transactions and link the Soviet Union and the new European democracies closer to the all-European energy market. The ambition is to promote more rational use of energy, more secure energy supplies and thereby enhanced economic growth and environmental benefits in all of Europe.

Energy, environment and development are inextricably linked. Europe will need both energy efficiency and energy security in

support of sustainability. Energy cooperation in Europe can spearhead economic revitalization in a sustainable way. We now have a unique opportunity to stimulate economic growth throughout all of Europe while at the same time protecting and restoring the environment. We can provide the evidence that sustainable development is possible.

In the well-established field of European environmental cooperation, we must make new efforts to become more efficient. In the past we have tried to deal with pan-European problems such as acidification and deforestation by agreeing on equal percentage cuts in harmful emissions. Now the time has come to develop a new generation of cost-effective environmental agreements.

To increase our total effort, priority must now be given to reducing emissions where it costs the least to do so. If this strategy is to succeed, the wealthier countries must make financial and technological resources available. Burdens must be fairly distributed.

The shaping of new environmental measures for Europe will be a test of our ability to respond to new challenges. We must define common environmental targets, and structure our agreements to achieve our common goals.

If the countries of the West assist the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in modernizing their economies we will improve local environments and reduce their contributions to the global environment at less cost. We will also help their economies to become more modern and more competitive, thus creating new demand, expanded markets and new capacity for growth.

As we enter a period of more hope for a better and safer future for all Europeans, we shall take great care not to forget the experiences of the past. Only by remembering our experiences of the past can we be honest in dealing with the common challenges of the future.

We shall also remember that the gap between East and West has never been very wide in the field of sports. International contacts in sports have been maintained and expanded between people of different ideologies and with different ethnic backgrounds also in times of tension and confrontation. And more often than not has sports broken the barriers when other contacts have been weak or even absent.

Therefore, the changes in Europe will probably not influence international sports as much as they will affect political and economic life. But there will be changes also in the field of sports. Cooperation, organization and economy are key words in this respect.

We are likely to see more common denominators, and more cooperation regarding the doping problem and violence among

spectators, since these are problems that can only be solved by means of more effective international cooperation.

We are likely to see less government management and more emphasis on the voluntary aspects of managing sports also in Central and Eastern Europe. These countries have not maintained the distinction which has been practised for example in Nordic countries, between the autonomy of the voluntary sports movement and local authorities on the one hand and the responsibility of the political authorities on the other.

What we see in sports are really examples of social integration at the level where it makes most sense. The way sports are organized is a telling indication of how we identify as individuals and as groups. In a period of political integration, where many people may be worried about their cultural identities and characteristics, what could be more convincing evidence of the survivability of national and local identity than a local match between neighbouring clubs or the enthusiasm aroused by international competitions.

In recent years, we have seen how the interface between the sports movement and other fields of social and political life has widened.

Environmental protection is a case in point. Construction of new sports facilities must increasingly be tuned to requirements of local ecological balance.

The severing of sports relations with South Africa is a longstanding example of the condemnation of the policy of Apartheid by the sports movement.

The role of sports in public health is widely recognized and the fact that 40% of the Norwegian population take regular physical exercise, indicates how important sports are for people to take greater responsibility for their own health and well-being.

Moreover, sports are characterized by a strong interaction between top-level athletes and the less competitive but still physically active public in general. The women of Norway, inspired by the achievements of our world class women athletes, have achieved remarkable results. One month ago 26 000 women of all ages participated in the Grete Waitz Race here in Oslo, named after our legendary marathoner who has won the New York Marathon nine times and who was a pioneer in expanding perception also of womens physical capabilities.

And just as governments and people must recognize their responsibility for the poor and deprived people in the Third World, national sports organizations in the countries of the North are engaging in cooperation with sports organizations in the South. The aim of this sectoral development cooperation is to give more people the opportunity to discover and take part

in the pleasures of sport, to enrich living conditions and to provide information about hygiene and nutrition.

No other single movement reaches so many countries as the sports movement and the Olympic Movement. We need their ideals and their organizations that can unite us. They must continue to inspire and encourage human resources, human creativity and human effort. Together with the variety of other cultural activities, sports provide an outlet for enjoyment - which we need in our perpetual and ever-changing endeavour to create more contacts and a better understanding between people and between countries.

I wish you a successful conference and a memorable stay in our country.