

A d d r e s s by MARKUS MECKEL
to the IEWSS Annual Conference
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Dear Mister President, dear colleagues ministers,
Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen!

There could be no more appropriate date than these days to put the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic on your agenda for a contribution to your tremendously timely topic, "the challenges and opportunities for building a more secure Europe in the nineteen-nineties". We are in the midst of the two plus four talks about the external policy aspects of the German unification process. I arrived late last night because of the summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow which took place yesterday. This was the first meeting of the heads of government, the Foreign and the Defence Ministers of the new revolutionary governments which have been formed during the past few months, as one result of the great popular movement which virtually changed everything in our countries. Yes, we, the newcomers in the new governments in Eastern Europe, we have something to contribute to the debate about, as the topic of this conference says, "challenges and opportunities" for a new Europe. And let me applaude the Institute, the Institute for East-West Security Studies, for its tireless efforts to facilitate exchange among us, in Central and Eastern Europe, and the West.

Let me be frank. I myself, my staff, my fellow colleagues in the new ~~governments~~ of Eastern European ~~countries~~, we all are not and have not been defence intellectuals, as most of you are as distinguished scholars. I myself have been a protestant pastor, engaged in the peace movement in the GDR. A few months ago I could not have dreamed to be invited by

this distinguished audience. If you, my highly respected participants, are willing to listen to my reflections about the future European challenges and opportunities in the field of security, then please note that mine is a "peacenic" voice, that you defence experts are being addressed by someone who has been marching in the streets in protest against the past wisdom of the defence intellectual community. And it will remain one of the remarkable accomplishments of the Institute that it convenes participants in the peace movement together with established defence analysts.

Let me make a last introductory remark. I represent not only an outgoing government, which will end up in the emerging unified Germany. I also represent an outgoing state which is bound to fade away in the process of unification. We in Berlin consider this historically unique situation not *from* a position of weakness, but we are firmly determined to make an active foreign policy. The formula of an "active foreign policy" is meant with all the loaden connotations you experts in international relations are used to attribute to it.

All our ambitions in the by now truly Democratic Republic of Germany are orientated to the one great goal, that the dynamism of the German unification process will spill over into a pan-European dynamism which creates a huge wave, a determined movement of the two halves of Europe towards each other. Not only should no European citizen be afraid of the new Germany or should be fearful of the military might of this unified state. The Europeans also should profit greatly in their security from the political changes which have been set into motion by the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe and by the German unification process. On our way foward to Europe, we East Germans bring with us our friends who shared our fate during the dark decades in the Eastern half of the continent. We have established special ties with the Foreign Ministries in our neighbour countries Poland and

Checho-Slovakia, for instance in order to prevent that the
 are cut off established commercial relations
 with us after the currency and economic reunion next month.
 You may have learnt about fresh initiatives which this group
 of by now truly befriended states has tabled in order to
 bring a new momentum into the debate about European security.

We also have tremendous problems which overshadow our activi-
 ties, and we would greatly welcome all ideas which might
 emerge during your proceedings which possibly would be help-
 ful. There is the demand that the new Germany should become
 full member of the Atlantic Alliance. Honestly, the
 revolution in the GDR has not been made in order to bring our
 country into the Western military treaty organisation. We are
 not willing to agree to a military situation in which our friends
 in Poland and Checho-Slovakia would face the forward defences
 of NATO at their Western borders. Thus we are deeply worried
whether the proposed changes of the alliance will suffice,
 whether they truly indicate a principally new approach to the
 security problem. The Harmel report of more than twenty years
 ago rightly articulated the political goal to transfer the
 Atlantic Alliance into a European peace settlement, and
 it is now high time to live up to this objective.

There are tremendous hopes in Eastern Europe that the secu-
 rity structures of the past rapidly will be transformed into
 new arrangements which will ensure a life without fear of a
 military threat for decades to come. And you, my distinguished
 audience, are in the forefront of the struggle for this new
 European order. It must be exciting to serve as a specialist
 in security studies these days. Let me end with the expres-
 sion of great expectations towards the outcome of your work.
 It can be of enormous value for the political decisions which
 lie ahead of us.

Thank you for your attention.