

growing problem of security. The Partnership For Peace is there to deal with this, but there is also a need for economic security.

But I'm a pragmatist. I'm open to any solution. But when I hear some leaders within Europe saying that we should have acted otherwise, I remain convinced that we did opt for the right solution. Now, have we always supplied it with the desirable efficacy? That's another question. It remains open. But again, with the commissioners responsible, we shall take stock of all of this.

But we have to be careful. All of the miracle solutions that have been proposed would not have resolved the problems, and anyway, we can see this with German unification. It is not this that in any way has diminished the frustration of the populations concerned or filled the psychological gap or even made it possible to get onto the ideal road towards modernization. There are all sorts of problems. Besides, I'm very respectful of what is happening in Germany. But it is an experience contrary to the other one. You can see what problems remain to be resolved.

*President Papandreou.* Just a few words, because I think President Delors has stated very clearly our stand. There is a very delicate relationship between deepening of the European Union and enlargement of the Union. They must go together in a careful relationship. Otherwise, the Union itself may not be able to achieve its fundamental goals. So some delays are necessary, both from the point of view of the countries petitioning the entry and also from the Union itself. But I think I've said enough, in view of what President Delors has already said in such detail.

*President Clinton.* I'd like to go back to your original question. What you asked, I think, was, since there is sort of a phased-in possibility for additional membership in the European Union and a phased-in possibility for membership in NATO, should the criteria and timetables have been reconciled? I think that's the question you're asking.

I can't give you a yes or no, except to say that I think it would have been difficult to do that for a couple of reasons. First of all, NATO and the European Union are fundamentally different organizations. Membership in NATO means that each member has a solemn obligation to defend the security of each other—any other member from attack. And membership in

NATO includes a guarantee, therefore, coming from the United States and from Canada, something that is not the same with the European Union.

On the other hand, membership in the European Union now involves a commitment to a level of economic and political integration that some who may want to be a part of NATO may or may not want to commit to. So I think, as a practical matter, it would have been very difficult to reconcile these two timetables since the organizations are different. Some may be more interested in being in the European Union. I can conceive of some countries who want to be in the Union who may not want to be in NATO. Some may wish to be in NATO before they're able to meet the responsibilities of the European Union.

*President Delors.* I would just like to add one sentence. In my humble opinion, the generation that I belong to and which holds responsibility at present has two obligations, and to reconcile these is not easy. On the one hand, we want to create a political union with the European countries that desire this, because we think that none of our countries is capable of coping with these problems and with world responsibilities. And secondly, given the events that have occurred in the East, we have another obligation which is equally important; that is, to extend our values of peace, cooperation, and mutual understanding to the wider Europe.

Believe me, to combine the two is no easy task. And again, I criticize those who put forth simplistic solutions in this area. Life is difficult. No one can prevent such events being conflictual. A little modesty on the part of those proposing miracle solutions will be necessary.

*Greece*

*Q.* Mr. President, Germany recently requested that the famous Article 5 of the NATO Pact should apply for the security for the Czech Republic, not a NATO member, in order to face a threat not been defined yet. Since Greece, a NATO member, according to reports, many of them, is facing a real threat in her northern border from an expected movement of Albanian refugees from Kosovo via Skopje—*[inaudible]*—if the same article could apply on that case, keeping also into account that European Union and Western European Union are not guaranteeing the Greek borders. And I'm taking this opportunity, Mr. President, to ask