

There is a fourth principle, though, which is as, or more, important than any of the others.

It is the over-arching requirement for stability. I do not mean stability for stability's sake. I do not mean simple military stability - I mean stability politically and economically as well as in the security field. And I mean stability for the purpose of proceeding with change. Stability is the singular foundation upon which new structures can be built with confidence.

We must recognize that at a time when everything seems to be changing, there is a premium on retaining what remains valid, on re-invigorating institutions which have served us well, and not discarding them blindly and prematurely.

And there is a premium as never before on careful co-ordination and consultation. In the mad rush to remake Europe, we cannot afford free-lancing or unilateralism, any more than we can contemplate isolationism or the search for unilateral advantage.

The requirement for stability extends to security arrangements.

Even Mr. Gorbachev, who once called for the abolition of NATO, now accepts its desirability as a framework of certainty in a period of great change. The struggle for prosperity and democracy will fail if insecurity is allowed to creep in. That means that reductions in national military capability should proceed under the umbrella of negotiated agreements. It also means that those negotiations themselves must keep pace with the political will, and grasp the opportunity now before us to increase security at vastly lower levels of armaments.

The requirement for stability in security arrangements also speak to the continued validity for the transatlantic security guarantee. For 40 years, European security has been based on the commitment of North America to the security of Europe. That commitment remains critical in the transition to a new security framework for Europe.

The principle of stability also extends to the question of institutional development. There are institutions with the West -and between East and West - whose membership and mandate make them ideal as fora for discussion and agreement on new programs and structures for Europe.

NATO, for example, is the only security organization whose membership encompasses both North America and Western Europe. As such, it remains the singular guarantee of Western security. NATO's arms control agenda - in the conventional and nuclear fields - must be pursued now with the same vigour which we have applied to maintaining a balance of military forces between East and West. But there is even more required. The definition of security should be expanded well beyond the accumulation of soldiers and arms into verification and confidence building.