

will be able to fly over troop movements, lowering the possibility of a surprise attack. And by improving assessments of a potential adversary's capabilities and likely intentions, Open Skies can reduce miscalculations and misperceptions -- and in doing so, alleviate those fears that are oftentimes the source of escalating tension.

Today, there is general recognition of what we have long believed, that security is indivisible: All of us must feel and be secure for all others to be secure. President Gorbachev has also stressed the reciprocal nature of international security, rejecting the Stalinist concept that Soviet security depends upon everyone else's insecurity. I think it is fair to say that we all believe that increased openness and transparency in military matters provide the most direct path to greater predictability and reduced risk of inadvertent war.

Make no mistake about the implications of what we consider here today. Open Skies is potentially the most ambitious measure to build confidence ever undertaken. It has revolutionary ramifications. Soviet and East European surveillance aircraft would become a common sight in the skies over Central and Western Europe and North America. American and West European aircraft would be an equally common sight in the skies over Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. An Open Skies regime would, therefore, provide a tangible and powerful symbol of the emerging East-West cooperation that our publics could readily see and understand.

Open Skies is also an integral part of our vision of a new Europe, a Europe whole and free and belonging to a larger commonwealth of free nations. The new European security system that complements a new age of political and economic freedom will be based on the principles of national sovereignty and voluntary cooperation. It will operate within the framework of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will also play an important new role in coordinating political initiatives, like Open Skies, as we work with our allies to ensure a stable transition to new security arrangements.

The significance of this initiative is that it is an inherently cooperative measure that both demands and builds trust. National technical means of monitoring are fine, but they are strictly unilateral. A state's decision to open its airspace to another state's surveillance aircraft is a highly significant cooperative political act in and of itself.

Last December, my NATO colleagues and I reached agreement on the "basic elements" of an Open Skies regime. Our paper sets out a number of guidelines underlying the NATO approach to Open Skies. Its essential tenet is the commitment of the parties to permit overflights of their entire national territory, with no limitations other than those imposed by the inevitable need for flight safety and the rules of international law.

