

We need to promote both strategic stability and predictability in the New Europe. Neither alone is sufficient. By focusing on both, we can build a security system with mutually-reinforcing components. In this new order, confidence can replace fear, trust can overcome distrust, and knowledge can transform ignorance.

The Western approach to the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe (CFE), augmented recently by President Bush's proposals on manpower and aircraft, is designed to promote stability. In combination with new NATO proposals on tanks, armored personnel carriers, and helicopters, the President's manpower and aircraft initiatives move us closer to resolving many of the key remaining differences in the CFE negotiations.

Last week, President Gorbachev moved toward our position on manpower, abandoning overall ceilings on all forces. But his response in equating U.S. and Soviet forces in Europe does not acknowledge that U.S. forces outside this limit would be an ocean away, whereas large numbers of Soviet troops would remain in the European part of the USSR.

NATO also has made a new proposal on aircraft that accepts a number of points in the Pact position. So far, however, the Soviet Union has not responded to our efforts to close this issue. Indeed, its position sets a ceiling that would require the West to add about 2,000 new NATO aircraft in order to reach equality, hardly a step toward arms reduction. We must redouble our efforts on this subject. Disagreements over aircraft limits must not prevent us from signing a CFE agreement this year.

To promote predictability, President Bush last spring judged that the time was ripe to revive and extend the Open Skies idea -- a concept first broached by President Eisenhower but rejected by the Soviet Union.

While the CFE negotiations are the primary means to codify strategic stability in the New Europe, Open Skies can and should become a key component of our efforts to increase predictability while also supporting stability. Complementing confidence building measures that we are considering as part of the CSCE process, Open Skies can make a decisive contribution in creating an open and transparent military and political environment in Europe.

Consider what Open Skies could accomplish. Under the Western approach, states will be able to see more clearly -- literally -- the actions and even intent of others, whatever the time of the day, whatever the weather. A state will not be able to practice and exercise for offensive, aggressive attacks with the help of a traditional ally -- a closed society. Neighbors