

I want to begin by expressing my gratitude to our Canadian hosts. Mr. Prime Minister, you, your Secretary for External Affairs Joe Clark and others in the Canadian delegation championed the Open Skies concept from the beginning. This important initiative owes much to your long and hard work, and the President and I are very appreciative.

Two months ago, I took a good look through a newly chipped hole in the Berlin Wall. I saw a great city striving to be reborn and beyond it whole nations seeking to reclaim their freedom and independence. This past week, I returned to Central and Eastern Europe -- to see the walls falling across the continent, from Prague in the West to Bucharest in the East. Freedom is on the march, drawing strength from the resilience of the human spirit. Yet, the hard task of moving from revolution to democracy still lies ahead, and we should remain vigilant and active in our support.

The revolutions of 1989 are both exhilarating and sobering. Exhilarating, because the walls that have so long divided East from West have now been breached and the prospect of a new era of peace and cooperation stretches before us. Sobering, because after the fall of totalitarianism's illegitimacies, we face the great challenge of building an enduring peace in a Europe both whole and free. Our challenge is to construct a new and enduring European security system.

As I stressed in Prague last week, new security arrangements -- the military aspect of the equation -- must proceed apace with and complement the political and economic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. It is imperative that we move quickly to finalize agreements that codify stabilizing military changes. In this way, we can lock-in strategic changes and guarantee that our basic security principles are bound into practice through effectively verifiable agreements. We want to make this new day of freedom as difficult as possible to reverse.

In our view, new European security arrangements must promote two fundamental principles of strategy and arms control: stability and predictability.

Stability requires military forces and policies such that no state can gain by striking first. A stable security system requires a balance in capabilities so as to prevent premeditated, blitzkrieg-style attacks. Its focus is military capability.

Predictability requires sufficient openness, transparency, and even candor so as to prevent misperception, miscalculation, and military myopia. We need to open military activities to outside scrutiny, thereby preventing a slide into inadvertent or accidental war during the fog that often enshrouds a crisis. Here the focus shifts to the point where military capabilities intersect with political intentions. Predictability and openness can also restrain the escalating spirals of distrust, fueled by secrecy, that are the invariable precursors of crisis itself.

