

When we take decisions in the Council, we need to be able to implement them.

We have already used some tools on an ad hoc basis: fact finding, rapporteur missions, good offices. We need to integrate them formally into the CSCE process. There are other instruments we should look at: a conflict management mechanism that could include the monitoring or peacekeeping operations.

In order to do this, we need to bring clarity to the relationship of the CSCE with other regional and global organizations, particularly when we start thinking about complex operational issues like peacekeeping or monitoring. For example, while the CSCE has the political mandate and moral authority to establish a monitoring mission, it does not have the practical capability -- the hard assets -- to deploy such a mission.

I don't believe we need to give the CSCE itself these assets. First, because we don't need to burden this process with more institutions and bureaucracy. Second, because they already exist elsewhere. What we need to do is find a way of engaging them to support CSCE decisions. How do we do this? We interact through common membership in other organizations that can act. In dealing with a crisis, the CSCE Council of Ministers can authorize intervention requiring military transport and other facilities. Those CSCE countries that are members of NATO can draw from NATO's unique capabilities to do this, though their actions would be as members of the CSCE.

Our delegations need to look carefully at these interlocking relationships. I believe they hold the key to making the CSCE more action-oriented.

Flexibility must be our touchstone. Countries do not like being boxed in; they like options and alternatives. Conflicts are fluid and unpredictable. CSCE instruments must reflect this. The CSCE's flexibility helped it endure and maintain its relevance. We must avoid rigidity, legal or bureaucratic.

We should also be more flexible about the consensus rule. CSCE commitments must continue to be adopted by consensus. But, where there is a clear violation of such commitments -- particularly in the area of the human dimension -- we must be able to take action, with or without the consent of the offending state or states.

Securing Human Rights

My government continues to believe that the consolidation of pluralistic democracy is the best hope we have for building security in Europe, as elsewhere.

Human values are supreme. No political system can replace the unique power and richness of a society in which individuals are free to make choices.