

We are beginning the eleventh session as we approach the eleventh hour of this conference. Unless real strides are made in elaborating a substantial set of confidence- and security-building measures during the next weeks, a successful outcome here may very well have eluded us -- shattering the hopes and expectations which attended the inauguration of this enterprise two and a half years ago.

The conference has moved from the open arena of public diplomacy to the confines of the negotiating table. It has set aside generalities and rhetoric in the search for specific and concrete forms of agreement. This movement is much to be applauded, and we have welcomed it.

But behind these welcome developments over the past weeks and months there still lingers the risk of political inertia and stagnation. As this negotiation moves into the home stretch, we must focus more precisely the energy of our broader political purpose and direct it with care and determination towards hammering out a full, solid agreement.

And broader political purpose there most certainly is.

We seek a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures that will inject vitality into the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the arms control process. After investing two and a half years in this enterprise, it would surely constitute a failure -- and a disappointment -- if we produced only a marginal embellishment of the measures in the final act.

We are beginning a process. It will clearly not be possible in this phase of the conference to solve all the problems of confidence-building in all its aspects. The subject is as vast as its concrete manifestations are essential to the underpinning of peace.

But it is crucial that this conference produce a result which is substantial enough to justify the effort to date, and to make it worthwhile to continue. This means that effort must now be concentrated -- and quickly -- on negotiating a set of measures covering the activity of land and combined forces which, no one can seriously doubt, poses the highest risk of war in Europe.

Ever-conscious that the ebb and flow of triumph and tragedy on this continent have shaped our national destiny in the past, and will almost certainly continue to