

other than those imposed by the inevitable need for flight safety and, of course, for the rules of respect for international law.

The NATO proposal has three essential features. First, it embodies openness; second, it is effective; and, third, it is workable. Open Skies is not a mere symbolic gesture. It can be a path, perhaps one among many, to a new era in East-West relations. Real openness means all territory being open to observation, consistent with safety.

Effectiveness -- effectiveness means openness even at night, or on cloudy days, and that means the right to use any technology that will do the job, understanding that these devices can be inspected by the country being overflown.

Workability -- that means working out practical arrangements for national overflights. No unwieldy new bureaucracies are needed. If countries want to share resources, that would, of course, be fine. If they want to fly their own unarmed aircraft, planes they have been trained to use, that is also fine.

Flexibility is the key here.

We have proposed a concept for the future. This is not just a bloc-to-bloc idea. Indeed, we are prepared to expand the regime to all 35 CSCE states once the regime has been established. In ten years, the regime may be finding uses that we cannot even imagine as we sit here today.

Open Skies is a test of our willingness to co-operate, to co-operate in building a new and better world for ourselves and for our children; a stable and predictable security environment that allows each nation to pursue its own destiny in peace, without fear of aggression or intimidation; an environment where dangerous capabilities are controlled and where fears are alleviated.

Together, we must seize this rare opportunity to remodel the political and the strategic architecture of the new Europe. As I said in Prague last week, if 1989 was the year of sweeping away, 1990 must become the year of building anew. As we enter the last decade of the twentieth century, we are already tearing down the walls that have so long divided us. As those walls go down, new and enduring security arrangements should go up in their place.

Open Skies and CFE can do this job. Now is the time that we should put them in place. Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much, Secretary Baker. I now call upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Eduard Shevardnadze.