

Today, there is a general recognition of what we have long believed -- that security is indivisible. All of us must feel, and be, secure for all others to be secure.

President Gorbachev has also stressed the reciprocal nature of international security, rejecting the Stalinist concept that Soviet security depends somehow upon everyone else's insecurity.

I think it is fair to say that we all believe that increased openness and transparency in military matters provide the most direct path to greater predictability and to reduced risk of inadvertent war. Make no mistake, colleagues, about the implications of what we are considering here today. Open Skies is potentially the most ambitious measure to build confidence, that we have ever undertaken.

It has revolutionary ramifications. Soviet and East European surveillance aircraft would become a common sight in the skies over central and western Europe, and in the skies over North America. American and west European aircraft would be an equally common sight in the skies over eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. An Open Skies regime would, therefore, provide a tangible and a very powerful symbol of the emerging East-West co-operation that our publics could readily see and could readily understand.

Open Skies is also an integral part of the United States' vision of a new Europe: a Europe whole and free, a Europe belonging to a larger commonwealth of free nations. The new European security system that complements a new age of political and economic freedom will be based on the principles of national sovereignty and voluntary co-operation. It will operate within the framework of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will also play an important new role in co-ordinating political initiatives like Open Skies, as we work with our allies to ensure a stable transition to new security arrangements.

The significance of this initiative is that it is an inherently co-operative measure that both demands trust and builds trust.

National technical means of monitoring are fine, but national technical means of monitoring are strictly unilateral. A state's decision to open its airspace to another state's surveillance aircraft is a highly significant, co-operative, political act in and of itself.

Last December, my NATO colleagues and I reached agreement on the basic elements of an Open Skies regime. Our paper sets out a number of guidelines underlying the NATO approach to Open Skies. Its essential tenet is the commitment of the parties to permit overflights of their entire national territory, with no limitations