

continue to press this issue within the CSCE as we head into the critical lead-time towards the renewal of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

But even the enhanced capacity of the United Nations to intervene to reverse aggression will not be enough to ensure security on a global basis. We also need effective regional security. We need arrangements which -- on a co-operative basis -- can address underlying causes of insecurity and instability.

This means border disputes, ethnic conflicts and civil strife which raise a potential threat to European security. To manage such crises, we set up a Conflict Prevention Centre and we arranged for emergency meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials. Both institutions were quickly mobilized by the crisis in Yugoslavia. But, how did they do? What did we learn from those experiences?

We learned that we must act promptly and effectively. While the CSCE has a capacity for political persuasion, it does not have the power of coercion. It does not command the potential military force of a NATO or the economic power of the European Community. However, it is the only structure motivated by the opinion of the entire Euro-Atlantic community of democratic nations. And therein lies its potential. We must find immediate ways of translating that opinion into rapid action to conciliate and settle disputes. We must empower CSCE institutions to act quickly through fact-finding, mediation, peacekeeping, even peace-making. These are the attributes of the political management of security. And the problems of security in Europe today are more political than military. Our task is to keep them at the political level rather than reverting to military force.

One year ago, on the eve of the Paris Summit, we were endorsing ideas and drafting words which were full of hope: "the end of the Cold War," "the end of the division of Europe," "the opening of a new era of democracy, peace and unity." We spoke of "fulfilling the hopes and expectations our peoples have cherished for decades."

A little more than one month ago, news from this city made us fear, for a few terrifying hours, that we risked sinking back into the frigid abyss of the Cold War; and that the democratic ideals which we believed were taking hold in Europe had been brutally overturned once again. But the changes initiated in the Soviet Union by President Gorbachev proved to be enduring. The words of the Paris Charter, the Copenhagen Document and the Helsinki Final Act have been transformed into living creeds by the people for whom they have been created -- and, to their credit, they have withstood the challenges of the old, discredited philosophies.