

by a pluralistic model. This dissolution of the blocs, of course, is not yet on the agenda of the day, but it is necessary to demonstrate political resolve to overcome blocs.

Today, the blocs are helping the disarmament process. They should bring this task, beneficial for peace and security, to a successful end. That is why, at this stage, we agree with those representatives who want to preserve the alliances as an instrument facilitating the arms control process. With the continuing development toward democracy, it should be their last major task.

We are sometimes criticized that our gentle revolution is here and there changing into a naive revolution, but our experience shows that it is only with a certain measure of naivete, of untraditional thinking and courage, that it is possible to change obsolete institutions, structures and mechanisms. Only by striving for the impossible is it actually possible to push through something essentially new.

For the transition from the bloc concept of safeguarding European security to a democratic and pluralistic concept, there is a well-tested instrument, the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The adoption of the Helsinki documents in 1975 made possible the rise of the Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, of the Committee for the Defence of Workers in Poland, of the Helsinki groups in the Soviet Union, et cetera. Helsinki provided an international law basis for the independent groups striving for the establishment of democracy. It has also significantly contributed to the current changes in the eastern half of Europe.

For these and other reasons, Czechoslovakia will strive for the Helsinki process to acquire further new quality that would be in keeping with the developments in Europe at the turn of the millennium. The new political, economic, cultural, humanitarian and security institutions should be created which would be replacing gradually, step by step, the structures of the bipolar world.

In the unfolding of this process we see great possibilities for a full-fledged participation of all member states of both alliances.

In this context, we view as most timely the attainment of successful results at the Vienna talks of the 23 states on conventional armed forces in Europe. But this phase of the Vienna talks should be successfully completed as soon as possible in this year. This would allow us to give the negotiators a new, much more emphatic mandate for the second phase, to prepare agreements that would transform armed forces and their structures to purely defensive purposes, so that no country would possess enough soldiers and arms to be able to attack others with impunity.