

remain vigilant and we should remain active in our support.

The revolutions of 1989 are both exhilarating and sobering: exhilarating because the walls that have so long divided East from West have now been breached, and the prospect of a new era of peace and co-operation stretches before us; sobering because after the fall of totalitarianism's illegitimacies we face the great challenge of building an enduring peace in a Europe that is both whole and free. Our challenge is to construct a new and enduring European security system.

As I stressed in Prague last week, new security arrangements - the military aspect of the equation -- must proceed apace with and they must complement the political and economic revolutions in central and eastern Europe. It is imperative, I think, that we move quickly to finalize agreements that codify stabilizing military changes. In this way, we can lock in strategic changes and we can guarantee that our basic security principles are bound into practice through effectively verifiable arrangements.

We want to make this new day of freedom as difficult as we possibly can to reverse.

In our view, the new European security arrangements must promote two fundamental principles of strategy and arms control: first, stability and, second, predictability.

Stability, of course, requires military forces and policies that are such that no state can gain by striking first. A stable security system requires a balance in capability so as to prevent premeditated blitzkrieg-style attacks; its focus is military capability. Predictability requires sufficient openness, transparency, and even candour so as to prevent misperception, miscalculation, and what we refer to as military myopia. We need to open military activities to outside scrutiny thereby preventing a slide into inadvertent or accidental war during the fog that often enshrouds crisis situations.

Here the focus shifts to the point where military capabilities intersect with political intentions. Predictability and openness can also restrain the escalating spirals of distrust, fuelled by secrecy, that are the invariable precursors of crisis itself. We need to promote both strategic stability and predictability in the new Europe. Neither of these standing alone is sufficient.

By focusing on both we can build a security system with mutually reinforcing components. In this new order confidence can replace fear; trust can overcome distrust; and knowledge can transform ignorance.

The western approach to the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, augmented recently by President Bush's proposals