But NATO cannot be seen as a barrier to the peace it has preserved so well for over 40 years. If NATO does not lead, it will lose the critical legitimacy it has enjoyed in Europe. NATO will be seen not as part of the solution, but as part of the problem.

It is important that NATO become even more actively engaged in the dynamic security dialogue now emerging between East and West. Those security questions involve NATO's members and NATO's interests; the Alliance should turn outwards to embrace its old adversaries and new friends.

To this end, early consideration might be given to the Soviet Foreign Minister meeting on a regular basis with NATO Foreign Ministers. Similarly, a direct and regular dialogue between the leaders of the Western Alliance and the USSR might be worthy of pursuit.

In the field of arms control and disarmament, NATO should develop an enhanced capacity and role in confidence-building and verification activities. Dedicated, multinational forces on the ground might be deployed for this purpose. NATO should also look to the establishment of a Verification Centre to co-ordinate these activities.

In addition, in the context of reviewing its military strategy, NATO should move away from a rigid forward defence to a much more flexible approach involving mobile units, possibly including forces of a multinational nature. NATO's new military posture should be designed to minimize force levels and to maximize stability. We want to reduce insecurity in the East.

But NATO, although it is of enduring value, has its limitations, a function of its mandate and its membership. There are other institutions whose role must be enhanced and transformed if they are to play a useful role in the elaboration of a new European system. And it is there that Canada must also focus its efforts.

Central among these is the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Its membership is comprehensive, encompassing the nations of Europe, North America and the Soviet Union. Its mandate extends across the board - to security, political and economic matters, as well as to human and social rights.

The principles embodied in its earlier accords provided the vision and the standards which helped inspire the brave democrats of Eastern Europe. The role of the CSCE must now be expanded so that it becomes the drawing board for the new European architecture. As a complement to NATO, the CSCE can become a true instrument of co-operative security, one which would supplement deterrence with re-assurance. And as the nature of European security expands beyond military balances to political stability and economic prosperity, there is a central role for the CSCE in the areas of human rights, economic co-operation and environmental action.