

balances of power still does have some merit under contemporary conditions of order, but the imperative of maintaining those balances of power at the lowest possible levels of armament is now an inescapable responsibility for arms-supplying countries and for the international community.

Now that the largest arms reduction scheme in history has actually been agreed in Europe, there is an opportunity to continue those reductions to still much lower levels, to dismantle much of the arms-production apparatus of both East and West, and to give top-level priority to arms reduction and the limitation of arms trafficking world-wide. Such a campaign will confront formidable political and economic obstacles and interests, now including those of military industrial complexes in new producer countries, but if the international community cannot generate the discipline to manage that kind of problem much better, disaster will be inevitable. The worst possible outcome would include the massive diversion of existing weapons stocks and future arms exports from areas of East-West confrontation to other parts of the world.

What is the current inventory of the world's machinery for order and its prospects? Recognizing the continuing Hobbesian traits of some international behaviour, state capabilities and alliances will remain important. Countries will insist on managing their own security as long as there are clear threats and incomplete multilateral machinery to protect them. But the extraordinary challenge and opportunity now is to downsize, reshape and to moderate that machinery. A particular challenge for the NATO alliance is to maintain its continuing vital importance as an extender of nuclear deterrence to Europe (primarily to avoid the necessity of any other state expanding or developing nuclear forces) and yet not become locked into trying to maintain a structure which for many of its purposes has now been bypassed by time and changing circumstance.

At a second level of machinery, it should be reiterated that regional cooperation and security arrangements can make a vital difference and may prove to be vital building blocks toward a new world order. Rather than starting by attacking arms races which are essentially symptoms of conflict, the Helsinki process that helped bring the end of the Cold War, chipped away first at some of the roots of conflict, in ideology, in human and economic links and increasingly in the environmental area. As the process unfolded, it gradually moved to strengthened confidence-building measures and ultimately to arms reductions, at the point where the poisonous animosity had been drained from the relationship.