

would want to invent it, and we would still want it to be a European-North American partnership, probably with a solid form of Japanese participation as well.

As the former Warsaw Pact countries have all accepted, *only* the Atlantic Alliance, for some time to come, will be able to provide the framework for the essential dialogue and cooperation on military security which can now increasingly replace military confrontation. Without that underlying dialogue on security, the crucial structures of political and economic relationships are also much more likely to be vulnerable to serious damage. This dialogue must first be maintained and improved among the west European and North American allies themselves — paradoxically, it may prove even more necessary to communicate and coordinate in a time of contracting military threat than in times of expanding military threat.

As a less conventional priority, this dialogue must now be expanded, in a dramatic new way, to encompass Japan. The “western” community of values now absolutely includes the West’s vital Pacific partner. Genuine dialogue on security matters with Japan has not been strong enough in the past and the consequences have been very damaging. For the future, Japan’s contributions — in *all* areas — will be essential to building durable security in the former Soviet empire (which is also Japan’s neighbour) and for this and other compelling reasons it is now crucial for the Atlantic Alliance to solidify its *most privileged* consultative relationship with Japan. Even if there is reticence on the part of Japan itself, the Alliance should pursue this goal as a first priority.

Next, the Alliance should proceed, as it now intends to do, to regularize and intensify its dialogue on military security issues with the new democracies and its old adversaries. The agenda for this dialogue includes both the implementation and verification of existing agreements for arms control and reductions, the exploration of new ones, exchanges on military doctrine and civil-military relations, and a range of other topics which the NATO Summit in Rome in November 1991 identified, including the development of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

It is absolutely clear that the Alliance can and should now become more of a balanced, equal partnership between Europe and North America. It is also clear that the US has moved to accept, and even welcome, the strengthening of a European defence identity which will serve as a stronger European pillar of the Alliance.