

ful of its burdens and no partner feels marginalized from critical decisions.

4. The current disaster in Yugoslavia underlines the need to strengthen the international machinery for conflict prevention and the peaceful resolution of disputes. These efforts must extend from the global level through the UN to the regional level, where the Helsinki/CSCE processes can and should be developed further to serve as a model for building frameworks for security and cooperation at regional levels around the world. The needed preventive capability would include much more serious strategies for the effective use of non-military sanctions, including their use as deterrents. In such an agenda for international military security, there are both continuing and new roles for a variety of institutions and networks, including the Atlantic Alliance and for some years to come, NATO (the distinction between the underlying political commitment of the Alliance, and its military instrument in the NATO forces and command structures is one that may become increasingly important in the years ahead).

There are enough tools, and enough real jobs for those tools to do, and it would be a mistake to try to turn existing tools to jobs for which they are not suited, in order to justify their existence.

The Atlantic Alliance *cannot* be the primary instrument for carrying forward any grand design for promoting the economic and political solutions for the underlying security problems of central and eastern Europe. Nostalgic reveries cannot now give life to the "Canadian Article" of the North Atlantic Treaty — Article Two on economic and social cooperation — when many other custom-built tools have filled the gap. The primary instruments for this task are the GATT, the IMF, potentially the OECD with a new eastern outreach, the CSCE, and the EC.

In the short and medium term, *only* NATO can provide the underlying foundation of military stability, security, and military dialogue which will permit this process to proceed. There is still a need for a "tough cop", or a solid insurance policy (even if it is one with much-revised coverage). It must be capable, under the direction of political leaders, of managing crises, of deterring any use of the major weapons which are still around in large numbers, of responding to any number of conflicts which could blow up to major proportions and of "balancing" any single major state in greater Europe. If such a treaty organization did not already exist, we