

capacity to act effectively.³³ This is a principle raised by the Canadian delegation to the San Francisco conference in 1945; it acknowledges that in order to be effective, an international organization must incorporate some hierarchical principles, namely that capability confers authority, but that the exercise of that authority must always be under the scrutiny of the organization as a whole. In July 1991, the CSCE's decision to mandate an EC intervention in the Yugoslav imbroglio implicitly acknowledged a "capability leads to authority" principle.

Such a principle suggests amending the CSCE along the lines of the Concert of Europe, an idea that has already been introduced in the scholarly literature.³⁴ But a Concert-type solution does not seem appropriate because it smacks of hegemony. There should be two significant differences between the Concert and the CSCE: (1) a mandate to specific governments -- presumably leading powers -- would be granted only when necessary, and would not become an organizing principle or decision rule for all CSCE activities; and (2) the leadership of the great powers in Europe or a collective body like the EC would be monitored, supervised and controlled by the full membership in ways that did not exist in the Concert. The Concert, when it acted collectively, did so without consulting, much less being significantly influenced by, the small states.³⁵ Collective diplomacy and armed coercion against the Ottomans in the late 1800s and early 1900s effectively prevented some wars such as that between Turkey and Greece over Crete, and helped reduce Ottoman persecution of restive groups in the Empire. The European

³³The NATO Council Rome Declaration urged the CSCE to modify the consensus rule with regard to its capacity to safeguard human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The CSCE should take action "if necessary in the absence of the consent of the state concerned." The text of the Rome Declaration on Peace and Cooperation is in *Nato Review*, Vol. 39, No. 6, December 1991, pp. 19-22. The reference to the CSCE is on p. 21.

³⁴Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *International Security*, Vol. 16, Summer 1991, pp. 114-161; and a slightly revised version, "A New Concert for Europe," in Allison and Treverton (eds.), *Rethinking American Security*, pp. 248-266.

³⁵K. J. Holsti, "Governance without Government: The Politics of Polyarchy in Nineteenth Century Europe," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *Governance Without Government*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, in press.