

because of the rise of nationalism, we are exposed to serious threats and new uncertainties because of the aggressive emergence of unanticipated new states.

The need now, he said, was to find a new structure to "persuade" or "compel" these new countries to fulfill the set of international commitments that bring continuity to Europe. "And what mechanisms exist for creating these new standards?" Dobrovsky asked. The CSCE is his answer.

For political veterans of the struggle against Eastern Europe's communist apparatus like Dobrovsky,¹ and unlike most Western Europeans and North Americans, the CSCE has concrete meaning and real political value. The CSCE's procedures, and the concepts they embody, matter enough to the Minister that he stood on its head the formula for assessing the value of the CSCE introduced by his counterpart Johan Jørgen Holst from Norway at the beginning of the conference (see page 22) on its head. "We need to list the various possibilities for the CSCE process. This is the way the question should be put, not 'does this process have any *raison d'être*?'."

As for other institutions, Dobrovsky went out of his way to scold the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the communiqué that came from its summit in Rome in November 1991. In it, NATO invited all Central and East European states to participate in the newly created North Atlantic Consultative Council (NACC) together with standing NATO members. This was NATO's response to the clear wishes of Czechoslovakia, among other former Warsaw Treaty countries, to apply for full membership in the Alliance itself. Dobrovsky told the conference:

¹That Dobrovsky would look so readily to the CSCE, when all around there are doubters, especially West Europeans, is not surprising when one considers his altogether unique career path to the office of Defence Minister. An editor and international affairs journalist in Czechoslovakia until 1970, Dobrovsky was expelled from the Communist Party in the wake of the 1968 Prague Spring, and for twenty years was among other things a store clerk, a window cleaner, an editor of underground publications, a spokesperson for the dissident movement Civic Forum and signatory to Charter 77. This latter dissident organization arose directly out of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act which spawned similar human rights groups across Eastern Europe and the USSR through the late 1970s and early 1980s.