

see it as a device for transforming their security relations with the Soviet Union and as a way of stimulating NATO's interest in building pan-European security institutions.

While transforming the alliances is one track leading towards such a system, we think it cannot and should not be expected to carry all the freight. The limitation and even danger of an alliance-led security policy is that it remains susceptible to old ways of thinking based on the assumptions of the past; institutions originally designed for deterring enemies are not necessarily well-suited for building new friendships. Even if the alliances continue to demonstrate their recent capacity for new thinking, we should start building alternative structures of cooperative security that will, in all likelihood, eventually replace the alliances. This is where the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) comes in to play.

There are those who believe that through its further "institutionalization" the CSCE (whose membership includes the countries of western and eastern Europe as well as the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada) might become the new overarching structure for European security, both in its military and, to a degree, in its economic dimensions. We must report that some of the Germans to whom we spoke threw cold water on the idea. Michael Sturmer was particularly caustic on the subject: "CSCE cannot provide security. In many ways it is a dreamland. It can put some oil in the machinery and make things work easier, but it cannot supply the muscle. Every time there is a real crisis, the CSCE hides its head in the sand. After all, it doesn't even have a night porter."

We hasten to add that others were more positive. Dr. Weileman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation suggested there is already "a fair degree of consensus" on 3 elements of CSCE's security role: 1) Arms Control Monitor, 2) Conflict Resolution Centre, and 3) Council of Foreign Ministers. We belong to the bullish camp on the CSCE, and not only because it represents an important avenue for continued Canadian participation in Europe. Above and beyond regular dialogue between the alliances, it is essential that the CSCE immediately begin to construct the pan-European security institutions of the future. These would serve as East-West confidence building devices and be equipped to address new security concerns, such as local conflicts, for which the alliances are ill-equipped.

The Committee believes that the CSCE can be the locus of those institutions, which might well include an arms control monitoring function and a conflict resolution centre. We would add, however, that a main purpose of these activities should be to encourage the further transformation of the alliances and, accordingly, there should be close cooperation