least for some years; East-West tensions and distrust would reappear, disarmament negotiations could be jeopardized, and world stability could be undermined.

The West, accordingly, has a very large stake in the success of *perestroika*. NATO countries in particular should do all they can to assist and encourage the process of reform in the USSR and in Eastern Europe along the lines of Scenarios 1 or 2, and to discourage possibilities of a shift to Scenarios 3 or 4 (especially in the latter's first version of violent change).

While the West's capacity to influence developments within the USSR is limited, its policies and public positions relating to the USSR can, nevertheless, be of considerable importance for Gorbachev and the reform process in the USSR. And on international issues of concern to the USSR, the West is in a strong position to play a leading role, notably as a stabilizing force and in developing new structures of cooperation in Europe.

Assisting Reform in the East

The countries of the West have generally played an active and helpful role in support of Gorbachev's reforms. Strong Western support, by word and deeds will be all the more important as the going gets tougher for Gorbachev. Western support cannot be unconditional; it has to be dependent on the West's judgement of Soviet intentions and performance. Should the USSR resort to wholesale military force to repress popular movements or demonstrations, or to police methods to suppress dissent, Western policies towards the USSR would inevitably be affected. Following helpful, sensible policies towards the USSR will require a great deal of understanding, good sense, moderation and firmness on the part of the West. The ways in which the West can help Gorbachev and his policies are described below.

Expressions of public support by senior Western leaders are important. Bilateral and multilateral negotiations can have a positive impact by themselves and as a means of demonstrating publicly the Soviet Union's increasing involvement in international discussions of important issues. Western governments should show political restraint in