

be a greater opportunity — not only to avert great dangers, but perhaps also to give a massive “kick-start” to the lagging international economy through meeting the gigantic economic, social and environmental needs of the region. Even the higher estimates of investment now required from western countries are derisory beside the sums that have been spent in the past on military defence, amounts which should never have to be spent again.

b. Political and Military Security

The international framework for rational economic relations and the integration of the old eastern bloc into the international economy cannot alone develop and assure democratic political stability in a region which has never before known it. The thawing of the Cold War has released intact many of the virulent strains of national, ethnic, and racial animosity which were frozen into the societies of the Soviet empire, and some new ones besides. As with genuine economic development, the main impetus for democratic political development and the respect for human rights can only come from within societies and, barring the equivalent authority of an Occupation regime, the West is bound to encounter frustrations, setbacks, and disappointments as this process proceeds under difficult conditions.

Fortunately, the principles established in 1975, under the Helsinki Final Act — which subsequently served as the standards for ending the Cold War — can and should provide an agreed framework for political behaviour, especially after their reinforcement in the Charter of Paris in November 1990. Respect for individual and minority rights; the rule of law and democratic processes; the forswearing of any use or threat of force to change frontiers; and acceptance of existing and continuing arms controls and reductions: all these are *necessary conditions* for the peaceful political evolution of the wider Europe.

Unfortunately, these broad principles do not provide *sufficient conditions*, and the actions and choices of some western countries in the turbulent conditions of political change have not helped. What is needed is a clear set of standards to which all authorities can be held, and the consistent interpretation and concerted application of those standards by all the states in the councils of the West, beginning with the Group of Seven, then NATO, the European Community, and extending out to the established democratic members of the 38-member CSCE group.