INTRODUCTION
On 10-12 February 1993, national legislators from 33 CSCE participating states participated in the second Special North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) Interparliamentary Conference on European Security and the CSCE which was held in Brussels. The purpose of the meeting was twofold: first, to strengthen the informal process of parliamentary oversight of the work of the CSCE; and, second, to help solidify parliamentary democracy throughout the CSCE area by bringing together legislators from democracies old and new.

The conference took place shortly after the December 1992 Stockholm Meeting of the CSCE Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the meetings that same month of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). The seminar, thus, provided an early opportunity to conduct a wide-ranging overview of likely directions for the CSCE process and its place among the 'mutually-reinforcing institutions' for security in Europe, as well as helping to inform the next annual session of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, to take place in Helsinki on 7-9 July 1993.

NATO: 'Natural' CSCE Partner
The Conference began with a presentation by the Deputy NATO Secretary General, Ambassador Amadeo de Franchis of Italy. Despite the setbacks to achieving the vision of the CSCE Paris Charter, Ambassador de Franchis urged that success can still be realised if a conceptual consensus on the requirements for security and their fulfillment through appropriate institutional means is reached. In this context, Europe is looking predominantly to the United Nations to deal with regional conflicts and gross violations of international law and norms. However, the UN is unable, militarily and financially, to address challenges everywhere. Consequently, regional institutions have to be developed in Europe, and "here the two primary assets at our disposal are the Alliance and the CSCE."

However, in a veiled reference to the prolonged intra-NATO debate on whether NATO officials should be routinely invited to CSCE events and contribute directly to CSCE work (de Franchis was the first high-level NATO official to have addressed the CSCE Council of Ministers in Stockholm, despite efforts by France alone among the CSCE participating states to prevent this), Ambassador de Franchis noted that "we can only assist the development of CSCE to the extent that..."
CSCE recognizes the Alliance also as an essential partner." Whereas until now NATO participation in CSCE meetings has been at the invitation of the CSCE Chairman-in-Office or of the host country, the NATO Deputy Secretary General hoped that 1993 will witness the formalization of NATO-CSCE relations "by being granted permanent observer status at the Committee of Senior Officials."

Ambassador de Franchis praised CSCE's acquirement of new instruments to exert political authority, namely the decision to conduct peacekeeping activities, the appointment of a High Commissioner on National Minorities (Mr. Max van der Stoel of the Netherlands), the 'troika', and the Convention on Conciliation and Arbitration. However, "CSCE is clearly a long way from having the full spectrum of capabilities to function as a credible collective security organization. Its effectiveness is directly proportionate to its ability to engage the support of other European institutions."

Specifically, at the lower end of the operational spectrum, NATO can offer contingency planning to the CSCE where the protection and evacuation of CSCE mission personnel is involved. It is, however, doubted whether CSCE itself will ever be able to authorize and organize peacekeeping missions, with its designation as a regional organization under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter seeming to confine CSCE's role to preventive diplomacy and pre-crisis measures. How effective these can be if CSCE is perceived as incapable of taking independent enforcement action should diplomacy fail, of course, presents a potentially major dilemma. To do more would require a UN Security Council-type structure as proposed by the then Czechoslovak President Václav Havel at the Prague Council Meeting in February 1992, which is 'not yet on the agenda'. For this reason, the United Nations will continue to play a major role in European security, and that is why NATO has agreed on 17 December 1992 "to support, on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with our own procedures, peacekeeping operations under the authority of the UN Security Council," and "to respond positively to initiatives that the UN Secretary General might take to seek Alliance assistance in the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions," i.e., including enforcement action under Chapter VII.

The Alliance's new role in support of peacekeeping includes participation by other CSCE states, primarily NACC partners. For example, Poland and Lithuania will participate in the NATO naval exercise in the Baltic Sea Baltops in June 1993, whereas NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General John Shalikashvili, and Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev agreed on 30 January 1993 that NATO and Russian peacekeeping units will 'probably' be jointly trained in the near future. Whereas "CSCE has the overall function of managing the security situation in Europe and of initiating collective action, NACC has a more task-oriented role in dealing with the specific problems of military restructuring and democratizing military behavior in post-Communist societies."

Ambassador de Franchis concluded by noting that the problem of dealing with the new Europe rests not in any inability to identify challenges or develop conceptual and institutional frameworks, but rather in the need for political leadership to strengthen the 'central axis' of the Alliance, the UN, the CSCE, and