

within as well as among states. And it teaches us that it is best to act early to prevent conflicts that we may later not be able to control.

As we work to resolve that tragedy and ease the suffering of its victims, we also need to change our security institutions so they can better address such conflicts and advance Europe's integration. Many institutions will play a role, including the European Union, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United Nations. But NATO, history's greatest military alliance, must be central to that process.

Only NATO has the military forces, the integrated command, the broad legitimacy, and the habits of cooperation that are essential to draw in new participants and respond to new challenges. One of the deepest transformations within the transatlantic community over the past half-century occurred because the armed forces of our respected nations trained, studied, and marched through their careers together. It is not only the compatibility of our weapons but the camaraderie of our warriors that provide the sinews behind our mutual security guarantees and our best hope for peace.

Two years ago, our nations began to adapt NATO to this new era by creating the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. It includes all the states of the former Soviet bloc as well as the 16 of NATO. Now it is time to move beyond that dialog and create an operating partnership. That is why I have proposed that we create the Partnership For Peace.

This Partnership will advance a process of evolution for NATO's formal enlargement. It looks to the day when NATO will take on new members who assume the alliance's full responsibilities. It will create a framework in which former Communist states and others not now members of NATO can participate with NATO members in joint military planning, training, exercises, and other efforts. This partnership will build new bonds of cooperation among the militaries of the East and the West. It will reinforce the development of democracies and democratic practices, such as respect for human rights and civilian control over military forces. It can give NATO new tools for responding to ethnic instability and other dangers of our era. The use of NATO forces in such missions will always be considered, and must be, on a case-by-case basis. But tomorrow's summit will put us in

a stronger position to make those decisions and to make them early and wisely.

The Partnership For Peace will not alter NATO's fundamental mission of defending NATO territory from attack. We cannot afford to abandon that mission while the dream of empire still burns in the minds of some who look longingly toward a brutal past. But neither can we afford to draw a new line between East and West that could create a self-fulfilling prophecy of future confrontation.

This partnership opens the door to cooperation with all of NATO's former adversaries, including Russia, Ukraine, and the other newly independent states, based on a belief that freedom's boundaries must now be defined by new behavior, not old history.

I say to all those in Europe and the United States who would simply have us draw a new line in Europe further east that we should not foreclose the possibility of the best possible future for Europe, which is a democracy everywhere, a market economy everywhere, people cooperating everywhere for mutual security. We can guard against a lesser future, but we should strive for the best future for you and your generation.

NATO can also help to meet Europe's new security challenges by doing more to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I tell you, frankly, it is one of our most difficult and challenging tasks. Countering those weapons and the missiles that deliver them will require close cooperation, honesty, and discipline, and a willingness of some not now willing to do it to forgo immediate financial gain.

The danger is clear and present. Growing missile capabilities are bringing more of Europe into the range of rogue states such as Iran and Libya. There are disturbing reports of efforts to smuggle nuclear materials into and out of Eastern Europe. And this eastward-looking summit will give us the chance to begin to address the threat on our own territory.

The second element of the new security we are building must be greater economic vitality, the issue which I would imagine is of most immediate concern to most of you. We must build it on vibrant and open market economies, the engines that have given us the greatest prosperity in human history over the last several decades in Europe and in the United States.

Our combined success in leading the world to a new GATT agreement capped 7 years of