

common defence have profoundly changed in the last ten years: the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union has reached a point of near equilibrium. Consequently, although all the countries of the alliance remain vulnerable to attack, the nature of the danger to which they are exposed has changed. The alliance's problems in the defence of Europe have thus assumed a different and more distinct character.

"However, the essential elements in the situation which gave rise to the treaty have not changed. While the commitment of all the allies to the common defence reduces the risk of external aggression, the contribution to the security of the entire alliance provided by the nuclear forces of the United States based in the United States as well as in Europe and by the presence of North American forces in Europe remains indispensable.

"Nevertheless, the alliance must pay careful attention to the dangers to which it is exposed in the European region, and must adopt all measures necessary to avert them. The European members who provide three-quarters of the conventional strength of the alliance in Europe, and two of

whom possess nuclear forces capable of playing a deterrent role of their own contributing to the overall strengthening of the deterrence of the alliance, undertake to make the necessary contribution to maintain the common defence at a level capable of deterring and if necessary repelling all actions directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the members of the alliance.

"The United States, for its part, reaffirms its determination not to accept any situation which would expose its allies to external political or military pressure likely to deprive them of their freedom, and states its resolve, together with its allies, to maintain forces in Europe at the level required to sustain the credibility of the strategy of deterrence and to maintain the capacity to defend the North Atlantic area should deterrence fail.

"In this connection the member states of the alliance affirm that as the ultimate purpose of any defence policy is to deny to a potential adversary the objectives he seeks to attain through an armed conflict, all necessary forces would be used for this purpose. Therefore, while reaffirming that a major aim of their poli-

cies is to seek agreements that will reduce the risk of war, they also state that such agreements will not limit their freedom to use all forces at their disposal for the common defence in case of attack. Indeed, they are convinced that their determination to do so continues to be the best assurance that war in all its forms will be prevented.

Necessity of troops in Europe

"All members of the alliance agree that the continued presence of Canadian and substantial U.S. forces in Europe plays an irreplaceable role in the defence of North America as well as of Europe. Similarly the substantial forces of the European allies serve to defend Europe and North America as well. It is also recognized that the further progress towards unity, which the member states of the European Community are determined to make, should in due course have a beneficial effect on the contribution to the common defence of the alliance of those of them who belong to it. Moreover, the contributions made by members of the alliance to the preservation of international security and world peace are recognized to be of great importance.

"The members of the alliance consider that the will to combine their efforts to ensure their common defence obliges them to maintain and improve the efficiency of their forces and that each should undertake, according to the role that it has assumed in the structure of the alliance, its proper share of the burden of maintaining the security of all. Conversely, they take the view that in the course of current or future negotiations nothing must be accepted which could diminish this security.

"The allies are convinced that the fulfilment of their common aims requires the maintenance of close consultation, co-operation and mutual trust, thus fostering the conditions necessary for defence and favourable for *détente*, which are complementary. In the spirit of the friendship, equality and solidarity which characterize their relationships, they are firmly resolved to keep each other fully informed and to strengthen the practice of frank and timely consultations by all means which may be appropriate on matters relating to their common interests as members of the alliance, bearing in

Twenty-fifth anniversary birthday cake wishes

"A major problem arose when we considered how this magnificent cake should be cut. Should it be with a sword, or a ploughshare? Which element of NATO's character should we stress?

"The problem was solved in what I like to think is a typically practical Canadian way. We would use a large kitchen knife: a utilitarian object which will certainly do the job.

"This has been NATO's chief hallmark: it has done its job. It has done it for 25 years. The job itself has gone through important changes over these years. While all of us still recognize the necessity of the common defence aspect of NATO, we have seen the dimensions of co-operation and political consultation take on an increasingly important role. All of us have welcomed this development.

"If, at times, the dialogue reveals differences in outlook, we should view this as a healthy sign that the membership takes the dialogue seri-

ously. At the same time, we are all, I am sure, as firmly convinced as ever of the strength derived from unity of purpose.

"When cutting a birthday cake, it is usual to make a wish. My wish would be something like this: that the Atlantic alliance continue to be able to respond to changing circumstances and new opportunities for peace and *détente*, through a vigorous dialogue between the partners, and a cohesive approach in its collective dialogue with others.

"We cannot of course foresee, in this rapidly changing world, what future anniversaries will bring for our alliance. But if there remains a firm belief in the necessity of common approaches to the tasks ahead for all of us, we can look to the future with optimism."

(Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the National Arts Centre gala performance to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of NATO.)