

and they must change to reflect the particular advantages and assets of Canada.

The primary Canadian bridge to Europe has been our contribution to the North Atlantic Alliance. That contribution has involved thousands of Canadian troops on the ground in Germany, troops whose lives have been put on the line daily in the defence of freedom. In a real sense, that contribution of Canadian lives can have no substitute and no parallel.

That military contribution is bound to decline. It will not be a decline which we regret, because it will be a product of the long-sought reduction in East-West tensions which is the result of the new Soviet foreign policy, the dissolution of Soviet control over Eastern Europe and the unilateral and negotiated reductions in conventional and nuclear forces. At long last, we are moving from a partial and artificial peace to a comprehensive, more natural peace, a peace where intentions are becoming benign and capabilities are being reduced to the point where surprise attack is no longer possible.

This process and this reality can only be applauded. What has begun must continue, and a firm foundation must be built for a structure of lasting security at the lowest possible level of military forces, conventional and nuclear. That will not come suddenly or easily, but it is now a realistic goal.

It is a seeming paradox that NATO's very success requires the Alliance to renew itself. But, in fact, that is easy to understand. An organization whose primary role has been to defend against plausible aggression must revise its role when that aggression becomes less plausible. It is only natural in these circumstances for NATO to assume a more political role, a role which would reflect both the new European reality and a declining military mission.

That is a change which Canada fully supports and which meets Canadian interests. But it is not enough to simply declare that NATO must become more political. NATO will only become a forum for increased dialogue if it is used for that purpose by all its members, European and North American. NATO

cannot be declared more political; it must be made more political.

To a large extent, the future relevance of NATO will depend on the degree to which it adopts, reflects and strives for a broader definition of security. Security must become cooperative rather than competitive. The time for the zero-sum game is over. Even more than in the past, NATO must embrace security through arms control with as much vigour as it has pursued security through armament.

NATO must review urgently and comprehensively all aspects of its nuclear and conventional strategy. It makes little sense to retain nuclear weapons whose only target can be our new friends in Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. It makes little sense to retain a military strategy which is based on a scenario of a surprise attack across a front which no longer exists and where surprise is no longer possible. And it makes little sense to continue to retain in Europe the largest peace-time deployment of military force in the history of the world.

This is not to deny the continuing requirement for prudence and military stability at this time of historic change. Twelve months do not invalidate the lessons of history. The possibility of instability is there and Soviet military capabilities remain substantial. Therefore, a strong military mandate for NATO continues to be valid and the North American commitment to Europe represented by the presence of Canadian and American troops there is crucial as we strive for strategic stability at significantly lower levels of military force.

But NATO cannot be seen as a barrier to the peace it has preserved so well for over 40 years. If NATO does not lead, it will lose the critical legitimacy it has enjoyed in Europe. NATO will be seen not as part of the solution, but as part of the problem.

It is important that NATO become even more actively engaged in the dynamic security dialogue now emerging between East and West. Those security questions involve NATO's members and NATO's interests; the Alliance

should turn outwards to embrace its old adversaries and new friends.

To this end, early consideration might be given to the Soviet foreign minister meeting on a regular basis with NATO foreign ministers. Similarly, a direct and regular dialogue between the leaders of the Western Alliance and the USSR might be worthy of pursuit.

In the field of arms control and disarmament, NATO should develop an enhanced capacity and role in confidence-building and verification activities. Dedicated, multinational forces on the ground might be deployed for this purpose. NATO should also look to the establishment of a Verification Centre to coordinate these activities.

In addition, in the context of reviewing its military strategy, NATO should move away from a rigid forward defence to a much more flexible approach involving mobile units, possibly including forces of a multinational nature. NATO's new military posture should be designed to minimize force levels and to maximize stability. We want to reduce insecurity in the East.

But NATO, although it is of enduring value, has its limitations, a function of its mandate and its membership. There are other institutions whose role must be enhanced and transformed if they are to play a useful role in the elaboration of a new European system. And it is there that Canada must also focus its efforts.

Central among these is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Its membership is comprehensive, encompassing the nations of Europe, North America and the Soviet Union. Its mandate extends across the board — to security, political and economic matters, as well as to human and social rights.

The principles embodied in its earlier accords provided the vision and the standards which helped inspire the brave democrats of Eastern Europe. The role of the CSCE must now be expanded so that it becomes the drawing board for the new European architecture. As a complement to NATO, the CSCE can become a true instrument of cooperative security, one which would