

reduction and control of nuclear weapons, these concentric circles may be viewed as depicting the increasing seriousness of the stakes. Further, the two inner circles reflect the key determinants of NATO security policy: deterrence and defence. This policy is carried out with strategic nuclear weapons, theatre nuclear weapons in Europe, and conventional forces. All are on the agenda of the two arms control negotiations. Moreover, this weapons triad is interdependent; if one leg is strengthened or weakened significantly, then theoretically at least, the other two should be modified if the balance between East and West is to be maintained. Careful orchestration of both defence posture and arms control efforts is therefore needed if security is not to be diminished.

Canada has a seat at the table at all of the negotiations except the superpower bilaterals where the Canadian input is effected through the NATO Council. The Canadian presence at the European regional conference tables reflects the fact that Canadian troops are stationed there and are a part of the military security structure in Europe.

MBFR AND CSCE

MBFR and CSCE are two separate negotiations. Both began officially in 1973, after preliminary talks, and the proximity in timing was not accidental. For many years the Soviet Union, motivated by a desire to gain formal recognition of post-war boundaries, had called for an all-European security conference. In the West, there was a movement in the late 1960's to withdraw American troops from Europe. Thus it became evident that a bargain was possible: states within NATO as well as other western European countries, would agree to enter into the political negotiations about security in Europe, negotiations which the Soviets desired; in exchange the Soviet Union would agree to negotiate NATO-Warsaw Pact mutual troop reductions, rather than awaiting unilateral withdrawals by the United States.

Both MBFR and the CSCE operate by consensus; there is no voting and an objection by any one member can block an agreement. However, the agendas, participants, and operating methods are quite different. The CSCE is a political process that spans all dimensions of relationships among states in Europe ranging from principles of conduct such as human rights and human contacts through economic exchanges to military affairs. It is a negotiation among 35 sovereign states, each operating outside any membership in a military alliance, although in practice close consultations among allies is of course the norm. On the other hand, MBFR has a more precise mandate to negotiate NATO and Warsaw Pact force

reductions. Thus the neutral and non-aligned nations are not included, and the dialogue takes place on a bloc-to-bloc basis.

It should also be noted that while agreement was reached in the CSCE as embodied in the 1975 Final Act of Helsinki, almost 13 years of effort has so far failed to produce a written accord at the MBFR talks.

*MBFR**

Central Europe is the arena for the greatest concentration of troops and military equipment in the world. While figures can vary, in part because of different counting methods, none would deny that there are at least two million armed men in the region. Because this is such a heavily armed area, negotiations and discussions amongst the protagonists are exceedingly important.

The mandate of MBFR is to seek reductions and limitations in the manpower and armaments of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The zone under scrutiny is comprised of the three Benelux countries and the Federal Republic of Germany in the West; and Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in the East. Soviet and American troops in that zone would be subject to reductions and limitations, as would Canadian and other foreign troops stationed in Europe, as well as indigenous troops. The home territories of the two superpowers are excluded. This is one of the major factors affecting the negotiation because there are important differences of distance and time required for the two superpowers to send reinforcements into the area.

There are two classes of participants in the negotiation: 1) those with troops in the area, which includes Canada, known as "direct" participants; 2) those with no troops in the area, but still members of their respective alliances, known as "special" participants. Of the 16 members of NATO only seven are in the former category, five in the latter and four — one of which is France — have chosen not to participate. (A list of participants is appended to this

*"MBFR" is actually a misnomer although it is the term commonly used in Western circles. During the preliminary talks that preceded the convening of the formal negotiations, the word "balanced" became a code word meaning higher reduction quotas for the East because of their higher troop strengths. The East rejected this notion and although the West would not concede the substance of the point, it was agreed that the formal name of the conference would be "Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe". In Vienna negotiators bridge the gap by use of the term "Vienna Talks" in lieu of either title.