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CANADA AND NATO

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Canada was one of the original 12 (now 15) nations signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty in April 1949, and played a leading role in the formation of the Alliance, the members of which are, in the words of the Treaty, "determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples ... (and) are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security". NATO continues to provide an essential foundation for present and future Canadian foreign and defence policies. Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson has described the challenges that lie ahead of the Alliance in the following terms: "We appear to be approaching another of those periods in the West when the basic forces that keep us together confront the forces that divide us. Military technology has made such swift progress, particularly in the development of thermonuclear missiles, that there is a danger of coming to believe that the military links between the two sides of the Atlantic are no longer vital. There is also the danger that we may forget the lessons of the first part of this century and give up our search for an Atlantic community based on common beliefs and common heritage for the illusory advantages of outmoded nationalism I support those who seek to improve co-operation and mutual awareness between both sides of the Atlantic. If the West is to develop as a partnership of free sovereign nations united in a common approach to the problems of the thermonuclear and space age, we must accept the fact that the Atlantic Ocean is a twoway street and that the countries of Europe and North America must learn to practice consultative partnership."

> NATO was formed in response to Communist expansion in Europe after the Second World War, and to the impasse that arose in the United Nations when, by use of its veto in the Security Council, the Soviet Union obstructed Western efforts to make the organization an effective instrument for peace. Faced with the threat to their security and to the basis of their civilization, the Western powers resolved to group themselves in an alliance that would indicate clearly their determination to resist aggression, from whatever quarter it might come, and to maintain peace.

As Article 51 of the United Nations Charter gives member nations the right of individual or collective self-defence, the proposal for an association of nations for this purpose accorded with the principles of the Charter. A preliminary step towards the Alliance was taken in March 1948, when Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the Brussels Treaty for their mutual defence; the strength and resources of North America, however, were needed to balance the strength of the Soviet Union. Negotiations for the North Atlantic Treaty began in July, among Italy, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, the United States, Canada and the Brussels Treaty powers. The Treaty was signed in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1949. Greece and Turkey joined the Alliance in 1951 and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1954.

Terms of the Treaty

The Articles of the Treaty deal in particular with its relation to the Charter of the United Nations, the responsibility of member countries to each other in non-military and military matters (including common defence), and with the duration of the Treaty and its implementation.

In the preamble and in Article 1, the parties emphasize their continuing support for the United Nations and undertake (in accordance with the United Nations Charter) to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat of use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations. Canada is often considered to be the originator of Article 2, which states that "the parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being". Under this article, member countries also agreed to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and to encourage economic collaboration between member countries.

As regards common defence, Article 4 provides for consultation whenever "the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened", and, under Article 5, members agree that an armed attack "against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered as attack against them all". Article 6 states that the armed attack described in Article 5 will include any attack on occupation forces in Europe. Hence an attack on the allied forces in West Berlin would be regarded by the NATO allies as an attack on themselves.

Article 9 of the Treaty provides for the establishment of a council of representatives of member countries, known as the North Atlantic Council, which is responsible for consultation on matters concerning the implementation of the Treaty and is able to meet promptly to carry out its responsibilities. In practice, there have generally been two meetings at the ministerial level each year, the annual meeting in December consisting of the ministers of foreign affairs, defence and finance from each country, and a smaller meeting each spring in the capital of a NATO country, consisting of the ministers of foreign affairs. Between these ministerial meetings, the permanent representatives of member countries sit on the Council to direct the day-to-da, work of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its Secretariat. The Council is assisted by a series of committees and agencies covering a wide range of common interests. The Canadian delegation to the North Atlantic Council has its offices in the NATO Building, Place du Marechal de Lattre de Tassigny, Paris XVI^e. It is headed by the Canadian Permanent Representative and has a professional staff of 14 and appropriate administrative staff representing six government departments.

There are also a number of Canadians serving on the Secretariat, one of whom occupies the post of Deputy Secretary-General.

Canadian Military Participation in NATO

Canada's contribution to the defensive strength of the Alliance includes ships and maritime patrol aircraft earmarked for the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), an air division and an army brigade group, stationed in Europe, assigned to the Supreme Commander Europe (SACEUR), and a battalion group, stationed in Canada, assigned to Allied Command Europe Mobile Force. There are, in addition, more than 300 Canadian service personnel serving in the various command headquarters and agencies of NATO. Canadian forces and facilities make a substantial contribution to the defence of the Canada-United States region of NATO through the Joint Air Defence Command for North America (NORAD), naval forces on both coasts, and army groups in Canada.

Following the decision by NATO member nations to establish integrated forces in Europe, Canada undertook a special recruiting programme in 1951, and, towards the end of that year, a Canadian Infantry Brigade Group took its place in Europe alongside the forces of the other allies. The Brigade Group is serving as part of the NATO Northern Army Group and is stationed in Soest, Hemer, Werl and Isecholn in Germany. Two brigades stationed in Canada are intended primarily for deployment if necessary to the European theatre.

The Canadian Air Division is part of the 4th Allied Tactical Air Force. Six squadrons of CF-104 strike aircraft are stationed at Zweibrucken and Baden-Soellingen in Germany, and two squadrons of CF-104 reconnaissance aircraft at Marville, France, with headquarters at Metz and a support base at Langar in Britain.

Canadian naval forces earmarked for operational employment in the event of an emergency by SACLANT include one aircraft carrier, escort vessels and their ancillary aircraft. In addition, the Royal Canadian Air Force has assigned maritime patrol aircraft to SACLANT. One of SACLANT's most important tasks is to make provision for defence against hostile submarines in the NATO area; Canadian naval forces, which have special skills and training in this capacity, participate in NATO exercises several times a year.

Canadian officers serve on the integrated staffs of the major NATO commanders, as well as on the subordinate commands administering the Canadian forces assigned to NATO.

In keeping with their regional responsibilities under NATO, Canada and the United States established NORAD, in August 1957, for the defence of North America against air attack. Under the NORAD Commander, Canada and the United States have been divided into eight air-defence regions with centralized control. In addition to the air-defence measures, ships and aircraft of the Royal Canadian Navy and the RCAF, and elements of the Canadian Regular Army, also provide for the defence of North America.

Canadian Mutual Aid

From the inception of Canada's Mutual Aid Programme in April 1950 to March 31, 1965, Canada has provided military aid to member nations of NATO to the extent of \$1,821 million. The main elements have been:

- (a) Air-crew training in Canada for other NATO countries;
- (b) transfers of equipment from service stocks;
- (c) transfers of equipment from direct production;
- (d) contribution towards the NATO Common Infrastructure and Military Budgets.

While changing conditions and requirements have gradually altered the magnitude and content of Canada's Mutual Aid Programme, it continues to constitute a significant contribution to the building up of NATO military strength. The annual dollar value of the programme has declined in recent years to an estimated \$41.02 million in the fiscal year 1964-65. This decline has been due mainly to the gradual depletion of Canadian surplus stocks of weapons and equipment and to the successful completion, in July 1958, of the NATO Air Training Plan carried out at RCAF establishments in Canada, which graduated a total of over 5,800 pilots and navigators from ten member countries. Air crew from Norway and Denmark are continuing their training in Canada under special agreements. The reduction of the Mutual Aid Programme has, of course, been paralleled by the development of European forces and their national sources of supply.

While no major new programmes of Canadian mutual aid are contemplated, the White Paper issued by the Minister of National Defence in March 1964 states that Canada is prepared to continue to consider reasonable requests for assistance in military training, and possibly in the provision of equipment, to NATO nations which require such assistance, where it can be given by Canada with advantage to the Alliance as a whole.

One of the most successful joint undertakings of the members of the Alliance has been the NATO Common Infrastructure Programme for the construction of fixed facilities to support the military forces. Under this programme, installations such as airfields, pipe-lines, navigational aid stations, telecommunications equipment and radar systems, worth some L1,200 (\$3.6 billion) had come into being by mid-1965. The costs are borne by the members of the Alliance on the basis of formulae mutually agreed on which are renegotiated from time to time in the light of changing conditions.

Non-Military Work of NATO - Political Co-operation

Co-operation within NATO on non-military problems has shown marked improvement in recent years. The need for constructive and responsible consultation was recognized early in the history of the Alliance, and the procedures and basic rules to be followed were set out in the 1956 "Committeeof-Three" report. Since that time, improved techniques of consultation have gone hand in hand with a striking growth in the scope and complexity of the problems facing members of the Alliance. To ensure regular consultation, a Committee of Political Advisers, a Committee of Economic Advisers, and a Science Committee were established at NATO headquarters. These committees exchange views on common problems in their separate fields, and, where appropriate, make recommendations to the North Atlantic Council.

In practice, political co-operation in NATO ranges from a general exchange of views and information to intensive consultations with a view to co-ordinating policies on matters of common concern, such as the nature of solutions to be sought in negotiations with the Communist world on the central problems (for example those of Germany and Berlin) that divide the Western and Communist countries.

Canada has been among those members of NATO that have stressed over the years the need to practice on a day-to-day basis the art of political consultation between allies. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, has said: "Unless we maintain our habit of working and consulting together, mistrust will tend to set in and we shall lose sight of the fundamental reasons that keep NATO together and become obsessed with our differences."

Economic and Scientific Co-operation

It has been generally agreed that the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) should be the principal body for considering the policies of member governments in the economic field. However, consultations on economic problems, and particularly with regard to developments in Communist countries, continue in NATO.

A NATO Science Committee was founded in 1958 when it was agreed that there was a need for greater scientific development and co-operation in NATO countries. The non-military aspects of the work of the Science Committee are still predominant; it has been essentially engaged in encouraging scientific research and co-operation of a general nature.

Particular projects established through the Science Committee include: the Science Fellowship Programme, which has enabled students to pursue their studies in other NATO countries; the Advanced Study Institutes Programme, which has granted funds to scientific conferences; and the Research Grants Programme, which finances a number of desirable research projects. The NATO Council also sponsored an important investigation in 1960 when a group of leading scientists of NATO countries was appointed to study ways of increasing the effectiveness of Western science. Their report was published later the same year.

In addition, Canada makes contributions through the Defence Research Board to the defence science activities of NATO. Formal arrangements have been made on a bilateral basis to facilitate the exchange of information with other members of NATO in areas of defence science of common interest. Furthermore, the Defence Research Board makes available annually to scientists of NATO countries a number of defence science fellowships, tenable in the establishments of the DRB. Canada also participates in the staffing of the SHAPE Technical Centre in the Netherlands and the Anti-submarine Warfare Centre at La Spezia in Italy. In 1964, a NATO Committee of Defence Research Directors was formed. The purpose of this high-level body, which meets twice a year, is to provide advice on scientific matters to the NATO military authorities.

Conclusion

NATO was formed in response to a specific challenge. The nature of the challenge may have altered and its impact has certainly been blunted, but it has not disappeared. To meet it, Canada and the other members of NATO must, in the words of Mr. Martin "remain militarily strong, politically flexible and economically dynamic". "It may well be that the major dangers to world peace will occur outside the NATO area," the Minister went on. "With that in mind, Western countries must close the gap between developed and under-developed countries, must encourage domestic reforms to remove inequities in wealth and standards of living, must overcome racial inequality and conflict, and must create conditions that will limit armed conflict in a world made up of many independent nations. The West cannot live in a vacuum, concerned only with Atlantic affairs and relations with the Communist powers, for the battleground on which the future as a community will be decided is world-wide. Each member of NATO has a responsible part to play in helping to maintain a peaceful world and ensure the continuation of a dynamic transatlantic alliance."

RP/C