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NATO Summit  
Brussels

March 2-3, 1988

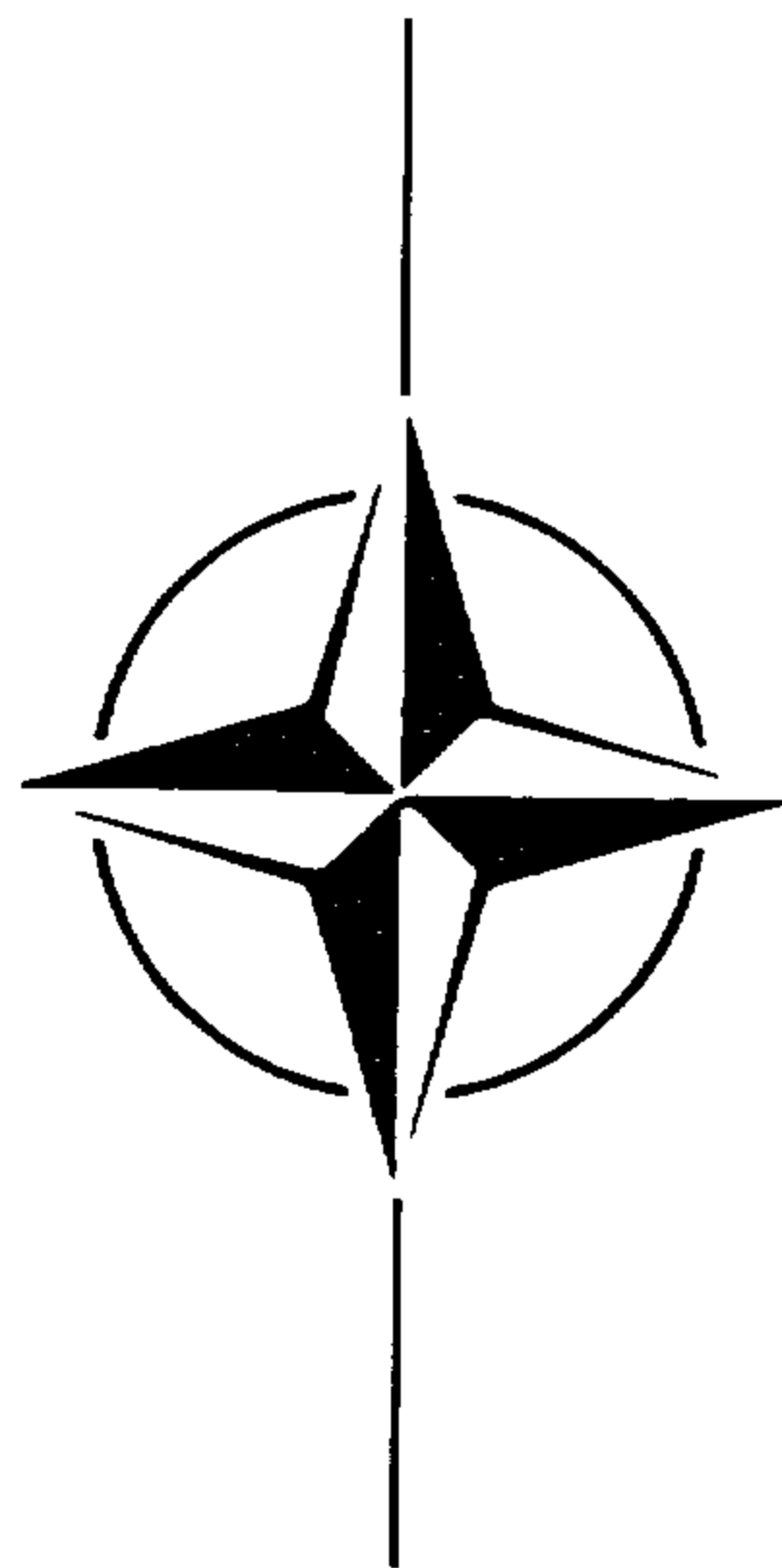
North Atlantic Treaty  
Organization

Sommet de l'OTAN  
Bruxelles

les 2 et 3 mars 1988

Organisation du  
Traité de l'Atlantique Nord

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Office of the  
Prime Minister



CANADA

Cabinet du  
Premier ministre

STATEMENT BY  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BRIAN MULRONEY, P.C., M.P.  
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT

BY

PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

TO

ELIMINATE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES

43-24P-299 (6)  
43-24P-300 (6)

OTTAWA, ONTARIO

DECEMBER 10, 1987

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The Prime Minister today issued the following statement on the successful conclusion of the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit.

On Tuesday December 8, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev signed an historic agreement to eliminate intermediate range nuclear missiles. I am sure that all Canadians applaud this treaty as a pragmatic step towards a better and safer world. It is a celebration of common sense over adversity.

The agreement requires the complete dismantling and destruction of thousands of nuclear weapons. For the first time in the nuclear age, a whole class of superpower weapons will not be merely limited, but eliminated completely.

President Reagan can justifiably claim great success. It was he who provided the vision in his zero option proposal of 1981. It was he who held firm against those who wanted to freeze these weapons at levels still threatening to the West. It is he who has had the courage to distinguish between firmness and intransigence.

However, we must not hesitate to give Mr. Gorbachev his full share of the credit. It took a new kind of Soviet leader to undo his predecessors' decision to introduce those missiles in the first place. And it has taken a new Soviet leader to realize that a more stable world is possible through mutual reductions in military might.

We welcome the new spirit as well as the tangible achievements.

The agreement introduces the most stringent verification measures yet seen. For the first time, American and Soviet inspectors will be stationed on each other's territory. Measures like these are essential, not only to ensure compliance but to build trust. This precedent will be extremely valuable for future arms-reduction accords.

The fear that removing these missiles might somehow split Europe from North America is unfounded. The links were strong before the missiles were introduced. They will remain strong after they are removed. The presence of American and Canadian forces in Europe is compelling evidence of the North American commitment to Europe.

Security is indivisible. The elimination of intermediate range weapons benefits all Western countries. But the weapons that directly threaten Canada -- destabilizing intercontinental missiles, as well as nuclear-armed submarines and bombers -- are not affected by this agreement. We therefore especially welcome the progress that has been made on strategic weapons at this Summit. Canada hopes that the INF Treaty will now provide the momentum for reducing the huge number of nuclear weapons that remain, and lead to an agreement in Moscow next spring. This would meet the fundamental Canadian priority -- stable security at much lower levels of armaments.

The INF Treaty tells us much about the meaning and importance of collective security. In 1979, the Western Alliance decided to deploy a limited number of these missiles. At the same time, we offered to negotiate reductions with the USSR.

Some West European governments came under strong public pressure not to provide bases for these missiles. Our West European allies held firm. When they saw that the Alliance could not be divided, the Soviets returned to the table they left in 1983. The Treaty just signed is a clear vindication of NATO's policy of combining deterrence and dialogue. We abandon either element at our peril.

### **Change and Continuity in East-West Relations**

The Treaty is welcome for what it accomplishes. It is also welcome for what it tells us about East-West relations. Only a few years ago, such an agreement seemed far in the future -- hopelessly idealistic.

So much has changed since then. What was once the stuff of dreams is beginning to come within our grasp: significant arms reductions; the resolution of regional conflicts; progress on human rights.

But we must not delude ourselves about the daunting obstacles that remain. Nor should we forget how we arrived at this point.

The need for Western cohesion remains as necessary as ever. Antagonism between East and West will not evaporate overnight. Though we hope the walls will become lower, Europe remains divided. The Soviet military forces remain well in excess of what anyone in the West would consider reasonable and sufficient. Glasnost, welcome as it may be, will not be able to transform quickly a Soviet Union that has roots in centuries of Russian authoritarianism as well as Marxist dictatorship.

The need for consistency and prudence therefore remains. Freedom will continue to need a strong defence. Neither Western Europe nor North America nor both together can maintain an effective and stable military balance between East and West by conventional means alone. Thus the West as a whole will continue to rely upon nuclear deterrence until our security can be guaranteed in other ways.

It also means we must seek, through negotiations, to do away with the current imbalance in conventional forces and scrap chemical arms entirely.

That elements of the past endure should not, however, blind us to what is new and positive.

In the Soviet Union Mr. Gorbachev is courageously trying to arrest social decay, to turn around the economy and improve the standard of living. If this means that ordinary Soviet citizens will have greater initiative and self-expression, this evolution is decidedly in our interest, as well as their own. We should not hesitate to

encourage a Soviet leader who is trying to loosen the shackles of the past, repudiating some of the errors and excesses of the past.

Externally, the Soviet leaders are coming to recognize the price of going it alone and the challenge of interdependence. The Soviet Union will never be secure by making other countries feel insecure.

Some steps have been taken. Mr. Gorbachev seems to recognize the advantages of collective action through international organizations. This is welcome. Of course, there are issues of confidence which depend on Soviet action.

Soviet troops have brought death and destruction to Afghanistan for eight years. Up to now, Soviet leaders have ignored the demands of the international community for a total and immediate withdrawal. To comply now, to allow the Afghan people by themselves to determine their future, would greatly bolster confidence in Soviet intentions.

In the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, dissidents have been released, divided families allowed to reunite, emigrants allowed to leave. We certainly welcome those developments. But there are still far too many people who are penalized for seeking to exercise rights guaranteed them in international human rights accords. We ask only that Soviet and East European leaders keep the human rights promises they freely made in those accords.

Mr. Gorbachev's interest in the world economy is understandable. He cannot ignore the information revolution, global technological developments or the impact of currency fluctuations and commodity prices. Closer integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy is also in the West's long-term interest. It is well to remember, however, that it is the global economy that is open and the Soviet economy that is closed. We call upon the Soviet Union to adjust its economic practices so that it may take advantage of the many opportunities that are open to it in Canada and elsewhere.



## The Canadian Contribution

I believe there are five essential principles by which Canada should be guided as we enter this new and path-breaking phase of East-West relations.

First, we must do everything possible to promote greater communication between the peoples of East and West. Through visits, through cooperation in the Arctic and in cultural exchanges, through trade, we can do much to break down the walls of distrust and suspicion.

Second, we must continue to make a full and effective contribution to collective defence, alongside our friends and allies. Working together and maintaining a strong deterrent, in conjunction with dialogue, has brought us this far; it can take us even farther. Canada is doing its part, as the Defence White Paper shows.

Third, I reaffirm our goal of vigorously promoting progress in arms control and disarmament. The objectives in the nuclear, space, chemical and conventional field that I set out in 1985 are as valid today as they were then. We will continue to work in every forum available to us -- in NATO, in the Conference on Disarmament, in conventional arms talks - to achieve this purpose. We may not be at every negotiating table, but our commitment and expertise will be brought to bear wherever they can contribute effectively.

The goal in all these areas is stability; stability at lower levels of arms, and stability in the relationship between offence and defence.

An enduring security structure, however, requires a broader basis of confidence than we have had in the past.

Canada's fourth principle, therefore, is to encourage a more constructive Soviet role internationally. We welcome a world in which the Soviet Union is a committed, responsible partner, whether in political or economic matters. We encourage this, and look to the Soviet Union to match its words with action.

Fifth, we will continue to stress the human side of East-West relations. Canadians believe deeply that families wishing to be reunited should be permitted to do so. We believe in religious freedom, the right to emigrate and the right to dissent. We will continue to raise our voice on these matters at the Vienna Meeting on European Security and Cooperation. And we will not cease until we are satisfied that international standards are being met.

Canada rejoices in the agreement signed in Washington on Tuesday. We salute the leaders who had the courage to take this step. We commit ourselves to work to reduce barriers between East and West, to create a safer, saner world for ourselves and those who will come after, and to establish habits of cooperation instead of confrontation.

But a world which must contend with pressing economic, social and environmental problems will not wait forever for us to succeed. The Treaty signed on Tuesday in Washington shows that with hard work, resolve, and common sense and purpose, we can prevail.

It is a grand beginning, but a beginning nonetheless. Let us get on with the challenge ahead.

THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES AGREEMENT

The INF agreement signed at the Washington Summit on December 8, 1987 obliges the USA and USSR to eliminate over 2600 missiles. The USSR will eliminate almost 4 times as many warheads as the USA. While this will reduce the nuclear stockpiles of the superpowers by only about 5%, the concept of asymmetrical reductions is one of the most important achievements of the negotiations. In addition, the associated verification regime is unprecedented, including prior exchange of data, baseline inspections of facilities, challenge inspections, and the establishment of permanent monitoring stations by each side at the production facilities of the other.

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES TO BE ELIMINATED

	SYSTEM	RANGE (km)	NUMBER	WARHEADS
<u>LRINF</u>				
USSR	SS-20	5000	650	1950
	SS-4	2000	170	170
	SS-5	2500	6	6
USA	Pershing II	1800	247	247
	GLCM	2500	442	442
<u>SRINF</u>				
USSR	SS-12/22	900	726	726
	SS-23	500	200	200
USA	Pershing I	750	170	170
<u>AGGREGATE TOTALS</u>				
		USSR -	1752 missiles	
			- 3052 warheads	
		USA -	859 missiles	
			- 859 warheads	



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**CANADA AND THE  
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
ORGANIZATION**

**FEBRUARY 1988**

**Canada**

## INTRODUCTION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a political and military alliance of sixteen democratic nations in Western Europe and North America acting collectively to deter and, if necessary, defend against any aggression, in accordance with the terms of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The primary purpose of the Alliance is to defend the NATO area through effective co-ordination of the collective military capabilities of Alliance members. But it also serves the equally important political role as the central Western forum for consulting on developments of common interest, particularly on means of reducing East-West tensions and maintaining international peace and security.

The 16 Allies are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

### The Formation and Evolution of NATO

After the Second World War, it became clear to the democratic societies on both sides of the Atlantic that, if another such global conflict were to be avoided, they would have to work together during peacetime as they had during the War. Deteriorating relations between the Soviet Union and its former allies, and developments in Eastern Europe, persuaded the free countries of Western Europe and North America that common defensive action was needed.

While several Western leaders had considered the idea of a defensive alliance within the framework of the United Nations, the Europeans were the first to take concrete action. In early 1948, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom signed the Brussels Treaty, and pledged themselves to build up a common defence system and to strengthen their economic and cultural ties.

But it was apparent that, in Winston Churchill's words, it was still necessary to bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old. During the summer of 1948, representatives of the Brussels Treaty signatories and of Canada and the United States began discussions that ultimately led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949. In 1952 Greece and Turkey joined the twelve original signatory countries, and in 1955 the Federal Republic of Germany also acceded to the Treaty.

In 1982, Spain joined the Alliance, although like France its forces are not part of the Integrated Military Structure of NATO (France withdrew its forces from the Integrated Military Structure in 1966).

"I think that the main problems facing the Alliance are the problems of success. We have kept the peace for thirty-five years; and the generation now being elected to the parliaments of Western Europe and North America have not known war. That is exactly what the founding fathers hoped and worked so hard to achieve. But the very extent of this achievement can make it more difficult to demonstrate the need for continuing effort."

--Lord Carrington, Secretary-General of NATO\*

### The Canadian Role in the Birth of NATO

Canada played a key role in the formation of NATO. Two wars had taught Canada that it could not remain detached from developments in Europe, and that it was infinitely more costly to fight a war than to act collectively to prevent or deter one.

Convinced that democratic societies on both sides of the Atlantic had to work together in peace as they had in wartime, the then Secretary of State for External Affairs (and subsequent Prime Minister), Mr. Louis St. Laurent, put forward the idea of a single mutual defence system in the House of Commons in April, 1948. St. Laurent envisaged a trans-Atlantic alliance that would link its members not only defensively, but also politically, economically, socially, and culturally. This concept was pursued vigourously by Canadian representatives at the negotiations which followed that summer with the United States and the Europeans and helped Canada to make an important contribution to shaping the form and nature of the Alliance. The broader Canadian vision of the Alliance was reflected in Article 2 of the Treaty which provides for non-military forms of co-operation.

### The North Atlantic Treaty: Its Terms and Goals

The terms of the NATO treaty set out the goals of the Alliance and the obligations of each member state. In both the preamble and the first article of the North Atlantic Treaty, members emphasize their support for the United Nations and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Subsequent articles of the Treaty dealing with collective defence are also set within the framework of the United Nations Charter, which gives states the right to individual and collective defence.

\* Speech to Society of British aerospace companies Farnborough international in September 1984.

NATO members are committed to consult each other whenever "the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened." Each member retains full status as an independent nation free to decide upon the best means of providing mutual support. In Article five, members have agreed to treat an attack on any one of them as an attack on all. Each member is committed to "take such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

#### NATO's Organization: How it Works

All sixteen member states of the Alliance are represented on the North Atlantic Council, the highest consultative forum in the Alliance. Each has an equal voice and all decisions require consensus. The Council meets weekly at the level of Ambassadors, and twice yearly at the level of Foreign Ministers. It may be called into emergency session at any time.

The Defence Planning Committee, established in 1966, and made up of representatives from all members except France and Spain, is responsible for questions concerning NATO's collective defence activities. This committee meets regularly at the level of Ambassadors, and twice yearly at the level of Defence Ministers.

Only three members of NATO (the United States, United Kingdom, and France) have nuclear weapons. Of these, the United States and the United Kingdom are integrated into the military structure of NATO. To facilitate involvement by the non-nuclear members of the Alliance in NATO's nuclear affairs, the Nuclear Planning Group was also established in 1966. This group has permitted wider participation in the nuclear decision-making process.

The senior military authority of NATO is the Military Committee made up of all NATO members except France and Spain. It advises both the North Atlantic Council and the Defence Planning Committee.

NATO's integrated military forces are divided into three major commands: Europe, the Atlantic, and the Channel. Each Supreme Allied Commander is responsible for the planning of the defence of the region for which he is responsible, under the guidance of the Military Committee.

To assist in the co-ordination of work, a large number of subordinate committees and groups have been established to

deal with matters as varied as civil emergency planning, political developments outside NATO, defence planning, analysis of economic relations between East and West, armaments co-operation, as well as scientific and environmental co-operation.

### NATO's Role in East/West Relations

NATO's basic principles, its strength of purpose, and solidarity deserve considerable credit for helping to defer conflict in Europe and to resolve East/West differences. Indeed, after nearly four decades, NATO can be said to be the most successful example of collective defence in European history.

In 1967, the Harmel Report on "The Future Tasks of the Alliance", unanimously endorsed by NATO members, concluded that NATO continues to have two main functions: deterrence of conflict and defence against aggression, should it occur; and the pursuit of progress towards a more stable East/West relationship. This two-track approach to East-West relations -- combining steadfastness and solidarity on the one hand, and an open-minded and positive approach to negotiation on the other -- has made possible the INF agreement, signed in Washington, D.C. on December 8, 1987.

To deter and defend against potential aggressors, NATO Allies co-ordinate their defensive arrangements through collective planning. At the same time, to promote a better understanding of political developments and of ways of reducing international tensions, the Allies exchange information and views on political trends and developments which may affect the interests of the Alliance, so that such information and views can be taken into account by member nations in the formulation of national policies. The Council is the principal forum for such discussions, and while it focusses primarily on political and economic developments in East-West relations, it also examines disarmament and arms control issues, and reviews relevant trends in other areas of the world.

### The Other Side of NATO: Non-Military Co-operation

Over the years, NATO has developed a series of programmes to stimulate co-operation among its members on issues of common interest. All of them draw their inspiration from the "Canadian Article" on Non-Military Co-operation in NATO (Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty). The 1956 "Report of the Three Wise Men on non-military co-operation in NATO" concluded that NATO needed to demonstrate that it is more than a military alliance and to give further expression to the



"Canadian Article". The "Wise Men" (one of whom was the Honourable Lester B. Pearson) concluded that NATO should undertake activities "to strengthen allied cohesiveness by reinforcing a sense of common interest and shared values."

"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. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

--Article 2, The North Atlantic Treaty, April 1949

As a result, the NATO Science Committee was established in 1958 to promote non-military scientific co-operation within NATO and provide advice to the North Atlantic Council on questions of science and technology. The NATO Science Programme aims for the enhancement of the scientific and technical capabilities of the Alliance by fostering co-operation and information exchanges between scientists of member countries and by promoting actions to help close gaps in the scientific knowledge and research capabilities of member nations. Specifically the programme includes a fellowship programme, research grants, and the sponsoring of different symposia. More recently, the Science Committee's "Science for Stability" programme was initiated to help promote the development of the science and technology infrastructures of Greece, Portugal and Turkey.

As a further mechanism for non-military co-operation in NATO the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) was established in 1969. The mandate of the CCMS is to improve in every practical way, the exchange of views and experience within the Alliance on methods of creating a better environment for Allied societies. Specifically, the CCMS is called upon to consider the problem of environment in its broadest terms (including socio-economic processes) with the objective of stimulating action by member governments. Under the auspices of the CCMS, Governments propose pilot studies on specific subjects which other governments may join, or not, in accordance with their own priorities. As a result of the "environmental revolution" of the early 1970s much of the work of the Committee has been environmental in orientation.

#### WHY CANADA IS A MEMBER OF NATO

"For Canada, (the quest for peace and stability) continues to be best pursued through co-operation with our allies.

This is a recognition of our common history, our shared interests and our community of values. This unity of purpose is the very foundation of our Alliance, as important to our security as the concrete efforts we undertake to keep the peace."

-- Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, Challenge and Commitment: A Defence Policy for Canada. June 1987

Canada is a member of NATO because we believe our democratic traditions and values are worth preserving and protecting. Collective defence is the most effective and efficient way of doing this. That is why successive Canadian Governments have continued to place major importance on our membership in NATO and our continued contribution to collective defence and the shared political values of the Alliance. They have stated clearly that the cost of the Canadian contribution to NATO is well worth the price, particularly when compared to the alternatives which might well have brought less security at greater cost. Indeed, Canada participates fully in all significant activities of the Alliance.

Membership in NATO assists Canada in achieving several of its most important foreign policy objectives:

- It provides the essential collective security framework for enhancing the security of Canada.
- Through the Alliance's efforts to foster dialogue with the Warsaw Pact, Canada assists in advancing arms control and disarmament, reducing regional tensions, and thereby improving international peace and security.
- Canada's active pursuit of meaningful consultations within the Alliance, particularly on arms control and disarmament issues, serves not only the objective of enhancing national security and international peace, but also the objective of reinforcing sovereignty, by ensuring that Canadian views and policies are clearly understood by the Allies and taken into account in Alliance decision-making.

Canada has a particularly strong interest in improving East-West relations. Membership in NATO allows Canada and its other NATO allies to consult closely on details of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and thus the opportunity to influence these negotiations.

The Alliance is a vital link for Canada in promoting trans-Atlantic co-operation in many fields including economic,

social, scientific, and environmental. It also provides Canada with important levels of contact with its most significant trading partners. NATO countries account for up to 90 per cent of Canada's imports and exports.

Participating in the Alliance's common-funded programmes, and in the Alliance's efforts to foster armaments co-operation, improves the access of Canadian firms to Alliance defence and defence-related markets and enhances their opportunities for co-operation and contacts with other Alliance firms, particularly those involved in high technology areas.

"Our commitment to Europe, including through NATO, contributes significantly to stability on that continent, and is one of the factors which has led the Soviet Union to conclude that it must negotiate because it cannot divide the West. For Canada to pull out of NATO would, among other things, jeopardize whatever prospect exists for agreement on arms control."

-- Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs,  
August 23, 1987



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# **BACKGROUND**

**NATO'S ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS**

**AND**

**CANADIAN INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES**

**FEBRUARY 1988**

**Canada**

## BACKGROUND

### NATO'S ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

### CANADIAN INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES

#### I. Background

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a political and military alliance of sixteen democratic nations in Western Europe and North America acting collectively to deter and, if necessary, defend against any aggression, particularly from the member nations of the Warsaw Pact. While its primary purpose is to defend the NATO area through effective co-ordination of the collective military capabilities of Alliance members, it also serves the equally important political role as the central Western forum for consulting on developments of common interest and, where appropriate, concerting member nations' efforts towards reducing East-West tensions and maintaining international peace and stability.

Since the Alliance's founding in 1949, NATO's orientation, functions, and membership have grown and evolved to the stage where the breadth of interests considered in the Alliance is extraordinarily wide-ranging, and the organizational infrastructure developed to deal with these interests is large and complex.

- Primarily a consultative organization in the beginning, headed by the North Atlantic Council (NAC) which co-ordinated the concerns of Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers, by the early 1950's NATO had established a Defence Committee of Defence Ministers, had initiated collective defence planning on a co-ordinated basis, and had begun the development of a commonly-funded and utilized military infrastructure.
- In the mid-fifties, the adoption of the "Report of the Three Wise Men" substantially re-organized and strengthened the political/economic consultative mechanisms and procedures of the Alliance, including inter alia the establishment of the Science Committee.
- During this period, the membership was increased to fifteen with the accession of Greece and Turkey in 1952 and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955.
- In the late sixties, the organization underwent a major evolutionary change with the withdrawal of France from the Alliance's Integrated Military Structure and its related defence planning activities, and the subsequent emergence of a re-vamped Defence

Planning Committee (DPC), which became the co-ordinating and decision-making body for all questions concerning the Integrated Military Structure and defence planning and the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG), which provided the forum in which Defence Ministers discussed nuclear policy.

- In 1967, the North Atlantic Council adopted the Harmel Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance, which established the framework for renewed efforts to reduce East-West tensions through intensified studies in the disarmament and arms control field, and for initiatives for multilateral negotiations with the Warsaw Pact, notably the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks in Vienna.
- In 1969, the non-military concerns of NATO were further broadened with the creation of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) focussing on the problems of the human environment.
- During the 1970's and 1980's a number of initiatives were taken in both political and military spheres of the Alliance to enhance further co-ordination and co-operation - e.g. the 1977 commitment of NATO Heads of Government to a target of 3% real growth in defence expenditures, and the 1984 Appraisal of East-West Relations (Harmel II).
- In 1982, Spain became the sixteenth member of NATO. Like France its forces are not part of the Integrated Military Structure.

The obligations of Alliance membership are those established by the North Atlantic Treaty; the fundamental commitment (Article 5) is that each member shall, individually or in concert with other members, take such action as it deems necessary in the event of an armed attack against one or more of them. It is on the basis of this and other articles of the Treaty (dealing with consultations (Article 2), the maintenance of individual and collective defensive capability (Article 3), and the establishment of the Council and subsidiary bodies (Article 9)) that the NATO superstructure has been constructed. NATO operates on a consensus basis and has no supra-national authority.

## II. Organization of NATO

The supreme decision-making body is the North Atlantic Council, which can meet at Heads of State/Government level

(Summit) but normally meets twice-annually at Foreign Ministers' level (Ministerial sessions). It considers all issues of general policy concern which affect the interests of all sixteen members, whereas the parallel Defence Planning Committee, composed of Defence Ministers (also meeting twice-yearly) concentrates on defence planning issues. The third Ministerial grouping, the Nuclear Planning Group, again composed of Defence Ministers meeting bi-annually, determines policy on nuclear issues. Below the Ministerial level, the day-to-day business of these three groups is conducted by Permanent Representatives based in Brussels. Policy papers on issues of concern to Alliance members are co-ordinated and funneled to Perm Reps and Ministers by a large and complex array of subordinate Committees, Working Groups, Ad Hoc Groups etc. - some 300 at any one time. The principal committees, however, number about a score - e.g. political affairs, economics, defence review, armaments, nuclear planning, civil emergency planning, science, air defence, information, budget, infrastructure, logistics, communications, security, and so on.

This committee structure is manned largely by representatives of national delegations supplemented as necessary by experts from capitals, and serviced by an International Secretariat headed by the Secretary General, who also chairs meetings of Permanent Representatives and Ministers. The staff of the International Secretariat is drawn from member nations and usually hired on a contract basis. It is divided into five divisions headed by Assistant Secretaries General - Political, Defence Planning and Policy, Defence Support, Scientific Affairs, and Infrastructure, Logistics and Council Operations. The Secretariat is essentially a co-ordinating body - it has no supra-national powers.

Paralleling this civilian structure is that of the Military Committee, which provides military advice to the civilian authorities and which conveys civilian policy guidance and instructions to the three Major NATO Commands - SACLANT, SACEUR and CINCHAN. The Military Committee is composed of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of member nations (represented on a day-to-day basis by Permanent Military Representatives), has its own network of committees composed of representatives from national military delegations, and is serviced by the International Military Staff staffed by military officers seconded from national Ministries of Defence. The Chairman of the Military Committee runs the IMS and attends meetings of the NAC, DPC, and NPG.

Although in general the bulk of military forces remain under national command in peacetime, in times of crisis or war,

command authority over designated forces is progressively transferred to the Major NATO Commanders (MNC's). In peacetime the MNC's are responsible for developing defence plans for their respective areas, have their own planning staffs and structures, and are represented on the appropriate NATO civilian and military bodies noted above. It should be noted that defence planning for the North American region is the sole responsibility of the Canada/USA Regional Planning Group.

Additionally, there are several specialized civilian and military agencies and bodies of varying composition charged with co-ordinating Alliance activities in their particular areas.

Lastly, there are a number of associations and NGO's linked to NATO, most notably the Eurogroup, an informal association of European Defence Ministers working to foster closer European co-operation within the Alliance, the North Atlantic Assembly, the inter-parliamentary organization of member countries, and the Atlantic Treaty Association, composed of privately organized, national voluntary associations such as the Atlantic Council of Canada.

### III. Principal Activities of NATO

A detailed review of all the activities of NATO and its subsidiary bodies is beyond the scope of this paper, but from the point of view of the concerns preoccupying the attention of the Canadian Delegation, the following general activities are probably the most important.

- Political/Economic Consultations The Council and its subsidiary political and economic bodies are mandated to consult, and where appropriate develop an Alliance consensus, on any and all developments which are of common NATO interest. Allies inform each other of their policies and the underlying considerations giving rise to such policies, and exchange views, with the objective that such information and views will be taken into account by individual member nations in the formulation of final national policies. The Council is the principal forum for such discussions and meets at least weekly (usually Wednesdays) for formal consultations. It also meets informally, either at weekly luncheons or at private meetings (convened by the Secretary General to facilitate exchanges on difficult or particularly sensitive issues). The substantive groundwork for its discussions is carried out primarily by the Political and Economic Committees, composed of Political and Economic



Counsellors of national delegations and serviced by the Political Division of the I/S, although certain important issues such as MBFR and communiqué negotiations are dealt with by the Senior Political Committee, composed of the Deputy Permanent Representatives. The Political Committee exchanges information and views on political trends and developments of interest to NATO in all areas of the world, prepares studies and reports to the Council on political issues, such as the state of East-West relations and disarmament and arms control issues, and follows up and implements Council decisions. Its regular work is supplemented by Ad Hoc Political Working Groups and by Regional Experts Meetings. The Economic Committee carries out similar tasks: it acts as a clearing-house for the exchange of information on economic developments (mainly those affecting East/West relations), prepares reports on East-West economic and financial relations and studies analyzing the economic situations in Eastern countries, and monitors economic co-operation within the Alliance.

- Defence Planning is a complex process but in essence involves reviewing collectively the individual defence capabilities and plans of member nations participating in the Integrated Military Structure against the background of a collective assessment of the threat facing the Alliance, establishing five-year goals for developing capabilities to defend the Alliance against the threat, and reviewing annually progress towards achieving those goals. This work is conducted on behalf of the Defence Planning Committee by the Defence Review Committee (DRC), which is staffed by Defence Counsellors from national delegations and assisted as necessary with inputs from other NATO bodies, both military and civil. Additionally, to meet longer term needs, the Alliance has adopted longer term planning procedures designed to extend progressively the coverage and time scale of NATO and national defence planning up to 15 years or more. The DRC is also responsible for the implementation of these longer-term procedures, as well as the programme of military assistance to Greece, Portugal and Turkey. A separate NATO body, the Executive Working Group, monitors progress on special Programmes, such as the Conventional Defence Improvement Programme.
- Nuclear Planning focusses on developing Alliance policy on the strategic and tactical use of nuclear weapons and associated problems. The day-to-day work

is carried out by the NPG Staff Group, staffed by Nuclear Counsellors from national delegations. Its activities are supplemented by Ad Hoc committees, such as the Special Consultative Group on Intermediate Nuclear Forces and the High Level Group, both composed of representatives from national capitals.

- Armaments Co-operation is concerned primarily with fostering co-operation and collaboration among Allies in their national programmes for the research, development, and production of armaments and weapon systems. Work in this area is co-ordinated under the overall authority of the Council by a high-level body of senior representatives from national capitals, the Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD). The CNAD, whose routine tasks are carried out by representatives from national delegations (NADREPS), supervises the activities of a number of groups and subordinate bodies which examine opportunities for two or more member nations to undertake co-operative projects. Work in this area is facilitated by the NATO Armaments Planning Review, a programme for identifying opportunities for co-operation by examining equipment replacement schedules against the requirements of the military authorities for standardization or interoperability, and the Periodic Armaments Planning System, a long-term planning approach which seeks to identify long-term military needs which can be met on a co-operative basis.
- Civil Emergency Planning at NATO is aimed at supplementing national civil emergency planning so as to facilitate co-operation on matters that have international implications or repercussions, to assist crisis management within the Alliance, to provide in wartime for international co-operation on the use of vital materials for essential civil and military defence purposes, and to assist the recovery and rehabilitation of national economies in the event of a general nuclear attack. The Senior Civil Emergency Planning Committee (SCEPC) acts on behalf of the Council to direct policy and generally co-ordinate NATO activities, particularly those of the planning boards and committees charged with such issues as food and agricultural planning, industrial planning, ocean shipping, civil aviation, etc. It also gives general guidance for the setting up of civil wartime agencies.
- The Infrastructure Programme is designed to provide for the construction or procurement of operational

facilities required for the common defence of the NATO area, e.g. military headquarters, airfields, port and missile installations, storage sites, signals and communications installations, etc. Six-year programmes called "slice groups", are submitted by the NATO military authorities, after consultations with nations, and are reviewed by the Council or the DPC, which establish financial ceilings for the "slice groups", to be paid for on the basis of an agreed cost-sharing formula. Thereafter, annual programmes or "slices" are examined by the Infrastructure Committee, which recommends to the Council/DPC which projects can be funded. Once a "slice" has been approved, individual projects are costed and submitted to the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee for financial authorization. Projects are then implemented by host countries, usually on the basis of competitive bidding for contracts by firms of the participating member countries. Actual payments are made by host countries using their own funds and advance payments from other member countries.

- The Science Programme aims for the enhancement of the scientific and technical capabilities of the Alliance by fostering co-operation and information exchanges between scientists of member countries and by promoting actions to help close gaps in the scientific knowledge and research capabilities of member nations. The Science Committee fulfills this role through two types of programmes that are controlled by specially appointed panels of scientists. The first type of Programme is responsive and supports the general advancement of science within NATO. It includes a fellowship programme, research grants and a series of Advanced Study Institutes, which disseminate scientific knowledge and strengthen contacts between scientists through tutorial-style meetings. The second type of programme is more directive, and consists of Special Programme Panels which address multidisciplinary areas of concern. These panels have a limited duration and have in the past covered subjects such as catalysis, robotics and geochemical cycles.

More recently, the Science Committee's "Science for Stability" programme was initiated to help promote the development of the science and technology infrastructures of Greece, Portugal and Turkey. The programme's main objective is to bring together the government, university and private sectors who work on projects of national importance.

- The Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) was established in 1969. The mandate of the CCMS is to improve in every practical way the exchange of views and experience within the Alliance on methods of creating a better environment for Allied societies. Specifically, the CCMS is called upon to consider the problem of the human environment for Allied societies in its broadest terms (including socio-economic processes) with the objective of stimulating action by member governments.

As a result of the influence of the "environmental revolution" of the early 1970's, much of the work of the CCMS has been oriented to physical environmental problems. Governments propose prior studies on specific subjects which other governments may join, or not, in accordance with their own priorities. Nearly 30 studies have been completed. Canada took a lead in two of those studies: "Inland Water Pollution" and "Nutrition and Health". Most recently Canada has been involved in studies on dioxin, aircraft noise pollution and the health and medical aspects of disaster preparedness. Other pilot studies of note have included work on forest fires and the preservation of stained glass windows from the effects of air pollution. The CCMS also administers a fellowship programme linked to on-going pilot studies.

- The Information Programme assists member nations in informing their publics on NATO through the provision of publications and audio-visual material, the co-ordination of visits to NATO Headquarters (about 10,000 people a year), the joint organization of seminars, displays and lecture tours, and the NATO Research Fellowship Programme. NATO's information activities are supervised by the Information Committee.
- NATO Common Financing, other than that provided by the Infrastructure Programme, is chiefly organized under the Military and Civil Budgets. The former, controlled by the Military Budget Committee, covers some 40 budgets for military headquarters, agencies, and special undertakings. The Civil Budget, administered by the Civil Budget Committee, covers the costs of NATO Headquarters and the International Staff as well as the programmes for Science, Information and Cultural Relations, CCMS, and the costs of the NATO Industrial Advisory Group (NIAG) pre-feasibility studies. A number of special programmes, such as the NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AWACS) and the NATO Central Europe Pipeline System (CEPS), are also commonly funded.

- Other less broadly focussed organs whose activities can only be noted include such bodies as: the Senior NATO Logisticians Conference, the Council Operations and Exercise Committee, the NATO Air Defence Committee, the NATO Air Defence Ground Environment, the NATO Industrial Advisory Group, the NATO Integrated Communications System (NICS), the NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization, etc.

#### IV. Canadian Interests and Objectives

Canada participates fully in all significant activities of the Alliance. Its most visible contribution is represented by the approximately 6,000 military personnel (land and air) stationed in Europe at CFB/Lahr and Baden-Solingen, a contribution whose effectiveness will be enhanced by a series of upgrading measures announced by the 1987 White Paper on Defence. It should be emphasized, however, that all of Canada's forces are maintained for the defence of the NATO area. While their primary responsibility is, of course, the defence of the North American region, significant forces are committed to the defence of the Atlantic Command region as well as for the reinforcement of forces stationed in Europe. Moreover, Canada contributes its proportionate share to common-funded NATO programmes, primarily the Infrastructure, Military and Civil Budgets as well as the AWACS programme. Finally, Canada is a leading exponent of, and active participant in, the Alliance's non-military activities, most notably political and economic consultations.

Membership in NATO assists Canada in achieving several of its most important foreign policy objectives. It provides the essential collective security framework for enhancing the security of Canada. Through the Alliance's efforts to foster dialogue with the Warsaw Pact, most obviously via the MBFR and CSCE processes, Canada assists in advancing arms control and disarmament, reducing regional tensions, and thereby improving international peace and security. Canada's active pursuit of meaningful consultations within the Alliance, particularly on arms control and disarmament issues, serves not only the objective of enhancing national security and international peace, but also the objective of reinforcing sovereignty and Canadian identity, as such consultations give Canada an equal voice in discussions involving all but one of the major Western powers and also helps to provide balance in our bilateral relations with the United States. Participating in NATO defence planning, particularly the stationing of Canadian troops in Europe, heightens our Allies' perception of Canada and reinforces Canadian identity. Participating in the Alliance's common-funded programmes, especially the

Infrastructure Programme, and in the Alliance's efforts to foster armaments co-operation, improves the access of Canadian firms to Alliance defence and defence-related markets and enhances their opportunities for co-operation and contracts with other Alliance firms, particularly those involved in high technology areas.

The Canadian Delegation, assisted by the Canadian Military Representative, is the pre-eminent means whereby Canada's objectives are pursued in NATO. To fulfill its tasks, the Delegation employs nine officers from External Affairs, five from National Defence, and one from Emergency Preparedness Canada. While its officers represent Canada at the majority of NATO meetings, particularly those of the main committees, their efforts are assisted by the participation annually of up to 650 officials and experts from Canada and posts abroad.

- The Delegation advances Canadian objectives and interests at NATO through:
  - a) participating on behalf of Canada in the negotiation of consensus decisions;
  - b) representing Canadian views and explaining policies;
  - c) analyzing, influencing, and reporting on views of Allies; and
  - d) participating in Canadian policy formulation.