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CANADA AND NATO

Geographically Canada is a North American country, but culturally, economically and strategically it is an integral part of the North Atlantic community of free nations. Canadian culture is essentially that of the British Isles and France adapted to the New World environment. The vast majority of the Canadian people are of European stock; over eighty-six out of every hundred Canadians spring from countries whose shores are washed by the North Atlantic; almost fifty out of every hundred are from the British Isles; and over thirty out of every hundred from France. Eighty-five out of every hundred dollars worth of Canadian exports go to countries on the North Atlantic littoral, and about the same proportion of Canadian imports come from this region. Historically, Canada's fate has turned on the outcome of every major European war since settlement by Europeans began on these shores some three hundred and fifty years ago.

The Origin of the North Atlantic Treaty

Canada could not therefore avoid being concerned with the tragic drift of events after the Second World War, precisely because her safety was at stake.

Soviet Obstruction - Within less than two years of the signature in San Francisco of the Charter of the United Nations, in 1945, the hopes of people everywhere for universal peace had given place to growing anxiety and fear. The Security Council which had been given primary responsibility for the maintenance of security, was already ham-strung by the deliberate tactics of the Russian representatives. Before the end of 1947 it had become plain to all that, to further their own ends, the Soviet Government were determined to block and undermine their former allies and to propagate their communist gospel by any and every means of subversion and external pressure.

Communist Expansion - One by one the countries bordering on the Soviet Union were being brought under the ruthless domination of the Kremlin. The Iron Curtain seemed to be moving steadily westward and, in February, 1948, free Czechoslovakia disappeared into the darkness of the Russian night. The heroic effort of men of goodwill to carry into the building of world peace the dynamics of the Grand Alliance which had won the war had failed of its central purpose--to establish a firm foundation for universal security. The United Nations had had a fair record of accomplishment--a splendid record in many fields, but it had never been designed to compel the acquiescence of a Great Power, and it had become increasingly evident that the United Nations was not able to guarantee the keeping of peace.

It was against such a sombre background of disillusionment and in an atmosphere of widespread anxiety that

the leaders of the Western world began to cast about for a means by which the designs of the Soviet Union might be frustrated or, if war was to come again, a means by which the free nations might stand together in confidence against aggression.

The Marshall Plan - The flow of aid from the United States under the Marshall Plan, as well as other aid including substantial Canadian grants and loans, was gradually having its effect in restoring the economic stability of Western Europe. The European nations, through their mutual efforts in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, had set their hands firmly to the task of reconstruction. In the field of economics and finance much progress had been made towards the restoration of Europe. But it was plain that more than economic assistance was necessary if Western Europe was to survive. The growing threat of Communism could be met only by the creation of a political and military barrier of adequate deterrent strength by those nations which had a will to do so.

Canada Speaks Out - As early as 1947, in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the present Prime Minister of Canada, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, put the position quite plainly before the delegates:

"Nations, in their search for peace and co-operation will not, and cannot, accept indefinitely and unaltered a Council which was set up to ensure their security, and which, so many feel, has become frozen in futility and divided by dissension. If forced, they (these nations) may seek greater safety in an association of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security."

Western Union - By the spring of 1948 the process forecast by Mr. St. Laurent had reached the stage of "Western Union". On March 17 of that year Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg signed at Brussels a treaty providing for their collective self-defence. It was significant that on the very day the Brussels Treaty was announced, both President Truman, in an address to Congress, and the Prime Minister of Canada, in a statement in the House of Commons, welcomed this first concrete step towards an effective system for the defence of the West.

In the months that followed there were many signs that determined efforts at Western European combination would find a ready response in North America. In the summer of 1948 and during the autumn, the Ambassadors of the Brussels Treaty Powers and Canada met in Washington with representatives of the United States and engaged in what diplomats call "informative and exploratory talks". Other North Atlantic countries were invited into the discussions at a later stage.*

NATO Formed - These talks ended in an agreement and on April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed by twelve nations. By its terms the signatory nations bound themselves together by specific obligations to provide for their collective defence and to develop the means necessary to preserve and to maintain the peace and security of the North Atlantic area.

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* Those which eventually joined were Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Italy and Iceland. Sweden and Ireland were invited but declined.

Thus within less than fourteen months after the fall of Czechoslovakia, the Atlantic countries had achieved a firm alliance.

Canadian Opinion and Policy - The Treaty represented profound changes in policy for all members, but for none more so than for the United States and Canada. Hitherto, the United States had traditionally followed a policy of no entangling alliances, and Canada a similar policy of no commitments in advance of war to assist any nation, even the United Kingdom. Now the peoples of both countries were committed for twenty years to assist not only one another but, in the event of external aggression, any one of the other ten members, all of whom were Europeans. The European members included all the nations fronting the Atlantic (except Spain) as well as Italy. Less than three years later (February, 1952) the territorial limits of the Treaty were to be extended to the eastern Mediterranean by the inclusion of Greece and Turkey. The basic reason for these profound changes in policy on the part of both the United States and Canada was that the peoples of both countries had come to realize that in the post-war world the strategic frontiers of their freedom lay in Western and Southern Europe.

The Treaty was accepted by all major groups of opinion in Canada. It was passed without a single dissenting vote in Parliament. It has since remained as a cornerstone of Canadian policy. For many years to come it will undoubtedly continue as a major concern of Canadian foreign and defence policy.

The Treaty

The first sentence in the preamble to the Treaty is a reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. By this statement, these Atlantic nations made clear that their alliance, far from contravening the objectives of the United Nations, was sanctioned as a measure of regional self-defence by the terms of the Charter itself.*

The Treaty goes on to declare the determination of the signatories to safeguard their free institutions and their common purpose of promoting the stability and well-being of the Atlantic area. Finally, it states their resolution to unite for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and their common security.

Highlights of the Treaty - The North Atlantic Treaty is a short instrument, as international agreements go, with a minimum of verbiage and a maximum of frankness and clarity. Four of its fourteen articles are basic to the Treaty:

(1) Under Article 3, the parties "by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid", undertake to "maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack".

(2) Article 4 provides that "the Parties will consult together wherever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened".

(3) Article 5 declares that an armed attack against any member will be regarded by other members as an attack against all. In this event each party agrees to assist the

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* See Current Affairs pamphlet Volume II, Number 4, p. 9.

party or parties so attacked by such action as it deems necessary "including the use of armed force".

(4) A fourth basic article is Article 2. In this the parties recognize their common political, cultural and economic interests and agree to co-operate in the strengthening of their free institutions and to eliminate conflict in their national economic policies. This Article, as is well known, was a distinctive Canadian contribution to the Treaty. The baleful course of events since the Treaty was signed has compelled members to give priority to defence and security. Nevertheless Article 2 is important, principally as the affirmation of a long-term objective.

The provisions of the Treaty are clear enough. The conception on which the Treaty is founded is the building up of the community of the Atlantic nations to provide what General Eisenhower has called "a wall of security for the free world behind which free institutions can live".

The Treaty Organization--NATO

It was clear from the outset that some co-ordinating agency or agencies would be essential to enable the North Atlantic Treaty Powers to co-operate effectively for the purposes of the Treaty. However, unlike the United Nations Charter, the North Atlantic Treaty has little to say about organization. Article 9 of the Treaty provides merely for the establishment of a Council "to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty", and empowers the Council to set up such subsidiary bodies, including a defence committee, as may be necessary to achieve the purposes of the Treaty. This very general provision left the Council free to adapt the organization to meet the needs as they arose.

Evolution of NATO - The Council, which consisted of the Foreign Ministers of all member governments, undertook as its first task the establishment of a civil and military organization to achieve the purposes of the Treaty. The military side we shall discuss later. The organization on the civil side has been reorganized from time to time, particularly at the Lisbon meeting of the Council in February, 1952, when all activities were brought more directly under the Council, and a decision was taken to establish the Council on a permanent basis at or near Paris.

The Council is the supreme governing body, a kind of board of directors. Following the decision taken at Lisbon to reorganize the Council, all member states are represented at the seat of the Council by Permanent Delegates, who will ordinarily represent them at its meetings, though it is expected that meetings will from time to time be attended by Foreign Ministers or other Ministers. The Chairmanship of the Council rotates yearly in alphabetical order of the member states. At the conclusion of the Ottawa session, in September 1951, the Honourable L.B. Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, assumed the chairmanship, and will continue as NATO presiding officer through the year.

At the last meeting of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization held at Lisbon in February, 1952, the Committee of Defence Ministers was presided over by the Honourable Brooke Claxton, Canada's Minister of National Defence, who was also Chairman of the Committee set up to look into the problem of allocating infrastructure costs.*

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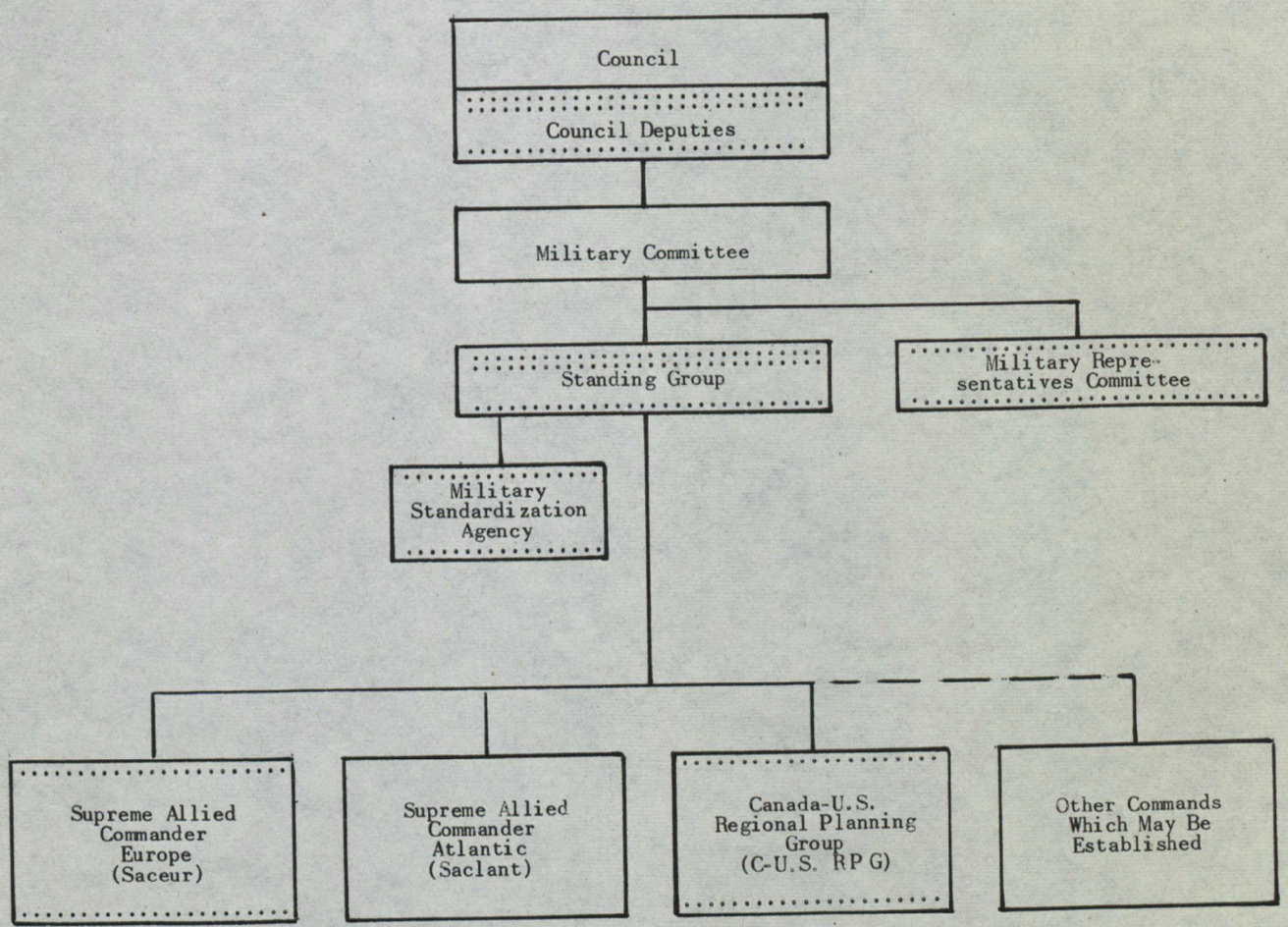
* "Infrastructure", a word borrowed from French railway language and extended to military language, is the name given to operational headquarters, communication facilities and airfields.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Military Structure



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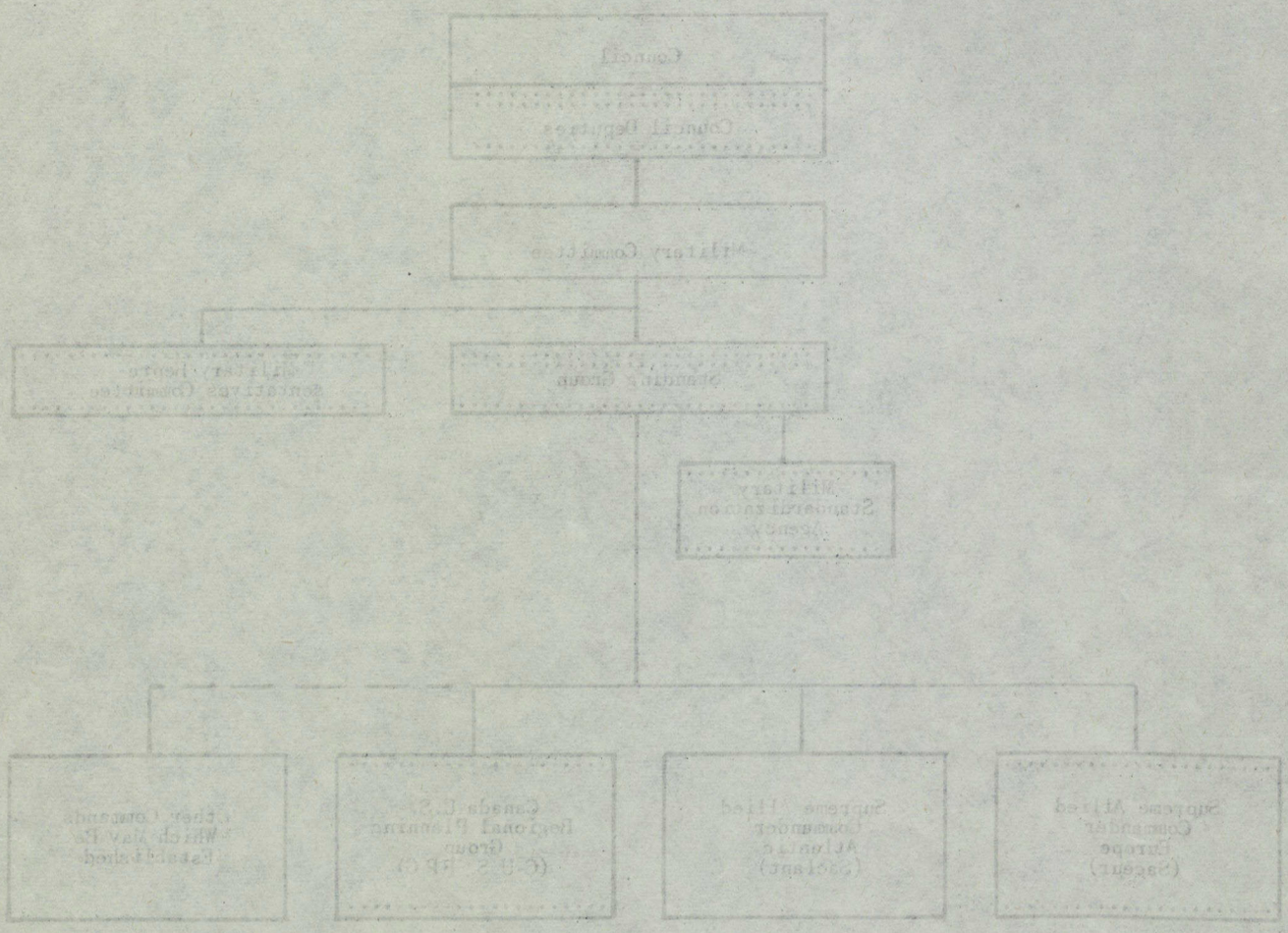

A Permanent Secretariat - One very important change decided on at Lisbon was the creation of the post of Secretary-General who is appointed by, and is responsible to, the Council. Generally speaking, he will be responsible for organizing the work of the Council and will head an integrated international secretariat concerned with the civil rather than the military side of NATO (e.g., budgeting problems of the Organization, economic and financial aspects of defence, co-ordination of defence production programs, etc.). The first incumbent is Lord Ismay, a distinguished British soldier with wide administrative and political experience. He will also serve as vice-Chairman of the Council and will preside at its meetings except when meetings of Ministers are called by the Chairman.

The Military Side of NATO

As the North Atlantic Organization is primarily a defensive alliance, first emphasis has necessarily, therefore, been on military preparedness. Regional security, however, to be comprehensive, must provide for co-operation in every sphere where collective action would strengthen the region. Thus, the North Atlantic Treaty called for the achievement of certain non-military as well as military objectives. Clearly, however, a degree of military security was a first aim, which would have to be achieved before the other broader objectives, recognized as less urgent, could be furthered.

On the military side in particular, NATO fell heir to the valuable work which had been done by Western Union in planning the defence of Western Europe. This planning organization was supplemented by others to consider the defence problems in the wider region of the North Atlantic not encompassed by Western Union. Five planning groups were set up, three for Europe, one for the North Atlantic Ocean, and one for Canada--United States. Both Canada and the United States belong to the last two and both were invited to join the European planning groups as observers.

Supreme Commands - The first year of NATO was largely given over to the planners. In December, 1950, the North Atlantic countries decided upon the almost unprecedented step of establishing in peace time actual military command organizations and giving executive powers to the commanders. The first command to be established was that of the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers Europe (SACEUR), it being recognized that Western Europe must be our first line of defence. General Eisenhower was appointed to this command in December, 1950, by a resolution of the North Atlantic Council acting together with the then existing Defence Ministers Committee. This appointment was made after the President of the United States had acceded to a unanimous request that he make General Eisenhower available for this task.

General Eisenhower's command came into being on April 2, 1951, and was established outside Paris where he collected a staff of officers, representing Navy, Army and Air, seconded to him by NATO members having forces under his command. Canada has made available its quota of officers. Subordinate commands for Europe were established during 1951: Northern Europe (Admiral Brind, British); Allied Land Forces Central Europe (Marshal Juin, French); Allied Air Forces, Central Europe (General Norstad, U.S.A.); Flag Officer, Central Europe (Admiral Jaujard, French); Allied Forces, Southern Europe (Admiral Carney, U.S.A.).

It was almost a year before another Supreme Commander was appointed for one of the other three major regions, the Atlantic Ocean Region, and it is, therefore, not surprising that the impression developed that General Eisenhower was the military head of all NATO forces.* This is not, in fact, the case--his command is limited to Europe. The Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT), is Admiral McCormick, U.S.N., whose headquarters for controlling the protection of the vital sea communications between North America and Europe has been established at Norfolk, Virginia. He likewise, is assisted by a staff drawn from the NATO countries contributing forces to his command, and in this organization Canadian forces and personnel play a proportionately larger role than in European Command arrangements.

The Canada--United States region, the other major strategic area envisaged in the plans, has no organized command, nor is one contemplated for the time being. Nevertheless, the defence plans in this area are continuously under study by the Canada--United States regional planning group.

The Standing Group - The Supreme Commanders are under the orders of the Standing Group from whom they receive strategic and political guidance. The Standing Group, as its name implies, is a permanent body on which the Chiefs of Staff of the three major contributors to NATO--the United States, the United Kingdom, and France--are represented. It is located in Washington.

A Supreme Commander is not, however, cut off from contact with the NATO members who are supplying forces to his command. He has direct access to national Chiefs of Staff on matters concerning their forces and, as necessary, may also approach the Ministers of Defence and Heads of Governments. In order to maintain close liaison between SACEUR and national military organizations, members have established Liaison Missions at the headquarters of the Supreme Commander, Europe, and it is expected similar liaison will be maintained at the headquarters of the Supreme Commander, Atlantic.

Many of the problems before the Standing Group, particularly during the planning and organization period, directly involve non-Standing Group members or their forces. Consequently, it was found desirable to set up a Committee of Military Representatives to keep non-Standing Group members in constant touch with developments. This committee consists of representatives of the Chiefs of Staff of all member nations.

The Military Committee - The Standing Group is not, however, the senior military organ of the alliance. That is the Military Committee, on which each member nation is represented by one of its Chiefs of Staff. In order to maintain the equality of representation, which is fundamental to the Organization, provision is made for Iceland, where there is no military organization, to be represented by a civilian on the Military Committee. The Military Committee is the supreme military authority in NATO exercising this authority under the general supervision of the North Atlantic Council, to whom it gives military advice and from whom it receives political guidance which is passed on by the Standing Group to Supreme

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* General Eisenhower resigned his command effective June 1, 1952, and General Ridgway was nominated by the President of the United States and appointed by the Council to succeed him.

Commanders.* The Chairmanship of the Military Committee rotates annually in the alphabetical order of NATO countries. At the conclusion of the meetings in Rome in November, 1951, Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes, Chairman of the Canadian Chiefs of Staff, succeeded to the Chairmanship of the Committee.

The Build-up of Forces - As General Eisenhower has pointed out in his First Annual Report, when his command was established there were fewer than a total of fifteen divisions among all NATO members adequately trained and equipped for war in Western Europe. National service programs, while providing a reservoir of trained man-power made no provisions for equipment required to convert this pool into effective reserve divisions. In the air, the situation was equally unsatisfactory with fewer than one thousand operational aircraft available for Western Europe, many of which were admittedly obsolescent. In the naval sphere, the situation was somewhat better, but a tremendous effort would nevertheless have been required to offset the threat of submarine attack to vital sea routes.

The schedule of NATO forces in Europe, recently approved, calls for the establishment before the end of 1952 of a force of fifty divisions, about one-half of them standing divisions, and the others reserve divisions which could be brought into action from three to thirty days after mobilization. This force would be supported by an air arm of four thousand aircraft, a reasonable proportion of them being the most modern jet types. Added to this is a greatly strengthened and reorganized naval force.

As well, our strategic position has been improved by the inclusion in NATO of Greece and Turkey, whose considerable national forces will greatly strengthen the southern flank.

Germany and the European Defence Community

A further problem, the satisfactory solution of which is fundamental to the security of the North Atlantic area, is that of the future of Germany. Twice within living memory Germany has attempted to gain the mastery of Europe. Since the war it has been divided between the Eastern Zone which is under the control and tutelage of the U.S.S.R., and the Western Zone which is occupied jointly by the United Kingdom, the United States and France. A united Germany, and perhaps even Western Germany alone, is potentially the strongest single power in Europe apart from the U.S.S.R. Should all Germany fall under the domination of Russia, it would be disastrous for the West. Fortunately the people of Western Germany have made clear that they wish to remain in the Western camp. But their country cannot be left undefended; nor should other Western nations be expected to bear alone this responsibility. Germany, moreover, could be a valuable ally to the West.

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* Originally there was a Defence Committee consisting of Defence Ministers, to whom the Military Committee reported. This Defence Committee has, however, been consolidated into the Council, though it has become customary for Defence Ministers attending a Council meeting to meet separately to discuss Military Committee reports and recommendations. The Honourable Brooke Claxton, Canadian Minister of National Defence, presided at the meetings of Defence Ministers at the Rome and Lisbon meetings of the Council.

Broadly speaking, Western Germany is the geographic centre of Europe, and it is of immense strategic importance in the defence of the West. As General Eisenhower pointed out in his First Annual Report (April 1952):

"With Western Germany in our orbit NATO forces would form a strong and unbroken line in Central Europe from the Baltic to the Alps. Depth is always a desirable element in defence; in the restricted area of Western Europe it is mandatory. This defensive depth is indispensable in countering the striking powers of mechanized armies and the speed and range of modern aircraft."

The Problem of Germany - One the other hand, Western European peoples who have suffered at the hands of Germany, and particularly the French, are naturally apprehensive about a rearmed Germany. The inclusion of Germany as a full member of NATO at this stage was therefore clearly impossible.

To resolve this conflict of interests, the French Government proposed an imaginative plan for the formation of a European Defence Community designed to make German forces available through close integration with the forces of their allies in such a way that their military strength could be used for the common defence, and the risk of their misuse reduced. Broadly speaking, the plan provided for the establishment of a European Army which will include all the forces in Europe of France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Western Germany. This plan has been provisionally accepted by the governments of all six countries pending approval of their parliaments, and it is anticipated that it will begin to be implemented in the early future. The European Defence Community will be, as it were, something of an annex of NATO, and the European Army will be entirely within NATO's European command structure.*

The relevant international agreements to bring Western Germany into Western defence were signed the latter part of May, 1952. Before they become operative they, must, however, be ratified by the legislatures of the participating countries.

Defence and National Economics

In the early stages of NATO military planning, plans were worked out on the basis of military requirements alone. As General Eisenhower says in his Report, plans were drawn up without "a feasibility test to ensure that they were within the economic capacities of member countries". It soon appeared that the military requirements, as assessed by the planners, might seriously strain the economies of certain member countries. If such a situation were to arise in any country, serious internal, social and political difficulties might well

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* The project of a European Defence Community broadly parallels in the military field what has already been accomplished for the control of steel and coal in Western Europe under the Schuman Plan. Both plans are aspects of a broader movement towards closer integration of Western Europe which, if achieved, will undoubtedly strengthen Western Europe politically and in other ways. But consideration of this broad subject is outside the scope of this pamphlet.

be the result. To quote General Eisenhower again:

"Our central problem was one of morale--the spirit of man. All human progress, in the military or other fields, has its source in the heart. No man will fight unless he feels he has something worth fighting for. Next, then, is the factor of the strength of the supporting economy. Unless the economy can safely carry the military establishment, whatever force of this nature a nation might create, is worse than useless in a crisis. Since behind it there is nothing, it will only disintegrate."

A Radical Departure - Realizing the importance of this problem, the Council at its meeting in Ottawa in 1952 established a Temporary Committee of the Council to survey urgently the requirements of external security and to endeavour to reconcile these requirements with the political and economic capabilities of member countries. All member governments were represented on the Committee, although direction of its activities fell on an Executive Bureau consisting of the representatives of the Standing Group countries, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The operation was a radical departure in international relations. It involved examination of the economic and financial programs and capacities of member countries, as well as of their military plans and potentialities, to see whether their contribution to the common cause could be increased.

The report of the Committee, which was worked out in consultation with all member governments, was presented and adopted at the Lisbon meeting. The success of this enterprise is a clear indication of the remarkable spirit of co-operation among member governments. It has been decided to have similar annual studies in the future, although henceforth these will be done directly by the Council with the assistance of the permanent secretariat rather than by a specially constituted committee.

Canada's Contributions to NATO

NATO planning follows to a considerable degree the principles of division of responsibility among member nations. European members, for example, whose territory would be exposed to early attack in the event of war, are expected to concentrate largely on ground forces, including reserves which can be made ready quickly for battle; the United States is responsible for strategic air forces; the principal naval members, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France provided by far the major portion of naval forces.

NATO planning also takes into account the fact that some members have heavy responsibilities outside the NATO area and therefore cannot commit all their forces to NATO commands, at least in peace time. France, for example, has been conducting major military operations in Indo-China; the United Kingdom has heavy responsibilities in the Middle East, in Malaya and elsewhere; the United States has extensive commitments in the Pacific and other regions.

Military Assistance - Under agreed NATO plans, Canada contributes to the standing NATO forces in all three armed services. By the end of 1952, twenty-four ships of the Royal Canadian Navy will form part of the forces available to the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT); and fifty-two ships by 1954. The 27th Infantry Brigade, which

was specially organized for NATO purposes, was stationed in Western Germany in the late autumn of 1951. During 1952 Canada plans to station four fighter squadrons of the RCAF in Western Europe, assuming airfields will be available, and to increase these forces to twelve squadrons by 1954.

Canada has, of course, other commitments. The direct defence of Canada is the prime responsibility of Canada. As pointed out previously, no NATO command has been established for the North American region. Consequently, Canadian forces assigned for the direct defence of Canada have not been allocated to a NATO command, although in fact they are defending territory expressly included under the North Atlantic Treaty. Moreover, Canada as a member of the United Nations has a brigade group participating in halting aggression in Korea, and Canadian forces engaged in these operations could not properly be withdrawn and made available to NATO as long as United Nations operations continue in Korea.

Economic Assistance - Canada has also made substantial contributions to NATO in the form of mutual aid. As pointed out previously, by Article 3 of the Treaty, the members undertake to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack "by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid". That is, they undertake not merely to build up their own forces but to assist one another to do so in order to resist armed attack. At an early stage, the United States Congress passed large appropriations to assist the rearming of other countries and even much larger appropriations have since been made.

At the special session of the Canadian Parliament in September, 1950, an appropriation of $300 million was passed with similar purposes; in 1951 a further appropriation of $61 million and another appropriation of $325 million was made in 1952.* By means of this appropriation it was possible to transfer free of charge to other members of NATO considerable quantities of existing stocks of armament and ancillary equipment which the Canadian Army had been keeping as mobilization reserves, the Canadian Army to be re-equipped by production of new equipment in Canada or purchase from the United States.

Armament and ancillary equipment for approximately one infantry division was thus given away during 1950-51 to each of Belgium, Holland and Italy following recommendations of the NATO Standing Group, and later considerable quantities of other material such as ammunition, and armament such as field and anti-aircraft guns, were given away to various NATO countries. In addition, contracts were let for the production for other NATO countries of such equipment as fighter aircraft, guns, mine-sweepers, walkie-talkies and other electronic supplies.

Aircrew Training - It has also been possible under the mutual aid vote to provide for the training of aircrew for other NATO countries. This involved the re-opening of many Canadian airfields, the acquisition of a great deal of training equipment, and the establishment of a large training staff. By the spring of 1952 about a thousand aircrew

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* Only about $195 million of the first vote of $300 million appears to have been spent, so that the appropriation of 1952 is in part a re-vote.

were thus trained for other NATO countries and it is planned to step up training facilities for the forthcoming year to accommodate about 1,400 trainees.

Canada's contributions to NATO have thus been substantial and are growing in importance.

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