

# Statement

Secretary of  
State for  
External Affairs



# Déclaration

Secrétaire  
d'État aux  
Affaires  
extérieures

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## "CANADA'S STAKE IN EUROPE"

### NOTES FOR A SPEECH

BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE CLARK,

AT A LUNCHEON SPONSORED BY THE

CONSEIL DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES DE MONTREAL

MERIDIEN HOTEL (MONTREAL)

June 20, 1990.

The Europe that we have known, that is, the Europe of the fifties, sixties, seventies and even eighties, no longer exists. Last year changed everything completely, and for the better.

We have all witnessed, from near or afar, the upheavals that shook much of Europe in 1989. We watched in fascination as people broke their chains and struck out toward freedom and democracy. Today, these same people are taking control of their destiny.

A new Europe is thus taking shape on the horizon, before our very eyes. In the medium term, the whole European political landscape will be redefined. The institutions of yesterday will have to be transformed; new ones will be created, and some of the existing ones will expand. All of them will have to show creativity to successfully take up the challenges of the end of the Cold War and the consequent setting in of a new climate of co-operation between nations formerly divided by an ideological East-West confrontation.

It is here that our new policy toward Europe comes into play. Three weeks ago, President Gorbachev and Mr Shevardnadze made a State visit to Canada, and we had an opportunity to speak with them about this policy. Following this meeting, I went to Copenhagen, in Denmark, to participate in the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, and to Turnberry, Scotland, for the meeting of NATO foreign ministers.

I mention these three events because each has enabled us to bring our analyses face to face with reality. They have given us the opportunity to determine to what extent Canadian objectives in Europe are realistic and in keeping with the role expected of us. I returned home more convinced than ever that Canada has the means to make an original and tangible contribution to the development of Europe.

This active commitment on our part does not come without a price. It constitutes the best means of ensuring that our interests are adequately protected. Nothing should be taken for granted; we must now strengthen our ties in order to consolidate our position in the Europe of tomorrow.

Canada's European policy is centred around three major institutions that encompass the diversity of our interests and are founded on our past actions on this continent. I am referring to the European Community, the North Atlantic Alliance and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, usually called the CSCE.

I would like to talk first about the European Community. Simply stated, Canada supports the accelerated process of integration in which the twelve countries are actively engaged. In our view, a more united Europe will result in stability and increased international trade.

In view of this evolution, Canada is taking the necessary measures to step up its relations and increase its dialogue with the member countries of the European Community. For example, I have recently made specific proposals to my Irish counterpart, the Honourable Gerald Collins, to enrich our dialogue, particularly on the major international political issues. These proposals - which, incidentally, were well received - include:

- regular meetings between the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the European Council;
- regular in-depth discussions between the Canadian Foreign Minister and his European counterpart; and
- much closer contact between Canadian officials and experts of the European Community on issues of common concern.

These proposals will lead to an increase in the number of exchanges at various levels. Canada will thus be better able to make its voice heard and to play a useful role in finding solutions to the major international problems.

Parallel to the intensification of our relations with the political officials of the European Community, we also intend to increase our presence at the highest level of the European Commission in Brussels. The recent meeting in Ottawa of the Joint Commission of Co-operation, which I chaired with my colleague John Crosbie, demonstrated that this desire to come together is mutual. The mechanisms are now well established, and it is up to us to use them to the maximum in the active pursuit of our interests.

Security concerns have always been at the centre of our policy and commitment in Europe. Two world wars have taught us that a Europe at peace with itself is a Europe at peace with the world. The security of Canadians is closely linked to stability and security in Europe.

For more than forty years, the North Atlantic Alliance has played a major role in Europe, and Canada has reason to be proud of its participation. Throughout the years, thousands of Canadian soldiers have been stationed in Europe and each, in his or her own way, has contributed to the security of Europe and the world.

That military contribution is bound to decline. Circumstances change and we must adapt to the changes. The tensions and threats are no longer the same. We will not be sorry to see this decline, because it will be a product of the long-sought reduction in East-West tensions, which is in turn the result of the new Soviet foreign policy in Eastern Europe and the unilateral and negotiated reductions in conventional and nuclear forces.

At long last, we are moving from a partial and artificial peace to a comprehensive, more natural peace, a peace where intentions are becoming benign and capabilities are being reduced to the point where surprise attack is no longer possible.

This process and this reality can only be applauded. What has begun must continue and a firm foundation must be built for a structure of lasting security at the lowest possible level of military forces, conventional and nuclear.

This will not come suddenly or easily, but it is now a realistic goal.

It is a seeming paradox that NATO's very success requires the Alliance to renew itself. But this is in fact the case. An organization whose primary role has been to defend us against plausible aggression must revise its role when that aggression becomes less plausible. It is only natural in these circumstances for NATO to assume a more political role. This is a change which Canada fully supports and which meets Canadian interests.

NATO must review urgently and comprehensively all aspects of its nuclear and conventional strategy. It makes little sense to retain short-range nuclear weapons whose only target can be friendly countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

It also makes little sense to retain a military strategy which is based on a scenario of a surprise attack across a front which no longer exists and where surprise is no longer possible. And it makes little sense to continue to retain in Europe the largest peace-time deployment of military force in the history of the world.

This not to deny the continuing requirement for prudence and military stability at this time of historic change. Twelve months do not invalidate the lessons of history. The possibility of instability is there, and Soviet military capabilities remain substantial.

Therefore, a strong military mandate for NATO continues to be valid, including the nuclear deterrent, and the North American commitment to Europe represented by the presence of Canadian and American troops there continues to be essential as we strive for strategic stability at significantly lower arms levels.

But NATO cannot be seen as a barrier to peace. If it does not lead, it will lose the critical legitimacy it has enjoyed in Europe. NATO will then be seen not as part of the solution, but as part of the problem.

I referred earlier to NATO's political role. I would like to return briefly to that aspect, as Canada intends to apply much of its effort to that task. Indeed, this is a traditional interest of Canada's. Article two of the North Atlantic Treaty, which advocates active political co-operation, has often been called the Canadian clause in recognition of the role played by Lester B Pearson in its creation.

During our discussions with President Gorbachev and Mr Shevardnadze, it became clear that Soviet concerns about Germany go far beyond the implications of a united Germany, and in fact centre on the type of Atlantic alliance to which a united Germany would belong. Concerns of this kind cannot be shrugged off; at the very least, they are legitimate, and NATO has an obligation to adjust to the new reality and to show openness in its approach.

This is why, in Turnberry, Scotland, I told my NATO colleagues that the Alliance must open its mind to the East, that we must devote our energy to reforming NATO in such a way that no country will perceive it as a threat. Indeed, all countries should be reassured by the presence of NATO.

This is the meaning we should give the initiative taken by the NATO ministers on that occasion in issuing their "Turnberry message". This short text formally recognizes the need to understand and recognize the legitimate security interests of all States. It confirms the willingness of the Alliance to contribute actively to the creation and strengthening of relations of trust among all European countries.

This message of "friendship and co-operation" was largely the result of a Canadian initiative. Canadian diplomats drafted the first version and then undertook discussions with our allies. It shows the dynamic role Canada can play in NATO.

I am absolutely convinced that such openness of spirit is necessary. As the Prime Minister told President Gorbachev, it is [TRANS] "reasonable and necessary that full account be taken of the hard reality of World War II and that a formula be found which will respond to the undeniable interests of the Soviet Union in matters of security."

Movement of the Alliance toward a more political role is thus a very positive element which, with successful negotiations on disarmament and arms control, should contribute to the establishment of a new security system in Europe.

The NATO Summit in London in early July provides an opportunity - and a challenge - for all Alliance members to prove to their publics - and to their old adversaries - that NATO is transforming, and that its members share a new commitment to common security equal to their traditional commitment to collective defence.

In the spirit of the "Message from Turnberry", the Summit should issue a clear and unambiguous signal to the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe that we are prepared to build a structure of security together with, and not apart from, those countries. In particular, the Summit should:

- Offer to hold regular meetings at the ministerial and senior official level with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, including the USSR;

- take steps to deal quickly with the question of short range nuclear forces;
- re-invigorate the CFE process by proposing troop levels for stationed forces in the Central zone which meet legitimate Soviet concerns;
- Energize the role of the Alliance as a forum for consultation on security problems within and outside Europe;
- Invite the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to participate in various NATO Committees in the non military field, such as the Committee on the Challenges to Modern Society;
- Confirm the intent to move towards a military strategy which emphasizes lower force levels and a less rigid clearly defensive posture; and
- Indicate NATO's strong support for an institutionalized and energized CSCE process.

The July NATO Summit should mark a fresh beginning, the consecration of an Alliance seen by all as a partnership for peace - dynamic, re-assuring and open.

Despite its enduring value, NATO does have limits because of its mandate and membership. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a completely separate organization. Its thirty-five members represent Europe, North America and the Soviet Union, and its mandate extends across the board - to security, political and economic matters, as well as to human and social rights.

In my opinion, the role of the CSCE must now be expanded so that it becomes the drawing board for the new European architecture. As a complement to NATO, the Conference can become a true instrument of co-operation to enhance security and build confidence. As the nature of European security expands beyond military balances to political stability and economic prosperity, there is a central role for the CSCE in the areas of human rights, economic co-operation and environmental protection.

Creating an expanded mandate will require a new approach to the way the CSCE operates. Here again, Canada is putting forward concrete proposals. Given the importance of political direction, we recommend that the CSCE meet every two years at the level of Heads of Government and annually at the level of Foreign Ministers. This political body could serve as the beginning of a Council for European Co-operation, a future, permanent forum for dialogue on pan-European issues.

The CSCE should develop a body to reflect the increasingly democratic nature of its composition. We propose the establishment of a CSCE Assembly where parliamentary delegations from members states would meet on a regular basis to discuss issues of common concern.

In the security area, the CSCE will have a role in mandating a further round of conventional forces reduction talks. All thirty-five members of the Conference should participate, not just NATO and Warsaw Pact members.

The CSCE should increase its role in verification and confidence-building. There is also a potentially valuable role to be played by the CSCE in crisis prevention and conflict resolution. This could involve the creation of a mechanism to facilitate dialogue, a mechanism that could carry out special investigations and recommend a strategy to resolve the crisis - whether it be mediation, arbitration, or even peacekeeping operations.

If the situation develops into a crisis, the CSCE could initiate mediation activities that could be supported by a permanent Institute for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.

Beyond the security field, the CSCE should build upon the other principles and undertakings contained in the Helsinki agreements. As I mentioned earlier this month at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, these essential structures of democracy should become a common commitment of members, in particular the right to free elections and the rule of law. Pluralism should also be legitimized through the CSCE process, as should the rights of minorities, freedom of religion and a prohibition on hate propaganda. I am confident that the Copenhagen Conference, which is continuing, should be able to make significant progress in these areas. I perceived among the participants in Copenhagen a firm intention to make democracy, rule of law and the spirit of tolerance - which is the basis of democratic societies - elements of the new Europe's code of conduct.

In the economic dimension, the CSCE may also have a valuable role in the future, building on the tremendous success of the recent Bonn Economic Conference. I believe a permanent CSCE forum for economic dialogue, supplementing the work of the OECD, is worth serious consideration. It is not a case of duplicating the efforts of existing organizations, but of encouraging co-operation and dialogue designed to develop common principles of economic activity.

A CSCE summit is to be held before the end of the year in Paris. This will be a particularly important opportunity to provide the indispensable political impetus to the CSCE's enhanced mission. The first meeting at the highest level since the revolution of '89, this meeting will be an opportunity to celebrate Europe's democratic renaissance.

At each crucial step in the contemporary history of Europe, Canada has found itself at the side of its European allies promoting liberty, justice and democracy. What could be more natural given the strong ties that bind us to this continent? We all know that we owe a great deal of what we are to the values, ideas and traditions of our European roots.

The challenges that now confront us on the European continent are as crucial to international stability as those of the past. They call for a mobilization and pooling of all our resources and efforts. The stakes are high and Canada will spare no effort to ensure the success of this undertaking.