

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

a factual survey
of issues and
challenges facing
the Alliance
at the end of
the 1990s

NATO
AT A GLANCE

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the 1990s*

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This booklet is not a formally agreed NATO document and does not therefore necessarily represent the official opinions of individual member governments on all policy issues discussed.

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Part I

WHAT IS NATO?

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was established by the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty, commonly referred to as the Treaty of Washington.

NATO's 16 member states are:

Belgium	Luxembourg
Canada	The Netherlands
Denmark	Norway
France	Portugal
Germany (since 1955)	Spain (since 1982)
Greece (since 1952)	Turkey (since 1952)
Iceland	The United Kingdom
Italy	The United States

Political Goals and Basic Tasks

The North Atlantic Alliance is a defensive alliance based on political and military cooperation among independent member countries, established in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. As stated in the preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty, Alliance members are committed to safeguarding the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

Article 4 of the Treaty provides for consultations among the allies whenever any of them believes that their territorial integrity, political independence or security is threatened. NATO member states are committed to the defence of one another by Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This stipulates that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered as an attack against them all.

NATO decisions are taken on the basis of consensus, after discussion and consultation among the member nations. As a multinational, inter-governmental association of free and independent states, NATO has no supranational authority or independent policy-making function. Decisions taken by NATO are therefore decisions taken by all its member countries. By the same token, NATO can only implement a course of action if all the member countries are in agreement.

The North Atlantic Alliance also embodies a transatlantic partnership between the European members of NATO and the United States and Canada, designed to bring about peace and stability throughout Europe. The objectives of the partnership between the European and North American members of the Alliance are primarily political, underpinned by shared defence planning and military cooperation, but also by cooperation and consultation in economic, scientific, environmental and other relevant fields. Throughout the years of the Cold War, however, faced with the expansionist political ideology, totalitarian system of government and military capacity of the then Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, cooperation between NATO member countries focused above all on the development and maintenance of collective defence.

NATO has evolved as an organisation and has developed its political and military structures to take account of the transformation of the European security environment since the end of the Cold War. Changes in NATO's structures and policies reflect the common agreement between NATO member countries to maintain the political and military cooperation essential for their joint security. At the same time, they have extended their cooperation to new partners in Central and Eastern Europe, in order to promote stability and security in Europe as a whole.

NATO's Transformation

In 1989 a process of fundamental political change in Europe began, which was to lead to the end of the ideological and military division of Europe and the demise of the Warsaw Pact. This was followed, at the end of 1991, by the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The international repercussions of these events and their implications for future security arrangements in Europe had a profound impact on the Alliance, enabling it to adjust its structures and policies to the new circumstances of the 1990s, while maintaining its core function of ensuring the security of its member states.

The transformation of NATO structures and policies was initiated by NATO Heads of State and Government at Summit meetings held in London in July 1990, and reinforced by decisions taken in Rome in November 1991, and in Brussels in January 1994. An essential component of this transformation was the establishment of close security links with the states of Central and Eastern Europe and those of the former Soviet Union through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and, later, the Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Other key changes and innovations undertaken since 1989 include the adoption of a new Strategic Concept; development of increased coordination and cooperation with other international institutions, such as the UN, OSCE, WEU and EU; and agreement to make NATO's assets and experience available to support international peacekeeping operations. NATO supported UN peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia beginning in 1992, until the successful conclusion of a peace agreement in December 1995 and the deployment of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) (see *Part V*).

NATO's Strategic Concept

The new Strategic Concept adopted at the 1991 Rome Summit meeting combined a broad approach to security based on dia-

logue and cooperation with the maintenance of NATO's collective defence capability. It established cooperation with new partners in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union as an integral part of the Alliance's strategy.

The concept also provided for reduced dependence on nuclear weapons and introduced major changes in NATO's integrated military forces, including substantial reductions in their size and readiness; improvements in their mobility, flexibility and adaptability to different contingencies; increased use of multinational formations; the creation of a multinational Rapid Reaction Corps; and the adaptation of defence planning arrangements and procedures.

Measures have also been taken to streamline NATO's military command structure and to adapt the Alliance's defence planning arrangements and procedures, both in the light of the changed circumstances in Europe as a whole, and in order to take into account future requirements for crisis management and peacekeeping. In this context, the concept of Combined Joint Task Forces was introduced at the 1994 Brussels Summit, designed to make NATO's joint military assets available for wider operations by NATO nations or by the Western European Union (see "New Force Structures" on p. 20).

New Security Environment

Against the background of the crises in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere, attention has been directed increasingly at NATO's new role in the field of crisis management and peacekeeping and at identifying the ways in which NATO activities in this field can best be coordinated with other organisations.

As part of the process of promoting stability and security across the whole of Europe, the Alliance is also addressing the issue of its eventual enlargement to take in additional member states (see *Part X*).

Part II

NATO'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRUCTURES

The basic machinery for cooperation among the 16 NATO members was established during the formative years of the Alliance. It consists of the following fundamental elements:

The North Atlantic Council

The North Atlantic Council (NAC) is the most important decision-making body in NATO. It has effective political authority and powers of decision for the Alliance and consists of Permanent Representatives of all 16 NATO member countries meeting together at least once a week. The Council also meets at higher levels involving Foreign Ministers or Heads of Government but it has the same authority and powers of decision-making, and its decisions have the same status and validity, at whatever level it meets. The Council has an important public profile and issues declarations and communiqués explaining its policies and decisions to the general public and to governments of countries which are not members of the Alliance. Its communiqués also serve as general policy guidance for national and international staffs responsible for the implementation of Alliance decisions.

The Council is the only body within the Alliance which derives its authority explicitly from the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council itself was given responsibility under the Treaty for setting up subsidiary bodies. Many committees and planning groups have since been created to support the work of the Council or to assume responsibility in specific fields such as defence planning, nuclear planning and military matters.

The Council provides a unique forum for wide-ranging consultation between member governments on all issues affecting

their security. All 16 member countries of NATO have an equal right to express their views around the Council table. Decisions are the expression of the collective will of member governments arrived at by common consent. There is no voting or decision by majority. All member governments are party to the policies formulated in the Council or under its authority and to the consensus on which decisions are based. Each nation represented at the Council table or on any of its subordinate committees retains complete sovereignty and responsibility for its own decisions.

Each government is represented on the Council by a Permanent Representative with ambassadorial rank. Each Permanent Representative is supported by a political and military staff or delegation to NATO, varying in size.

Twice each year, and sometimes more frequently, the Council meets at Ministerial level, when each nation is represented by its Minister of Foreign Affairs. Summit meetings, attended by Heads of State or Government, are held whenever particularly important issues have to be addressed.

While the Permanent Council normally meets at least once a week, it can be convened at short notice whenever necessary. Its meetings are chaired by the Secretary General of NATO or, in his absence, his Deputy. At Ministerial meetings, one of the Foreign Ministers assumes the role of Honorary President. The position rotates annually among the nations, in the order of the English alphabet.

Items discussed and decisions taken at meetings of the Council cover all aspects of the Organisation's activities and are frequently based on reports and recommendations prepared by subordinate committees at the Council's request. Equally, subjects may be raised by any one of the national representatives or by the Secretary General. Permanent Representatives act on instructions from their capitals, informing and explaining the

views and policy decisions of their governments to their colleagues around the table. Conversely they report back to their national authorities on the views expressed and positions taken by other governments, informing them of new developments and keeping them abreast of movement towards consensus on important issues or areas where national positions diverge.

Defence Planning Committee

The Defence Planning Committee (DPC) is normally composed of Permanent Representatives but meets at the level of Defence Ministers at least twice a year. It deals with most defence matters and subjects related to collective defence planning. The Defence Planning Committee provides guidance to NATO's military authorities in fields not already addressed by the Council and has the same functions and attributes and the same authority as the Council on matters within its competence.

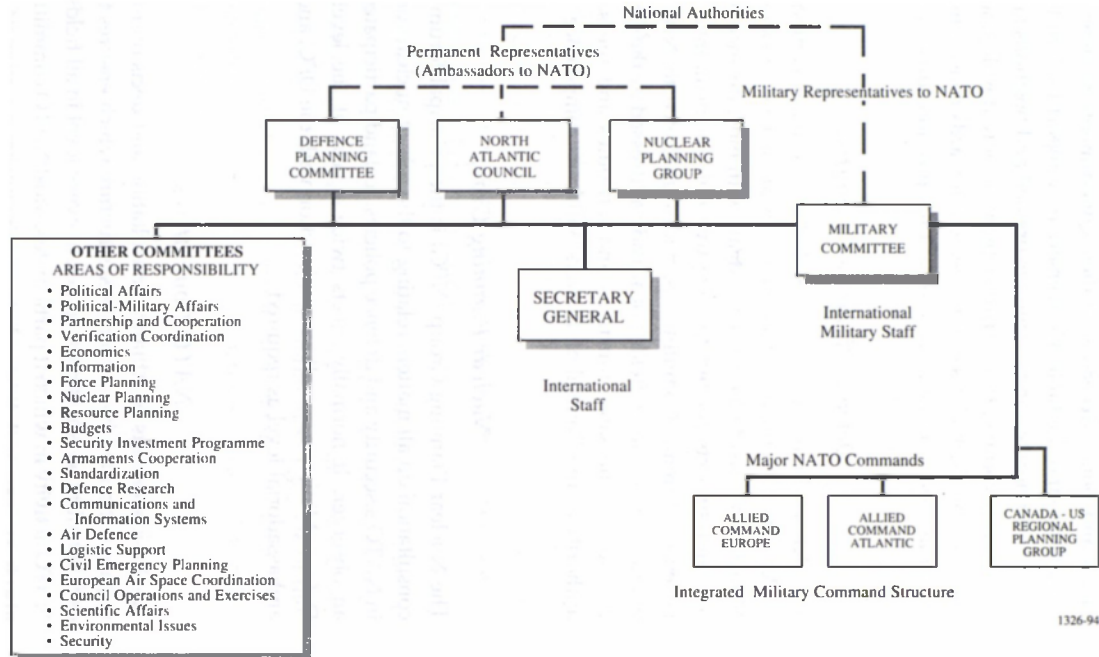
Nuclear Planning Group

The Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) is the principal forum for consultation on all matters relating to the role of nuclear forces in NATO's security and defence policies. Iceland participates as an observer. It normally meets twice a year at the level of Defence Ministers, usually in conjunction with the DPC, and at ambassadorial level as required.

NATO Committees

The basic elements of Alliance consultation and decision-making are supported by a committee structure which ensures that each member nation is represented at every level in all fields of NATO activity in which it participates. Most NATO committees also have responsibilities relating to the implementation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) Work Plan or Partnership for Peace (PFP) (see *Parts III and IV*).

NATO's Civil and Military Structure



Secretary General

The Secretary General is a senior international statesman nominated by the member nations both as Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, Defence Planning Committee, Nuclear Planning Group and of other senior committees, and as Secretary General of NATO. He also acts as principal spokesman of the Organisation, both in its external relations and in communications and contacts with member governments.

International Staff

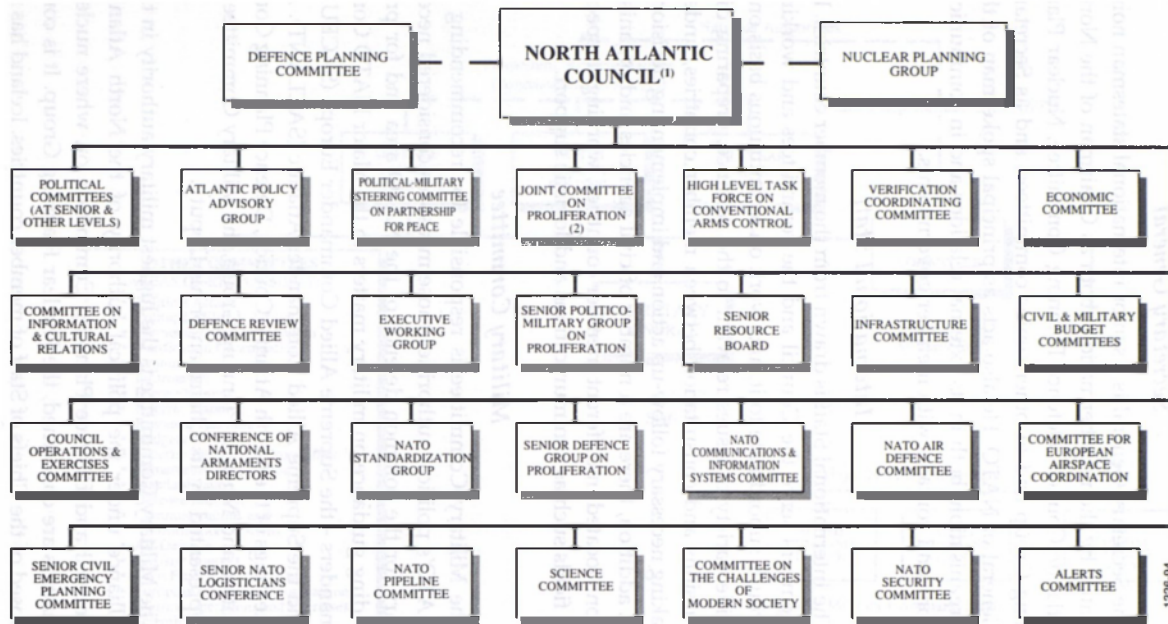
The International Staff is drawn from the member countries. Its members serve the Council and the committees and working groups subordinate to it, and work on a continuous basis on a wide variety of issues relevant to the Alliance, preparing discussions and consultation between member countries, undertaking necessary follow-up action and implementing decisions. In addition, there are a number of civil agencies and organisations located in different member countries, working in specific fields such as communications and logistic support.

Military Committee

The Military Committee is responsible for recommending to NATO's political authorities those measures considered necessary for the common defence of the NATO area and for providing guidance on military matters to the Major NATO Commanders - the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT). At meetings of the North Atlantic Council, Defence Planning Committee and Nuclear Planning Group, the Military Committee is represented by its Chairman or his Deputy.

The Military Committee is the highest military authority in the Alliance under the political authority of the North Atlantic Council and Defence Planning Committee, or, where nuclear matters are concerned, the Nuclear Planning Group. It is composed of the Chiefs of Staff of member countries. Iceland has no

Principal NATO Committees



- (1) Most of the above committees report to the Council. Some are responsible to the Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group. Certain committees are joint civil and military bodies which report both to the Council, Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group and to the Military Committee.
- (2) Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation plus Senior Defence Group on Proliferation.

military forces but may be represented by a civilian. The Chiefs of Staff meet at least twice a year. At other times member countries are represented by national Military Representatives appointed by the Chiefs of Staff. In December 1995, France decided to extend its full participation in the Military Committee, hitherto limited to matters concerning the former Yugoslavia and cooperation with partner countries, to other areas.

Presidency of the Military Committee rotates annually among the nations in the order of the English alphabet. The Chairman of the Military Committee represents the Committee in other forums and is its spokesman, as well as directing its day-to-day activities.

International Military Staff

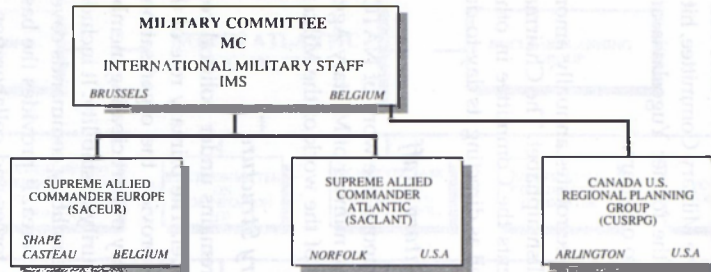
The International Military Staff supports the work of NATO's Military Committee. There are also a number of Military Agencies which oversee specific aspects of the work of the Military Committee.

Integrated Military Structure

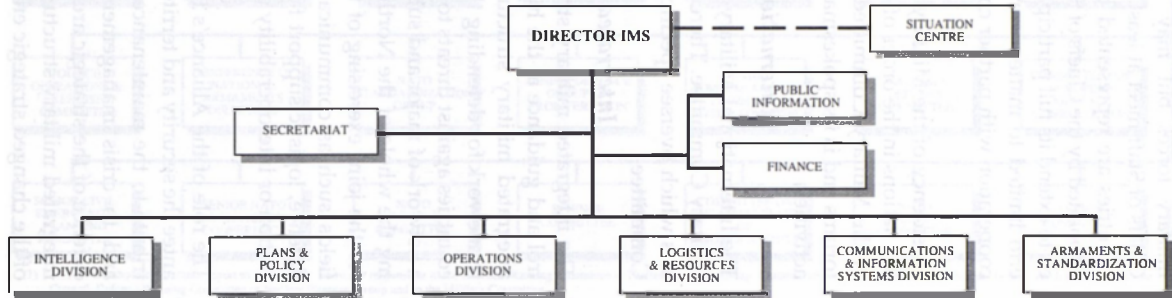
The integrated military structure remains under political control and guidance at the highest level. The primary role of the integrated military structure is to provide the organisational framework for defending the territory of participating member countries against threats to their security or stability. It includes a network of major and subordinate military commands covering the whole of the North Atlantic area. It provides the basis for the joint exercising of military forces and collaboration in fields such as communications and information systems, air defence, logistic support for military forces, and the standardization or interoperability of procedures and equipment.

The role of the Alliance's integrated military forces is to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of member states, contribute to the maintenance of stability and balance in Europe and to crisis management and, ultimately, to provide the defence of the strategic area covered by the NATO Treaty. The integrated military structure has been adapted to take account of the changed strategic environment (see page 25 below).

NATO Military Structure



NATO International Military Staff



Defence Planning

In determining the size and nature of their contribution to collective defence, member countries of NATO retain full sovereignty and independence of action. Nevertheless, the nature of NATO's defence structure requires that in reaching their individual decisions, member countries take into account the overall needs of the Alliance. They therefore follow agreed defence planning procedures which provide the methodology and machinery for determining the forces required to implement Alliance policies, for coordinating national defence plans and for establishing force planning goals which are in the interests of the Alliance as a whole. The planning process takes many quantitative and qualitative factors into account, including changing political circumstances, assessments provided by NATO's Military Commanders of the forces they require to fulfil their tasks, scientific advances, technological developments, the importance of an equitable division of roles, risks and responsibilities within the Alliance, and the individual economic and financial capabilities of member countries. The process thus ensures that all relevant considerations are jointly examined to enable the best use to be made of the national resources which are available for defence.

Close coordination between international civil and military staffs, NATO's military authorities, and NATO governments is maintained through an annual exchange of information on national plans. This exchange of information enables each nation's intentions to be compared with NATO's overall requirements and, if necessary, reconsidered in the light of new Ministerial political directives, modernisation requirements and changes in the roles and responsibilities of the forces themselves. All these aspects are kept under continuous review and are scrutinised at each stage of the defence planning cycle.

The starting point for defence planning is the agreed Strategic Concept which sets out in broad terms Alliance objectives and

the means for achieving them. More detailed guidance is given every two years by Defence Ministers. Specific planning targets for the armed forces of member nations are developed on the basis of this guidance. These targets, known as 'Force Goals', generally cover a six-year period, but in certain cases look further into the future. They are updated every two years. In addition, allied defence planning is reviewed annually and given political direction by Ministers of Defence. This annual defence review is designed to assess the contribution of member countries to the common defence in relation to their respective capabilities and constraints and against the Force Goals addressed to them. The Annual Defence Review culminates in the compilation of a common NATO Force Plan which provides the basis for NATO defence planning over a five-year time frame.

NATO defence planning is being adapted to address the whole spectrum of Alliance roles and missions, including a range of crisis management tasks under the authority of the UN or the responsibility of the OSCE.

A PFP planning and review process modelled on relevant elements of the force planning arrangements described above, was introduced at the end of 1994 as a further basis for closer cooperation between NATO and its Cooperation Partners. This process is described in *Part IV*.

Nuclear Policy

The supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by strategic nuclear forces. Alliance solidarity and common commitment to the prevention of war also require widespread participation in nuclear roles by the European Allies involved in collective defence planning. Sub-strategic nuclear forces based in Europe and committed to NATO provide an essential political and military link between the European and the North American members of the Alliance. Since the elimination of

nuclear artillery and short-range surface-to-surface nuclear missiles, these forces now consist only of Dual-Capable Aircraft (DCA).

The Defence Ministers of member countries come together at regular intervals each year in the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) which meets specifically to discuss policy issues associated with nuclear forces. These discussions cover deployment issues, safety, security and survivability of nuclear weapons, communications, command and control, nuclear arms control and wider questions of common concern such as nuclear proliferation. The Alliance's nuclear policy is kept under permanent review and decisions are taken jointly to modify or adapt it in the light of new developments and to update and adjust planning and consultation procedures.

NATO Funding

The structure provided by the key components of the Organisation described above is supported by a system of common civil and military funding provided by member nations on a cost-sharing basis. The principle of common-funding applies equally to the provision of the basic facilities needed by the defence forces of member countries in order to fulfil their NATO commitments; and to the budgetary requirements of the political headquarters of the Alliance in Brussels and of NATO civil and military agencies elsewhere. It is extended to every aspect of cooperation within NATO.

NATO's financial resources are allocated on the basis of separate civil and military budgets managed by **Civil and Military Budget Committees** (CBC and MBC) in accordance with agreed cost-sharing formulas and a self-critical screening process. This embodies the principles of openness, flexibility and fairness, and ensures that maximum benefit is obtained, both for the Organisation as a whole and for its individual members, by seeking cost-effective solutions to common problems. Political

control and mutual accountability, including the acceptance by each member country of a rigorous, multilateral, budgetary screening process, are fundamental elements. Fair competition among national suppliers of equipment and services for contracts relating to common-funded activities is an important feature of the system.

The accounts of the various NATO bodies and those relating to expenditure under NATO's common-funded Security Investment (infrastructure) programme are audited by an independent International Board of Auditors.

In view of the financial and resource implications of the Alliance's transformation and of new tasks decided upon by NATO governments, a **Senior Resource Board (SRB)** has also been established. Composed of senior national representatives, the SRB is tasked with military resource allocation matters and identification of priorities.

New Force Structures

Since the London Summit in June 1990, the Alliance has been engaged in a comprehensive process of transformation to take account of the radically altered European security environment. This process has resulted in a new strategy, revised force and command structures, and the assumption of new missions, including peacekeeping.

NATO's new Strategic Concept, introduced at the Rome Summit in November 1991, calls for force structures which will enable the Alliance to respond effectively to the changing security environment by providing the forces and capabilities needed to deal with a wide spectrum of risks and contingencies. This includes the capability to undertake crisis management and crisis prevention operations, including peacekeeping, while continuing to defend the security and territorial integrity of member states.

At the 1994 Brussels Summit, Alliance leaders called for the continued adaptation of NATO's political and military structures and procedures in order to enable the Alliance's missions to be conducted more efficiently and flexibly. They also recognised the need to strengthen the European pillar of the Alliance by facilitating the use of NATO's military capabilities for NATO and European/WEU operations; and assisting the participation of non-NATO partners in joint peacekeeping operations and other contingencies as envisaged under the Partnership for Peace.

Accordingly, they endorsed the concept of Combined Joint Task Forces as a means of facilitating contingency operations, including operations with nations outside the Alliance. They directed the North Atlantic Council, with the advice of the NATO Military Authorities and in coordination with the WEU, to develop this concept and to establish the necessary capabilities. This initiative, when fully developed, will enable the Alliance to undertake more effectively its full range of missions, including operations under the authority of the United Nations or the responsibility of the OSCE. It will also enable non-NATO partners to participate as appropriate in contingency operations, and assist in the development of a European Security and Defence Identity compatible with the Alliance.

Detailed work continues in coordination with the WEU on the implementation of the concept, with a view to providing separable but not separate military capabilities that could be employed by NATO or the WEU.

Force Reductions

Changes in the peacetime strength and readiness levels of NATO's military forces, agreed in 1993 as part of the transition to new force structures, led to reductions of up to 25 per cent in overall planned peacetime strength, compared to 1990 force levels. These included:

- a 25 per cent reduction in the total number of Alliance ground combat units and a reduction of over 45 per cent in the peacetime strength of NATO's land forces in the Central Region, with a large proportion of the total land force requirement being met by mobilisable units;
- a reduction of over 10 per cent in the number of naval combat units, including aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, frigates and submarines assigned to NATO and normally deployed within the NATO area;
- a decrease of over 25 per cent in the total number of combat aircraft assigned to NATO and stationed in Europe, with a 45 per cent reduction of air forces in the Central and Northern Regions and a 25 per cent reduction in air force reinforcements from North America.

Since 1993, the Alliance has undertaken a further review designed to establish the capabilities and forces required, both for collective defence and to accomplish NATO's new roles and missions, in the light of the changing political and strategic environment and the potential risks which the Alliance may have to confront. This has resulted in additional force reductions in some areas.

New Force Structure Characteristics

The changed circumstances of European security which have paved the way for substantial reductions in the size and levels of readiness of NATO forces have also led to other modifications in the manner in which forces are maintained and organised. While providing for a higher proportion of NATO's main defence forces to be kept at lower levels of readiness than in the past, the new structure places increased emphasis on flexibility, mobility and the continuing need for force modernisation. The importance of mobilisable reserves and of augmentation capacity as a whole has likewise increased. The reorganisation of forces within NATO's Integrated Military Command structure reflects the above characteristics as well as the enhanced role of multinational forces.

Composition of Forces

Broadly speaking, forces available to NATO come into three categories: *Immediate and Rapid Reaction Forces*, *Main Defence Forces*, and *Augmentation Forces*⁽¹⁾.

Reaction Forces are versatile, highly mobile ground, air and maritime forces maintained at high levels of readiness and available at short notice for an early military response to a crisis. The reaction forces available to the Alliance consist of *Immediate Reaction Forces* and *Rapid Reaction Forces*.

Immediate Reaction Forces consist of Land, Air and Maritime components. The Immediate Reaction Force (Land) (IRF(L)) will replace the existing ACE Mobile Force (Land) (AMF(L)). The Immediate Reaction Force (Air) (IRF(A)) will be selected and deployed from high readiness air squadrons assigned by nations. The Immediate Reaction Forces (Maritime) (IRF(M)) are composed of:

- the Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT),
- the Standing Naval Force Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED),
- the Standing Naval Force Channel (STANAVFORCHAN).

Rapid Reaction Forces also consist of Land, Air and Maritime components. The ACE Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) is the land component. High readiness units assigned by nations constitute the Air and Maritime components.

(1) In accordance with the Alliance's Strategic Concept, Allied forces must be structured in a way which enables their military capability to be augmented or built up when necessary by reinforcement, reconstituting forces or mobilising reserves. Reserve forces therefore play an important role in the whole spectrum of NATO's defence structure and in the event of crisis, would be required to take up positions and carry out tasks alongside regular forces.

Main defence forces form the major element of the new force structure. These include active and mobilisable ground, air and maritime forces able to deter and defend against coercion or aggression. These forces comprise multinational and national formations at varying levels of readiness, including some at a high state of readiness, which could be employed for crisis management. Some main defence air forces have an interregional reinforcement role. There are now four multinational main defence corps in NATO's Central Region: one Danish-German, one Dutch-German and two German-United States. In addition, an agreement has been concluded setting out arrangements under which the European Corps, consisting of units from Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and Spain, would be made available to NATO in times of crisis.

Augmentation forces consist of other forces at varying degrees of readiness and availability which can be used to reinforce any NATO region or maritime area for deterrence, crisis management or defence.

Availability and Readiness of Forces

The majority of the military forces available to NATO are provided by the conventional forces of member countries participating in the integrated military structure. They are essentially of two kinds:

Those which come under the operational command or operational control of a Major NATO Commander when required, in accordance with specified procedures or at prescribed times; and those which nations have agreed to assign to the operational command or operational control of a Major NATO Commander at a future date.

Some of the above terms have precise military definitions. The terms "command" and "control", for example, relate to the nature of the authority exercised by military commanders over

the forces assigned to them. When used internationally, these terms do not necessarily have the same implications as they do when used in a purely national context. In assigning forces to NATO, member nations assign operational command or operational control, as distinct from full command over all aspects of the operations and administration of those forces. These latter aspects continue to be a national responsibility and remain under national control.

In general, most NATO forces remain under full national command in peacetime. Exceptions to this rule are the integrated staffs in the various NATO military headquarters; parts of the integrated air defence structure, including the Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AWACS) forces; some communications units; and the Standing Naval Forces as well as other elements of the Alliance's Reaction Forces.

Future adjustments relating to the availability and readiness of NATO forces will continue to reflect the strictly defensive nature of the Alliance. As in the past, the Alliance's political authorities continue to exercise close control over the deployment and employment of NATO forces at all times.

NATO's Integrated Command Structure

As NATO implements its new force structure, it is also streamlining its command arrangements. The principal feature of the new command structure is the reduction in the number of Major NATO Commands from three to two: Allied Command Europe (ACE) and Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT). Allied Command Channel (ACCHAN) was disbanded on 1 June 1994 and its responsibilities have been absorbed into Allied Command Europe. Other changes include the reorganisation of three Major Subordinate Commands within Allied Command Europe which are now responsible for the Southern, Central and North West Regions.

The Integrated Command Structure which results from the above changes is as follows:

The strategic area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty is divided between two Major NATO Commands (European and Atlantic) and a Regional Planning Group for Canada and the United States.

The Major NATO Commanders – the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT) – are responsible for the development of defence plans for their respective areas, for the determination of force requirements and for the deployment and exercise of the forces under their command or control. Their reports and recommendations regarding the forces assigned to them and their logistic support are referred to the NATO Military Committee. The forces under their authority have distinct functions to perform in order to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of member states in peacetime, crisis or war. Military direction is provided by the NATO Military Committee. The manner in which their forces are organised reflects the need to ensure that they are at all times able to perform these functions, through measured and timely responses, at the minimum level necessary for effectiveness and credibility, in accordance with the overall objectives of NATO's Strategic Concept.

The adaptation of NATO's force structure continues. At the spring 1995 meeting of the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group, NATO Defence Ministers announced that they were taking further steps to ensure that the Alliance's military structures and capabilities are properly adapted to the new, more complex strategic circumstances and to the many diverse tasks they may be asked to perform. They indicated that particular importance is attached to the development of strategic capabilities in the fields of surveillance and intelligence, strategic mobility, and logistics, which are necessary to underpin the military credibility and effectiveness of the Alliance's strategy and force posture.

Part III

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL (NACC)

Dialogue and cooperation with the newly independent countries of Central and Eastern Europe and of the former Soviet Union took on concrete form with the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) in December 1991.

The development of dialogue and partnership with new Cooperation Partners forms an integral part of NATO's Strategic Concept, adopted by Heads of State and Government in Rome in November 1991. The creation of the NACC was the culmination of a number of earlier steps taken by the members of the Alliance in the light of the fundamental changes which were taking place in Central and Eastern European countries.

The NACC's inaugural meeting was held on 20 December 1991 with the participation of 25 countries, including the 16 NATO Allies. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union which took place on the same day, and the subsequent creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), participation in the NACC was expanded to include all the member states of the CIS, as well as Georgia and Albania which joined the process in April and June 1992, respectively. At the meeting of the NACC held in Oslo in June 1992, Finland also began attending as an observer. Slovenia joined the NACC in January 1996.

Membership

There are now 39 NACC members, including all 16 NATO member countries plus:

Albania	Azerbaijan	Bulgaria	Estonia
Armenia	Belarus	Czech Republic	Georgia

Hungary	Lithuania	Russia	Turkmenistan
Kazakhstan	Moldova	Slovakia	Ukraine
Kyrgyzstan	Poland	Slovenia	Uzbekistan
Latvia	Romania	Tajikistan	

Austria, Finland, Malta, Sweden and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia⁽¹⁾ have observer status in the NACC, as participants in Partnership for Peace (see *Part IV*).

The NACC is composed of Foreign Ministers or their Representatives. The frequency of its meetings varies but includes at least one regular meeting per year and others according to requirements.

Activities

Consultations and cooperation in the framework of the NACC, as set out in the NACC Work Plan, focus on political and security-related issues where Alliance member countries can offer experience and expertise. Among the issues addressed are civil/military coordination of air traffic management; the conversion of defence production to civilian purposes; arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; defence procurement; air defence; and civil emergency planning. NACC Partners also participate in many aspects of NATO's scientific and environmental programmes. The dissemination of information about NATO in NACC countries has also been enhanced. Practical defence-related issues, including military cooperation and exercises, originally incorporated within the NACC Work Plan, have been subsumed into Partnership for Peace activities. Examples of activities in the framework of the NACC, focusing on consultation and cooperation, are given below:

(1) Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

Political consultation

Regular consultations take place on political and security-related issues of interest to member states, including regional conflicts. The North Atlantic Council meets with Ambassadors of NACC Cooperation Partners and the NATO Political Committee meets with Cooperation Partner counterparts at least every other month. A number of other NATO committees subordinate to the Council also meet regularly with Cooperation Partner representatives.

Economic issues

The Economic Committee's work with Cooperation Partners focuses on defence budgets and their relationship with the economy; security aspects of economic developments; and defence conversion issues. Expert meetings, seminars and workshops are held to address these subjects. Databases and pilot projects are being developed in the field of defence conversion, for example, to facilitate the transformation of military production into resources for civilian industrial output. The annual NATO Colloquium on economic developments in NACC countries also brings together experts for exchanges of views on relevant economic topics.

Information matters

In the field of information, the NATO Committee on Information and Cultural Relations meets with representatives of Cooperation Partners annually to discuss the implementation of information activities foreseen in the NACC Work Plan. Cooperative programmes organised by the NATO Office of Information and Press include visits; co-sponsored seminars and conferences; publications; and Democratic Institutions Fellowships. Assistance is provided by Liaison Embassies of Cooperation Partner countries in Brussels and by Contact Point Embassies of NATO countries in NACC capitals.

Scientific and environmental issues

The NACC Work Plan provides for meetings of NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) with Cooperation Partners at least once a year. An extensive programme of cooperative activities in scientific and environmental affairs focuses on such priority areas as disarmament technologies, environmental security, high technology, science and technology policy, and computer networking. In addition, NATO Science Fellowships are awarded to both NATO and Cooperation Partner scientists for study or research. Several hundred scientists from NACC Cooperation Partner countries now participate in NATO's scientific and environmental programmes.

Part IV

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PFP)

Partnership for Peace (PFP) is a major initiative introduced by NATO at the January 1994 Brussels Summit. The Partnership is working to expand and intensify political and military cooperation throughout Europe, increase stability, diminish threats to peace, and build strengthened relationships by promoting the spirit of practical cooperation and commitment to democratic principles that underpin the Alliance. It offers participating states the possibility of strengthening their relations with NATO in accordance with their own individual interests and capabilities. NATO will also consult with any active participant in the Partnership if that Partner perceives a direct threat to its territorial integrity, political independence, or security.

The states participating in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and other member countries of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) able and willing to contribute, were invited to join the NATO member states in this Partnership in January 1994. Twenty-seven states have since accepted this invitation and in most cases, detailed Individual Partnership Programmes have been agreed and are being implemented. Five of these countries – Austria, Finland, Malta, Sweden and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – are not members of the NACC but participate in NACC deliberations on PFP issues and take part in other NACC activities as observers.

The 27 PFP member states are:

Albania	Azerbaijan	Czech Republic
Armenia	Belarus	Estonia
Austria	Bulgaria	Finland

Georgia	Malta	Slovenia
Hungary	Moldova	Sweden
Kazakhstan	Poland	the former Yugoslav
Kyrgyzstan	Romania	Republic of Macedonia ⁽¹⁾
Latvia	Russia	Turkmenistan
Lithuania	Slovakia	Ukraine
		Uzbekistan

At a pace and scope determined by the capacity and desire of the individual participating Partners, NATO is working with its Partners in concrete ways towards creating greater transparency in defence budgeting, improving civil-military relations and promoting democratic control of armed forces; developing joint planning and joint military exercises; and developing the ability of the forces of Partner countries to operate with NATO forces in such fields as peacekeeping, search and rescue and humanitarian operations, and others as may be agreed.

Relationship Between the NACC and PFP

Partnership for Peace has been established within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and builds on the momentum of cooperation created by the NACC. Partnership for Peace activities are fully coordinated with other activities undertaken in the NACC framework.

While PFP focuses in particular on practical, defence-related and military cooperation activities, the NACC provides a forum for broad consultations on political and security related issues as well as for practical cooperation on security-related economic questions, information and scientific and environmental matters. Moreover, a fundamental difference between the NACC and PFP is that the NACC is a multilateral forum while PFP focuses on cooperation between NATO and individual partners.

(1) Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

The NACC Work Plan sets down cooperation activities designed for all NACC members. In contrast, the Partnership Work Programme is developed by NATO as a "menu" of potential cooperative activities from which PFP Partners may select according to their own specific, individual interests. Each PFP Partner jointly develops with NATO an Individual Partnership Programme (IPP) listing specific cooperation activities agreed between NATO and that Partner, drawn from the Partnership Work Programme.

Aims of Partnership for Peace

Concrete objectives of the Partnership include:

- facilitating transparency in national defence planning and budgeting processes;
- ensuring democratic control of defence forces;
- maintaining the capability and readiness to contribute to operations under the authority of the UN and/or the responsibility of the OSCE;
- developing cooperative military relations with NATO, for the purpose of joint planning, training and exercises in order to strengthen the ability of PFP participants to undertake missions in the fields of peacekeeping, search and rescue, humanitarian operations, and others as may subsequently be agreed;
- developing, over the longer term, forces that are better able to operate with those of the members of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Active participation in the Partnership for Peace will play an important role in the evolutionary process of including new members in NATO. Alliance governments have stated that they "expect and would welcome" the addition of new members to the Alliance "as part of an evolutionary process taking into account political and security developments in the whole of

Europe". Article 10 of the Washington Treaty provides for the inclusion in NATO of other European states in a position to further the principles of the Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area. For more on this, see *Part X*.

Obligations and Commitments of PFP

In accordance with the invitation issued by NATO at the beginning of 1994, countries wishing to participate in PFP sign a Framework Document in which they affirm their commitment to the preservation of democratic societies and the maintenance of the principles of international law; to fulfil in good faith the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights; to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; to respect existing borders; and to settle disputes by peaceful means. They also reaffirm their commitment to the Helsinki Final Act and all subsequent CSCE/OSCE documents and to the fulfilment of the commitments and obligations they have undertaken in the field of disarmament and arms control.

Implementation and Procedures

After signing the Framework Document, each Partner then submits its own, individual Presentation Document to NATO. Developed with the assistance of NATO authorities if desired, this document indicates the scope, pace and level of participation in cooperation activities with NATO sought by the Partner (for example, joint planning, training and exercises). The Presentation Document also identifies steps to be taken by the Partner to achieve the political goals of the Partnership as well as military and other assets that might be made available by the Partner for Partnership activities. It serves as a basis for developing an agreed Individual Partnership Programme (IPP), between the Partner and NATO, which details cooperation activities with each Partner. IPPs have been agreed between NATO and most PFP partners and are being implemented.

Partners undertake to make available personnel, assets, facilities and capabilities necessary and appropriate for carrying out the agreed Partnership Programme; to fund their own participation in Partnership activities; and to share the burdens of mounting exercises in which they take part.

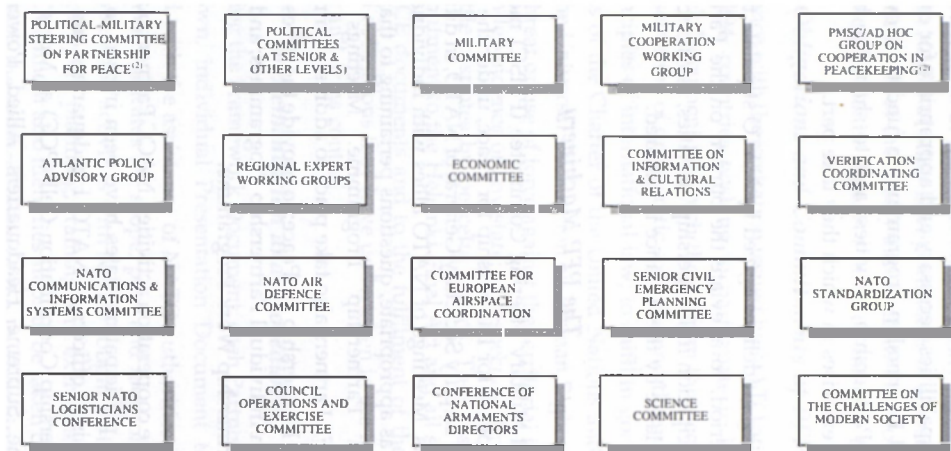
PFP funding guidelines agreed by NATO stipulate that, for an interim period, to alleviate the burden on the Partners from their participation in Partnership activities, assistance could be made available by the Alliance if required.

The PFP Machinery

A Political-Military Steering Committee (PMSC) meets as the working forum for Partnership for Peace, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Secretary General of NATO, in different configurations. Meetings of NATO allies with individual Partners examine, as appropriate, questions pertaining to that country's Individual Partnership Programme. Meetings with all NACC/PFP Partners also take place to address common issues relating to Partnership for Peace; to provide the necessary transparency on Individual Partnership Programmes; and to consider the Partnership Work Programme.

To facilitate cooperation activities, NACC Partner countries and other PFP participating states have been invited to send permanent liaison officers to NATO Headquarters and to a separate Partnership Coordination Cell (PCC) at Mons (Belgium), where the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) is located. Most PFP countries have designated Liaison Officers to NATO, who work in office facilities provided for them in the Manfred Wörner Wing at NATO Headquarters in Brussels. Many PFP countries have also appointed Liaison Officers to the Coordination Cell.

Principal NATO Committees ⁽¹⁾ addressing NACC and PFP activities



1326-94

- (1) Most of these Committees have responsibilities relating to the implementation of the NACC Work Plan or of Partnership for Peace (PFP) activities, in addition to their normal NATO functions. They meet regularly in cooperation session and with PFP partners.
- (2) In accordance with the decision taken by NACC Foreign Ministers in Istanbul in June 1994, the NACC Ad Hoc Group on Cooperation in Peacekeeping has been merged with the Political-Military Steering Committee on Partnership for Peace and now meets in the NACC/PFP context as the PMSC/AHIG on Cooperation in Peacekeeping.

The Partnership Coordination Cell is responsible, under the authority of the North Atlantic Council, for coordinating joint military activities within the Partnership for Peace and for carrying out the military planning necessary to implement the military aspects of the Partnership Programmes, notably, the preparation of PFP exercises. The Cell is headed by a Director with responsibilities which include consultation and coordination with NATO's military authorities on matters directly related to the PCC's work. Detailed operational planning for military exercises is the responsibility of the military commands conducting the exercise.

Three PFP exercises were held in autumn 1994, and 11 land and sea exercises in 1995, five of which took place in Partner countries. These exercises are designed to improve practical military cooperation and common capabilities in the areas on which PFP focuses and help to develop interoperability between the forces of NATO Allies and Partner countries. They also have an important political role. A large number of nationally sponsored exercises in the spirit of PFP are also taking place.

A PFP Status of Forces Agreement, defining the legal status of NATO and Partner military forces when present on each other's territory, is now open for signature by Partner countries.

Cooperation in Peacekeeping

The Political-Military Steering Committee/Ad Hoc Group on Cooperation in Peacekeeping (PMSC/AHG), which operates in the NACC/PFP framework, serves as the main forum for consultations on political and conceptual issues related to peacekeeping, and for the exchange of experience and the discussion of practical measures for cooperation. The PMSC/AHG reports periodically to NACC/PFP Foreign Ministers on these matters. Ireland, as an interested OSCE member state with specific experience in peacekeeping, also participates in the work of the

group and actively contributes to it. A representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office regularly attends the meetings of the Group and a representative of the United Nations has also participated in its activities.

A number of PFP Partners are gaining useful practical experience in operating with NATO forces, while at the same time making a valuable contribution to peace in Bosnia, by participating in the NATO-led Implementation Force to implement the military aspects of the Bosnian Peace Agreement (see *Part V*).

Defence-Related and Military Cooperation Matters

Among the defence and military-related matters addressed in PFP, are:

Civil-military relations and the democratic control of armed forces

Allies and Partners attach importance to improving civil-military relations and enhancing democratic control of defence establishments and armed forces in the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. A number of activities have therefore been undertaken with the aim of ensuring transparency and appropriate parliamentary oversight and public scrutiny of decision-making related to defence issues, and developing civilian expertise on security questions.

Defence procurement issues

Cooperation programmes on topics related to defence procurement programme management, materiel and technical standardization, technical research, air defence and communications and information systems interoperability, are developed by the Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD), the NATO Air Defence Committee (NADC) and the NATO Communications and Information Systems Committee (NACISC). Specific activities include meetings of multinational

expert teams, the provision of technical documentation, workshops, seminars and other joint meetings.

Airspace coordination

NATO's Committee for European Airspace Coordination (CEAC) meets in regular plenary sessions with specialists from PFP Partner countries and other nations to focus on civil-military coordination of air traffic management. Partner country representatives also take part in working groups, seminars and workshops held under the auspices of CEAC.

Civil emergency planning

The Senior Civil Emergency Planning Committee (SCEPC) meets with PFP Partners to oversee a programme of practical cooperation activities (seminars, workshops and exchanges of information) in the field of civil emergency planning and humanitarian assistance. Cooperation Partners also have the opportunity of exchanging technical expertise in the field of civil emergency planning through their participation in other committees responsible to the SCEPC. Emphasis is placed on the development of emergency legislation; disaster preparedness covering the entire spectrum of disaster prevention, mitigation, response and recovery, and promotion of effective civil-military cooperation.

Military cooperation

NATO's Military Committee holds annual meetings at Chiefs of Staff level with NACC/PFP Partners and also meets at Military Representative level. The first meeting of the Military Committee in Cooperation Session took place in April 1992. It represented an important milestone in the partnership process and resulted in a military work plan designed to develop cooperation and assist Cooperation Partners with the process of restructuring their armed forces. Activities in the framework of the Military Cooperation programme have since been subsumed under the Partnership for Peace.

Scientific and Environmental Cooperation in the NACC Framework

Scientists from Cooperation Partner countries have participated in the scientific and environmental programmes of the Alliance since 1992. In 1993 measures were taken by the North Atlantic Council to make these programmes more relevant to activities involving Cooperation Partners, singling out in particular scientific fields having a special bearing on security. As a result of these developments, scientists from NATO and Cooperation Partner countries are now engaged in NATO-sponsored activities designed to address issues such as the dismantling of weapons of mass destruction, military-related environmental degradation, and the conversion of military industries to civilian purposes. Representatives of Cooperation Partner countries also meet on an annual basis with the NATO Science Committee and the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society.

PFP Planning and Review Process

In January 1995 a Planning and Review Process (PARP) was introduced within PFP, based on a biennial planning cycle, designed to advance interoperability and increase transparency among Allies and Partners. The first cycle of this process, in which 14 Partner states participated (Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and Ukraine), was completed in spring 1995. The Planning and Review Process provides an important tool for enhancing interoperability between Partners and NATO member states in the areas of peacekeeping, humanitarian missions, and search and rescue operations. It also contributes to transparency in defence planning.

Part V

NATO'S ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The political basis for the Alliance's role in the former Yugoslavia was established at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Oslo, in June 1992, when NATO Foreign Ministers announced their readiness to support, on a case by case basis, in accordance with their own procedures, peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) – subsequently renamed the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). This included making available Alliance resources and expertise for peacekeeping operations.

In December 1992, the Alliance also stated its readiness to support peacekeeping operations under the authority of the UN Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for international peace and security. NATO Foreign Ministers reviewed peacekeeping and sanctions enforcement measures already being undertaken by NATO countries, individually and as an Alliance, to support the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions relating to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. They indicated that the Alliance was ready to respond positively to further initiatives that the UN Secretary General might take in seeking Alliance assistance in this field.

Since 1992, the Alliance has taken several key decisions, leading to operations by NATO naval forces, in conjunction with the WEU, to monitor and subsequently enforce the UN embargo in the Adriatic; and by NATO air forces, first to monitor and then to enforce, the UN no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Alliance also provided close air support to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and authorised air strikes to relieve the strangulation of Sarajevo and other threat-

ened Safe Areas. Decisive action by the Alliance in support of the UN in the former Yugoslavia, together with a determined diplomatic effort, broke the siege of Sarajevo and made a negotiated solution to the conflict possible in autumn 1995. With the signature of the Bosnian Peace Agreement in December 1995, deployment of the NATO-led Implementation Force began. Its mission is to implement the military aspects of the Peace Agreement. Additional information on the operations leading up to the signature of the Peace Agreement is provided below.

Maritime Operations

NATO ships belonging to the Alliance's Standing Naval Force Mediterranean, assisted by NATO Maritime Patrol Aircraft (MPA), began monitoring operations in the Adriatic in July 1992. These operations were undertaken in support of the UN arms embargo against all republics of the former Yugoslavia (UN Security Council Resolution 713) and the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (UNSCR 757).

In November 1992, as an extension of the maritime monitoring operations, NATO and WEU forces in the Adriatic began enforcement operations in support of UN sanctions. Operations were then no longer restricted to registering possible violators and included stopping, inspecting and diverting ships when required.

At a joint session of the North Atlantic Council and the Council of the Western European Union on 8 June 1993, the combined NATO/WEU concept of operations was approved. This operation, named *Sharp Guard*, includes a single command and control arrangement under the authority of the Councils of both organisations. Operational control of the combined NATO/WEU Task Force was delegated, through NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), to the Commander Allied Naval Forces Southern Europe (COMNAV-SOUTH).

Since November 1992, more than 63,000 ships have been challenged and, when necessary, diverted and inspected. After the UN Security Council strengthened the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro with Resolution 820 in April 1993, no ship has been able to break the embargo and six ships have been caught while attempting to do so.

Following the initialling of the Bosnian Peace Agreement on 21 November 1995, NATO and the WEU have adapted *Operation Sharp Guard* in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolutions suspending economic sanctions (UNSCR 1022) and phasing out the arms embargo, subject to certain conditions (UNSCR 1021). In accordance with UNSCR 1022, NATO and the WEU stopped enforcing the economic sanctions, although this enforcement can be reinstated if the Parties do not meet the conditions specified by the UN. The arms embargo will be lifted gradually, beginning on 14 March 1996 (90 days after signature of the Peace Agreement), and the enforcement will be discontinued in a phased manner, in accordance with UNSCR 1021.

Air Operations

NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft began monitoring operations in October 1992, in support of UNSCR 781, which established a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. Data on possible violations of the no-fly zone was passed to the appropriate UN authorities on a regular basis.

On 31 March 1993, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 816 authorising enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina and extending the ban to cover flights by all fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft except those authorised by UNPROFOR. In the event of further violations, it authorised UN member states to take all necessary measures to ensure compliance.

A NATO enforcement operation, called *Deny Flight*, began on 12 April 1993. It initially involved some 50 fighter and reconnaissance aircraft (later increased to more than 200) from various Alliance nations, flying from airbases in Italy and from aircraft carriers in the Adriatic. By December 1995, almost 100,000 sorties had been flown by fighter and supporting aircraft.

On 28 February 1994, four warplanes violating the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina were shot down by NATO aircraft. This was the first military engagement ever undertaken by the Alliance.

In June 1993, NATO Foreign Ministers decided to offer protective air power for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the performance of its overall mandate. In July, NATO aircraft began flying training missions for providing such close air support (CAS). On 10 and 11 April 1994, following a request from the UN Force Command, NATO aircraft provided Close Air Support to protect UN personnel in Gorazde, a UN-designated Safe Area in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the January 1994 Brussels Summit, Alliance leaders reaffirmed their readiness to carry out air strikes in order to prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo, the Safe Areas and other threatened areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on 9 February 1994, the North Atlantic Council took further steps to implement this decision.

Further decisions were taken on 22 April 1994 in response to a request by the UN Secretary General, to support the UN in its efforts to end the siege of Gorazde and to protect other Safe Areas. The Council declared that specified military assets and installations would be subject to air strikes if any Bosnian Serb heavy weapons remained within a 20-kilometre Exclusion Zone around the centre of Gorazde. Regarding other UN-designated Safe Areas (Bihac, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Zepa), the Council

authorised air strikes if these areas were attacked by heavy weapons from any range. These other Safe Areas could also become Exclusion Zones if, in the common judgement of the NATO and UN Military Commanders, there was a concentration or movement of heavy weapons within a radius of 20 kilometres around them.

On 5 August 1994, NATO aircraft attacked a target within the Sarajevo Exclusion Zone at the request of UNPROFOR. The air strikes were ordered following agreement between NATO and UNPROFOR, after weapons were seized by Bosnian Serbs from a weapons collection site near Sarajevo.

On 22 September 1994, following a Bosnian Serb attack on a UNPROFOR vehicle near Sarajevo, NATO aircraft carried out an air strike against a Bosnian Serb tank, again at the request of UNPROFOR.

On 21 November 1994, NATO aircraft attacked the Udbina airfield in Serb-held Croatia in response to recent attacks launched from that airfield against targets in the Bihac area of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After attacks on two NATO aircraft launched from a surface-to-air missile site south of Otoka, in north-west Bosnia-Herzegovina, an air strike was conducted against this site by NATO aircraft on 23 November 1994.

Following a deterioration of the situation in former Yugoslavia, including violations of the Exclusion Zones and the shelling of Safe Areas, air strikes were again carried out on 25 and 26 May 1995, targeting Bosnian Serb ammunition depots in Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina. During this period, some 370 UN peacekeepers in Bosnia were taken hostage and subsequently used as

human shields at potential targets in a bid to prevent further air strikes. NATO Foreign Ministers, meeting in Noordwijk, the Netherlands, on 30 May, condemned the escalation of violence in Bosnia and the hostile acts against UN personnel by the Bosnian Serbs. By 18 June, the UN hostages had been released and remaining peacekeeping forces which had been isolated at weapons collection sites around Sarajevo were withdrawn from these sites.

On 11 July, the UN called for NATO close air support to protect UN peacekeepers threatened by Bosnian Serb forces advancing on the UN-declared Safe Area of Srebrenica in Bosnia-Herzegovina. NATO aircraft attacked targets as identified by, and under the control of, the UN. Despite NATO's air support, the Safe Area of Srebrenica fell to Bosnian Serb forces which soon overran the nearby Safe Area of Zepa as well.

Following the international meeting on Bosnia-Herzegovina held in London on 21 July 1995, the North Atlantic Council approved, on 25 July, the necessary planning aimed at deterring an attack on the Safe Area of Gorazde, while ensuring that NATO air power would be used in a timely and effective way if this Safe Area was threatened or attacked. The Council, on 1 August, took similar decisions aimed at deterring attacks on the Safe Areas of Sarajevo, Bihac and Tuzla.

Deny Flight's mandate was terminated on 20 December 1995, with the transfer of authority from the UN to NATO as stipulated in the UN Security Council Resolution of 15 December. This provided for the creation of the NATO-led Implementation Force in Bosnia, following the Peace Agreement signed on 14 December. NATO will continue to control the airspace over Bosnia-Herzegovina, as part of its peace implementation mission *Joint Endeavour*.

Operation Deliberate Force

On 30 August 1995, NATO aircraft, operating within the provisions agreed between NATO and the UN for *Operation Deny Flight*, commenced a series of attacks on Bosnian Serb military targets in Bosnia. The air operations were initiated after UN military commanders concluded, beyond any reasonable doubt, that a mortar attack in Sarajevo two days earlier came from Bosnian Serb positions. The operations were jointly decided by the Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe (CINCSOUTH) and the Force Commander, UN Peace Forces, under UN Security Council Resolution 836 and in accordance with the North Atlantic Council's decisions of 25 July and 1 August 1995, which were endorsed by the UN Secretary General. The common objectives of NATO and the UN were to reduce the threat to the Sarajevo Safe Area and to deter further attacks there or on any other Safe Area; the withdrawal of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons from the total Exclusion Zone around Sarajevo; and complete freedom of movement for UN forces and personnel and non-governmental organisations, and unrestricted use of Sarajevo Airport.

On 20 September 1995, CINCSOUTH and the UN Peace Force Commander concluded that the Bosnian Serbs had complied with the conditions set down in a letter of 3 September by the UNPF Commander and therefore air strikes were discontinued. However, they stressed that any attack on Sarajevo or any other Safe Area, or other non-compliance with the provisions of the Sarajevo Exclusion Zone, freedom of movement or the functioning of the Airport would be subject to investigation and resumption of air strike operations.

Following the conclusion of *Operation Deliberate Force*, NATO conducted two additional air operations under *Operation Deny Flight*. On 4 October 1995, NATO aircraft fired three missiles at Bosnian Serb radar sites after anti-aircraft radar had locked onto

Alliance aircraft. On 9 October NATO aircraft attacked a Bosnian Serb army Command and Control bunker, near Tuzla, in response to a request for air support from UN Peace Forces, which had come under artillery shelling from Bosnian Serb guns for a second consecutive day.

Contingency Planning

Throughout this period, NATO conducted contingency planning for a range of options to support UN activities relating to the crisis. Contingency plans were provided to the UN for enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina; the establishment of relief zones and safe havens for civilians in Bosnia; and ways to prevent the spread of the conflict to Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Possible contingency arrangements for the protection of humanitarian assistance, monitoring of heavy weapons, and protection of UN forces on the ground, were also made available to the UN.

In mid-1994, due to the degradation of the situation on the ground, NATO military authorities were tasked to undertake contingency planning to assist the UN forces in withdrawing from Bosnia-Herzegovina and/or Croatia, if that became unavoidable. Plans for a NATO-led operation to support the withdrawal of UN forces were provisionally approved by the North Atlantic Council in June 1995. At the time, the Alliance stressed its hope that its planning and preparations would serve to underpin the continued UN presence in the former Yugoslavia.

As prospects for peace in Bosnia improved in autumn 1995, following *Operation Deliberate Force*, the Alliance reaffirmed its readiness to help implement a peace plan and stepped up its contingency planning to do so. With the initialling of a peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio (USA) between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal

Republic of Serbia on 21 November, preparations were expedited for a NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) to implement the military aspects of the peace agreement.

Operation Joint Endeavour

On 5 December 1995, the NATO Council, meeting at the level of Foreign and Defence Ministers, endorsed the military planning for the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR), stating that *Operation Joint Endeavour* would attest to NATO's capacity to fulfil its new missions of crisis management and peacekeeping, in addition to its core functions as a defensive alliance.

An advance enabling force of 2600 NATO troops began arriving in Bosnia and Croatia on 2 December to prepare for the full deployment to Bosnia of the Implementation Force. Following the signing of the Bosnian Peace Agreement in Paris on 14 December 1995, and on the basis of the UN Security Council's Resolution 1031 of 15 December, the North Atlantic Council approved the Operational Plan (OPLAN) and, on 16 December, activated the deployment of the main body of 60,000 IFOR troops.

The IFOR's mission is to ensure compliance with the Agreement by all Parties and to implement its military aspects. NATO will not impose a settlement on the Parties, but will take the necessary action to ensure compliance. As spelled out in UNSCR 1031, IFOR is operating under Chapter VII (peace enforcement) of the UN Charter.

The Implementation Force has a unified command and is NATO-led, under the political direction and control of the Alliance's North Atlantic Council, as stipulated by the Peace Agreement (Annex 1A). Overall military authority is in the hands of NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), General George Joulwan. General Joulwan has des-

ignated Admiral Leighton Smith (NATO's Commander in Chief Southern Command) as Commander in Theatre. Admiral Smith is based in Sarajevo.

The IFOR is operating under NATO rules of engagement which provide for the clear and robust use of force if necessary.

The IFOR is building partly upon elements of the UN Peace Forces already in place. These forces have come under NATO command and control following a transfer of authority on 20 December 1995 and the termination of UNPROFOR's mandate.

Preparations for the IFOR have been undertaken in coordination with non-NATO countries and other international organisations which will be involved in the implementation of the Peace Agreement. NATO Ministers have welcomed the wide range of offers from Partnership for Peace and other nations outside the Alliance, to participate in and support the operation. Thus, in addition to troop contributions from all NATO nations with armed forces, a significant number of non-NATO nations are participating in the IFOR.⁽¹⁾

Non-NATO forces are being incorporated into the unified command structure alongside NATO forces, under the command of the IFOR Commander and his multinational divisional commanders.

Russia's participation in the Implementation Force, which is subject to special arrangements agreed between NATO and Russia, is very important for the mission's success. It is a further significant step in the evolving NATO-Russia cooperative relationship.

(1)As of February 1996, non-NATO participating nations included Austria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden and Ukraine – all of which are Partnership for Peace countries – plus, Egypt, Jordan, Malaysia and Morocco.

IFOR is implementing the military aspects of the Bosnian Peace Agreement in an unbiased and even-handed way. The operation will be of a limited duration of approximately 12 months.

Conclusion

Since 1992, when NATO ships first began monitoring the UN embargo in the Adriatic, the Alliance has taken an increasingly active and decisive role in the former Yugoslavia. NATO's involvement has furthered its three objectives of supporting the peace process, helping to protect the UN-designated 'Safe Areas', and preventing a spillover of the conflict to neighbouring countries. NATO's presence in the air and its preparations to support a possible UN withdrawal allowed UN forces to remain on the ground and to carry out their important tasks. At the same time, NATO's *Operation Deliberate Force* helped to convince the parties to the conflict that their differences were best settled at the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield.

The NATO-led operation in Bosnia, *Joint Endeavour*, is NATO's first-ever ground force operation, its first-ever deployment "out of area", and its first-ever joint operation with NATO's Partnership for Peace partners and other non-NATO countries. It demonstrates that the Alliance has adapted its forces and policies to the requirements of the post-Cold War world, while continuing to provide collective security and defence for all Allies. It is tangible proof that, in addition to carrying out the core functions of defence of the Alliance, its military forces have the flexibility to be used outside the NATO area, for operations under the authority of the UN Security Council and with clear political objectives defining the military tasks. NATO's own military capabilities and its adaptability to include forces of non-NATO countries are decisive factors in the Alliance's role in implementing the Bosnian Peace Agreement. This operation shows that the Alliance remains vital, relevant and prepared to deal with the new, multifaceted security risks facing Europe with the end of the Cold War.

Part VI

ARMS CONTROL AND PROLIFERATION

Arms Control

Efforts to bring about more stable international relations at lower levels of military forces and armaments, through effective and verifiable arms control agreements and confidence-building measures, have long been an integral part of NATO's security policy. The principal criterion for arms control agreements is that they maintain or improve stability and enhance the long-term security interests of all participants.

The field of arms control includes measures to build confidence and those which result in limitations and reductions of military manpower and equipment. The Alliance is actively involved in both these areas. Extensive consultation takes place within NATO over the whole range of disarmament and arms control issues so that commonly agreed positions can be reached and national policies coordinated. In addition to the consultation which takes place in the North Atlantic Council and the Political Committees, a number of special bodies have been created to deal with specific arms control issues, such as the High Level Task Force, an internal coordinating body on conventional arms control questions established by Ministers in 1986.

Conventional Arms Control

The negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) among the member countries of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which began in Vienna in March 1989, resulted in the conclusion of the CFE Treaty on 19 November 1990. The Treaty was signed by the 22 member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, during a Summit Meeting in Paris of all 34 countries then participating in the CSCE process. Two further important documents were also signed by all CSCE partic-

ipants at the Paris Summit, namely the Charter of Paris for a New Europe; and the Vienna Document 1990, containing a large number of confidence and security-building measures applicable throughout Europe. In March 1992 this document was subsumed by the Vienna Document 1992, in which additional measures on openness and transparency were introduced. These were further enhanced by the Vienna Document 1994 adopted by the CSCE in December 1994.

The CFE Treaty is the culmination of efforts initiated by the Alliance in 1986 to reduce the level of armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. It imposes legally-binding limits on key categories of equipment held by states parties. The implementation of the Treaty provisions is subject to a precise calendar and a rigid regime of information exchanges and inspections under detailed "verification" provisions. The main categories of equipment covered by these provisions are those which constitute offensive military capability, namely tanks, artillery, armoured combat vehicles, combat aircraft and attack helicopters. The limits have already brought about dramatic reductions. They also ensure that no single country is able to maintain military forces at levels which would enable it to hold a dominating military position on the European continent.

The members of the Alliance attach paramount importance to the Treaty as the cornerstone of Europe's military security and stability. In December 1991, together with their Cooperation Partners, they established a High Level Working Group in which all Central and Eastern European countries participated, as well as the independent states in the former Soviet Union with territory in the CFE area of application, in order to facilitate the early entry into force of the Treaty. In May 1992, the eight former Soviet states concerned agreed on the apportionment of rights and obligations assumed by the Soviet Union under the terms of the CFE Treaty. This agreement, which was

confirmed at the June 1992 Extraordinary Conference in Oslo, provided the basis for the provisional application of the CFE Treaty throughout the area of application, as of 17 July 1992, allowing its verification and reduction procedures to be implemented immediately. Following ratification by all eight states of the former Soviet Union with territory in the area of application of the Treaty, and completion of the ratification process by all 29 signatories, the CFE Treaty formally entered into force on 9 November 1992. With the establishment of the Czech Republic and Slovakia as independent countries, the number of states which are party to the CFE Treaty rose to 30.

NATO Foreign Ministers, meeting in the North Atlantic Council in December 1995, stated that they continue to attach great importance to the full implementation and continued integrity and effectiveness of the CFE Treaty, which is considered a cornerstone of European security. They noted that the reduction period, completed on 17 November 1995, had resulted in the unprecedented destruction of some 50,000 pieces of military equipment in Europe. However, they noted with concern all cases of failure by States Parties to fulfil their Treaty obligations, among them the problem of Russia's flank obligations. They urged all such States Parties to comply with their obligations, to intensify their efforts to reach as quickly as possible a cooperative solution to the flank problem. This would provide a firm basis for the outcome of the CFE Treaty Review Conference in 1996 and the continued integrity and viability of the Treaty.

In 1990, the North Atlantic Council established a Verification Coordinating Committee to coordinate verification and implementation efforts among members of the Alliance with regard to conventional arms control and disarmament agreements in general, and particularly with regard to the CFE Treaty. The Committee ensures information exchange among Alliance nations on their inspection plans and on any issues relating to coordination of verification and implementation activities.

The Alliance also attaches considerable importance to the parallel implementation of the Concluding Act of the Negotiations on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which entered into force on 6 July 1992.

Other important elements introducing greater openness and confidence-building in the military field include agreements achieved in March 1992 on an "Open Skies" regime, permitting overflights of national territory on a reciprocal basis. The importance which the Alliance attaches to the Open Skies Treaty, as a means of promoting openness and transparency of military forces and activities, was reflected in the statement made by NATO Foreign Ministers in their Communiqué of December 1995, calling for its earliest possible entry into force.

At the Ministerial Meeting of the Council in December 1994, NATO Foreign Ministers reiterated their support for the objectives of the CSCE in the field of arms control. In particular, they anticipated the adoption at the Budapest Summit of substantial agreements reached in the CSCE Forum for Security Cooperation, including the Code of Conduct on Security Matters; the agreement on global exchange of military information; the increased focus on non-proliferation issues; and the further enhancement of the Vienna Document on confidence-building measures.

Nuclear Arms Control

In the field of nuclear arms control, the Alliance's objective is to ensure security at the minimum level of nuclear arms sufficient to preserve peace and stability. The entry into force and early implementation of the July 1991 START I Agreement (providing for approximately 30 per cent cuts in the strategic forces of the United States and the former Soviet Union), and the START II Agreement signed in January 1993, are key elements in the efforts to achieve this objective. President Bush's initiative of 27 September 1991, which included, in particular, the decision to eliminate nuclear warheads for ground-launched short-range

weapon systems, fulfilled the short-range nuclear forces (SNF) arms control objectives expressed in the London Declaration of July 1990. The withdrawal of US ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons (TNW) and nuclear depth bombs from Europe was completed by July 1992, as was the removal of all TNW from US surface ships and tactical submarines.

The concomitant withdrawal of former Soviet tactical nuclear weapons to the territory of Russia for ultimate dismantlement had been completed in May 1992. Several NATO allies are providing technical and financial assistance in the process of eliminating nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union.

Allies fully supported the Lisbon Protocol of May 1992 between the United States and the four states of the former Soviet Union with nuclear weapons on their territory (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine), committing them to joint implementation of the START I Treaty. Similarly, the Alliance welcomed commitments by Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as non-nuclear weapon states.

The signature of the START II Treaty in Moscow on 3 January 1993, was a further major step, reducing strategic nuclear forces well below the ceilings established by the START I Treaty. The Treaty, once implemented, will eliminate land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) with multiple warheads, and reduce by two-thirds the current levels of strategic nuclear weapons by the year 2003, or possibly sooner.

With Ukraine's signature of the NPT on 5 December 1994, and its concomitant completion of the ratification process of START I, the last remaining obstacle to the entry into force of the START I Treaty was removed and the way was cleared for the ratification and implementation of START II.

At their meeting in May 1995, NATO Foreign Ministers welcomed the agreement reached at the Conference in New York

to extend the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) indefinitely. This was a decisive step in strengthening the international nuclear non-proliferation system and, thus, international security. They stressed that they continued to attach great importance to full compliance with and fulfilment of all obligations resulting from existing arms control agreements.

NATO's Response to Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

At the January 1994 Summit, NATO Heads of State and Government formally acknowledged the security threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and associated delivery means and recognised this as a matter of concern to the Alliance. They therefore decided to intensify and expand NATO's political and defence efforts against proliferation. The first result of these efforts was a comprehensive statement of NATO's approach to proliferation laid out in the Alliance Policy Framework on Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction issued at the Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council on 9 June 1994.

New Challenges and Risks

The security challenges and risks which NATO faces now are different in nature from what they were in the past: they are multifaceted, multidirectional and hard to predict or assess. Proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons⁽¹⁾ poses a military risk to the Alliance and can lead to direct military threats. Proliferation must be taken into account in order to maintain NATO's ability to safeguard the security of its member states and to carry out new missions. Of particular concern are growing proliferation risks on NATO's periphery, the role of suppliers of WMD-related technology to them, the

(1) "WMD" and "NBC weapons" can be used interchangeably.

continuing risks of illicit transfers of WMD and related materials, and political-military uncertainties and future technological trends related to WMD. NATO is well-suited to dealing with the security dimensions of the proliferation problem and can bring together the resources of 16 nations in this effort.

The Political Dimension

In responding to the risks of proliferation, the principal objective of the Alliance is to prevent proliferation or, if it occurs, to reverse it through diplomatic means. In this regard, NATO seeks to support, without duplicating, work already underway in other international forums and institutions. The **Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation (SGP)** was established by the North Atlantic Council to address the political aspects of NATO's approach to the proliferation problem. The SGP has considered a range of factors in the political, security and economic fields that may cause or influence proliferation and identified political and economic instruments available to prevent or respond to proliferation. Based on its initial analysis, the Group is currently assessing proliferation problems in geographical areas of particular concern to the Alliance, with the main focus on developments on the periphery of NATO's territory.

The SGP has focused its activities on current political issues with a view to contributing to the implementation and strengthening of international arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation norms and agreements. It has emphasised the need to make clear to potential proliferants the grave consequences of efforts to acquire WMD and the necessity of respecting international non-proliferation norms and has underscored the importance of creating a climate of confidence and security that contributes to alleviating regional tensions, thereby reducing possible incentives for would-be proliferants to acquire WMD. *Ad hoc* consultations have taken place with Russia and other countries to engage them in a dialogue and eventual common effort to prevent proliferation.

Allies recognise that political efforts to prevent proliferation may not always be successful. For this reason, the Alliance is also addressing the defence aspects of dealing with proliferation risks to ensure it can safeguard the security of all its member states despite the presence, threat or use of NBC weapons. Alliance preparedness to deal with the military implications of proliferation is equally a fundamental aspect of NATO's overall adaptation to the new security environment.

The Defence Dimension

While proliferants will probably lack the capability to threaten the destruction of NATO member states, any crisis involving proliferants could carry the risk of NBC weapons being used. It is important to ensure that NATO's military posture makes manifest Alliance cohesion, and that it provides reassurance and maintains NATO's freedom of action in the face of proliferation risks. NATO's military posture should demonstrate to any potential aggressor that the Alliance cannot be coerced by the threat or use of NBC weapons and has the ability to respond effectively to threats to its security as they emerge.

The **NATO Senior Defence Group on Proliferation (DGP)** was established by the North Atlantic Council to address the military capabilities needed to discourage NBC proliferation, deter the threat or use of NBC weapons, and to protect NATO populations, territory and forces. In the first phase of its work, the DGP conducted a comprehensive assessment of the risks to the Alliance posed by proliferation. Building on this assessment in a second phase that has just been concluded, the DGP has identified a range of capabilities needed to support NATO's defence posture for that purpose. Its findings can be summarised as follows:

Military capabilities complement prevention efforts:

Alliance military capabilities reinforce and complement international efforts to prevent proliferation. Strategic intelligence

capabilities, in particular, enrich the Alliance's knowledge about supplier/proliferant relations and weapons development programmes. Robust military capabilities signal to proliferants the utmost seriousness with which NATO approaches proliferation risks, Alliance resolve and its refusal to be intimidated by NBC threats. This, in turn, should strengthen internationally shared norms against proliferation. All of the Alliance's military capabilities have a role in devaluing NBC weapons by reducing the incentives and raising the costs of acquiring or using them. NATO's development of military capabilities to deal with proliferation risks will also provide a better technical basis for non-proliferation-related monitoring and verification.

No one capability alone will suffice:

A mix of capabilities will provide a firm basis for deterring or protecting against the risks from proliferation and will also contribute significantly to the Alliance's primary aim of preventing proliferation. The Alliance has identified necessary capabilities and will consider how these capabilities should evolve in the face of future security challenges and risks.

Complements to nuclear deterrence:

Complementing nuclear forces with an appropriate mix of conventional response capabilities and passive and active defences, as well as effective intelligence and surveillance means, would reinforce the Alliance's overall deterrence posture against the threats posed by proliferation.

Core capabilities:

Greatest emphasis should be placed on core, integrative capabilities that would make the most substantial contributions to the Alliance's objectives for dealing with proliferation. These capabilities will increase the overall effectiveness of the Alliance's defence posture against proliferation risks and provide a foundation for enhancements to, and evolution of, NATO's response to proliferation. They include:

- Strategic and Operational Intelligence;
- Automated and Deployable Command, Control and Communications;
- Wide Area Ground Surveillance;
- Stand-off/Point Biological and Chemical Agent Detection, Identification, and Warning;
- Extended Air Defences, including Tactical Ballistic Missile Defence for Deployed Forces;
- Individual Protective Equipment for Deployed Forces.

Many of the capabilities identified are already available to NATO, or are being developed. Nevertheless, deficiencies will need to be addressed in some areas and further enhancements are required. Taken together, these capabilities would devalue the political and military benefits for a proliferant contemplating the acquisition of NBC weapons.

Conclusions and Way Ahead

NATO's approach to prevent proliferation and reverse it through diplomatic means is steadily developing. It is a continuing process complementing international non-proliferation efforts. An important element in this process are the *ad hoc* consultations with Russia and other countries with the aim of fostering a common understanding of and approach to the proliferation problem. In the defence field, the third phase of the DGP's work will now focus on identifying shortfalls that exist in NATO's current military posture and considering how they can be corrected. Thus, Alliance capabilities reinforce and complement international efforts to prevent the spread of WMD by demonstrating the Alliance's serious concern regarding proliferation.

At the Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council in December 1995, NATO Foreign Ministers stated that the Alliance's continuing success in addressing the political and defence aspects of proliferation, furthered by the work of the

SGP and DGP, demonstrates NATO's resolve to work together on common security concerns and is an important aspect of the Alliance's ongoing adaptation. They also welcomed consultations with Cooperation Partners on proliferation issues.

Referring to international efforts against proliferation, the Foreign Ministers reiterated their conviction that the indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons constitutes a decisive step towards the strengthening of the international non-proliferation regime and of international security. They appealed to all states not yet party to the Treaty to accede to it at the earliest date. They also repeated their support for ongoing efforts in the Conference on Disarmament towards achieving a global ban on all nuclear testing as its highest priority in 1996.

Part VII

ALLIANCE INTERACTION WITH THE ORGANISATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (OSCE)

An important component of Europe's mutually reinforcing institutions is the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (formerly known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)). The OSCE is the only regional forum bringing together all the countries of Europe, as well as Canada and the United States, under a common framework with respect to human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy, the rule of law, security and common liberty. It plays an essential role in European security and in promoting stability on the Continent.

Member states of the OSCE

Albania, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, San Marino, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan, United States of America, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (suspended from activities). The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia⁽¹⁾ and Japan are observers.

(1) Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

Initially a political consultative process, the CSCE became an organisation in January 1995, when it was renamed the OSCE. Alliance member states have sustained and promoted the CSCE/OSCE process throughout its history and have played a major role at key stages of its evolution, in particular, the development of the Helsinki Final Act, signed by Heads of State and Government in 1975. This document encompassed a wide range of commitments on principles governing relations between participating states, on measures designed to build confidence between them, on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and on cooperation in economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields.

The Alliance has actively supported the institutionalisation of the CSCE process, decided upon in 1990, and in 1991 NATO put forward additional proposals to develop further its potential role.

A significant further development of the conceptual link between the Alliance and the CSCE took place in June 1992 in Oslo. NATO Foreign Ministers stated their readiness to support on a case-by-case basis, in accordance with their own procedures, peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the CSCE, including making available Alliance resources and expertise. NATO Foreign Ministers reaffirmed these commitments in June 1993. These decisions provided the political basis for the subsequent development of NATO's role in crisis management and peacekeeping activities outside the formal confines of the North Atlantic Treaty area.

The Alliance continued to contribute to the enhancement of the CSCE/OSCE's operational and institutional capacity to prevent conflicts, manage crises and settle disputes peacefully and has pledged active support for further efforts to strengthen these capabilities. Significant steps were taken to achieve these goals at the CSCE Summit Meeting in Budapest in December 1994. NATO's Secretary General participated in that meeting and used the occasion to emphasize that the Alliance was ready to

put its resources and experience at the disposal of the CSCE/OSCE to support its peacekeeping and crisis management tasks, as it had done for the United Nations. New patterns of cooperation through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and the Partnership for Peace (PFP) should also be regarded as both complementary to and supportive of CSCE/OSCE activities.

Cooperation among the relevant institutions with responsibilities in the field of peacekeeping calls for practical arrangements to ensure complete complementarity and transparency between them. This is facilitated, in the case of the OSCE, inter alia, by participation of the OSCE Presidency in the Political-Military Steering Committee/Ad Hoc Group on Cooperation in Peacekeeping (see Part IV) and by attendance of the NATO Secretary General or NATO participation in appropriate OSCE meetings.

The Budapest Summit

In December 1994, 52 Heads of State and Government, meeting at the Budapest Summit, took a series of decisions to strengthen and transform the CSCE, including renaming it the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). As part of this process of institutionalising the body as an organisation, meetings of the Ministerial Council (the central decision-making and governing body of the OSCE, formerly known as the CSCE Council), which are at the level of Foreign Ministers, are now scheduled towards the end of every term of chairmanship. Other changes include the creation of the Senior Council, replacing the Committee of Senior Officials, which meets at least twice a year, as well as before the Ministerial Council Meeting, and also convening as the Economic Forum; the establishment of the Permanent Council (formerly Permanent Committee), meeting in Vienna, as the regular body for political consultation and decision-making; and the scheduling of the review of implementation of all OSCE commitments at a meeting to be held in Vienna before each Summit.

At the Budapest Summit it was also decided to launch discussion on a common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the 21st century, based on CSCE/OSCE principles and commitments.

At the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council in December 1995, NATO Foreign Ministers confirmed their continued commitment to furthering the OSCE's comprehensive approach to security and to strengthening its effectiveness, particularly in conflict prevention, management and resolution. They declared that the OSCE will be a valuable partner of the Alliance in the implementation of the peace settlement in Bosnia (see Part V) and that they looked forward to working with the OSCE in this endeavour. Its role in the elections process, in monitoring human rights, and in establishing confidence and security-building measures and arms control in the former Yugoslavia is central to the peace process. The Foreign Ministers stated that the implementation of the peace settlement will be one promising test ground for cooperation in many areas between NATO and the OSCE.

Finally, NATO Foreign Ministers welcomed the recent meeting of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office with the North Atlantic Council and said they would continue their efforts to improve the pattern of contacts between NATO and OSCE.

Part VIII

THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY

The European Union (EU)

The European Community (EC) was established on the basis of the Treaty of Rome signed on 25 March 1957 by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands. In 1973 they were joined by Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom; in 1981 by Greece; and in 1986 by Spain and Portugal.

The European Union was founded by all the members of the EC and came into being in 1993. Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the European Union on 1 January 1995, bringing the total to 15 member countries. Accession negotiations were also successfully completed by Norway, but in a national referendum held in November 1994, 52.5 per cent of Norwegian voters opposed membership of the European Union.

At the Maastricht European Council on 9 and 10 December 1991, the Heads of State and Government of the Community countries adopted a Treaty on Political Union, and a Treaty on Economic and Monetary Union, which together form the Treaty on European Union, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty. The Treaty came into force on 1 November 1993, following ratification by all parties.

With the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, new structures and procedures came into being and the European Community was subsumed into the European Union. The EU is composed of three "pillars". The first, known as the Community pillar, is based upon the Treaties of Paris and Rome, as modified by the 1986 Single European Act.

The other two pillars, newly created by the Treaty on European Union, deal primarily with inter-governmental cooperation, as

distinct from cooperation within the Community pillar, which is governed by Community legislation. The second pillar is that of the Common Foreign and Security Policy which is in the process of being developed. The third pillar relates to cooperation within the Union in the spheres of civil and criminal law and of home affairs.

The Treaty on European Union makes provision for an inter-governmental conference to be held in 1996 to evaluate achievements; and for a report evaluating the progress made and experience gained in the field of foreign and security policy to be presented to the European Council at that time.

In June 1993, the European Council announced that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which had signed "Europe Agreements" with the Union would eventually be invited to become EU members. In principle, ten countries of Central and Eastern Europe will be so eligible, including the three Baltic countries Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and Slovenia⁽¹⁾. At the Corfu European Council of June 1994, it was agreed that the next phase of enlargement should also include Cyprus and Malta. A further stage in the process of enlargement was reached at the Essen European Council of December 1994 which decided on a strategy aimed at preparing eligible countries for accession to the European Union.

Since the outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and the disintegration of the federal state of Yugoslavia, the European Union has played an important role in efforts to bring about peace to the region and has channelled extensive humanitarian aid to the war-stricken communities affected by the conflict. The

(1) The Agreements have not yet entered into force for the Baltic States. In the case of Slovenia, its Europe Agreement has been initialled, but signature was still pending as of February 1996.

London Conference on Yugoslavia held in August 1992, chaired jointly by the Secretary General of the United Nations and by the President of the European Council (then the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), represented a new departure for the EU in the field of foreign policy and the first combined EU-United Nations international operation.

The EU is playing an important role in the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Bosnian Peace Agreement which was signed in December 1995, in coordination with other international and non-governmental organisations. In particular, the EU Commission, along with the World Bank, is coordinating the international aid effort for reconstruction in Bosnia.

The Western European Union (WEU)

The Western European Union has existed in its present form since 1954 and today includes ten European countries - Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. It has a Council and Secretariat based in Brussels and a Parliamentary Assembly in Paris.

The WEU has its origins in the Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence of 1948, signed by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The Treaty was the first formal step undertaken by the European powers towards the establishment of the North Atlantic Alliance. Following the signature of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, the exercise of the military responsibilities of the Brussels Treaty Organisation, or Western Union, was transferred to the North Atlantic Alliance, in 1951.

Under the Paris Agreements of 1954, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy acceded to the Brussels Treaty and the Organisation was renamed the Western European Union.

The Western European Union was reactivated in 1984 with a view to developing a common European defence identity

through cooperation among its members in the security field and strengthening the European pillar of the North Atlantic Alliance.

At the meeting of the WEU Member States which took place in Maastricht in December 1991, at the same time as the meeting of the European Council, a declaration was issued inviting members of the future European Union to accede to the WEU or to become observers, and inviting other European members of NATO to become associate members of the WEU.

The Treaty on European Union refers to the Western European Union as an integral part of the development of the European Union and requests the WEU to elaborate and implement decisions and actions of the Union which have defence implications.

In June 1992, Foreign and Defence Ministers of WEU member states met near Bonn to strengthen further the role of the WEU and issued the "Petersberg Declaration". This set out, on the basis of the Maastricht decisions, the guidelines for the organisation's future development. In the Declaration, WEU members pledged their support for conflict prevention and peacekeeping efforts in cooperation with the then CSCE and with the United Nations Security Council. As part of the efforts to strengthen the operational role of WEU, it was decided that a WEU Planning Cell should be set up. WEU members also declared that they were prepared to make available military units from the whole spectrum of their conventional armed forces for military tasks conducted under the authority of the WEU. It was also agreed that military units of WEU member states could be employed for humanitarian and rescue tasks; peacekeeping tasks; and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making.

As part of their cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries, the WEU Council of Ministers invited the Foreign and Defence Ministers of eight states (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia,

Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania Poland and Romania) to join the WEU's Forum of Consultation, which met for the first time in October 1992.

At the Rome Ministerial meeting in November 1992, WEU members agreed to enlarge the organisation and invited Greece to become the tenth member, subject to parliamentary ratification (Greece became a full member of the WEU as of 6 March 1995). Iceland, Norway and Turkey, as member countries of NATO, were granted Associate Member status; and Denmark and Ireland, members of the European Union, became Observers. With their accession to the European Union on 1 January 1995, and following completion of parliamentary procedures, Austria, Finland and Sweden also became WEU Observers in early 1995.

In May 1994, at a meeting in Luxembourg, the WEU Council of Ministers issued the "Kirchberg Declaration", according the nine Central and Eastern European members of the Forum of Consultation (including the Czech Republic and Slovakia, now independent states) the status of Associate Partners, thereby suspending this Forum. The Kirchberg meeting thus established four levels of membership and association within the WEU: Members, Associate Members, Observers and Associate Partners.

NATO's European Pillar

At the Brussels Summit in January 1994, NATO Heads of State and Government welcomed the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty and the launching of the European Union, as a means of strengthening the European pillar of the Alliance and allowing it to make a more coherent contribution to the security of all the Allies. In their Summit Declaration they also welcomed the close and growing cooperation between NATO and the Western European Union (WEU), achieved on the basis of agreed principles of complementarity and transparency. They further announced that they "stand ready to make collective

assets of the Alliance available, on the basis of consultations in the North Atlantic Council, for WEU operations undertaken by the European Allies in pursuit of their common Foreign and Security Policy”.

In this context, as part of the process of further expanding cooperation with the WEU as well as developing and adapting NATO's structures and procedures to new tasks, NATO Heads of State and Government endorsed the concept of Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs). This concept is being implemented in a manner consistent with the principle of developing separable but not separate military capabilities for use by NATO or the WEU.

Common European Defence Policy

The NATO Allies have welcomed the prospect of a gradual reinforcement of the role of the Western European Union, both as the defence component of the process of European unification and as a means of strengthening the European pillar of the Alliance. WEU member states have affirmed that the Alliance will remain the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defence commitments of Allies under the Washington Treaty.

At the meeting of the WEU Council of Ministers in Noordwijk, The Netherlands, in November 1994, preliminary conclusions on the formulation of a Common European Defence Policy were endorsed. This development, which takes into account the results of the January 1994 NATO Brussels Summit, was welcomed by NATO Foreign Ministers when they met in Brussels at the end of the year.

NATO Foreign Ministers, meeting in Noordwijk in May 1995, welcomed the decisions of the WEU's Council of Ministers taken earlier that month in Lisbon to improve the WEU's oper-

ational capabilities through the creation of new decision-making and planning mechanisms and structures, including the progress achieved in defining the conditions in which a WEU Humanitarian Task Force would undertake humanitarian operations. NATO Ministers indicated that the Allies support initiatives to develop multinational operational arrangements and force structures which would strengthen the European pillar of the Alliance while enabling the European Allies to take greater responsibility for the common security and defence and, accordingly, took note of the initiative taken by France, Italy and Spain to organise a land force (EUROFOR) and a maritime force (EUROMARFOR). These forces would be open to WEU member states, would be declared "forces answerable to the WEU" and could likewise be employed in the framework of NATO.

NATO-WEU Cooperation

On 21 May 1992, the Council of the Western European Union held its first formal meeting with the North Atlantic Council at NATO Headquarters. In accordance with decisions taken by both organisations, the meeting was held to discuss the relationship between the two organisations and ways of strengthening practical cooperation as well as establishing closer working ties between them. Subsequently, the Secretary General of the WEU has attended ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Council on a regular basis, and the NATO Secretary General attends WEU ministerial meetings.

In July 1992, the member countries of the WEU decided to make available naval forces for monitoring compliance in the Adriatic with UN Security Council Resolutions relating to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Similar measures were also taken by the North Atlantic Council in Ministerial Session in Helsinki on 10 July 1992, in coordination and cooperation with the operation decided by the WEU.

At a joint session on 8 June 1993, the North Atlantic Council and

the Council of the Western European Union approved the concept of combined NATO/WEU embargo enforcement operations under the authority of the two organisations. A single commander was appointed to head the combined NATO/WEU task force in the Adriatic and a joint military committee – Military Committee (Adriatic) – was established to advise the joint Councils. The implementation of this decision is described in more detail in *Part V*.

In accordance with the principles of transparency and complementarity, NATO and WEU staff have begun to participate in meetings of various committees taking place in each other's organisation. Further joint meetings of the Council of the WEU and the North Atlantic Council have also been held to review NATO/WEU cooperation in different spheres. Such meetings continue to focus in particular on the practical implementation of the CJTF concept.

Meeting in Brussels in December 1995, NATO Foreign Ministers noted the importance they attach to the dialogue that has been established between the two organisations, including in Joint Council meetings, on subjects of common concern and stated their determination to develop them further. In this connection, the Foreign Ministers tasked the Council in Permanent Session to identify, in consultation with the WEU, additional areas of activities of the respective organisations on which exchanges of information, consultations and cooperation would be of mutual benefit. They also stated their expectation of a deepening of mutually beneficial NATO-WEU cooperation in the areas of intelligence, strategic mobility and logistics, which would help in developing the WEU's operational capability.

Part IX

THE MEDITERRANEAN

At the Ministerial meeting of the Council in Athens in June 1993, and again at the January 1994 Summit in Brussels, Alliance leaders reiterated their conviction that security in Europe is greatly affected by security in the Mediterranean. The agreements that had been recently concluded in the Middle East peace process represented a breakthrough and had a positive impact on the overall situation in the Mediterranean, opening the way for the Alliance to consider measures to promote dialogue, understanding and confidence-building between the countries in the region.

In Istanbul, in June 1994, Foreign Ministers agreed to examine possible proposals to achieve these goals. In December 1994, they stated their readiness to establish contacts on a case-by-case basis, between the Alliance and Mediterranean non-member countries, with a view to contributing to the strengthening of regional stability.

On 8 February 1995, the Council, meeting in Permanent Session, decided to initiate a direct dialogue with Mediterranean non-member countries. The aim of this dialogue is to contribute to security and stability in the Mediterranean as a whole, to achieve better mutual understanding.

Meeting in December 1995 in Brussels, NATO Foreign Ministers reiterated their conviction that security in Europe is greatly affected by security and stability in the Mediterranean. They expressed their satisfaction with the talks held during 1995 with a number of Mediterranean non-NATO countries (Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia), in order to explore the possibilities for a permanent dialogue with countries in the region. In light of the interest shown, they decided to pursue further

the dialogue, with the aim of fostering transparency and achieving a better mutual understanding with the countries to the south, and with a view to contributing to strengthening stability in the Mediterranean region. They also welcomed the extension of the dialogue to Jordan and declared that the Alliance's initiative complements without duplicating other international efforts aimed at fostering stability in this region, in particular the Euro-Mediterranean Conference held in Barcelona in November 1995.

Part X

NATO'S ENLARGEMENT

In December 1994, NATO Foreign Ministers initiated a study to examine the questions related to the inclusion of new members into the North Atlantic Alliance. They stated that enlargement, when it takes place, will be part of a broad European security architecture based on true cooperation throughout the whole of Europe. It will threaten no one and will enhance security and stability for all of Europe. This study was completed in September 1995, at which time it was presented to all of the Partnership for Peace (PFP) Partners. Interested Central and Eastern European Partner states were briefed on an individual basis in the weeks following the completion of the study. NATO Foreign Ministers met in Brussels in December 1995 to determine the next steps to be taken.

On the basis of the study and the reactions of Partner countries, NATO Foreign Ministers decided that during 1996, the next phase of the enlargement process will consist of intensified, individual dialogue with interested Partners; enhancement of PFP to help those interested Partners to prepare for the responsibilities of membership and to strengthen long-term partnership with others; and further consideration of what the Alliance must do internally to ensure that enlargement preserves its effectiveness. The origins and principal conclusions of the study are summarised below.

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At their Summit meeting in Brussels in January 1994, Heads of State and Government of the 16 member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance reaffirmed the openness of the Alliance and stated that they expected and would welcome NATO enlargement

that would reach to their east, as part of an evolutionary process, taking into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe. In December 1994, Allied Foreign Ministers initiated a process of examination inside the Alliance to determine how NATO will enlarge, the principles to guide this process and the implications of membership. It was agreed that the results of this study would be presented to interested Partners before the next Ministerial meeting in Brussels in December 1995.

Elaboration of the study has served to clarify the "why and how" of enlargement and what NATO and possible new members will need to do to prepare to join. The "who and when" of enlargement have not been addressed and are subjects for future discussion and decision.

Why NATO Will Enlarge

With the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact, there is both a need and a unique opportunity to build an improved security architecture in the whole of the Euro-Atlantic area, without recreating dividing lines. NATO enlargement will be a further step towards the Alliance's basic goal of enhancing security and extending stability throughout the Euro-Atlantic area, within the context of a broad European security architecture based on true cooperation. NATO enlargement will extend to new members the benefits of common defence and integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. NATO enlargement will threaten no one. NATO is and will remain a purely defensive Alliance whose fundamental purpose is to preserve peace in the Euro-Atlantic area and to provide security to its members.

NATO enlargement will contribute to enhanced stability and security for all countries in the Euro-Atlantic area by: encouraging and supporting democratic reforms, including civilian and democratic control over the military; fostering patterns and habits of cooperation, consultation and consensus building

which characterise relations among current Allies; promoting good-neighbourly relations in the whole Euro-Atlantic area; increasing transparency in defence planning and military budgets and thus confidence among states; reinforcing the tendency toward integration and cooperation in Europe; strengthening the Alliance's ability to contribute to European and international security and support peacekeeping under the UN or OSCE; and by strengthening and broadening the transatlantic partnership.

Principles of Enlargement

Enlargement of the Alliance will be through accession of new member states to the Washington Treaty in accordance with its Article 10⁽¹⁾. All new members will enjoy all the rights and assume all obligations of membership under the Washington Treaty; and will need to accept and conform with the principles, policies and procedures adopted by all members of the Alliance at the time that new members join. Willingness and ability to meet such commitments, not only on paper but in practice, would be a critical factor in any decision to invite a country to join.

The Alliance rests upon commonality of views and a commitment to work for consensus; part of the evaluation of the qualifications of a possible new member will be its demonstrated commitment to that process and those values. In particular, the Alliance will wish to avoid a situation where a new member might "close the door" behind it to new admissions in the future to other countries which may also aspire to membership. States which have ethnic disputes or external territorial disputes, including irredentist claims, or internal jurisdictional disputes, must settle those disputes by peaceful means in accordance

(1) Under Article 10, the Allies may, "by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state, in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area, to accede to this Treaty".

with OSCE principles. Resolution of such disputes would be a factor in determining whether to invite a state to join the Alliance. Finally, the ability of prospective members to contribute militarily to collective defence and to peacekeeping and other new missions of the Alliance will be a factor in deciding whether to invite them to join the Alliance.

The Alliance is committed to maintaining the importance, vitality and credibility of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and the Partnership for Peace (PFP). As enlargement evolves, the two cooperative frameworks will remain important for strengthening relations with Partners which may be unlikely to join the Alliance early or at all. While PFP will help prepare interested Partners for possible eventual membership, it is neither a substitute for membership nor a guaranteed path to automatic membership.

Decisions on Enlargement

Decisions on enlargement will be for NATO itself. There is no fixed or rigid list of criteria for inviting new member states to join the Alliance. Enlargement will be decided on a case-by-case basis and some nations may attain membership before others. New members should not be admitted or excluded on the basis of belonging to some group or category. Ultimately, Allies will decide by consensus whether to invite each new member to join according to their judgment of whether doing so will contribute to security and stability in the North Atlantic area at the time such a decision is to be made. No country outside the Alliance should be given a veto or *droit de regard* over the process and decisions.

Collective Defence Arrangements

Against the background of existing arrangements for contributing to collective defence, Allies will want to know how possible new members intend to contribute to NATO's collective defence and will explore all aspects of this question in detail through bilateral dialogue prior to accession negotiations.

New members should accept NATO doctrine and policies directed at ensuring interoperability of forces. It is important for NATO's force structure that Allies' forces can be deployed, when and if appropriate, on the territory of new members. The Alliance has no *a priori* requirement for the stationing of Alliance troops on the territory of new members.

The coverage provided by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, including its nuclear component, will apply to new members. There is no *a priori* requirement for the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of new members. For the foreseeable future, NATO's current nuclear posture will meet the requirements of an enlarged Alliance.

NATO Enlargement and the OSCE, EU and WEU

A strengthened OSCE, an enlarged NATO, an active NACC and PFP would, together with other fora, form complementary parts of a broad, inclusive European security architecture, supporting the objective of an undivided Europe.

NATO's commitments to support, on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with Alliance procedures, peacekeeping activities under the responsibility of the OSCE and peacekeeping operations under the authority of the UN Security Council, will remain valid after enlargement. An enlarged Alliance would have greater capacity to support such peacekeeping activities and operations.

The enlargement of NATO is a parallel process with and will complement that of the European Union. Both enlargement processes will contribute significantly to extending security, stability and prosperity enjoyed by their members to other, like-minded, democratic European states.

All full members of the WEU are also members of NATO. The maintenance of this linkage is essential, because of the cumula-

tive effect of security safeguards extended in the two organisations. The enlargement of both organisations should, therefore, be compatible and mutually supportive.

An eventual broad congruence of European membership in NATO, EU and WEU would have positive effects on European security. Therefore, the Alliance should, at an appropriate time, give particular consideration to countries with a perspective of EU membership, and which have shown interest in joining NATO, in order to consider how they can contribute to transatlantic security within the Washington Treaty and to determine whether to invite them to join NATO.

Relations with Russia

NATO enlargement threatens no one and is not directed against Russia or any other state. Allies believe that inviting new members into the Alliance will contribute to enhanced security for the whole of Europe, which is in Russia's interest as well. Like NATO, Russia has an important contribution to make to European stability and security. A stronger NATO-Russia relationship should form a cornerstone of a new, inclusive and comprehensive security structure in Europe.

Russia joined Partnership for Peace in June 1994. In May 1995, NATO and Russia also agreed on a broad, enhanced dialogue and cooperation, beyond PFP.

NATO-Russia relations must be based on reciprocity, mutual respect and confidence, avoiding "surprise" decisions by either side which could affect the interests of the other. Implementation of Russia's Individual Partnership Programme under the Partnership for Peace and of our dialogue and cooperation with Russia beyond PFP will be important steps in this direction. NATO wants to strengthen the NATO-Russia relationship even further, in rough parallel with NATO enlargement

The Alliance is addressing the concerns which Russia has raised with respect to NATO enlargement in the development of its

wider relationship with Russia. The Alliance has made clear, however, that it cannot be subordinated to another European security institution.

Next Steps

A collective briefing on the conclusions of the study was given to interested Partners on 28 September 1995, at NATO Headquarters, and individual briefings in Brussels or Partner capitals took place over the subsequent few weeks at the request of interested Partners. Countries interested in joining the Alliance have indicated that they would like more information on country-specific requirements for membership.

At their meeting on 5 December, NATO Foreign Ministers decided, on the basis of the study and the reactions of Partner countries, that throughout 1996, the next phase of the enlargement process will consist of three elements: intensified, individual dialogue with interested Partners, building on the foundation of the enlargement study and the presentations made during the first phase; further enhancement of the Partnership for Peace to help those interested Partners to prepare to assume the responsibilities of membership and to strengthen long-term partnership with others; and further consideration of what NATO must do internally to ensure that enlargement preserves the effectiveness of the Alliance.

Intensified dialogue will allow interested Partners to learn about specific and practical requirements for Alliance membership, and to review their efforts to prepare for membership in relation to the principles included in the enlargement study. NATO, in turn, will acquire a better appreciation of what individual Partners could or could not contribute to the Alliance. However, participation in this next phase will not imply that interested Partners will have an automatic prospect of being invited to accede to NATO. Foreign Ministers will continue their assessment of progress and consideration of the way forward at future meetings.

HOW TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION

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