



NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

**POLICY
RECOMMENDATIONS**

1985

Policy Recommendations

This year the North Atlantic Assembly adopted fourteen policy recommendations (1).

These policy recommendations are generally presented by the Assembly's committees (2) as a result of current issues and the work and debates of the committees during the year.

(1) Policy recommendations include resolutions, recommendations and orders

A Resolution is a formal expression of opinion on a particular matter and is usually addressed to member governments and/or parliaments of the Alliance or to international organizations

A Recommendation is directed to the North Atlantic Council requesting it to take certain measures in pursuit of the aims of the Assembly and in expectation of a reply from the Secretary General of NATO expressing the Council's view.

An Order deals with the internal organization of the Assembly and its committees.

(2) Standing Committee, Economic Committee, Civilian Affairs Committee, Military Committee, Political Committee, Scientific and Technical Committee, Special Committee on Nuclear Strategy and Arms Control.

Recommendation 85

on Informing the Public on Defence and Security *

The Assembly,

Recalling its Recommendation 83 of 1984 and *re-affirming* that public support has become an essential part of Alliance strategy;

Aware that public opinion in Alliance member countries finds a strategy based upon early recourse to nuclear weapons increasingly lacking in credibility;

Welcoming the efforts made towards improving NATO conventional forces in order to deter a Warsaw Pact aggression effectively;

Conscious that overwhelming majorities in Alliance member countries consider that the United States and the Soviet Union should show their readiness to negotiate on all issues, and to abide by the terms of negotiated arms control agreements;

Aware that there is widespread anxiety amongst citizens throughout the Alliance about the long-term implications of the Strategic Defense Initiative and a fear that this could lead to a new arms race;

Convinced that these problems are compounded by controversies among Allies, such as differing perspectives on defence burden sharing and on international problems outside the NATO area;

Concerned that these differences should not lead to a diminution in the perception of shared interests on both sides of the Atlantic;

Persuaded that improvements in the public presentation of information about the Alliance could help to diminish these difficulties;

RECOMMENDS that the North Atlantic Council:

1. encourage the creation of information offices about NATO in Alliance member countries, under the responsibility of the national government, or NATO, or a voluntary organization, the officers of which should reflect the main political and ideological tendencies and interest groups;

* presented by the Civilian Affairs Committee

2. give the NATO Information Service (NATIS) the requisite resources to function as an agency capable of producing information material upon request from member governments, the press and media, and interested private groups;
3. undertake a review of the NATO document classification rules, in order to improve the quality of information going to the press and public, without jeopardizing NATO security;
4. mandate NATIS to produce information documents emphasizing NATO's role as a moderating force in East-West relations.

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

to improve their information programmes in support of the Alliance and/or to create information offices about NATO, or to encourage and help voluntary organizations to establish such offices.

Resolution 159

on Economic Interdependence and Alliance Security*

The Assembly,

Welcoming the fact that the economic situation in the Alliance countries has improved in recent years;

Aware that further progress is needed to foster sustained non-inflationary growth and to achieve higher employment in all countries of the Alliance;

Alarmed by the high levels of unemployment persisting in many member states of the Alliance;

Concerned about the size of public expenditure and budget deficits in some countries and about obstacles to economic growth in others;

* presented directly to the Spring Plenary Assembly held in Stuttgart at the request of the President by Mr. Ludolf-Georg von Wartenberg (Federal Republic of Germany), amended and adopted

Concerned about the proliferation of obstacles to trade and about the rise of protectionist sentiments in many countries;

Supporting the efforts and political initiatives aiming to reinforce co-ordination among European countries, which is considered to be the most effective means to achieve economic progress and thus to strengthen the Alliance as a whole;

Stressing that the economic situation of the less prosperous members of the Alliance requires particular attention;

Understanding the increasing influence, and the great importance to some Alliance members, of the economic growth and the industrial and commercial dynamism of nations in the Pacific basin;

Supporting Alliance efforts and political initiatives aimed at strengthening European and transatlantic economic and defence co-operation, notably the enhanced co-operation in the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG) and *noting* the United States' desire to encourage Alliance-wide participation in military research and procurement, but

Noting that differences over political-military strategy and especially over technology transfer have in the past frustrated transatlantic co-operation;

Concerned by the Eastern bloc's efforts to obtain militarily-useful Western technology by both illegal and legal methods, and

Regretting continuing differences between the Allies regarding measures to restrict technology transfer, despite positive developments within the Co-ordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM);

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

1. to co-ordinate better their economic policies at both the European and transatlantic levels;
2. to consider more fully the economic, the commercial and the financial influence of Pacific nations on the countries of the Alliance and on NATO itself;
3. to expand free multilateral trade and work towards the orderly elimination of existing trade restrictions and subsidies as soon as possible;
4. to create conditions for sustained non-inflationary growth and to create new jobs;

5. to reduce budget deficits, to tighten fiscal policy, and to develop appropriate monetary policies in order to achieve a reduction in interest rates;
6. to improve the functioning of the international monetary system;
7. to increase efforts to introduce common policies regarding high-technology trade with the Eastern bloc, so that intra-Alliance high-technology trade can take place without restriction;
8. to formulate strategies for improving transatlantic and European co-ordination of the Alliance's scientific, economic and military resources, in order to ensure that burdens and benefits are shared more equitably.

Resolution 160

on Economic Relations and the Alliance*

The Assembly,

Recalling Resolution 149 on The Economics of Atlantic Security and Resolution 159 on Economic Interdependence and Alliance Security;

Noting the trends toward economic growth and recovery in the Alliance countries;

Recognizing the efforts made to achieve greater fiscal and monetary stability;

Aware of the progress made by many developing countries in handling their debt burden; but still

Concerned about the high level of indebtedness of many developing countries;

Worried about growing protectionist tendencies in some Alliance countries;

Emphasizing that persisting high unemployment rates in many Alliance countries could constitute a threat to economic and political stability;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

* presented by the Economic Committee

1. to combine all efforts to reduce unemployment;
2. to reject the imposition of trade barriers and to intensify consultation and co-operation in order to advance free and fair multilateral trade;
3. to create a more favourable economic and financial environment with a view to assisting the indebted developing countries to overcome their most serious economic problems;
4. to reduce budget deficits in cases where this is urgently required and to strengthen monetary co-operation in order to improve the functioning of the current system of floating exchange rates.

Resolution 161

on Economic Co-operation within the Alliance*

The Assembly,

Recalling Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which calls on Alliance members to promote conditions of stability and well-being and to encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them;

Concerned about the severe economic and financial difficulties still faced by some of the economically weaker Alliance member countries;

Aware that the strength of democracy and the confidence of the people in democratic institutions depend on economic progress and improved living standards;

Cognizant of the important role NATO's Southern Region countries play in the security of the Alliance; and

Aware of the strain that high defence expenditures place on the economies of these countries;

Stressing the need for the Alliance member states to assume greater responsibility in promoting sustained, self-reliant, economic development in the less prosperous member countries;

* presented by the Economic Committee

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance :

1. to strengthen co-operation and to take combined measures which help the less prosperous Alliance countries to promote sustained, self-reliant, economic development;
2. to increase economic and military assistance to these countries;
3. to focus economic assistance on programmes that create employment opportunities, enhance rural development and promote education;
4. to provide as broad access as possible for the products of these countries to the markets of other NATO countries in order to enable them to increase their export revenues;
5. to stimulate co-operation both between the Alliance countries and within the framework of international economic and monetary institutions to achieve financial and monetary conditions which will help the developing countries in general, and the less prosperous Alliance countries in particular, to reduce their indebtedness without hindering sound economic and social development.

Resolution 162

on Upholding the Helsinki Process*

The Assembly,

Aware of the disappointment expressed in certain circles over the implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act;

Convinced that some of the original promoters of the Final Act were over optimistic in expecting any substantial change in the methods employed by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries;

Regretting that during the ten years since the signing of the Final Act, some of the Warsaw Pact countries have stepped up repressive measures, as demonstrated by the persecution and the violation of human rights of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria;

* presented by the Civilian Affairs Committee

Noting, on the other hand, that in certain Warsaw Pact countries some measure of progress has been made in their attitude to human rights;

Convinced that such progress is largely attributable to the pursuit of discussions among signatory states of the Final Act on the fate of their citizens;

Aware that the victims of political persecution constantly refer to the provisions of the Final Act and of the concluding document of the Madrid Review Conference;

URGES member governments of the North Atlantic Alliance :

1. to continue to make systematic reference to violations of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the concluding document of the Madrid Review Conference in their dealings at all levels with their opposite numbers in the Warsaw Pact countries;
2. to continue their consultations on these issues within the Alliance, while acknowledging the varied roles played by different members of the Alliance;
3. to facilitate the activities of civilian groups defending and publicizing human rights issues;
4. to involve their parliaments in the follow-up meetings to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Resolution 163

on the Future of Arms Control: Compliance and Verification issues*

The Assembly,

Convinced that balanced and verifiable arms control agreements are a fundamental component of Western security;

Welcoming the resumption of comprehensive arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva;

* presented by the Military Committee

Recognizing that in these negotiations, as in others, the twin issues of compliance and verification figure prominently as issues of major concern;

Concerned by allegations of Soviet non-compliance with arms control treaties;

Aware that the issue of compliance is necessarily complicated by a degree of uncertainty in view of differing interpretations of the evidence, treaty provisions and evaluations of Soviet behaviour;

Noting that certain developments in weapons technology, such as cruise, mobile and dual capable missiles and ASAT capabilities, present formidable challenges for arms control, make satisfactory verification provisions difficult to negotiate, and threaten to undermine existing arms control agreements;

RECOMMENDS that the North Atlantic Council :

1. reaffirm its commitment to the pursuit of balanced and verifiable arms control agreements;
2. reiterate its support for existing arms control agreements, particularly the ABM Treaty and the SALT II Agreement;
3. address the serious arms control problems associated with new weapon systems which have the capacity to undermine the prospects for verifiable negotiated restraints.

URGES the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union :

to pursue serious, sustained and confidential dialogue inside the Standing Consultative Commission with a view to

- a. resolving existing compliance issues pertaining to SALT I, SALT II and the ABM Treaty, and
- b. reaching agreement on explicit definitions of those articles of the ABM Treaty which are ambiguous and open to subjective interpretation particularly concerning definitions of «research» «development and testing», and what precisely constitutes a «component».

Resolution 164

on Defence Co-operation*

The Assembly,

Recalling Resolution 153 passed in 1984, which urged members to intensify defence co-operation efforts;

Convinced that the growing cost of providing conventional defence continues to dictate the need for more effective co-operation among Alliance governments and industries in the development and production of defence equipment;

Aware that the Alliance needs to utilize its existing resources more effectively, it being unrealistic to expect governments to spend substantially more on defence equipment at a time of low economic growth and high unemployment;

Encouraged, therefore, by the recent action of the United States Congress to create a fund of \$200m to finance collaborative research and development projects between the United States and one or more of the NATO Allies;

Welcoming the new political impetus given to the Independent European Programme Group over the last year to broaden long-term collaborative opportunities, rationalize research and development efforts and harmonize national procurement requirements and time-tables;

Noting that greater efforts need to be made to facilitate joint procurement programmes and other collaborative ventures involving the less prosperous nations of the Alliance: Turkey, Greece and Portugal;

Aware of the difficulties of reconciling long-term differences in operational concepts with differing national threat perceptions and production time-scales; but

Convinced that impediments to greater defence co-operation can often be overcome, given sufficient high-level political commitment in Alliance countries;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance :

* presented by the Military Committee

1. to intensify consultations within the Alliance -- in the IEPG and elsewhere -- with a view to defining additional areas for further effective and equitable multi-national armaments co-operation;
2. to sustain the high-level political commitment and impetus given to the IEPG, and to continue to conform to the principles adopted at the first ministerial-level meeting in November 1984;
3. to give greater attention to the force modernization requirements of Greece, Turkey and Portugal and to consider what role each member could play in strengthening the armed forces of these countries so that they are able to carry out their missions more effectively to the advantage of all.

Resolution 165

on East-West Relations*

The Assembly,

Welcoming the resumption of the nuclear arms control negotiations in Geneva;

Convinced that arms control negotiations are essential to Alliance security and to overall East-West stability; but

Persuaded that East-West relations cannot and should not be confined to arms control negotiations;

Encouraged, therefore, by attempts to broaden East-West relations and by signs of a more general relaxation in East-West tensions;

Welcoming the November summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva;

Noting with satisfaction the extensive consultations with the Allies in preparation for this meeting;

Encouraging more frequent, perhaps regular, meetings of this kind as well as other high-level meetings;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

* presented by the Political Committee

1. to pursue their regular policy review of East-West relations on the basis of the 1967 Harmel Report and the 1984 Washington Declaration;
2. to seek to expand and diversify relations with the Eastern bloc states with a view towards building a more stable relationship between East and West;
3. to insist in contacts with the Soviet leadership on the need for genuine reciprocity in the search for mutual security and detente;
4. to stress with the Soviet Union the important contribution that a political settlement of the Afghanistan issue and a more constructive attitude on human rights would make towards an overall improvement in East-West relations.

Resolution 166

on European Security and Defence Co-operation*

The Assembly

Welcoming political developments that indicate movement toward enhanced European co-operation, particularly in the security and defence fields;

Noting with satisfaction the decision by member governments of the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG) to hold regular meetings at the ministerial level and the IEPG studies focussing on specific projects for defence co-operation;

Encouraged, moreover, by the widespread support of European governments for programmes such as Eureka aimed at intensified co-operation in high-technology research and development;

Recognizing the importance of the measures under consideration by member countries of the European Economic Communities to improve co-operation on foreign policy, to broaden and strengthen the role of the European Parliament, and to facilitate more rapid decision making;

Disappointed with the failure of the original five countries to reach agreement on the projected European Fighter Aircraft;

* presented by the Political Committee

Welcoming the recent Congressional authorization providing monies for joint US-European defence research efforts;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

1. to strengthen their commitment to European security, defence, and high-technology co-operation;
2. to identify and to work energetically to overcome obstacles still blocking enhanced European political co-operation.

Resolution 167

on Terrorism*

The Assembly,

Deeply concerned by the increasing number of terrorist attacks and the growing level of terrorist violence in member countries of the Alliance and elsewhere;

Deploing the loss of life and the suffering caused by these acts of violence;

Condemning the perpetration of terrorist violence as a means to advance political change, no matter the principles or the ideology that motivate it;

Disturbed by the accumulating evidence of international collaboration among terrorist groups;

Welcoming the establishment by the Political Committee of a working group to study international terrorism, especially in relation to NATO and member countries, which would present Reports as to ways and means to combat terrorism;

Convinced that only intensified international co-operation among Alliance member countries can lead to effective preventive measures against terrorists;

Fully cognizant of the need to preserve and safeguard all democratic rights in the attempt to curtail terrorism;

Congratulating the Government of the United States on its

* presented by the Political Committee

bold action in apprehending some of those responsible for the attack on the Italian cruise ship **ACHILLE LAURO** and approving the action of the Italian Government, especially in starting appropriate legal proceedings;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

1. to intensify international co-operation among appropriate national bodies through frequent consultation and exchange of information about terrorists and terrorist groups;
2. to consider the need for common measures against countries known to support, train, or finance terrorist groups.

Resolution 168

on the Repression of the Turkish Minority of Bulgaria*

The Assembly,

Noting the provisions of the NEUILLY Treaty of 1919, the Friendship Pact between Bulgaria and Turkey on 18 October 1925, and also the provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty of 10 February 1947 to which Bulgaria is party and as such recognized the minority status of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, nearly two million people whose forefathers had settled there since the end of the 14th century;

Impressed with the courage and determination of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria to defend their names and religious beliefs;

Aware that following difficult negotiations and upon the invitation of the Turkish Government the Bulgarian Government finally permitted some 152,000 Turks to leave Bulgaria and to resettle in Turkey in 1950-1951, and a further mass migration of 130,000 was also realized following the agreement in 1968 between Turkey and Bulgaria;

Condemning strongly the brutal acts of violence and systematic suppression perpetrated by the Bulgarian authorities against the Turkish minority in Bulgaria whose Turkish names are being

* presented by the Political Committee

changed into Bulgarian ones against their will and who are prevented from performing their religious rites;

Deploring the actions of the Government of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria as a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, in particular the provisions of Chapter VII of the same, and the Madrid Concluding Document which it has systematically violated since December 1984, and its oppression of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria with threats, beatings, murders, fines, denial of government services, dismissal from jobs, and blocking of bank accounts;

Condemning the actions of the Government of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria, which refuses to permit journalists and foreign diplomats to visit the areas where violence occurred purporting to deny such events;

Convinced that the Government of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria could agree with the welcome proposal of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey and negotiate with them on the question of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, to provide their repatriation to Turkey in compliance with their wishes, so that respect for their human rights is guaranteed and the problem can be solved peacefully;

1. **URGES** member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance to continue to attach importance to the problem and their international efforts to exert pressure through every possible means, until the Bulgarian authorities reverse their decision so that forced «Bulgarization» policy of brutal repression and assassinations of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria is prevented; and
2. **REMAINS CONSCIOUS** of the question of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria until the question is solved.

Resolution 169

on Technology Transfer*

The Assembly,

Recalling its 1984 Resolution 156 on Technology Transfer which stressed the need for co-ordinated Alliance technology policies;

* presented by the Scientific and Technical Committee

Alarmed by the large-scale, systematic acquisition and exploitation of Western technology by the Eastern bloc to enhance Soviet and Warsaw Pact military capabilities;

Agreed that the flow of Western technology to the Eastern bloc must not compromise Western security;

Welcoming the publication of studies identifying and quantifying the scale and scope of Eastern bloc efforts to obtain Western technology;

Welcoming developments in the framework of the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) establishing a permanent and regulated updating procedure of these lists;

Aware of differences of opinion between Alliance nations over which forms of technology are genuinely militarily critical and should be embargoed;

Concerned that these differences of opinion are restricting the dissemination of advanced technology throughout the Alliance, and are limiting opportunities for collaboration in high-technology projects;

Noting that unilateral and multilateral export controls have given rise to complaints from political, industrial, and academic bodies concerning inhibitions on academic freedom, export delays, and unjust and unwarranted limitations on technology transfers within the Alliance;

Disturbed that the opportunity costs of restrictions on the transfer and exploitation of advanced technology within the Alliance have not been quantified;

Stressing the need to harmonize policies and procedures relating to exports of technology to the Eastern bloc;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

1. to make every effort to harmonize policies and procedures relating to high-technology trade with the Eastern bloc so that unnecessary impediments to intra-Alliance technology transfer can be removed;
2. to establish national procedures for rapidly investigating complaints about export licensing; in this way export control decisions could be justified or amended as appropriate. This

would reduce suspicions about unwarranted export licence denials.

3. to quantify the effects of restrictions and delays in technology transfers within the Alliance which result from differing approaches to East-West technology transfer.

Resolution 170

on Strategic Defence and the Alliance*

The Assembly,

Recalling resolution 132 on arms control in outer space (1982) and resolution 145 on ballistic missile defence (1983);

Reaffirming deterrence based on retaliatory offensive systems as an essential component of Alliance security;

Concerned by the increase in numbers and capability of offensive strategic weapons, and the consequent implications for crisis stability;

Underlining that the existing strategy of flexible response must remain in force as long as there is no more efficient alternative;

Convinced that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty continues to make a fundamental contribution to strategic stability;

Aware that differing interpretations are placed on the forms of research permissible under the terms of the ABM Treaty;

Concerned by evidence of Soviet violations of the ABM Treaty and continued Soviet research in, and modernization of, strategic defence technologies;

Concerned that advanced Soviet surface-to-air missile (SAM) systems may impinge on the ABM Treaty regime;

Recognizing some similarities between anti-satellite (ASAT) and strategic defence technologies; and, therefore,

Concerned that some aspects of advanced future ASAT development may undermine the ABM Treaty regime;

* Presented directly to the Plenary Assembly at the request of the President by Mr. John Cartwright (Social Democrat, United Kingdom) and Senator Charles McC. Mathias (Republican, United States), amended, and adopted

Acknowledging the need for the United States to pursue research in defensive technologies as a hedge against a potential Soviet breakout from the ABM Treaty;

Supporting, therefore, the United States' commitment to continue research into strategic defence technology within the provisions of the ABM Treaty;

Welcoming the statement of the United States that its research efforts are not directed towards gaining superiority;

Noting that disagreement exists within the Alliance over the technical and financial feasibility, military utility and political desirability of deployment of large-scale ballistic missile defences;

Convinced that negotiated constraints on offensive and defensive arms represent the preferred means of achieving greater stability;

Welcoming the United States' commitment to consult fully on the Strategic Defense Initiative with its Alliance partners;

Convinced that decisions about the potential development and deployment of defensive systems can only be made after the Alliance partners have been consulted and negotiations with the Soviet Union on co-operative solutions have taken place, i.e., that there must be no automatic sequence of research, development and deployment;

URGES member governments and parliaments of the North Atlantic Alliance:

1. to recognize the close relationship between strict adherence by all parties to existing arms control agreements and the construction of a framework for mutual restraint between East and West;
2. to support every effort to enhance Western security through negotiated limitations and mutually verifiable reductions of offensive nuclear forces;
3. to encourage agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the technical definitions of the forms of research permissible under the terms of the ABM Treaty;
4. to ensure that any future arms control regimes covering strategic defence contain provisions which preclude circumvention by advanced ASAT development;

5. to support United States research into strategic defence consistent with the provisions of the ABM Treaty;
6. to assess what forms, if any, of ballistic missile defence would allay fears about «decoupling» and would contribute to the security of the Alliance as a whole;
7. to ensure that any Alliance participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative complies fully with the terms of the ABM Treaty, and
8. to ensure that the aim of extending the transatlantic two-way street must also be pursued with regard to the research efforts by the United States.

Order 26
on the Special Committee*

The Assembly,

INSTRUCTS its President:

to maintain the Special Committee that was created in 1981. Its new title will be «Special Committee on Nuclear Strategy and Arms Control». The members of the Special Committee will be appointed or re-appointed under the responsibility of the President of the Assembly.

* presented by the Standing Committee