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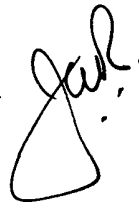
To : Secretary General

c.c. ASG for Political Affairs
 Mr. Chapman
 Mr. Lintall-Smith

Directeur du Cabinet
 Mr. van Campen
 Mr. de Burlet

Acting ASG for Economics and Finance
 Dr. Bühling
 Mr. Thiébauld

✓ Deputy Secretary General
 Mr. de Camaret
 Mr. Tansever



From: Deputy Executive Secretary

SPECIAL GROUP ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE (AG/261)

Summary record of a Meeting held on 19th May, 1967 at
4 p.m.

DISCUSSION AND PREPARATION OF PROGRESS REPORT FOR EVENTUAL SUBMISSION TO MINISTERS

1. The CHAIRMAN introduced the meeting by stating the simple agenda: the discussion and preparation of the interim progress report for possible submission to the Ministers. To simplify the work, he said, he had circulated a draft outline report for consideration, comment and amendment by the Special Group.

2. He pointed out the procedural and schematic nature of the draft, the object of which was to avoid officially placing before the Ministers the questions which had only recently come under examination by the Sub-Groups. It was natural that the Ministers, meeting in June, would discuss the entire political situation, and all possible problems; what must be avoided at this stage, if possible, was a discussion by the Ministers of the basic problem relating to this exercise, and this was the object of the draft as presented. Such a discussion might lead to a restriction on the study's freedom and on the original contribution of Sub-Groups and rapporteurs, both attributes being potentially most useful and typically characteristic of this early stage of the Harmel exercise. These were the reasons for the nature of the draft.

3. The Chairman continued, to welcome comments and amendments and to acknowledge contributions already received. These would, he said, be borne in mind when modifying the report. One of these contributions was a proposed Progress Report received from Sub-Group 1



for which his thanks were given. Representatives would probably have received this report, with its annex, but the Sub-Group did not wish to suggest inclusion in the report of its substance and of the points dealt with in its annex. This was precisely in order to retain the procedural character of the draft report.

4. The Chairman emphasised that he would give most careful consideration to any suggestions which might be made for modifying or augmenting the report which had been circulated. Another suggestion for an amendment had been received from Dr. Patijn; it concerned the section dealing with sub-group 4, to be round in the report at the end of page 7. The Chairman thanked Dr. Patijn for his suggestion and assured him that he had no objection to taking it into account in the alteration of the text.

5. He pointed out that he would welcome any contributions which members of Sub-Groups 2 and 3 might wish to submit to him, and which in their opinion would be more appropriate to this procedural report than the mention made in the circulated text. Any such drafts would receive his full attention.

6. He also pointed out that the Progress Report circulated by Sub-Group 4 carried a reference number, though documents should not be numbered at this stage. He had mentioned reference numbers in the first draft of the agenda, but those present would have observed that the revised agenda did not show them. He felt that it would be better if these documents did not yet receive an official character.

7. Concluding his introduction, the Chairman then opened the discussion.

8. Mr. J.H.A. WATSON (Rapporteur of Sub-Group 1) found the report suitable and of the right type to present to Ministers at Luxembourg. He hoped that the suggestions made by him and his German colleague would be reflected in the report. He did not want to exclude that the Ministers' discussion might range beyond the report's procedural framework.

9. Mr. SPAAK (Rapporteur of Sub-Group 2) agreed with the content of the report and announced a written information on his sub-group's progress before the end of June.

10. Mr. Foy KOHLER (Rapporteur of Sub-Group 3) agreed with Mr. Watson's observations. His view was that it would be best if the Ministerial Meeting avoided touching on points of substance.

11. The CHAIRMAN invited Mr. Spaak and Mr. Kohler to submit soon any suggestions which they might have to make about the report.

12. Dr. Patijn (Rapporteur of Sub-Group 4) stated that the short amendment he had suggested had been mentioned by the Chairman and that he had no other observations to make.

13. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE agreed generally with the report; he pointed out that the principles guiding all four sub-groups of the Harmel exercise might well be presented in a non-controversial fashion to Ministers at Luxembourg and suggested that it might thus be possible to avoid a discussion on the Harmel exercise as such, while enabling Ministers to exchange views on the different subjects being studied in the framework of the Harmel exercise.

14. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE agreed generally with the report but said that he might suggest amendments later. He hoped that the outstanding reports from two rapporteurs would be available at an early date.

15. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he had hoped for more substance in the report: purely procedural matters would be of little interest to the Ministers. He suggested shortening the draft by exclusion of some procedural detail (e.g. in paragraphs 8, 10 and 11), and allowing it to go further in pointing to the substantive questions.

16. The CHAIRMAN suggested that paragraphs 10 and 11 also contained a considerable amount of substance.

17. The NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE suggested shortening the report by exclusion of procedural and historical details. He pointed out that the inclusion of any matter likely to give evidence of progress might raise hopes that only the future could justify.

18. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE generally agreed with the Netherlands and the Norwegian Representatives, and underlined the difficulty of finding a suitable balance between procedure and substance. He agreed with the United States Representative that subjects presently under study by the Harmel exercise will be discussed in Luxembourg. He also pointed out that Ministers might ask whether any outside advice had been taken, particularly from NATO Parliamentarians, as suggested in the Working Paper (2nd Revise) of 20th March, 1967.

19. The BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE referred to the Council Resolution of 22nd February, paragraph 5 (C-M(67)11), and its implementation. He suggested that the report should be studied by the Council in Permanent Session before the Ministers' meeting. Prior to that, the Special Group would have to meet to finalise the report.

20. The TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE suggested that the report should, between substance and procedure, give preference to procedure. He suggested that the development of the work be explained in the report and further suggested that the Sub-Group should meet to finalise a modified draft.

21. The PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVE said that the report should remain procedural and pointed out that some of the divisions between Sub-Groups were artificial; there were many common points.

22. The ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE stated that he would study the report further but that he thought it should remain procedural and short. He pointed out, however, that as it stood the report would not be of great interest to Ministers.

23. The GREEK REPRESENTATIVE emphasised that this should be an interim or progress report but that Ministers would be free to make preliminary observations. He thought that in the presence of the recent Eastern attacks on NATO the Ministerial Meeting would be a good occasion to emphasise in a communiqué the continued support of their governments for the Alliance. He shared the view of his Belgian colleague that the report would have to be submitted to the Council.

24. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE agreed with those wanting a shorter report. He underlined the importance of the Harmel exercise and the difficulties in its present early stage. He suggested that an oral report might suffice for the Ministers' meeting with the interim report as a background paper.

25. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE agreed generally with the report but suggested that the themes fundamental to all the Sub-Groups - e.g. the nature of the détente, bilateralism and multilateralism, relationship between détente, deterrence and defence - could be enumerated in the progress report so as to form a focus of discussion.

26. The GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he was in favour of a short procedural report.

27. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE emphasised that whatever the content of the report the substantive matter would be discussed by Ministers.

28. The NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE agreed with the French Representative but pointed out the problem that substance could not properly be discussed on the basis of a progress report, these usually only being taken note of. Any such discussion should have no effects beyond the meeting of Ministers.

29. The CHAIRMAN said that the discussion had been extended and useful and made the following points: firstly, that it was quite clear that Ministers would discuss everything they wished to discuss. This was of course their right, and nobody would wish to prevent them from doing so. But while it was one thing to examine substantive questions which may be treated, perhaps with others, in the Harmel exercise, it was quite another to discuss the Harmel exercise itself. The two things were totally different, as the Netherlands Representative had pointed out in his second intervention, and he thought that everyone agreed on this. As for the nature of the report, once this had been understood the last resolution was quite clear. This was the resolution of March 20th which developed and confirmed that of the Ministers (that which had been mentioned by the Belgian Representative on 24th February).

30. The CHAIRMAN said that in order to prepare the interim report to be submitted to Ministers in June, the Special Group may meet in the course of May at a high political level and examine the progress achieved and, if possible, indicate the elements to be incorporated in this report. To be useful, this meeting of the Special Group should last more than one day. This was the hypothesis of a substantial report.

31. "However," - and this now referred to the other hypothesis - "in view of the time available some of the studies may not be concluded before the June meeting of Ministers and if this would prove to be true", as it in fact was, "both the synthesis of these studies and the definition of the future tasks of the Alliance will be the principal objects of our attention in the second half of the year. In these circumstances, the Special Group may feel that the interim report to the Council to be submitted to Ministers in June should have the character of a progress report, including such substantive results as may have been achieved. Completed studies might be annexed."

32. The Chairman pointed out that the situation was short of what had been considered in the second half of this resolution. He thought that good work had been done by all concerned, and that what might happen had been foreseen; now that it had happened the Group had only to apply its rules. It should be a progress report in the sense that it was a procedural report, thus it should be short and he was prepared, as was the International Staff, to keep an account of the observations which have been made, which were very pertinent. They would also attempt to shorten even the procedural report. Clearly procedural reports were inclined to be lengthened excessively to compensate for the lack of substantive matter. But if it was thought that the length should be proportionate to the content, he was perfectly prepared to arrange this with the Secretariat. He thought that this was the essential point. As far as the changes were concerned which had been suggested by the Sub-Groups at the meeting and earlier, they would be kept in view in their procedural context and they might indicate some keenness of discussion without inviting Ministers to go into the substance of this discussion. He thought that at this point agreement might quite easily be reached.

33. The Chairman recalled that Sir Bernard Burrows had mentioned the fact of the Parliamentarians, but said that this matter had been discussed previously, and as such he did not find it included in any report because it had been carefully avoided. It had been a matter of discussion on which there had been no conclusion and no general agreement. This was not to say that the Sub-Groups could not contact Parliamentarians if they wished. They were perfectly free to do that and it was up to them to have informal contacts with any kind of people outside the organization who might contribute to this study.

34. The Chairman recalled that in one of the meetings of Sub-Group 2, there was also a suggestion that the kind of bibliography of opinions expressed about the reform of NATO should be collected by the Secretariat which would, to a certain extent, fulfil the function of direct contacts with people of all kinds who have studied the

problem of NATO. This study was being revised now and the Chairman hoped to put it at the disposal of the Sub-Groups as soon as possible. But the specific point of the NATO Parliamentarians was not ruled out.

35. Concerning the observation made by the Canadian Representative about the progress report of Group 4, the Chairman said that the amendment sent to him by Dr. Patijn was a very short amendment which indicated only the four themes of discussion which he had indicated in one of his papers. The Chairman thought that as such it did not throw open the discussion of substance, but this would be seen. All the remarks would be kept in mind, especially the general suggestion for shortening this procedural report. The Group should discuss how this report should be approved finally, because the Chairman believed that some approval had to be given by the Special Group itself.

36. The Chairman suggested that it would be most practical if those who wished to send in amendments, should do so by Wednesday, 24th May. He hoped that President Spaak would be in a position to satisfy this request in a few days, because these should be only short and procedural amendments. The International Staff would, in the meantime, begin to adapt the report to the suggestions expressed at the meeting. After 24th May, it would finalise the text according to the amendments sent in before that date. The Chairman suggested that the Special Group should meet not later than Monday, 29th May to have a last discussion and to finally approve the draft report which would then be distributed for Ministers to see. The Chairman felt that if the report was not interesting to read, this was only to be expected in view of its nature. The report had a function beyond that of being attractive to Ministers and it was indeed its intention to avoid a fundamental discussion by them. It would therefore be shortened and simplified, and even if Ministers did not read it they would be informed of its contents and would be able to discuss the communiqué.

37. If all present were in agreement, a Special Group meeting might be held which would not be the meeting of substance foreseen in the first part of paragraph 3 of the Working Paper dated 20th March, but a meeting to approve a procedural report according to the second part of that paragraph.

38. In response to several statements concerning the organization of the future work, the Chairman said that they led him to the final point which he wished to raise: that was a kind of rough timetable to be arranged for the work of the Sub-Groups and of the Special Group in the period between the Ministerial Meeting in June and that in December. He did not foresee a meeting of the Special Group at a high level since substantial discussion was to be avoided at this stage. The meeting of Monday, 29th May would, of course, be open to any delegates from capitals who wished to come.

39. The Chairman then dealt with the subsequent period. The Sub-Groups would continue to work, and he thought that the Rapporteurs would keep in contact on a private basis and would try to overcome to the maximum extent possible those substantive overlappings which had

been mentioned by the Canadian Representative and about which the Rapporteurs had had a confidential discussion that morning, realising that the observation was quite legitimate. He had suggested to the Rapporteurs that the reports should be ready in their final form not later than 15th October, after which the Special Group should co-ordinate them by the end of November for preparing a final report. The Chairman pointed out that another meeting of the Special Group might be held at an earlier stage, i.e. in the course of the work of the Sub-Groups, possibly in September or about that date. He felt that this question should remain open and, should be decided according to the development of the Sub-Groups' work. The Rapporteurs should keep in contact with the Secretary General, and the Secretary General would keep in contact with delegations in order to see if such an interim, substantive meeting of the Special Group would be necessary in order to clarify some issues, and to give some practical directives. The Chairman did not know whether this would prove necessary but as far as the normal timetable was concerned he felt that the Sub-Groups should finish their work, and present their reports no later than 15th October. After this the Special Group would start its own work within four to five days to elaborate a final report.

40. In conclusion, the CHAIRMAN pointed out that if the report were approved on 29th May, the Council might endorse it by 31st May or might agree to it by the procedure of silence.

Ernst C. Weene