

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

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

I. DISCUSSION AND PREPARATION OF PROGRESS REPORT FOR EVENTUAL  
SUBMISSION TO MINISTERS

The CHAIRMAN made the following opening statement:

M. BROSIO

L'ordre du jour est très simple, c'est la discussion et la préparation du Rapport intérimaire "Progress Report" à soumettre éventuellement aux ministres. Pour faciliter le travail j'ai fait distribuer un projet de rapport qui n'est pas vraiment un projet, mais plutôt un schéma de rapport que je soumetts au jugement du Groupe spécial qui a naturellement la possibilité de faire tous les amendements et additifs qu'il jugera utiles.

Ce rapport est du type purement procédural, il est schématique, il évite - c'est son esprit et son but - que l'on pose officiellement aux ministres les questions dont les sous-groupes viennent seulement d'entreprendre l'étude. Naturellement les ministres discuteront en juin de toute la situation politique et de tous les problèmes possibles, ce qui est tout à fait naturel. Ce que, à ce stade tout à fait préliminaire de l'étude, on voudrait si possible éviter, (et ce qui justifie le caractère du rapport), c'est que les ministres commencent à discuter du fond du problème directement en rapport avec cette étude, et puissent de cette façon enlever à l'étude son caractère de liberté et de contribution originale de la part des sous-groupes et des rapporteurs, qui en fin de compte pourrait être extrêmement utile

et qui forme typiquement la caractéristique de cette première phase de l'étude Harmel. Voilà pourquoi l'étude a ce caractère.

Naturellement toutes les contributions seront les bienvenues et je dis que nous en avons déjà reçues dont je tiendrai compte en modifiant le rapport. Je parle de deux contributions pour le moment, l'une d'elles est un projet de Progress Report qui m'a été envoyé par le Sous-groupe N° 1 et dont je le remercie. Vous aurez reçu probablement ce rapport - il contient aussi une annexe - mais le Sous-groupe a renoncé à suggérer l'inclusion des thèmes et des questions de l'Annexe dans le rapport pour, précisément, sauvegarder son caractère procédural.

Il va sans dire que je tiendrai le plus grand compte des suggestions faites au sujet de ce rapport pour modifier en conséquence le schéma que j'ai fait distribuer aujourd'hui ou les y insérer. Pareillement, j'ai reçu tout à l'heure une suggestion d'amendement de la partie qui concerne le Groupe IV, et qui se trouve, si je ne m'abuse, à la fin de la page 7 du Rapport, je l'ai reçue du Dr. Patijn, je l'en remercie et je peux l'assurer que je n'ai aucune objection à en tenir compte dans la modification du texte.

Egalement au sujet des Groupes II ou III, si les membres du Groupe, - et cela dépend entièrement d'eux - jugent utile de me faire parvenir un texte qui, à leur avis, convienne mieux à ce rapport procédural, au lieu de la mention qui a été faite dans le schéma que j'ai distribué, ces suggestions seront les bienvenues et certainement j'en tiendrai grand compte.

A ces éclaircissements je voudrais simplement ajouter un petit détail avant d'entendre ce que vous pouvez en penser, je voudrais ajouter ce petit détail, à savoir que le "Progress Report" distribué par le Sous-Groupe N° 1 porte un numéro de référence, alors qu'en réalité, à ce stade, les documents ne devraient pas en porter. J'avais mentionné des numéros de référence dans la première version de l'ordre du jour, mais vous aurez remarqué que maintenant la version rectifiée de l'ordre du jour n'en fait plus mention. Je pense en effet qu'il vaut mieux ne pas encore donner de caractère officiel à ces documents. C'est là un petit détail, mais je voulais simplement vous préciser le caractère des études à ce stade.

Je crois que je n'ai rien à ajouter pour le moment, et je vous saurais gré de vos observations.

Qui est disposé à ouvrir le feu ?

Mr. J.H.A. WATSON (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.

Mr. SPAAK (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.

Mr. Foy KOHLER (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.

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

Dr. PATIJN (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.

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.

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

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~~ 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.

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

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.

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 Parliamentarian as suggested in the Working Paper (2nd Revise) of 20th March, 1967.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 <sup>ar</sup> showed the view of his Belgian colleague that the report would have to be submitted to the Council.

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.

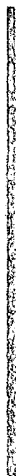
The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE agreed generally with the report but suggested that the themes fundamental to all the Sub-Groups - e.g. the nature of the détente, bilateralism and multilateralism, relationship between détente, deterrence and defence - could be enumerated in the progress report so as to form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

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

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

The NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE agreed with the French Representative but pointed out the ~~procedural~~ 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.

The CHAIRMAN made the following summing-up of the discussion:



~~Mr. BROSIQ~~

" This has been an extended and useful discussion.

May I make the following points: first of all, it is quite clear that Ministers, I think I have said this from the very beginning, talk about everything they wish to.

Evidemment c'est leur droit, et personne ne leur en empêche. Mais une chose c'est examiner les questions de substance qui sont examinées aussi avec d'autres peut-être dans l'exercice Harmel et une autre chose c'est de s'occuper directement de l'étude Harmel. Ce sont des choses profondément différentes et je pense que sur cela tout le monde est d'accord, et M. L'Ambassadeur Boon l'indique très correctement dans sa deuxième intervention.

Une fois ceci compris alors, pour ce qui concerne la nature du rapport, je pense que nous avons la dernière de nos résolutions qui est très claire : c'est la résolution qui développe et confirme celle des ministres (celle qui a été mentionnée par l'Ambassadeur de Staercke le 24 février), la résolution du 20 mars.



Mr. BROSIO

"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." Ça c'était l'hypothèse pour un rapport substantiel.

"However - et ça, c'est l'autre hypothèse - 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," - and how true it is! - "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."

So we have now the situation that is short of what is considered in the second half of this resolution. I think we have done good work altogether; we have foreseen what might

happen and now it has happened we have only to apply our rules. It should be a progress report in the sense that it is a procedural report. Thus it should be short and I am prepared, as is the International Staff, to keep an account of the observations which have been made, which are very pertinent. They will also attempt to shorten even the procedural report. Clearly, when you make a procedural report you feel a little guilty that you don't put too much meat into it and so you are inclined to extend it in size because you feel that it's lacking in content. But if you think that we should proportionate the extension to the content I am perfectly apt to do it and we will do as you wish. That is the essential point it seems to me. As far as the changes are concerned which have been suggested by the Sub-Groups and also today, they will 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. So I think at this point we might be quite easily in agreement.

Sir Bernard Burrows has mentioned the fact of the Parliamentarians but these matters of Parliamentarians have been discussed previously and then as such I don't find them included in any of their reports because it has been carefully avoided.

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It has been a matter of discussion on which there have been no conclusion and no general agreement. That doesn't mean that the Sub-Groups cannot contact Parliamentarians if they wish, they are perfectly free to do that and its up to them to have informal contacts with any kind of people outside the Organization who may contribute to this study.

I remember that in one of the meetings of the Sub-Group, it was, I believe, Sub-Group I or II, 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 is being revised now and I hope that I may put it at the disposal of the Sub-Groups as soon as possible. But the specific point of the NATO Parliamentarians is not ruled out.

About the observation made by Mr. Hardy about the progress report of Group IV, may I say that the amendment sent to me by Dr. Patijn is a very short amendment in which it indicates only the four themes of discussion which he had indicated in one of his papers. I think that as such it doesn't throw open the

discussion of substance but this will be seen. But it seems to me that after this interesting discussion, that all the remarks will be kept in mind, especially the general suggestion for shortening these procedural reports. We should discuss how this report should be approved finally, because I believe that some approval has to be given by the Special Group itself.

So how should we proceed?

I would suggest practically that those who have to send in amendments, do it kindly by Wednesday, 24th May. So I hope that President Spaak will be in a position to satisfy this request of mine in a few days, because this should be only short and procedural amendments. Then the International Staff in the meantime will begin to work in order to adapt the report to the wishes expressed here. Then after 24th May, it will finalise the text according to the amendments sent in until 24th May. I would suggest that the Special Group meets not later than Monday, 29th May to have a final discussion and a final approval of the draft report which will then be distributed for the Ministers to see. I quite understand that the Ministers will not

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find this report very interesting - they are not very excited I think in reading documents all the time anyway - but especially procedural reports have never been exciting for anybody and certainly will not be exciting this time. After all it remains also there for the record to sum up what has been done. It has a function which is beyond the function of attracting the Ministers and this time, it is precisely intended to avoid a fundamental discussion by the Ministers. So we will shorten it, we will simplify it and certainly the Ministers, if they don't read this report directly, will be informed about its content and be able to discuss about the communiqué or things of that kind.

So if everybody is in agreement, we might have this kind of meeting with the Special Group which is not the meeting of Special Group of substance foreseen in the first part of paragraph 3 of the <sup>Working</sup> Paper dated 20th March, but it is a meeting of the Special Group to approve a procedural report according to the second part of that paragraph. "

~~Mr. BEOSIO~~ In response to several statements concerning the organisation of the future work the CHAIRMAN said:

"This is, thank you for this question which leads me to the final point I wanted to raise anyhow, that is a kind of a timetable to be arranged among ourselves at least approximately for the work of the Sub-Groups and of the Special Group in the period in between the Ministerial Meeting and December. Because, as you correctly assume, Ambassador Cleveland, I don't foresee a meeting at a high level of the Special Group with the people from the capitals, but because substantial discussion being avoided at this stage, I don't think it necessary, if anybody wants to come on Monday, 29th, of course, he will be welcome.

But after that, what happens? The Sub-Groups will continue to work, probably they will also, I imagine, that on a private basis the Rapporteurs will keep in contact and try to overcome to the maximum extent possible those substantive overlappings mentioned by Mr. Hardy quite correctly about which this morning confidentially the Rapporteurs had already had a discussion, of course, because they realise that this is quite a legitimate observation. So they will work this way; avoiding to the maximum possible extent overlapping in their work, in each

case presenting their reports and I suppose, I suggest, just to them this morning that these reports should be ready in their final form not later than 15th October, after which the Special Group should make some very substantive work between 15th October and the end of November for co-ordinating this work and preparing a final report. The question is: should another meeting of the Special Group in the course of the process of the work of the Sub-Group be held before, maybe in September or around that date. This is a question which remains open and, according to me, should be decided according to the development of the Sub-Groups; they should be, the Rapporteurs themselves, keeping in contact with the Secretary General, and the Secretary General keeping in contact with the delegations in order to see if the requirement for a substantive meeting, an interim meeting of the Special Group, should be necessary while the Sub-Groups are still working in order to clarify some issues, in order to get some practical directives. I don't know if that would be necessary, but as far as I propose the normal timetable I think that we should allow the Sub-Groups to finish their work and no later than 15th October to present their

report, after which the Special Group will start its own work within four to five days and with all the meetings necessary in order to elaborate a final report. "