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INTERIM REPORT OF THE COUNCIL TO MINISTERS MEETING AT LUXEMBOURG ON RELATIVE TO THE STUDIES ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE

1. The Special Group on the Future Tasks of the Alliance met on and approved the text of an interim report to the North Atlantic Council, as requested by the Council's decision of 22nd February, 1967. /

2. The Council subsequently agreed to submit this report to Ministers in its meeting of

3. After the adoption by Ministers on 16th December 1966 of the Resolution on the Future Tasks of the Alliance (C-M(66)145), Permanent Representatives under the chairmanship of the Secretary General examined the various aspects of the objectives of the proposed exercise as well as a range of possible procedures. After a number of preliminary and informal discussions, the Council formally met on 15th February with the participation of to discuss ways and means of putting into effect the Ministerial Resolution. There was a thorough and general debate on the basis of papers circulated by various Delegations and by the Secretary General, and at its meeting of 22nd February, the Council adopted the following Resolution:

- "(1) to carry out its mandate in the Ministerial Resolution of 16th December, 1966, the Council will direct the exercise and be responsible for it;
- (2) to that effect the Council constitutes an open-ended Special Group of Representatives designated by governments, under the Chairmanship of the Secretary General;
- (3) the Special Group will study (a) the development of political events as it affects the purpose of the Alliance and (b) the consequent future tasks of the Alliance;
- (4) the Special Group will establish such special procedures, sub-groups and rapporteurs, and request such staff work from the International Staff, reinforced national delegations, and outside organizations, as it deems necessary;
- (5) when necessary, the Special Group would report to the Council and review with it the progress of the work and questions to be solved. In any case, the Special Group will make an interim report to the Council in Permanent Session in time for the Ministerial Meeting in June and a final report in time for the December meeting. "

4. The open-ended Special Group of Representatives, constituted in accordance with this Resolution, met for the first time on 6th March 1967. Its essential task was to reach a decision on two specific points: (a) the list of subjects to be studied; and (b) the manner in which these studies should be organized. Here again, the Group had the benefit of papers circulated by the Belgian, Italian, United Kingdom and United States Representatives as well as by the Secretary General. After several meetings, mainly

devoted to a further examination and refinement of both the subjects to be studied and the procedures to be adopted, the Special Group approved on 20th March a Working Paper which may be considered as its operating charter for carrying out the studies on the Future Tasks of the Alliance.

5. The Special Group agreed that in the first instance four main subjects should be studied. It was, of course, well understood that neither the definition nor the listing of these subjects was in any way limitative or exhaustive. The subjects were:

(1) East-West Relations

The political aims of the Alliance:

- (a) In general East-West relations in the light of an analysis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the Eastern European countries,
- (b) With regard to European security, the German problem and the nature of a European settlement.

(2) Inter-Allied Relations

Possibilities of strengthening the bonds between Alliance countries generally, possibilities of inter-European cooperation within the Alliance; long and short term consequences of the unification of Europe; the ideological basis and unity of the Alliance.

(3) General Defensive Policy of the Alliance

Evolution of collective and regional security; principles governing the strategy of the Alliance and the level and deployment of forces; effects of various proposals - arms control and disarmament; balanced reduction of forces; nuclear arrangements - on the balance of power.

(4) Developments in regions outside the NATO area.

6. It was also agreed that these subjects would be studied by four sub-Groups which, once constituted, would be free to refine further the definition of their subjects and generally organize their work as to allow freedom of discussion and flexibility of proceeding. They were open to all members of the Alliance and to the Secretary General and/or his representatives. Finally, it was suggested that the presentation of each subject be entrusted to a national Delegation which might select, according to the Resolution of 22nd February 1967, a Rapporteur particularly well informed of the subject in question.

7. On 17th and 18th April 1967, the four sub-Groups met at NATO Headquarters under the guidance of the following Rapporteurs named by their Governments:

East-West relations

Mr. J.H.A. Watson, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs, (U.K.)

Mr. K. Schütz, Secretary of State Foreign Affairs (Fed. Rep. of Germany)

Inter-Allied relations

Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister of State (Belgium)

General Defence Policy

Mr. Foy Kohler, Deputy Under Secretary of State (U.S.)

Relations with other countries

Dr. C.M. Patijn, Professor in International political relations, University of Utrecht (Netherlands).

8. Since that date, all sub-Groups have met a number of times and discussed questions of procedure and substance submitted verbally or in writing by the Rapporteurs, by

Delegations and by the Secretary General. The subsequent discussions were marked by frankness, informality, and a keen desire to examine the problems of the Alliance with fresh eyes. A full exchange of ideas was welcomed and even encouraged. There was also general agreement that the studies should be undertaken seriously and that therefore the sub-Groups should not be rushed in their work. Consequently and in view of the fact that the preliminary planning stage of the exercise had taken much time, none of the sub-Groups has yet sought to produce a substantive report.

9. What they have done is this:

In all four sub-Groups, the Rapporteurs produced preliminary papers which were essentially in the form of questionnaires and were intended to serve as the basis of the initial discussions. Members were also invited to present their views in writing, and some have already done so. After the first meetings, the Rapporteurs were asked to provide more substantive papers.

In sub-Group 1, Mr. Watson presented a paper on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the internal and external pressures which might influence the formation of their foreign policy. This paper was partly in the form of introductory statements and partly of questions. Mr. Watson also suggested Western Policy Towards Détente as a subject of discussion.

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Also in sub-Group 1, Mr. Sehtitz presented a Proposal for an Outline on the Political Aims of the Alliance with regard to European Security, the German Problem and the Nature of a European Settlement, which was all formulated as a questionnaire.

After a first discussion of these two papers, the sub-Group requested its two Rapporteurs to fuse them into a single document. This was done in a paper of 6th May to which two annexes were appended. The paper was divided into five parts: Draft Outline; I. East-west Relations in General; II. European Settlement; III. German Problems; and IV. Practical Steps and Procedures.

Subsequently, the Norwegian member contributed a note of general remarks and the Secretary General also sent each Rapporteur comments on their initial papers.

In sub-Group 2, Mr. Spaak submitted a questionnaire on the Relations between Allies which was divided into four parts: Introduction; I. The ideological basis and unity of the Alliance; II. The possibilities of reinforcing the bonds among the countries of the Alliance as a whole; and III. The possibilities of inter-European cooperation, and the consequences of eventual unification of Europe. As a contribution to the discussion of this questionnaire, comments were circulated by the United States member and by the Secretary General. Following a meeting of the sub-Group, Mr. Spaak agreed to write an initial substantive report for the sub-Group's consideration.

In sub-Group 3, the Rapporteur produced a Preliminary Outline for the final report which might serve as a basis of discussion. Following the first meeting which considered this paper, the Rapporteur revised the Outline which was organized as follows: Introduction; I. The Current Politico-Military Situation; II. The Relationship of NATO Defence Policies and Programmes to the Broader Political Objectives of the Alliance; III. Conclusions (a. What are the major elements of a defence policy for the Alliance including appropriate measures of arms control which will: (1) Continue to guarantee the security and freedom of the West as an indispensable basis for political solutions, (2) Make a direct contribution to the comprehensive political objectives of the Alliance, especially a lasting, peaceful order in Europe? b. What should be the major short-term defence tasks of the Alliance given our assessment of the current politico-military situation and that for the immediate future? c. What should be the major future defence tasks of the Alliance given our estimate of political and military trends over the next several years?)

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Progr. Report
on Phase I
by J. May

Sub-Group 4 experienced naturally enough some difficulties in trying to define the nature and limits of its assignment, and its first meeting was devoted to a discussion of its terms of reference. Subsequently, the Rapporteur submitted a draft substantive report which will be the basis for the sub-Group's discussion at its next meeting.

Modified
summary
(P. K. J.)

Cleveland
J. May

10. The most important aspect of the papers presented was that they all raised basic questions regarding the main issues before the Alliance. There was no attempt on the part of the Rapporteurs to shy away from knotty issues. This attitude revealed how useful could be the framework of the present exercise in considering and analysing those difficult and frequently delicate problems which ordinarily, and naturally enough, are avoided in the regular meetings of the Council and other bodies of the Alliance. This willingness to face problems confronting the Alliance and the opportunity offered by these studies may lead to positive and beneficial results.

11. The exercise is now in its first phase in which both the Rapporteurs and the members of the sub-Groups are given broad freedom to suggest initiatives and express personal views. In accordance with the terms of reference of the study this phase will be followed by a second one of coordination and conclusions in which Governments' positions will be determining. If work in the next phase is carried out with the same probity and energy so far displayed, the Governments may be presented with a rich and useful study on the basis of which they may reach constructive and far-reaching conclusions.