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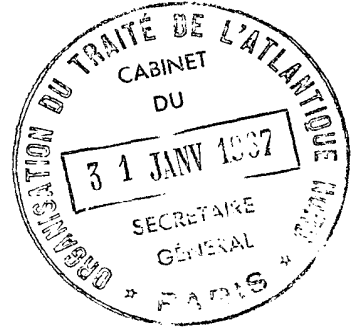
1978

To: Secretary General

Through: ASG for Political Affairs

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cc: Mr. Hockaday
Directeur du Cabinet
Mr. Simms
Mr. Chapman



From: S.I.P. van Campen

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Subject: Council Resolution on the Future Tasks of the Alliance

As instructed, I submit herewith a draft paper summing up the principal elements of your discussions, both with certain Delegations and with the International Secretariat, on the above mentioned subject.

2. While this paper is not yet presented as a draft PO, it has been written with that ultimate purpose in mind; and the various headings of the studies to be undertaken have been so formulated as to permit the inclusion of any particular question which Delegations may wish to see examined.

PO. 67/10

Att:

Elements for a Paper of the Secretary General
to the Council relative to the Future Tasks
of the Alliance

Introduction

After my informal contacts with Delegations on the above subject, I have thought it useful to submit to you a summary of my thinking on the substance and procedures of the study which Ministers have entrusted to the Council. The present paper, like those already, or still to be, submitted by Delegations is, of course, of a preliminary character and should be considered as a contribution to the thinking, and eventually, the decisions of the Council on this important subject.

General Considerations

2. There are some basic conditions without which the Alliance will not benefit from the envisaged exercise to the fullest extent possible. First, to be successful, the study must be based on the common political will to remain together and to maintain the system of political solidarity embodied in the Alliance.

3. The necessity of the Alliance today and tomorrow must be the starting point of our exercise. While no doubt with the passage of time, changes in form, in organization, in procedures and perhaps even in tasks and purposes may become necessary, the determination to maintain the existence of the Alliance (should not be questioned.)

4. Second, we should make an effort, not only to make this study a politically meaningful exercise, but also to carry it out and present the results in such a manner that public opinion will feel associated with it and be able to understand its message. ~~This highly important factor will no doubt partly affect our choice of procedure;~~ and in writing our report we should remember that certain terms frequently used in international relations and which may be familiar to us, need, from time to time, being re-explained and re-interpreted in accordance with the mood of the times.

a little more explanation here

5. Examples which come to mind include the present meaning and role of terms such as "detente", "threat" and "balance of power". If this factor is borne in mind, our exercise will not only benefit the efficiency of the Alliance, but also its public image and, thus, its political action in the world of today and tomorrow.

Substance: the Studies to be undertaken

6. Turning now to the work to be done under the Ministers' directive, it will be readily conceded that a detailed description of international developments since 1949 is not required for our purposes. Our efforts should rather concentrate, first, on the identification of the major changes affecting the Alliance in the last twenty years and, second, on the analysis of their specific impact on the future ~~(organiza-~~tion) and action of the Alliance. Accordingly, the following work programme, comprising the two elements of identification and analysis, might be suggested. First, the areas of change to be studied:

- 1) The internal and external situation of the Soviet Union, with special reference to such changes as determine the policy options open to that country. *China*
- 2) The field of European Security and the German Problem (including developments in Eastern Europe).
- 3) Western Europe and the relations between the European and overseas members (the United States and Canada) of the Alliance, including past and current ideas on those relations.
- 4) Regions outside the NATO Treaty area with special reference to the relationship between political security and economic developments and, ~~in particular~~, levels of subsistence.

China

*not so much as
reference to economic dev,
but of all possible economic
political action and responsibility in
these areas
and limits*

Having thus identified the major developments, their future impact might be assessed in terms of:

- 1) The security of Alliance countries and the role of the Alliance. Here it will be necessary to define the meaning, role, and implications of such concepts as "threat", "detente", and the "balance of power" in, for example, the problem of European security and its connection, if any, with the United States or Canada; or in circumstances prevailing before and after a possible political settlement with the Soviet Union.

is it a work plan?

2) The constitutional structure and the organization of the Alliance, general principles of Alliance procedures, military and non-military, with special reference to the place of the European members in the Alliance (two-pillar theory, ^{ways of working} risks of split, etc.).

3) Consultation within the Alliance, its principles and practice, extent and implications, with special reference to the problem of commitment and the role of the European members of the Alliance in peace and war outside the NATO area.

4) Political action (including information policy) of the Alliance, with special reference to the possibilities in East-West relations (initiatives and peace plans).

5) Mutual aid of the Alliance countries and of aid to countries outside the Alliance with special reference to Article 2 of the Treaty as a source of alternative purposes of the Alliance.

6) The North Atlantic Treaty, its articles, in particular 4 and 5, their historical interpretation in the light of present dangers and new circumstances; the links between Treaty and Organization; and the future of the Treaty itself after 1970.

7) Finally, a review of the present Political Directive and Guidance to the NATO Military Authorities,

and general principles of the defense policy, recovery and defense ~~that part~~

(and documents)

a) threat and its nature of debate
b) means to face it - balance of power and USA
c) two pillars
d) political action, consultation, Germany and Germany, coordination
e) political work
f) the work itself

and a possible set of that part of it could be possibly regard the defense program and the situation of the alliance to that end and therefore -

Procedures

7. Having regard to both certain precedents in the history of NATO and the many-sided character of the present exercise, there is no question in my mind but that the Council should be in command of the studies to be undertaken. However, in view of the many commitments of Permanent Representatives in present circumstances, they may wish to entrust the actual conduct of the exercise to an open-ended Group composed of government representatives, preferably of sub-ministerial level, and/or Permanent Representatives. The Group would meet under the chairmanship of the Secretary General, and will report regularly to the Council on their progress and, when necessary, the special problems encountered in its work.

8. The organization of its work should, in my view, be left to the Group, it being understood of course that it would be free to establish sub-groups, either open-ended or restricted in numbers, to deal with certain aspects of the problems to be examined. The Group may be assisted by the Political Affairs Division, or other Divisions of the International Secretariat as required, as well as by experts from national capitals.


9. I would, in conclusion, stress one aspect of procedure, recalling my earlier observation on the need for this study to be welcomed and understood by public opinion in the Alliance countries. One particular means to ensure this would be to authorize the Group to organize hearings. This would have the advantage that certain organizations (for example, the Atlantic Treaty Association, etc.) and persons (Parliamentarians) would be given the opportunity to state their views.

*Context and
hearings*

*on specific
questions*

In view, however, of the dangers which are undoubtedly attached to publicity, I myself would be inclined to recommend that, while the fact that such hearings take place might be well-publicised, the statements made in them remain private and be confined to specific questions. However, the Council may wish to consider the case for organizing such hearings in a slightly more liberal manner.

31/1/67



vC/mh
31.1.67.