

FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE

Draft Report for Submission to the Special Group
on 22nd November, 1967

A year ago, on the initiative of the Foreign Minister of Belgium, the Council undertook to analyse the political events which have occurred since the Treaty was signed, with a view to ascertaining their influence on international relations and on the Alliance itself; and to study the future tasks which face the Alliance and its procedures for fulfilling them, in order to strengthen the Alliance as a factor for a durable peace. The Council was to examine ways of improving consultation with the Alliance, including the European member countries⁽¹⁾.

To carry out this mandate, the Council adopted on 22nd February 1967⁽²⁾, the following procedure: it constituted a Special Group which was to establish "such special procedures, sub-groups and rapporteurs and request such staff work from the International Staff, reinforced national delegations and outside organisations, as deemed necessary". When necessary, the Special Group was to report to the Council and review with it the progress of the work and questions to be solved. In any case, the Special Group was instructed to 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 of 1967.

(1) Resolution on Future Tasks of the Alliance, C-M(66)145 of 16th December, 1966.

(2) C-M(67)11, of 22nd February, 1967.

Accordingly, the report sets forth the general tenor and main principles emerging from this examination of the future tasks of the Alliance.

2. Studies were undertaken by Messrs. Schütz, Watson Spaak, Kohler and Patijn. The Council wishes to express its appreciation and thanks for their efforts and for the penetrating analyses they produced.

3. (United States version) "The Alliance has demonstrated its value by successfully averting threats to peace and safeguarding the security of the Atlantic area. By its defensive strength including its effective means of deterrence, as well as by maintaining its solidarity, the Alliance has produced the basis for the present marked reduction of tension in Europe. This basis remains essential for the security of the Alliance and for progress towards a peaceful solution of outstanding problems, including the problem of Germany." This study has shown that no changes in the Treaty are required and that the important tasks recommended in this report can be conducted in keeping with the traditional functioning and procedures which have proved their value over many years.

4. The Alliance is not a rigid instrument, but rather a living and vigorous organism which adjust to new situations and is capable of handling whatever tasks the governments wish it to perform. Any necessary adaptations can readily be made within the terms of the basic Treaty, and this without need of amendment.

UNITED KINGDOM PROPOSAL TO REPLACE PARAGRAPHS 3 and 4

Through this exercise, the member governments have gained a better understanding of the work and potentialities of the Alliance which remains a lively and vigorous organization capable of adaptation to changing situations and to whatever tasks the governments may wish it to perform. In the process they have gained a clearer knowledge of each other's views on the basic issues. The exercise has shown that the Alliance is governed by the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty and that the important tasks to which the exercise has drawn attention can be handled by the traditional functioning and procedures which have proved their value over many years.

Norwegian - Danish - United Kingdom version of

Paragraph 5

5. The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949, since when the international situation has changed significantly. (Follows text of Belgian proposal:)

(a) In 1967 the Alliance and its member-states are no longer confronted with the tragic events of 1949 and 1950.

(b) A major change has occurred both within the Eastern countries and among the Western powers.

(1) Within the Eastern countries:

the Alliance has halted the communist advance in Europe.

- A major change has occurred in the relationship between the Communist states: the Soviet Union is now one of the two world-super-powers; a serious split has arisen between Moscow and Peking; the countries of Eastern Europe show a greater tendency to take their own decisions.

- The Communist world has given its own definition of peaceful coexistence at the 20th Party Congress, limiting the confrontation with the democratic states of Europe to the economic, political and ideological fields.

- (ii) Among the Western countries
- the recovery and development of Europe
with a beginning of economic integration
for the Six. (End of Belgian proposal).

Whilst at an earlier stage military and strategic questions were the foremost preoccupation of the Alliance, it has therefore now become possible to give greater importance to the political aspects of our problems.

Norwegian - Danish - United Kingdom version ofParagraph 6

6. In this situation the main task of the Atlantic Alliance will be two-fold. First, to maintain adequate military strength and political solidarity to deter aggression and other forms of pressure and to defend the territory of member countries if aggression should occur. Secondly, to pursue the search for progress towards a more stable relationship based on mutual confidence. The Alliance and a policy of détente should therefore not be contradictory but complementary.

Norwegian - Danish - United Kingdom version of
Paragraph 7

7. Nevertheless it remains the basic objective of our Alliance to provide effective protection for the territorial integrity of its members and to ensure their political independence and security. Since its inception the Alliance has successfully fulfilled this task. But the Soviet Union has constantly increased its military strength; and so long as central political issues in Europe - first and foremost the German question - remain unsolved, the Alliance will need the full spectrum of military capabilities in order to create the climate of stability, security and self-confidence, in which a policy of détente can be conducted with a view to solving finally the underlying political issues.

Norwegian - Danish - United Kingdom version ofParagraph 8

8. Beyond deterrence, the Alliance has always aimed at peaceful solutions. They know that it is the existence of the Alliance and its success in maintaining the peace that have contributed to the lowering of tension in Europe. Détente cannot thrive in a disorganised world. Collective defence is a stabilising factor in the pattern of world politics. It is the necessary condition for a realistic continuation of current policies directed towards a greater relaxation of tensions. The way to peace and stability in Europe is not to dissolve existing groupings, but to use them constructively.

9. The Atlantic Alliance has never been just a military organisation: from the very beginning it has been a co-operative grouping of like-minded states with many purposes in common. As sovereign states, they have no obligation to subordinate their policies to collective decision. The Alliance has no supra-national powers; nor is it politically an executive agency.

(Canada:)

Existing paragraph will be eliminated and a new paragraph dealing with the points raised by M. Harmel concerning the common values of the Alliance could appear here.

-11-

10. NATO nevertheless is indispensable politically as well as for defence, because inter alia it provides an effective forum and clearing house for the exchange of information and views, so that the Allies can frame their policies in the light of close and intimate knowledge of each other's problems and objectives.

(Canada:)

NATO provides an effective forum and clearing house for the exchange of information and views, so that the Allies can frame their policies in the light of close and intimate knowledge of each other's problems and objectives. To achieve the fundamental purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty it is essential that the habit of frank, regular and timely consultation be deepened and improved. There is no ban at any time against the raising of any international problem in the appropriate NATO body, nor is there any obligation on the sovereign member states to subordinate their policies to collective decision. The Alliance has no supra-national powers; nor is it politically an executive agency.

11. To achieve the fundamental purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty, it is essential that the spirit of cohesion and solidarity should continue to inspire the consultations of the Allies. To be effective, these consultations need to be held at the formative stage of policy and should leave room for adjustments to take account of the views of other Allies. There is no ban at any time against the raising of any international problem in the appropriate NATO body.

(Canada:)

Existing paragraph 11 would then disappear if Canadian proposals on paragraphs 9 and 10 would prove to be acceptable.

-13-

12. Today it is appropriate and essential that each Ally should play its full part in promoting an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The chances of success will clearly be greatest if the Allies

(deletion suggested by UK)

remain on parallel courses. The actions of all the Allies will be more effective and more influential when, particularly in matters of close concern to all, they

act in accordance with a framework of policy which, so far as possible, is agreed by all. The objective of a just and lasting political order in Europe transcends the reach of any one state: it must necessarily involve the co-operative efforts of different groupings of states.

Danish redraft of paragraph 13

13. No final and stable settlement in Europe is possible without a solution of the German question, which lies at the heart of present tensions in Europe. This will call for a major effort by all concerned. The evolution of Soviet and East European policies gives:

Netherlands text: some ground for hope ...

Danish text: reason to expect ...

that these governments may come to recognise the common interest in collaboration towards a settlement in Europe

German version of paragraph 13, last sentence

... The evolution of Soviet and East European policies gives some ground for hope that the governments may gradually come to recognise the advantage to them of collaborating in preparing a peaceful settlement. No final and stable settlement is possible without a solution of the German question, which lies at the heart of present tensions in Europe.

14. Currently, the development of contacts between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe is mainly on a bilateral basis

(German amendment) because bilateral contacts at present seem to be the most promising ones.

But there is clearly a limit to the progress which can be made bilaterally. Certain subjects, (German proposal: delete in particular, those relating to European security,) require by their very nature a multilateral approach (German proposal: replace "approach" by "solution").

15. The problem of a European settlement and German reunification has normally been dealt with in exchanges between the Soviet Union and the Three Western Powers having special responsibilities in this field. In the preparation for such conferences (German proposal: replace "conferences" by "exchanges"), the Federal Republic has regularly joined the Three Western Powers in order to reach a common position. The other Allies, who have not failed to support the initiatives taken, should be able, in future (German proposal: delete "in future") to have their views considered in the formulation of general policy by the West. This can be done (United States proposal: insert here "by the normal procedure of the Council") without in any way impairing the special responsibilities in question

16. The development towards the détente in Europe has brought benefits to the countries of both Western and Eastern Europe. Now is the time for a new effort to strengthen and extend it. The Allies are accordingly resolved to direct their energies to this purpose and to further it by realistic measures aimed at increasing confidence in East-West relations.

17. The relaxation of tensions is not the final goal but is part of a long-term process to promote peaceful relations and to bring nearer a European settlement. This aim cannot succeed without the co-operation of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

18. The ultimate political purpose of the Alliance is to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe, guaranteed by a balanced and viable system of European security.

19. There must be an end to unnatural barriers between Eastern and Western Europe, which are most clearly and cruelly manifested in the division of Germany.

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20. When the study of the future tasks of the Alliance was set in hand, its stated purpose was "in order to strengthen the Alliance as a factor for a durable peace".

SECRETARY'S TEXT AS AMENDED IN DISCUSSION BY
VARIOUS DELEGATIONS

21. In their advance planning for the years to come, the Allies will concentrate on a number of tasks. They will examine and review suitable policies designed to achieve a just and stable order in Europe and to overcome the division of Germany. These preparations involve specialist studies of substantive issues relating to European security and to possible procedural approaches to East-West negotiations. (United Kingdom suggested amendment to last sentence: "This will be part of a process of active and constant preparation for the time when fruitful East-West discussions of these complex questions may be possible.")

22. The Allies are studying disarmament and practical arms control measures, including the possibility of balanced force reductions. These studies will be intensified. Their active pursuit reflects the will of the Allies to work for an effective détente with the East.

(Various Amendment Incorporated)

23. While maintaining and strengthening the general defence posture of the Alliance, including effective deterrence, the Allies will examine with particular attention [the problems of defending the exposed areas, including the Southern flank. In this respect] the current situation in the Mediterranean [presents special problems] [it being well understood that the current crisis in the Middle East is manifestly the responsibility of the United Nations.]

(Basic text is Danish, other amendments incorporated)

24. The North Atlantic area is clearly defined in the Treaty but it cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of the world. Crises and conflicts arising outside the area may affect its security either directly or indirectly by influencing the balance of global forces. NATO countries, as members of the United Nations, contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the solution of important international problems. When necessary, such problems will also be the subject of consultation within the Alliance. The development of such consultation among the Allies carries no implication of collective action in such cases, each of which sets its own limits.

United Kingdom Draft Addition

After paragraph 24 insert new paragraph as follows:

"In order to carry out the studies envisaged in the preceding paragraphs the Council will, if necessary, have regard to the successful and continuing precedent of the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group.

(Version of PO/67/832[✓] as amended by United Kingdom)

25. Subject to the approval of Ministers and in the light of such directives as they may wish to give, the Council in Permanent Session will in the normal order of business carry out the detailed follow-up of the tasks recommended in this study with the view to intensifying work already in hand or to activating highly specialised studies by more systematic use of experts and officials sent from capitals.