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To : Secretary General
From : A.S.G. for Political Affairs

FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE

The Political Division has prepared for each one of the four Reports on the future tasks of the Alliance an exhaustive summary of the different matters which have been dealt with in these documents.

These summaries have been used for the preparation of the analytic report (document DPA/67/206). ✓

SUB-GROUP 1

"EAST-WEST RELATIONS"

Report of Mr. Watson

I. EAST-WEST RELATIONS, DETENTE AND A EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

1. It must be recognised that the present artificial division of Europe is unstable. The establishment of peaceful order in Europe must include a just and durable settlement of the German problem.
2. These aims can be achieved more easily in a period of détente.
3. By relaxing tensions selectively the Soviet Government hopes to weaken the cohesion of the Alliance.
4. NATO and a policy of détente are not alternatives which exclude each other.
5. Agreements should be reached on some basic elements:
 - A European settlement must guarantee the NATO members that the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples are safeguarded.
 - Any European settlement would have to accept the differing political, economic and social systems of the states.
 - Renunciation of the use of force and other forms of intervention in the internal affairs of other states must be guaranteed.
 - Relations between states are to be governed by the principles of the United Nations Charter.
6. The position of the United States is of vital importance as the European members of the Alliance cannot maintain their freedom and independence alone in face of the Soviet Union.
7. The East European states and the Soviet Union have to be convinced of the great advantages of improving East-West collaboration.

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NATO CONFIDENTIALII. THE GERMAN PROBLEM

1. The German division cannot be accepted as a pre-requisite for a détente.
2. Any solution of the German problem:
 - Must start from the principle that the German people have the right of free decision.
 - Requires action by the four powers with special responsibility for Germany.
 - Requires the cooperation not only of Allies but of those states of Europe which have a vital interest in establishing a peaceful order in Europe.
3. It is up to the Federal Republic of Germany to make life more bearable by means of ultimate contacts with the Soviet Zone.
4. The Alliance must ensure the freedom and viability of Berlin.

III. PRACTICAL STEPS AND PROCEDURES

1. In order to overcome the present division of Europe both bilateral and multilateral contacts will be needed.
2. The Atlantic Alliance offers an excellent forum for maintaining a necessary degree of coordination in these bilateral and multilateral dealings with the East.
3. Economic, technological and cultural collaboration with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can contribute to a relaxation of tensions.
4. An overall European conference such as the Soviet sponsored "European Security Conference" does not at present promise success but an East-West conference may be desirable at the right time.

SUB-GROUP 2

"THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION AND THE UNITY OF THE ALLIANCE"

Report of Mr. Spaak

1. WHAT WAS THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN 1949 ?

- The reasons which led to the creation of the Alliance
 - (1) Failure of the United Nations
 - (2) Expansionist policy of the USSR
 - (3) Success of the Alliance - Communist expansion checked
- But wider aim of the Alliance (Art. 2)

2. WHAT HAS THE ALLIANCE BECOME SINCE 1949 ?

- Necessity to extend the Alliance to other than military fields
- The Three Wise Men's Report of 1956 : the Alliance must lead to the creation of an Atlantic community.
- French proposal of 1958 for the creation of a "Triumvirate".

3. THE DETENTE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

- Reasons and aims of peaceful coexistence
- Persistence of the communist danger

4. WHAT COULD THE ALLIANCE BECOME TOMORROW ?

- Agreement by all the member States on the need to preserve the Alliance

2.

- What is needed to maintain the Alliance :
 - (1) A common policy on the reunification of Germany
 - (2) A common policy in the field of disarmament, security and defence (e.g. : the non-proliferation treaty)
 - (3) A common definition of the general rules to be applied to relations with the USSR.
 - (4) Equilibrium between two groups of Powers instead of bilateral relations.
 - (5) A common policy on the underdeveloped countries
 - (6) The need for Europe to express itself as an entity
- The long-term prospects for the Alliance :
 - (1) The fears inspired by American preponderance (the need to draw a distinction between Treaty area and areas not covered by the Treaty)
 - (2) Remedy : the unification of Europe (Europe would become a real partner of the United States within the Alliance).

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SUB-GROUP 3

"THE FUTURE SECURITY POLICY OF THE ALLIANCE"

Report of Mr. Köhler

1. The NATO countries cannot as yet consider themselves assured against the danger of armed conflict. Instability in the less developed countries is a continuing threat to peace and recent events in the Mediterranean area demonstrate that the Soviets are intent on increasing their military strength and extending their influence there, a fact that poses a threat to NATO's Southern flank.

Thus the NATO countries continue to require formidable military capabilities covering the full spectrum of potential conflict. An integrated defence effort will continue to make sense for both the European and North American members of the Alliance.

2. NATO has confronted a changing environment and has adapted to it by modernizing the machinery of the Alliance. More should be done to improve NATO's effectiveness in the field of arms control and to expand consultation on security threats arising from outside the NATO area.

As opportunities emerge to expand contacts with the East, the NATO consultative machinery can be used to assure that our individual approaches are consistent and mutually reinforcing.

3. The future security tasks of the Alliance :

- a. sustain and modernize our military strength in order to maintain deterrence and create the climate of security indispensable to progress towards a permanent political settlement in Europe ;
- b. explore possibilities for maintaining effective deterrence at lower levels through balance mutual force reductions ;
- c. maintain the machinery recently created for nuclear planning and strengthen national nuclear planning staffs so that the non-nuclear members can participate more effectively in this planning ;

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- d. carry through the steps already initiated to improve consultation through the regular exchange of intelligence and related information in the situation center ;
- e. increase intra-European cooperation in defense research, development and production and extend the inter-allied cooperation already in existence in these fields.

SUB-GROUP 4

"DEVELOPMENTS IN REGIONS OUTSIDE THE NATO AREA"

Report of Professor Patijn

A.

The Role of NATO in World Affairs

1. The security of the NATO members is seriously affected by developments outside the area of the Treaty.

2. On 13th December, 1956, the NATO Council approved the recommendation of the Committee of Three concerning the harmonization of the policies of the members in relation to other areas.

3. Reluctance of many member states to face developments outside the NATO area and the American desire to see the NATO Allies take a greater share in the maintenance of international order.

4. Is the NATO Alliance the right instrument for cooperation outside the area of the Treaty? (There are no provisions in the Treaty for activities in other regions).

5. What is needed is to devise common policies for the NATO members.

B.

Categories of Problems which could affect the interests of the Alliance

I. POLITICAL EVENTS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF THE ATLANTIC AREA

- (a) Developments on the borders of the NATO defence perimeter.
- (b) Nuclear developments which could affect the world nuclear equilibrium.
- (c) Relations with China.

- The framework for action may be very difficult: United Nations, individual action.
- Problems in regions outside the NATO area requiring a long-term political strategy and a system of crisis management:
 - (i) The evaluation of communist expansion in specific regions.
 - (ii) The necessity for a regional equilibrium of power in Asia and the Middle East.
 - (iii) International control of arms deliveries.
 - (iv) The meaning of "Wars of National Liberation" in Asia and Africa.
 - (v) The evaluation of revolutionary developments in Latin America.
 - (vi) The problem of peace-keeping activities in the United Nations.
 - (vii) Vital economic interests of the Western World in parts of Asia and Africa.

II. POLITICAL EVENTS NOT DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF THE ATLANTIC AREA BUT IN WHICH NATO MEMBERS ARE INVOLVED

- (a) As long as these events do not give rise to major trouble or threats to peace, no common position within NATO can be expected.
- (b) There are circumstances in which consultation is not possible (e.g. the Cuban crisis).
- (c) Difficulties arise from colonial obligations of certain members (e.g. Portugal).

III. INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF A UNIVERSAL CHARACTER IN WHICH THE WESTERN WORLD IS TO TAKE A CLEAR STAND

- In their relations with the Third World the NATO members should strive for more than anti-communism.
- Necessity for the Alliance to have a policy to prevent racial violence.

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C.

Proposals for Improving Political Consultation

- We need a better Alliance system for contingency planning.
- NATO needs a greater variety of forms of consultation.
- The best procedure for questions outside the NATO area would be discussion in Groups performing a limited function on restricted but closely defined subjects.
- Present NATO procedures for developing adequate policies are not satisfactory.
- The NATO Council should create a number of specialized groups working on specific subjects outside the Atlantic area.
- The NATO Council should also consider how to make better use of the Atlantic Policy Advisory Group (APAG).
- It may be advisable to resort to outside advice.