Délégation de Danemark

OTAN - NATO
PARIS XVI^e
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2 0 JUIL. 1967

No. 105.A.2.1.

3-1-028 (5, 4)

Paris, 19th July, 1967.

To:

The Assisting Secretary General for

Political Affairs

Subj.:

Special Group On Future Tasks of the Alliance,

Documentation

Ref.:

Document AC/261-D/1 of 10th May, 1967.

My authorities have asked me to bring to your attention the enclosed extract of an article by the Danish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Krag on "Present perspectives in NATO policies and European Market Integration". The article as a whole has been published in a Danish periodical.

Peter P. Dyvig First Secretary of Embassy

Present Perspectives in NATO Policies and European Market Integration

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Mr. J. O. Krag, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

World politics present a picture of constant change, which is reflected also in Western security and European integration policies. Recent years have witnessed an acceleration of tendencies towards relaxation of East/West tensions. That these tendencies have prevailed in spite of the Vietnam conflict shows how strong they are - a fact which must be welcomed by all. To-day, there is undoubtedly a wide measure of understanding among the member countries of NATO that the Alliance will - fortunately - add new tasks to those which predominated when NATO was formed.

NATO's problems to-day

When Denmark joined NATO in 1949, this step marked a fundamental departure from the policy of non-alignment which we had followed since the Napoleonic wars. The decision was taken in the light of communist developments in Eastern Europe which culminated in 1948 with the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin blockade. Prior to that decision, negotiations between Denmark, Norway and Sweden had demonstrated that no agreement could be reached on a Nordic defence union.

In many ways, the world to-day is quite different from what is was in the early post-war years. We have seen a consolidation of political stability in Europe to which, in my view, the existence of NATO has contributed materially.

It is true that the central political problems underlying East/West tensions - and, not least, the German issue - remain unsolved. As long as they persist, the international situation will be fraught with risks of a dangerous conflict. The tragic war in Vietnam is part of that picture. Let me also refer to the

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perspectives inherent in China's growing power and the uncertainty about China's future orientation in international politics.

Nevertheless, present-day world politics show fundamental features of a different kind, such as the strategic balance between the USA and the Soviet Union, the process of economic and political consolidation in West Europe and the possibilities for détente which exist - despite the Vietnam conflict - between the Soviet Union and the West.

The strategic balance between the nuclear capabilities of the United States and the Soviet Union implies that either party, even after having received the first blow, will be able to wreck disaster on the other party or, in military terminology, to inflict "unacceptable damage" on the opponent. The early phase of a global nuclear war will cause loss and destruction on a scale which will be unprecedented in world history and which, indeed, almost defies human imagination. In the light of this nuclear perspective, East and West clearly have a common stake in avoiding war, not only a global war but also local military clashes that could escalate into a major war. This is — despite its frightening background — a stabilising factor of major importance.

The economic strength of Western Europe has grown and so has its political influence. As the USA no longer holds a clearly predominant position in the Western world, the question is how to adjust the relations between the USA and Western Europe to the new economic and political facts of life.

The détente seen in the relations between the Soviet Union and the West in the last few years is reflected in the establishment of direct lines of communication between the governments of the Soviet Union on the one side and the governments of the USA, France and Great Britain on the other, in the ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water and, most recently (in late 1966) in the agreement which interalia bans orbiting of weapons of mass destruction. In the last few months, negotiations for a nuclear non-proliferation have reached a decisive phase. If such an agreement wins broad international support, it will be an epoch-making contribution to international stability and détente.

The facts and trends I have outlined here will enter into the coming years' discussions on Denmark's security policy.

In discussions of Denmark's continued membership of NATO, it has been said that the decision will have to be taken in 1969. That is a mistake. Under the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty any member state can leave the Alliance at one year's notice was from 1969.

While 1969 is thus not a final deadline, a broad debate on our security problems will nevertheless be both natural and useful. The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is preparing a survey of Denmark's security policy from 1948/49 to 1966 as a contribution to that debate. The survey will be published so as to make available to the public all the material facts as well as the background against which policies were decided.

Until basic changes take place in the international situation, NATO must in my view continue to form the necessary framework for the security policies of its member countries. But it is equally clear that the Alliance must adapt itself continuously to current developments in the international situation. The Danish view is that the Alliance, under the umbrella of the necessary military set-up, should develop inereasingly into a factor that can contribute to international political understanding and relaxation of tensions. In present circumstances, the existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is a necessary condition for the continuation of realistic endeavours to achieve an easing of tensions.

NATO's Ministerial Meeting last December decided to initiate a broad analysis of international developments since the Alliance was established. The purpose of this analysis is to clarify and define NATO's future tasks and to strengthen the Alliance as a factor in the work for lasting peace. NATO has set up a committee which will present a preliminary report to the ministers in June and will submit its final report to the meeting of ministers to be held in December, 1967. Denmark will make active contributions to the coming discussions in the light of the basic views I have outlined here.