

German Delegation
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CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL AIMS OF THE ALLIANCE WITH REGARD TO
EUROPEAN SECURITY, THE GERMAN PROBLEM AND THE
NATURE OF A EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

Proposal for an Outline

Introduction

The items "European security" and "the German problem" are parts of the overall complex of a "European settlement" and are therefore subordinate to that term.

"European settlement" means a lasting, equitable peaceful order in Europe.

It would therefore appear expedient to concentrate in this outline on two questions:

- (a) What should an equitable, lasting peaceful order in Europe look like?
- (b) How can it be achieved? What would be the rôle of the Alliance and its individual members in pursuing this aim?

I.

- 1. Which principles should form the basis of relations among the European countries themselves?
 - (a) Good-neighbourly co-operation among all countries of Europe in all fields, irrespective of their social and economic systems,
 - (b) sovereign equality,
 - (c) territorial integrity of states,
 - (d) non-intervention,
 - (e) renunciation of the use and threat of force,
 - (f) freedom of every state to choose its own political, economic, social and cultural system,
 - (g) the right of every nation to self-determination,
 - (h)

2. Which principles should constitute a common basis for the internal order of the European countries?

- (a) Human rights (Charter, Declaration of Human Rights, European Convention on Human Rights),
- (b) rule of law,
- (c) free movement of persons,
- (d) free flow of information,
- (e)

3. Organisation of the Peaceful Order.

- (a) Which geographical area should it cover?
- (b) Are common institutions for the promotion of political economic and cultural co-operation in Europe useful, and should existing institutions be expanded?
- (c) What can be done to ensure the application of the above-mentioned principles?
- (d) How can the European peaceful order be protected against external menace? (Problems of armaments control fall within the competence of working group 3).
- (f)

II.

Which measures of détente will, in the light of the foregoing principles, be necessary or expedient on the way to a European peaceful order?

1. In the sphere of disarmament and security:

- (a) Exchange of declarations renouncing the use of force,
- (b) guarantees of existing frontiers,
- (c) conclusion of non-aggression pacts,
- (d) setting-up of security zones,
- (e) neutralization of areas,
- (f) denuclearized zones,
- (g) gradual reduction of foreign troops, and
- (h) other disarmament and armament control measures,
- (i) dissolution of the military pacts in East and West,
- (j) a collective security system for Europe;
- (k)

2. In the social, economic and cultural spheres:

- (a) Promotion of prosperity throughout Europe,
- (b) co-operation among all European countries in economic, social and cultural affairs,
- (c) carrying-out of joint projects by the countries of Europe in the solution of non-European problems.
- (d)

III.

What can be done - on the basis of the Resolutions adopted by the North Atlantic Acouncil on 22 October 1954 - to overcome the division of Germany?

- (a) How could the principles mentioned in section I and the measures in section II be severally applied with regard to the solution of the German problem?
- (b) How can a solution of the German problem be advanced by means of a relaxation of tension between the two parts of Germany?
- (c) What part does the Berlin question play in this connexion?
- (d)

IV.

There are various possible procedures for a solution of the European security problem, the German problem and, generally, for a European settlement. What are the pros and cons of the following possibilities?

- (a) Submission of the matter to the United Nations,
- (b) negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact,
- (c) negotiations in the Group of Nine or a similar body,
- (d) Four-Power negotiations,
- (e) Soviet proposal for a security conference,
- (f) Western initiatives for a new East-West conference on more extensively-developed peace plans,
- (g) bilateral negotiations between the individual member states of the Alliance and East European countries.
- (h)