

SPECIAL GROUP ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE

Progress Report by the Rapporteurs of Sub-Group I  
 (AC/261/D/23)

1. Sub-Group I is concerned with the political aims of the Alliance with regard to:

- A) East-West relations in general;
- B) European security, the German problem and the nature of a European settlement.

2. The group has had two meetings, on 17 April and 11 May.

3. The British and German co-rapporteurs produced a preliminary paper incorporating suggestions made by members of the sub-group. After discussing the basic common aim of the policies of the Allies towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the next decade, the paper sets out the questions which require consideration in the following fields:

- (i) East-West relations in general and the nature of the détente;
- (ii) A European settlement and the principles which should determine it.
- (iii) The German problem - a solution for which must be included in, or guaranteed by, any just and therefore lasting settlement.
- (iv) Practical steps and procedures open to the Alliance and to its individual members.

One annex to the paper lists the influences which may currently be pushing the Governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe towards extending the détente. Another annex contains two outlines of how relations with Eastern Europe might develop over the next five years, taking the most optimistic and pessimistic probabilities, to indicate the limits within which the actual course of events will probably develop. A further paper on Soviet policy and the détente was submitted by the Secretary General.

4. The discussions on matters of substance have hitherto dealt with East-West relations in general, the nature of the détente, and multilateralism and bilateralism in the present diplomatic context. The sub-group also considered whether the détente must be indivisible (as opposed to the Soviet tactic of reducing tension with some allies but not with others), and should not be limited to Europe, but include the North American members of the

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Alliance. It was not yet possible to discuss the substance of the German problem and of a European settlement.

5. On the basis of this and further discussions and of the written reports to be received, the co-rapporteurs hope to produce a more definitive analysis of the present nature of East-West relations and of the détente as well as of the German problem and a European settlement. These questions will be discussed by the sub-group at a meeting to be held towards the end of June.

6. Attached is the section of the paper on Practical Steps and Procedures which is designed to list the possibilities open to the Alliance in the field assigned to the sub-group.

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Adam Watson

18 May, 1967.

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PRACTICAL STEPS AND PROCEDURES

Finally, we should consider what practical steps are open to the Alliance and to its individual members, to promote favourable developments in our relations with Eastern Europe, within the limits of the possible. There is general agreement that exploratory contacts with Soviet and Eastern European governments should be pursued bilaterally.

- (a) Is such bilateral activity entirely sufficient? Or can discussion, and perhaps co-ordination through the machinery of the Alliance make a valuable or indeed indispensable contribution?
- (b) Can a distinction be made between bilateral exchanges which affect only the participants and those which have a multilateral aspect because they affect the interests of other Allies, particularly in the field of national security? What obligations does the Alliance imply in such cases?
- (c) If bilateral explorations are designed to find out the possibilities of moving towards a settlement of European problems, and to establish the areas of doubt and hesitation in the policies of Eastern governments, is it desirable to organise concerted probing operations, to be conducted bilaterally by various members of the Alliance, in order to establish what these possibilities are?
- (d) What machinery for exchange of information, and for consultation, about bilateral contacts in the political, economic and defence fields are required in order to provide the maximum advantages to members of the Alliance in the new context of the détente? Is the machinery provided by the Three Wise Men adequate for this purpose; or is additional machinery required now that the relaxation of tension and bilateral contacts are beginning to open up possibilities of negotiation with the East which scarcely existed in practice in 1956?
- (e) Would the effectiveness of consultation, and of co-ordination of bilateral contacts, depend on agreement between the Allies about the European settlement they consider desirable and possible? Or will the possibilities of a settlement emerge more clearly from consultation and discussion about the experience of individual allies?

In this context we should consider the 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.

Which of the following measures may be necessary or expedient as steps towards a peaceful order in Europe?

1. In the sphere of disarmament and security:
  - (a) Exchange of declarations renouncing the use of force,
  - (b) guarantee of existing frontiers,
  - (c) conclusion of non-aggression pacts,
  - (d) setting up of security zones,
  - (e) neutralisation of areas,
  - (f) denuclearised 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.
2. In other fields:
  - (a) the conclusion of individual pacts of friendship and co-operation,
  - (b) the establishment of a general code of conduct,
  - (c) institutions for the promotion of co-operation in Europe: especially communications, culture and sport,
  - (d) improved economic co-operation between Eastern and Western Europe including imaginative proposals by the Western Alliance and some of its members for collaboration on mutually beneficial projects.
  - (e) greater use of existing East-West bodies in Europe like the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe?