

SUMMARYFUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE: EAST-WEST  
RELATIONS INCLUDING THE GERMAN QUESTION

1. The essential function of the Alliance is the relationship between East and West in the North Atlantic area. The basic common aim of allied policy towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe remains to provide effective protection for our own territorial integrity, political independence and security. The second purpose is, without jeopardizing these, to work towards eliminating the barriers which divide Europe and Germany and to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe guaranteed by a balanced and viable system of European security.

Our final objective requires to be pursued in a climate of détente. The core of the problem is to convince the East European states and the Soviet Union that there are greater advantages to both sides in collaboration.

2. Soviet objectives continue to differ from ours. The Soviets see advantage in some relaxation of tensions but how far they are prepared to go towards co-operation is arguable. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe certain forces operate against a European settlement; while others, notably new economic and technological requirements, work in its favour. The Eastern governments have so far controlled these forces; but their increasing awareness of the problems raised permits the hope that they can gradually be persuaded of the advantages for them in a Europe where states and communities with differing social systems collaborate in a stable settlement. The Soviet Government still hopes to weaken the cohesion of the Western Alliance and to open up differences between Western Europe and the U.S. To persuade Eastern governments that the more ambitious Soviet objectives are unattainable will be a slow process.

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The Alliance and a policy of détente are not contradictory and indeed the Allies have already begun this policy of détente. But until a lasting settlement in Europe has been realized the Alliance remains an irreplaceable guarantor of security in Western Europe.

The participation of the U.S. and of Canada is of vital importance both in working towards a new peaceful order and in maintaining it afterwards. Similarly no substantial progress can be made towards a European settlement without Soviet agreement. Many East European regimes regard Soviet support as necessary. Allied policy should be to involve both Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in constructive forms of co-operation. A European security system may be more effective and involve less risks if it is based on an equilibrium between two groupings.

It is still too early to forecast the shape of a future peaceful order in Europe. But the Allies should now reach agreement among themselves on the basic elements in such a settlement.

#### THE GERMAN PROBLEM

1. The present division of Europe manifests itself most clearly in the division of Germany.

Any solution of the German problem which contributes to and is part of a just and lasting European settlement must start from the principle that the German people in both parts of Germany have the right of free decision. It requires action not only of the Four Powers with special responsibility for Germany and the other Allies but of all other states of Europe which also have a vital interest in establishing a lasting and peaceful order in Europe.

2. It is not possible at present to draw up a blueprint for a solution of the German problem; there does not exist a magic formula for overcoming the division of Germany. The solution of this question, as it seems today, will be a long process, closely connected with progress in overcoming the present division of Europe.

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As long as a part of the German people is denied the right of self-determination and has to live in a separated state-like entity, ruled by a régime imposed upon them by a foreign power and kept by force, that régime must be denied international recognition. There are not two German states nor a special entity Berlin.

3. The Federal Republic of Germany in its efforts to overcome the division of the German people should strive for a relaxation of tension in its relations with the Soviet Union as well as the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

The Federal Republic of Germany should include the other part of Germany in its policy of détente by retaining and strengthening the ties between the Germans in East and West. At the same time the Federal Government should make it clear that the more freedom is granted to the Germans in East Germany the more the division of Germany will be overcome.

A continuing increase of internal German trade which is a significant link between the two parts of Germany, and economic co-operation, would be an important instrument in this respect.

It is up to the Federal Republic of Germany, as significant results in inner German relations are achieved, progressively, to facilitate the participation of the population of the Soviet Zone in international life, in scientific, cultural and sporting exchanges without thereby furthering the political objectives of the East Berlin régime.

4. It is necessary that each member of the Alliance should, as part of its endeavour to overcome the division of Europe and achieve a relaxation of tension between East and West, strive for a just solution of the problems of Germany and Berlin.

The Allies should assist the Federal Government's efforts for a relaxation of tension between the two parts of Germany and for improving the conditions of life of the individuals in East Germany. They should in co-operation with the Federal Government open up and facilitate private

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contacts with the Germans of the other part of Germany, particularly in the sphere of science, culture and sports. The link with progress in internal German relations should be kept in mind.

5. The Alliance as such should be instrumental in harmonizing and co-ordinating the policies of the Federal Government and those of the other Allies in this context. It is also the task of the Alliance to help to ensure the freedom and viability of Berlin and to remain aware of the constant threat to Berlin even in times when the East is hoping for Western interests to wane and resistance gradually to flag.

### III. PRACTICAL STEPS AND PROCEDURES

The Allies will need to give further detailed study to the various measures proposed to extend the détente and to achieve a European settlement and security system. The machinery of NATO offers an excellent means for carrying out these detailed consultations and for maintaining the necessary co-ordination in allied dealings with the East. Thus NATO can make an essential contribution to the organisation of collective arrangements designed to remove East-West antagonism and to ensure the peace and unity of Europe.

Bilateral and multilateral negotiations are both necessary. Bilateral East-West discussions are indispensable; and can be of great value if carried out within the framework of common objectives formulated by allied consultation. Co-operation with individual Eastern governments is valuable for its own sake and as a means of influencing the Soviet Union. Multilateral negotiations with Eastern governments will become increasingly desirable as relations develop. They too have their limits and undue or premature insistence on them should be avoided.

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There is agreement in principle on the importance of consultation between the Allies but they need to discuss fully among themselves how their common aims can be translated into practice.

Economic, technical and cultural co-operation offer important opportunities for breaking down communist rigidity and forging mutually beneficial links between Eastern and Western Europe.

Other forms of co-operation may also prove valuable; including co-operation in existing multilateral institutions and national organisations; regional co-operation in special ventures; semi-official and non-governmental activities; and special East-West forums to develop the dialogue.

Political and security arrangements will be needed to establish a durable settlement guaranteed by an adequate security system. An East-West security conference seems premature now, but may be necessary when we have advanced a considerable distance towards a settlement. The Allies should now make a close and urgent study of the European settlement we aim to achieve and of measures to further and maintain it; and of how the Allies should discuss such arrangements with the East.

A special body should be constituted, responsible to the North Atlantic Council, to study on a continuing basis the substantive issues related to a general settlement in Europe, a European security system and procedural approaches to East-West negotiations.