

*Danish / Norwegian notes**Confidential**Danish*

D R A F T

INTRODUCTION

The governments of the fifteen nations of Alliance have felt it useful and desirable to take stock of the state of the Alliance in the world today - so different from that of the time of creation of the Alliance. They have done so especially through a series of studies initiated by the Foreign Minister of Belgium, M. Pierre Harmel. They have furthermore felt it to be useful that the public should be acquainted with their evaluation of main features of the present international situation and their views on the tasks of the Alliance in a changing world.

The Atlantic Alliance was created after all hopes of securing adequate protection through the United Nations had been abandoned. Faced with developments in Eastern Europe the countries of Western Europe and the continent of North America recognized the need of joining forces in order to protect their freedom and common heritage. They promised each other mutual assistance in the case of attack from outside on the independence and territorial integrity of the North Atlantic Area. It was their hope and aim that a defensive cooperation of this kind would deter any potential aggressor and thereby serve the cause of peace. This aim is still valid. No single step or decision ever taken by or within the Alliance has ever been of an aggressive nature. The Alliance and its members have once and for ever renounced the use of force for anything but defensive purposes.

The Alliance is the collective expression of a common desire to promote constructive cooperation among member states. It is based on shared values broader than the necessity for common defence.

The Atlantic Alliance is not static. It is a living organism. Over the years the Alliance has been constantly evolving in response to changes in the world surrounding us.

NATO of today is proving its vitality in continuing to adapt itself and to react to changes inside and outside the Alliance, and in particular in East-West relations.

THE CHANGING WORLD

The world in which we live today is very different from that of the immediate post-war period when NATO was created.

The emergence of the many new states, which do not wish to become involved in the East-West conflict, and the problems of developing countries have changed the pattern of the world politics.

While production figures and standards of living have risen to unparalleled heights in the industrialized countries, two thirds of the human race continue to live in poverty and misery. The gap between the more and the less developed countries is widening. As long as this is the case the prospects for peace will be uncertain.

In our view the fight against ignorance and poverty should be a common task of all industrialized countries, irrespective of ideological orientation and political anchorage. This is the greatest problem of our generation.

In the field of East-West relations, a climate of growing contact and understanding has developed and is still developing. The concept of the cold war is losing relevance to our policies. The focal points of international crisis and conflicts have moved from the industrialized world to the developing countries.

The existence of NATO has contributed materially to the consolidation of political stability which has been achieved in Europe.

Beyond deterrence, NATO has always aimed at détente. In a broader context, the existing alliance systems - including NATO and the Warsaw Pact - are elements of the political pattern in the world, which at this stage contribute towards making international politics more stable. In the climate of security created by alliances, member countries feel more free to pursue individually policies of détente. The continued existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is therefore still a necessary condition of a realistic continuation of present efforts towards a further relaxation of tensions.

Underlying the process of détente are certain decisive facts. First among these is the thermo-nuclear perspective. In the light of this perspective there is a common interest between East and West in avoiding war - not only a major war but also local conflicts involving the risk of escalation and super-power confrontation - and in limiting the dangerous arms race. In spite of differences of race, religion, ideology, and national interests all mankind has a deep common interest in strengthening the possibilities of peace.

In the changing world of today the traditional ideological factor is of diminishing importance in East-West relations. The emotional reactions characteristic of the cold war are giving way to more sober attitudes - against the background of the nuclear situation but also because of the emergence of a new generation with no sense of personal involvement in the events of the cold war.

The concept of peaceful co-existence accepted by the Soviet leaders corresponds to the basic facts of the strategic situation. It is also a decisive condition for the success of the great reforms now under way in Soviet industry and agriculture. We therefore assume that, in spite of certain propaganda statements Soviet leaders are, in terms of practical politics, guided by normal pragmatic considerations.

Although the political and military threat against Western Europe has receded the fact remains that the central political problems underlying East-West tensions - including particularly the German problem - have not been resolved. So long as this is the case the international situation will still hold dangerous potential risks of conflict.

PRESENT AND FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE

Security for the members of NATO rests on two pillars. First, the maintenance of adequate strength and political solidarity to deter aggression and other forms of pressure. Second, realistic measures to reduce tension and the risk of conflicts, including arms control and disarmament measures.

Until a world-wide security system can be achieved, countries with the same cultural and political background will cooperate in order to safeguard their peace and security. It is difficult to imagine, under the present international conditions, that it would further the cause of peace and promote détente if the two organizational security frames in the East and in the West suddenly were to fall apart. On the contrary, there are good reasons to believe that this would create an unstable situation, characterized by uncertainty and the occurrence of new centres of trouble and unrest. The present balance of strength between East and West provides a basis from which it is possible to work for greater understanding. Therefore the Atlantic Alliance continues to be the necessary and useful framework for the security policies of member countries.

However, NATO is not an end in itself but a means of creating a climate of security in which a policy of détente can be carried out. Against the background of current changes in the international situation, the governments of the countries of the Alliance believe that new opportunities are opening up for concrete steps aimed at increasing confidence in East-West relations. Accordingly, they are prepared to discuss with the Soviet Union and its allies all realistic ideas and proposals to this end.

Without waiting for agreement on more comprehensive measures, certain steps could be taken in the near future in the field of arms control. Among the possibilities which should be discussed are agreements renouncing the use of force, balanced reductions or redeployments of armed forces on both sides and the establishment of military liaison missions and observation posts.

Progress with regard to such specific measures will contribute to creating conditions in which a lasting settlement of the remaining European security problems will become possible. In particular, such a settlement must comprise a solution of the German problem in the context of the broader security aspects of Europe. Ultimately, this could take the form of a comprehensive European security system replacing the present alliances.

In carrying out the policy of détente member countries benefit from the exchange of ideas and views which takes place within NATO and which should be expanded.

A reasonable balance of interests and responsibilities within the Alliance will always be a prerequisite for common efforts. The establishment of such a balance is therefore of constant concern to all member countries.

Interests of member countries can be seriously affected by developments outside the Treaty area. However, through support of the United Nations NATO countries contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the solution of important international problems.

To work for meaningful and effective cooperation between East and West is also to work for a world in which defence alliances are no longer required. The long-range task of providing a peaceful world has lost neither in importance nor in urgency. The young generations have a right to see an end to the period of sterile confrontations which for so long persisted between East and West. The tasks and objectives of the Alliance point toward an era where our scientific and technical skills and our financial and material resources can be used for peaceful progress and development of all nations.