

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE REACTIONS OF COUNTRIES ON
ECONOMIC COUNTERMEASURES AND ON MILITARY MEASURES
FOR BERLIN

One cannot but be struck by the fact that as far as the economic countermeasures for Berlin are concerned, there has been the same general pattern as for the military measures; i.e., an agreement between the Four Powers concerned as a starting point, but the main and important difference is that the Four Powers are compelled to ask their partners to take the same steps as they have declared their willingness to take in order to enforce a complete embargo if the accesses to Berlin are cut by the Russians. It is up to all the other NATO countries to agree to take, by themselves, the positive and concrete action which must be taken if trade is to be cut.

The understanding by the Four Powers of the situation is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, after having laid down the list of measures which would lead to a complete embargo, they have approached the NATO Council in order to gain the agreement of the other NATO members. The setting in motion of the special Ad Hoc Group which has begun its work a few days ago is also clear proof that in the economic field, whatever may be the views of the Four Powers, nothing can be done except on the initiative of the other NATO countries.

Coming now to the military field, the position is quite different. After having considered the measures which should be taken, and the way in which military action could have to be implemented, if the accesses to Berlin are cut by the Russians, the Four Powers have sent instructions to General Norstad. They have all four of their forces assigned to ACE and consider therefore that the Supreme Commander will act upon their instructions insofar as their own forces are concerned. But no one can deny that forces of other NATO members are also under General Norstad's command, and the intermingling of the Allied forces is such that it is hard to think it possible that in any military action which the Supreme Commander would have to undertake, he could do so in utilising only forces of the Four Powers concerned. Therefore, by implication, it can be stated that the instructions given by the Four Powers to the Supreme Commander will necessarily involve the other NATO countries without their consent, and even without their knowledge

of the situation, unless the whole matter is brought in the very near future for discussion in the Council.

Reverting now to the economic field, one must underline that the Four Powers have stated recently in a meeting of the Ad Hoc Group that if the accesses to Berlin were to be closed or cut, even partially, by the Russians or the East Germans, they would by themselves apply the economic embargo; although it has not been stated expressly, the meaning of the speech by the United States Representative is clearly that this embargo by the Four Powers would be enforced, even if the other NATO countries did not take any parallel action.

If such a position is correct from a legal standpoint, it is clear that a similar situation would not be possible in the military field in view of what has been said before about the fact that the Supreme Commander exercises his authority on troops of all NATO member countries, and over forces stationed in ACE. It would seem most unrealistic to consider that military action would be ordered by the Supreme Commander only inasmuch as the forces involved would be those of the Four Powers.