

Group 1

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)