

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL DEPUTIES
SUPPLEANTS DU CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD

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SECRETDOCUMENTAC/2-D/13 (Revise)OR. ENG.10th October, 1951.POLITICAL WORKING GROUPEXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE WORLD SITUATIONNote by the Executive Secretary

There is circulated herewith to the members of the Political Working Group, a revision of the draft review of the world situation as discussed at its Meeting on 9th October, 1951.

The next meeting of the Political Working Group to consider this draft has been set for Friday, the 12th October, at 10.30 a.m.

(Signed) N.E.P. SUTTON

13, Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.1.

THE WORLD SITUATION AS REVIEWED BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AT ITS SESSION IN OTTAWA 15-18TH SEPTEMBER, 1951

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

1. With respect to the general international situation, there has been little if any easing of tension since the last meeting of the Council in December 1950. However, in the North Atlantic area the policy of strengthening defence to prevent and contain the threat of further Soviet aggression has achieved some success. There was general agreement in the Council that it was essential to maintain this policy firmly.

2. Nevertheless, the situation remains serious both in its immediate and its long-term aspects. The principal immediate aim of Soviet policy in Europe is to obstruct the further growth of Western strength and unity by dividing the Western Powers and frustrating their rearmament plans. The long-term aim of the Soviet Union is world wide Communist domination. It seeks to attain this objective, if possible, without the use of armed aggression by such measures as intimidation, subversive activities or semi-military pressure. Ultimately, however, if the Soviet Union believes it profitable, it will resort to military methods.

3. A serious risk of military aggression will continue as long as Western defence remains so disproportionately weak, particularly in regard to conventional armed forces. Later, when the relative military strength of the Western world has improved and when the balance of military power gradually shifts in favour of the Western Democracies, there will probably be a period of particular danger, since the Soviet rulers may resort to armed aggression, before the opportunity vanishes. Furthermore, there is the inherent danger that

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existing military aggression already taking place may spread and take on a more serious character.

4. The gradual process of infiltration by the Soviet bloc within the Western Democracies should be considered as being as dangerous as open aggression. The maintenance and improvement of the standard of life and well-being of the North Atlantic Community is therefore of paramount importance. The development in the minds of the peoples of the North Atlantic Community of a strong sense of their common interests and ideals and a belief that the Western way of life is superior, and that the Western world possesses an overwhelming potential strength, constitutes the most effective defence against Soviet infiltration and psychological campaigns designed to split the Western world.

5. The primary objective of the North Atlantic Community is to preserve peace with freedom. Any real signs of a change in Soviet policy should be carefully watched for, and every real possibility of reconciling differences on even minor issues should be seized upon. Steps which might give rise to a real apprehension of danger of aggression in the minds of the Soviet leaders and peoples must be avoided. The Soviet world must not gain the impression that it is being encircled. At the same time the Western Democracies must now show signs of weakness of purpose, since that in itself is likely to precipitate a dangerous situation.

6. The North Atlantic Community is on the way towards achievement of its main objectives of peace and well-being. While concentrating their immediate efforts on the build up of defensive strength, Member States must keep in mind the need for maintaining the living standards of their peoples and the long-term objective of developing the potentialities of the North Atlantic Community

II. SPECIFIC AREAS AND QUESTIONS

(a) Germany

The three Occupying Powers gave an account of developments with respect to their relationship with Germany and to the association of Germany with Western defence, since the last Council Meeting.

Negotiations took place at Petersberg on the basis of the resolution passed by the Council at its last Meeting, but effect was not given to the results of these negotiations, owing to the promising developments of the Paris Conference for the creation of a European Army. The Representatives of the Occupying Powers emphasised that two problems were involved, firstly that of the association of Germany with Western defence and providing for a German contribution to that defence, and secondly, of establishing a general framework of European relations within which Germany could play an appropriate role. The plan for a European Army is designed to provide a solution to both these problems. The German Authorities had ^{indicated} inciated that they were in agreement with the essential parts of the plan and the Representatives of the three Occupying Powers stated that they fully supported the establishment of a European Army. Hope was expressed that the necessary draft Treaty could be worked out in time for the next meeting of the Council.

The three Occupying Powers furthermore notified the Council of their intention to terminate the occupation régime in Western Germany and to replace it by a contractual relationship under which they would only retain:

- (a) authority to discharge Allied responsibilities regarding Germany as a whole, including unification of Germany and the final peace settlement;
- (b) authority to deal with questions relating to Berlin; and
- (c) authority to station Allied forces in Germany and to /protect

protect the security of these forces.

At the conclusion of negotiations a further report will be made to the Council.

(b) The Far East and the Middle East

(i) The Far East.

The situation facing the Western nations in the Far East is extremely difficult. The situation is characterised by violent but limited warfare taking place throughout the area, especially in Korea, Indo-China and Malaya, with the support of the Soviet Union.

With respect to Korea the present situation is unclear. If the Armistice negotiations do not lead to the termination of hostilities, the only alternative is to bring the situation to a satisfactory military conclusion.

The determined action taken by the United Nations in Korea has inspired the peoples of the Far East with new confidence. The Peace Treaty with Japan and the security arrangements between the United States, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines forms a suitable nucleus around which to create the stability desired in the Pacific area.

(ii) The Middle East

Serious problems in this area have been created by the general poverty and by the fact that the new democracies are very young and their Governments, which are in many cases unstable and inexperienced, often try to shift the responsibility for internal discontent to the Western Powers. If the situation is handled with patience and fairness, taking into account that the peoples of the area are excitable and in a very early stage of organized development, the Western Powers should be able to hold Communist infiltration at bay and in the long term contribute to the development of stability and general well-being.

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It was pointed out that any success the Soviet Union may have in weakening the position of the Western Powers in the Far East and the Middle East would automatically increase the danger for the North Atlantic area.