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CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Index

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NATO SECRET
SUMMARY RECORD
C-R(62)52

Summary record of a meeting of the Council, held at the Permanent Headquarters, Paris, XVIe, on Wednesday, 24th October, 1962 at 10.15 a.m.

PRESENT

Chairman: Mr. G. Colonna

BELGIUM	GREECE	NORWAY
Mr. A. de Staercke	Mr. A.J. Phrydas	Mr. J. Boyesen
CANADA	ICELAND	PORTUGAL
Mr. G. Ignatieff	Mr. T.A. Tómasson	Mr. V. Armando Martins
DENMARK	ITALY	TURKEY
Mr. Per Groot	Mr. Orlandi Contucci	Mr. Nuri Birgi
FRANCE	LUXEMBOURG	UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. François Seydoux	Mr. P. Reuter	Sir Paul Mason
GERMANY	NETHERLANDS	UNITED STATES
Dr. G. von Walther	Mr. H.N. Boon	Mr. T.K. Finletter

INTERNATIONAL STAFF

Deputy Secretary General - Assistant Secretary General for Economics and Finance:	Mr. F.D. Gregh
Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs:	Mr. R.W.J. Hooper
Assistant Secretary General for Production, Logistics and Infrastructure:	Mr. Johnson Garrett
Executive Secretary:	The Lord Coleridge

ALSO PRESENT

Standing Group Representative: Général de Corps d'Armée J.M. Guérin

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I. DRAFT AGENDA FOR DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING

Document: PO/62/668

1. The CHAIRMAN said that he had felt it useful to circulate for preliminary consideration today a draft agenda for the December Ministerial Meeting, since there were certain points on which fairly early decision was required.

2. Insofar as Item I was concerned ("Review of the International Situation"), there were no new features. The usual papers were being prepared by the Expert Groups concerned, to serve as a background for the discussions by Ministers. Item II was "NATO Defence Policy". It was perhaps too early to know whether any concrete recommendations would be ready for Ministers, or whether a progress report explaining the lines on which the Council had been working since the Spring Ministerial Meeting would be all that could be produced by December. He hoped, however, that Permanent Representatives would agree, in view of the mandate which Ministers at Athens had given to the Council in Permanent Session, that this item must be included, and that a progress report was the minimum to be presented to the Ministers in December.

3. Item III dealt with "Military Questions". There was the usual report on military activities, followed by the new procedure for handling the 1962 Triennial Review. As the Council would be aware through their respective members on the Annual Review Committee, a procedure was being envisaged whereby consideration of the Triennial Review would be preceded not only by the usual Intelligence Appreciation but also by briefings by the Chairman of the Military Committee and by the three Major NATO Commanders. In this connection, the Council would recall that, in approving the report on the procedure for Triennial Reviews(1), they had "agreed that at least one full day should be set aside during the December Ministerial Meeting for consideration of the report on the Triennial Review by Ministers concerned". Ministers themselves would obviously decide how long they felt they could profitably devote to consideration of the Triennial Review, but he suggested that they be reminded of this part of the agreed procedures.

4. Item IV dealt with "Civil Emergency Planning". As the Council would recall, Ministers had given some attention to the long-term aspects of Civil Emergency Planning at their meeting in Oslo, in 1961. He trusted that the Council would feel it appropriate for them to devote a little time to this important matter at their December Meeting, on the basis of a report from the Senior Committee, who would be meeting at the end of October.

(1) C-M(60)83, paragraph 28

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5. Under Item V("Co-operation in Research, Development and Production"), Ministers would be invited to consider the report by the High Level Working Group, which would make recommendations not only as to any necessary improvements in procedures but also on the elimination or acceleration of individual projects. The Council would recall that Defence Ministers at Athens(1) had invited the Council in permanent session to establish a High Level Working Group which was to render a report on these matters to Defence Ministers at their December 1962 Meeting. The Council had subsequently established their terms of reference and composition, and instructed them "to prepare a report for submission to the Defence Ministers by 15th November, 1962"(2).

6. These decisions led him to enquire of the Council whether they would envisage a separate meeting of Defence Ministers to consider this particular Item of the agenda and, if so, whether they would envisage their meeting before or during the period 13th-15th December set aside for the Ministerial Meeting. If they were to meet separately during the Ministerial Meeting, would they meet concurrently with Foreign Ministers, and, if so, during what Item on the Ministerial Agenda?

7. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he would obtain instructions on the last point raised by the Chairman. As regards Item I, in view of developments during the last few days it was not now possible to indicate precisely what Ministers might discuss; but for planning purposes he agreed that the programme was a suitable one. He recalled that in the past it had been found that Ministerial discussion of Berlin was facilitated if the four Foreign Ministers had met to discuss it previously, and one of the four opened the discussion. He hoped that in such an event there would be only one communiqué, and that if the four Foreign Ministers should decide on a separate communiqué before the NATO Ministerial Meeting they would avoid any reference to matters of substance. He invited the four powers to consider this question.

8. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE noted that the additional briefings proposed under Item III(2) represented an innovation, on which he would obtain instructions. Personally, he was not entirely satisfied that such briefings would be in conformity with the Triennial Review procedure. They would presumably be purely military briefings, whereas the Triennial Review was a composite exercise in which not only military but economic and other factors should be taken into account. He thought this might result in an unbalanced presentation in which the military requirements would be unrelated to the other factors. He might have to come back on this subject at a later date, and suggested that the International Staff might consider this aspect.

9. The CHAIRMAN said that the proposal for the additional briefings had resulted from a recent exchange of views between the International Staff and the Standing Group, and that the Standing Group fully supported the proposal. The proposal was as follows:

(1) C-M(62)54
(2) PO/62/346

(a) After the Chairman of the Standing Group had presented his usual verbal intelligence appreciation, the Chairman of the Military Committee in Permanent Session, General Heusinger, would present an overall appraisal of the military implications of the Triennial Review based on the military document MC 39;

(b) the three Major Commanders would then individually brief the Council in greater detail on aspects of the military implications of the Triennial Review insofar as these would affect their Commands. This would cover a description of how the more serious weaknesses and shortfalls arising from the study of country replies affect the defence posture of the Alliance and its ability to implement a forward defence;

(c) the Chairman of the Military Committee in Permanent Session would then sum up, after which the Council would be given an opportunity for questions and discussion.

10. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE said that notwithstanding this information, which he welcomed, he retained his apprehensions. Continuing, he said that with regard to Item V of the agenda, (Co-operation in Research, Development and Production) he did not know whether it would be necessary to set aside a whole day for its discussion. It would be very difficult in the time available, to plan it during the Ministerial Meeting, and it would also be very difficult to organize two parallel discussions with Defence Ministers meeting separately. It might be necessary to envisage, as at Athens, a meeting of Defence Ministers on the day before the date now agreed.

11. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE said that he was without instructions, but wondered whether it would be wise to have Item II (NATO Defence Policy) as a separate item in view of the fact that main headings were communicated to the press. If the press were informed that the Council was to discuss NATO Defence Policy and at the end there was nothing to report of significance, it might well sieze on the opportunity to say that the Council had failed to agree. Much depended on progress which might have been made by December, but he thought it might be preferable to include this question as a sub-heading under Item III, (Military Question).

12. The UNITED KINGDOM and TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES favoured this suggestion.

13. In answer to a question by the Turkish Representative, who asked whether, as in the past, the intention was that specific Ministers should be invited to introduce discussion under each sub-heading, the CHAIRMAN confirmed that the traditional procedure was envisaged. He suggested that Permanent Representatives should now obtain instructions on the draft agenda for further discussion. He had informed the Secretary General of these arrangements, and in particular of the time to be devoted to military questions. The Secretary General was anxious that military questions should be

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given adequate discussion, but thought that the programme was a heavy one for three days. While he had no precise suggestion to make, one possibility would be for Defence Ministers to meet separately on 12th December.

14. The BELGIAN and UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVES hoped that in view of the increasing political content of Items II and III the Foreign Ministers would be present for the discussion of these items. Item V on the other hand could be examined by Defence Ministers separately.

15. The COUNCIL:

agreed to obtain instructions with a view to continuing discussion in two weeks' time.

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II. POSSIBLE ECONOMIC COUNTERMEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN THE FACE OF THE BERLIN CRISIS

Reference: C-R(62)28, Item IV

Documents: PO/62/260
PO/62/436

16. The CHAIRMAN recalled that much discussion had already taken place in NATO on the subject of economic countermeasures. The Council was well aware of the problems involved. These countermeasures were to be regarded as part of a general plan including political and military measures. Their object, as that of the other categories of countermeasures, would be to demonstrate the determination of the Alliance to deter any considered action by the Soviet Bloc; and to have a positive economic effect by increasing Soviet difficulties in the economic sphere.

17. Today he invited the Council to approve the draft decisions contained in PO/62/260 as amended by the proposals in PO/62/436.

18. In the ensuing discussion the following points were made.

(a) Three Specific Measures on Civil Aviation (C-R(62)4, paragraph 4)

19. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that his government was already applying civil aviation measures in certain circumstances and had on 23rd October taken a further decision, the text of which would be circulated to the Political Advisers Committee at its next meeting.

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20. In general his government had no objection to a discussion of any aspects of economic countermeasures, whether civil aviation or the measures discussed below. It was however anxious to see how these measures fitted in with other plans; here Mr. Nitze's presentation of 19th September had been useful. He emphasised that in the view of his authorities the Council had already defined its position on the important policy issue of economic countermeasures; any amendments were purely by way of refinements on an existing position.

21. The CHAIRMAN noted that there was no intention of re-opening discussion on the three specific civil aviation measures, on which the Council decision held good (C-R(62)4, paragraph 4).

22. It was further noted that there was no support for the proposal for an ad hoc working group on civil aviation problems.

(b) Principle of a Total Economic Embargo

Draft decision annexed to C-R(61)62

23. Mr. GREGH (Deputy Secretary General, Assistant Secretary General for Economics and Finance) recalled that at its meeting on 18th January, 1962, the Council had noted that a large majority of delegations could accept the draft decision annexed to C-R(61)62, but that some delegations had reserved their final views. After receiving a letter from the Canadian Delegation on 16th February, 1962, the Secretary General had circulated, on 17th April, 1962, PO/62/260, which had been discussed by the Council on 6th June, 1962. Other amendments were then suggested, which were circulated on 19th July, 1962, in PO/62/436. Since there was no final decision, it had been considered advisable to bring this matter before the Council again, with a view to obtaining a formal agreement.

24. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE confirmed that his government could accept this decision subject to the two conditions indicated in the Canadian letter to the Secretary General dated 16th February, 1962, and recorded in the addendum to C-R(62)4.

25. The UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE said that as he understood the situation, the draft decision had been approved by the Council in December 1961, subject to the Canadian reservation, which had been withdrawn in the Canadian letter of 16th February, and that the Council decision had therefore become valid on 16th February. Had it been otherwise he would not have allowed such a long period to elapse without a formal Council decision on the subject.

26. The ICELANDIC REPRESENTATIVE said that he had still been unable to obtain new instructions on this matter. He must therefore repeat the Icelandic position as stated on 18th January, 1962, to the effect that his government could not now participate in a final decision. It was not that his government did not have the necessary legal and administrative powers, but simply that it was not now prepared to participate. At the request of the Chairman he undertook to obtain further instructions.

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27. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE recalled that Norwegian acceptance of the draft decision was based on the understanding that the last sentence provided adequate safeguards against any idea of automaticity.

28. The GREEK REPRESENTATIVE recalled that Greece had accepted on the understanding that the decision would become final when C-M(61)114 had been approved.

29. The DANISH REPRESENTATIVE recalled that Denmark had agreed that a total embargo could be contemplated only in a case of extreme emergency, when war was imminent and the only alternative was a total embargo.

30. In another connection he said that when the Council came to discuss the "Preferred Sequence" paper, his delegation might wish to suggest that the time for envisaging a total embargo should be Phase III, and not Phase II as at present.

31. The CHAIRMAN noted that there was no question of going over the ground which had already been covered in previous discussions. He urged the Council to reach a final decision as early as possible, in order to make progress on the economic front, as on the other fronts in connection with Berlin contingency planning.

32. In conclusion the COUNCIL, subject to the views of the Icelandic government, formally recorded the following agreement:

(1) the Council has decided that in the event military and civilian access, air or ground, to West Berlin is blocked, the immediate imposition of significant countermeasures amounting to a total economic embargo against the Soviet Bloc would be an appropriate response. The NATO countries are planning their concerted participation in such an effort. In the event that blockage appears to be substantially complete, the Council will meet and as appropriate, acting under guidance of governments, will consider whether such an embargo should be put into effect;

(2) noted that this agreement was reached on the understandings recorded above and in previous discussions.

(c) Total Economic Embargo: Basic issues Nos. 3 and 4

Documents: PO/62/436
PO/62/260

33. Mr. GREGH recalled that it had been agreed that it was not enough to have agreement on the principle of a total economic embargo, but that countries should also take the necessary steps to be in a position to apply it in an emergency following on a

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decision by governments. He invited the views of the Council on the proposals by the United Kingdom and French Delegations in PO/62/436 for amendments to the draft decision contained in paragraph 4 of PO/62/260.

34. The ICELAND REPRESENTATIVE repeated that he could not now take part in discussion.

35. The CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE said that he was at present without instructions; he would seek instructions in the light of the discussion. The United Kingdom amendment was on the lines of the second point made in the Canadian letter of 16th February, so that presumably his government would have little difficulty in accepting it. The French amendment was also in line with Canadian thinking, which was that no publicity should be given to this NATO decision.

36. The FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE explained that his authorities suggested the deletion of the draft decision in paragraph 4(ii) of PO/62/260 on the grounds that it was not necessary now to decide whether it would be desirable to give advance publicity to a decision to apply economic countermeasures. There might be circumstances in which it would be useful for the allies to make public their intentions, as the threat of economic countermeasures might produce a considerable effect on the Soviet and satellite governments. It would be unwise for the Council to bind its hands in advance by agreeing that advance publicity should be excluded.

37. The CHAIRMAN suggested that this draft decision in paragraph 4(ii) should be deleted on the understanding that no advance publicity should be given by governments without preliminary consultation in the Council. This was agreed.

38. It was also agreed, ad referendum to the Canadian and Icelandic governments, to adopt the amendment proposed by the United Kingdom.

39. The COUNCIL accordingly, subject to the views of the Canadian and Icelandic governments:

(1) agreed that NATO countries which do not yet possess the legal and administrative powers to apply an immediate total economic embargo should take the necessary preparatory administrative steps, but would not be expected to proceed with the actual passage of legislation, which should, however, be ready for immediate introduction;

(2) noted that this agreement was reached on the understanding stated by the Chairman above and in the light of previous discussions.

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(d) Total Economic Embargo: Basic issues Nos. 5 and 6

Documents: PO/62/436
PO/62/260

40. Mr. GREGH recalled that the Council had not yet reached a formal decision on this subject, and invited views on the draft decisions contained in paragraph 5 of PO/62/260 as amended by PO/62/436.

41. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE approved the decisions subject to the United Kingdom amendments contained in PO/62/97 to the effect that since economic countermeasures might continue for more than six months, a review of action instituted should take place after six months.

42. The PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVE thought that his government might be able to withdraw its reservation on the creation of a common fund, provided it was not asked to contribute to the fund.

43. The CHAIRMAN noted that, in line with the suggestion in paragraph 5 of PO/62/260, this was a question for study by the Committee of Economic Advisers.

44. The TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE recalled firstly that his delegation had already indicated that it could not accept the principles of weighted voting referred to in paragraph 4(a) on page 2 of C-M(61)114. Secondly, with regard to paragraph 5 on page 4 of C-M(61)114, in which it was suggested that financial assistance would only be extended for those products the export of which to the Soviet Bloc was of significance for the economy of those countries, his government considered that the whole of a country's export losses should be taken as a basis for calculating assistance.

45. Mr. GREGH noted that C-M(61)114 recorded a number of points of view, but this document had not been formally approved by the Council although it had been discussed at its meeting of 18th January, 1962. The issues raised therein should be studied in more detail by the Committee of Economic Advisers. The Committee should submit recommendations to the Council for implementing the principles of

(a) special assistance to NATO countries which might be most harmed by an embargo;

(b) general co-operation which might be necessary to mitigate the undesirable effects of economic counter-measures.

However, before resuming its studies the Committee needed to have the Council's formal agreement on the basic principles. Hence the submission of the draft decision to the Council in PO/62/260, paragraph 5.

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46. The COUNCIL, subject to the views of the Canadian and Icelandic governments:

(1) agreed that exceptional economic assistance on a collective basis should be provided, under the principles set out in document C-M(61)114, to those members of the Alliance who would be most seriously affected by economic countermeasures;

(2) agreed that a form of special economic co-operation among NATO members, and possibly in conjunction with other countries of the free world, should be provided in order to mitigate the effect of economic countermeasures on their economies and on the economies of the rest of the free world, under the principles set out in document C-M(61)150;

(3) instructed the Committee of Economic Advisers to undertake further studies which appear useful at this stage, with a view to implementing the principles defined in the two documents, and report to the Council in due course;

(4) noted that the above decisions were taken in the light of the comments and understandings recorded above and in previous discussions.

(e) Partial Economic Countermeasures

Documents: C-M(61)100
PO/62/260

47. Mr. GREGH noted that the draft decision in PO/62/260 limited itself to indicating that NATO countries agreed on the principle of the implementation of partial economic countermeasures in certain contingencies, and that they were willing to take the necessary steps to prepare the possible application of such partial measures.

48. The GREEK REPRESENTATIVE said that he could agree to the draft decision, provided an equitable system of compensation for those countries whose economy would suffer disproportionately from these measures had been worked out before any action was decided upon by governments.

49. The PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVE, who was without instructions reserved his government's position.

50. The CANADIAN and ICELANDIC REPRESENTATIVES were also without instructions.

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51. The NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE pointed out that the actual substance of this draft decision was vague. He recalled that it was generally agreed that partial economic countermeasures could only be envisaged in a situation involving the three vital Western interests in Berlin.

52. The CHAIRMAN repeated that all decisions were taken in the light of understandings and comments recorded previously.

53. In conclusion the Council:

(1) subject to the views of the Canadian, Icelandic and Portuguese governments, agreed on the principle of application of partial economic countermeasures for certain particular situations and as a response to hostile moves by the Soviet Bloc. In the event that such moves take place, the Council will meet and, acting under the guidance of governments, will consider what action should be taken. Countries are invited to take the necessary administrative measures for the implementation of such partial measures if the need arises;

(2) invited the Canadian, Icelandic and Portuguese Representatives to obtain the views of their governments without delay with a view to finalising all the decisions recorded above;

(3) noted that the report C-M(61)147 would be placed on the agenda of a future meeting of the Council.

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III. CHAIRMANSHIP OF CIVIL AND MILITARY BUDGET COMMITTEES

Document: PO/62/675

54. The CHAIRMAN invited the Council to agree to the recommendation contained in the Annex to PO/62/675 to the effect that for the time being the joint chairmanship of the Civil and Military Budget Committees should be continued.

55. The UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE recalled that the United Kingdom had not agreed with this recommendation and had only accepted it in order to fall in with the majority view. His authorities did not consider that the provisions of C-M(52)46(Revised) corresponded to the best interests of the Organization. He made three comments. Firstly, his authorities reserved the right at any time to put forward amendments to this document. Secondly, even if it was the general feeling that the method for choosing the Chairman was satisfactory his authorities still felt that it was not the right way to proceed. The Secretary General should ask a selected number of countries each to suggest a candidate, from whom he should then choose. Thirdly, his authorities considered it very important that the Chairman should be a civilian.

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56. In answer to a question by the Belgian Representative on the third point, the CHAIRMAN recalled that it was agreed that delegations were free to suggest the most useful member of their staff, whether military or civilian, and that the final decision remained with the Council.

57. The COUNCIL:

> noted the recommendation contained in the Annex to PO/62/675; and invited all delegations to submit names and qualifications of candidates for this Chairmanship to the Secretary General as soon as possible. These proposals would then be presented to the Working Group of Deputy Permanent Representatives for consideration in order to facilitate the Council's final nomination.

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IV. DEPARTURE OF DR. VON WALTHER

58. The CHAIRMAN said that he did not wish to close this meeting without availing himself of the traditional privilege of saying goodbye, on his own behalf and that of the Council, to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who was today for the last time taking part in the work of the Council. Some weeks ago the Council had taken leave of its colleagues Ambassadors de Leusse, Léger and Andersen; last week it had said farewell to Ambassador Melas. Today a further vacant place was caused through the departure of Dr. von Walther.

59. He wished to express how deeply this loss would be felt by all his friends throughout the large family which NATO represented. In the three and a half years he had spent in NATO Dr. von Walther had won the esteem and affection of all. There had rarely been a Council meeting in which he had not taken the floor, not only with the methodical approach and courtesy of an accomplished diplomat, but also with the courage of a sportsman who chooses to lead the attack and to be the first to speak on a subject on which others hang back.

60. He would also pay tribute to Mme. von Walther, since the wives of diplomats had a close share in the professional activities of their husbands. He hoped Dr. von Walther would allow him to say that with his gracious and elegant wife he had formed one of the most charming couples and the most representative of NATO. Now that he was leaving NATO to serve in a country which he already knew and loved, the Council assured him of its enduring friendship and its warm wishes for the success of this new mission.

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61. Mr. de STAERCKE, speaking as doyen of the Council, said how much all had appreciated Dr. von Walther's many qualities, including both the enthusiasm and the seriousness with which he approached life. During his period of office with NATO he had accomplished the vast and delicate task of consolidating co-operation and confidence between his country and the Alliance. He hoped Dr. von Walther would retain the same pleasant memories of his colleagues as they would of him.

62. He had great pleasure in presenting as a token of affection the traditional silver bowl, which was offered also in tribute to Mme. von Walther, the most kind and charming of hostesses.

63. Dr. von WALTHER said that he was very much moved by these kind words. When he had first come to NATO he had had doubts as to the effectiveness of the rôle he could play; here he had owed much to the wise counsels of the doyen. He had learned to appreciate the informal and congenial atmosphere of Council discussions, created originally by Lord Ismay and maintained by his successors. He much regretted the absence of Mr. Stikker, who thanks to his combined gifts of politician and administrator had accomplished achievements beyond praise. The ability of his Council colleagues gave him full confidence in the future of NATO. On his own behalf and that of Mme. von Walther he thanked the Council for their friendship and for its symbol, the silver bowl.

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V. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

64. Tuesday, 30th October, 1962 at 10.15 a.m. (Plenary session). /Subsequently changed to 4 p.m. on the same day./

OTAN/NATO,
Paris, XVIe.