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11TH JANUARY, 1954

CABINET

THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY IN EUROPE

Memorandum by the Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs

General Considerations

This will be one of the main subjects raised by the Russians in the general setting of preventing the revival of German militarism. The three Western Governments have given much thought to the problem since the Prime Minister's speech of 11th May and are prepared to discuss it in a general way but without entering into detailed negotiation until the Russians show themselves ready to discuss seriously the problems of German reunification. The course proposed below was generally agreed at the Bermuda meeting in December.

2. The Russians have built up a most effective security system of their own in Eastern Europe. Their basic objective now is the withdrawal of the U.S.A. from Europe. Their position has therefore been (i) that the German settlement should lead to the withdrawal of Western armed forces, and particularly American forces, from Germany; (ii) that all foreign bases should be eliminated; and (iii) that the European Defence Community (E.D.C.) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) should be abandoned. The Russians are likely to pose as the champions of "Europe for the Europeans", including themselves but not the Americans.

3. Despite the N.A.T.O., the Western Powers have not yet completed an equally effective security system of their own. It must be completed by associating Western Germany in the common effort and so denying the potential resources of a reunited Germany to the Soviet Union and preventing a reunited Germany from playing off the Western Powers against the Russians or vice versa. We realise however that the completion of our own security system might disturb the Russians and we are therefore ready to consider further assurances which could be given to the U.S.S.R. These would be additional to the existing assurances (a) in the United Nations Charter, (b) in the essentially defensive character of the N.A.T.O. and the E.D.C., and (c) in the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties.

4. Discussions with the Russians on the basis of a new pact of mutual assistance or of non-aggression might arouse false hopes in the West. They would give the Russians the opportunity to put forward unacceptable counter-proposals and thus to drag out and confuse the negotiations. In present circumstances therefore the best and safest course of action would be a unilateral declaration at the proper time defining the general policy we intend to pursue.

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Proposed Declaration

5. We have sought to make this as far reaching as possible and to leave no doubt of the sincerity of our intentions. We have in mind a declaration by the German Federal Government (Annex A) together with a Declaration by the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom and France, endorsing that of the German Government (Annex B). Dr. Adenauer has stated that he is prepared to make a Declaration in the terms suggested and has no objection to the Draft Declaration to be made by the three Governments. The only outstanding issue is the reluctance of the Americans to go as far as we and the French consider desirable in Section (2) of the last paragraph of the tripartite Declaration.

Tactics

6. The use to be made of the proposed Declaration must depend on the course of the Berlin meeting. The advantage of a Declaration in this form is that no negotiation is required. It can be used independently of Soviet reactions, either at Berlin or at a later stage. While we must make our general position clear at Berlin, i.e. that we intend to complete our own security system but on a purely defensive basis, we should avoid getting too deeply involved in the security question at the start of the conference. We should only reveal our position in more detail if the Russian attitude shows that they are genuinely prepared for a German settlement on acceptable terms.

7. If the Russians propose a formal pact we should point out that this could only follow on a German settlement which had defined Germany's eastern frontiers. We should resist any Soviet proposal for the demilitarisation of Germany, since this would leave a vacuum in Central Europe and would involve the withdrawal of Allied forces from Germany and the abandonment of the E.D.C. and the N.A.T.O. We should equally resist any proposals for partial demilitarisation, e.g. the withdrawal of Soviet troops behind the Oder-Neisse line and of Anglo-American troops behind the Rhine, or for limitation of forces in Germany, as these would not solve any of our basic political problems and would have grave military disadvantages for the West. If the Russians propose quadripartite control of German rearmament, we could point out that past experience shows that an imposed control system is unlikely to be effective. A solution could only be sought in the context of a broader agreement on the limitation and reduction of armaments. Meanwhile, the E.D.C. provides the most acceptable safeguard. In general we should avoid allowing ourselves to be put on the defensive. If the Russians make their usual accusations against the N.A.T.O. and the E.D.C., we should point to the network of alliances imposed by Russia on the Satellites and to the rearming of Eastern Europe, including Eastern Germany.

A.E.

Foreign Office, S.W.1.,

10TH JANUARY, 1954.

ANNEX A

DECLARATION BY THE GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The German Federal Republic undertakes to accept the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and in particular of Article 2 thereof;

Considering that the provisions of the Treaty establishing the European Defence Community relating to the integration of forces and pooling of resources and armaments of the member States on the European continent preclude any individual armed action in Europe on the part of these States;

Undertakes to refrain from any action likely to revise or impair either these provisions or the strictly defensive character of the European Defence Community of which the forces cannot be employed except against an armed attack;

Undertakes in consequence in no case to have recourse to force and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other States.

ANNEX B

DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic,

Being resolved to devote their efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in particular with the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter

- (i) to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;
- (ii) to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;
- (iii) to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations may take preventive or enforcement action;
- (iv) to ensure that States which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles of the Charter so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security;

Having regard to the purely defensive character of the Atlantic Alliance which is manifest in the North Atlantic Treaty, wherein they reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and undertake to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter and to refrain, in accordance with those principles, from the threat or use of force in their international relations;

Considering also that the very structure of the European Defence Community provides assurances that its forces cannot be used for purposes of aggression, and that the provisions of the Treaty establishing the Community, which relate to the integration of forces and the pooling of resources and armaments of the member States on the European continent, preclude any individual armed action in Europe on the part of these States;

TAKE NOTE that the Federal Republic of Germany has, under Article 3(1) of the Convention on Relations between the three Powers and the Federal Republic signed at Bonn on May 26, 1952, agreed to conduct her policy in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and by a declaration dated _____ has undertaken in no case to have recourse to force contrary to those principles, but to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between her and other States;

DECLARE THAT

- (1) in their relations with the Federal Republic they will follow the principles set out in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter;

[United States version -

- (2) they will regard any recourse to force in violation of the undertakings noted above as a threat to the integrity and unity of the European Defence Community, and consequently to their own security. They will therefore act in accordance with Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty in particular with respect to withholding support from the Government concerned; and, to the extent that they consider necessary to this end, will regard themselves as released from their commitments to it.]

[United Kingdom-French version -

- (2) they will regard any recourse to force in violation of the undertaking noted above as a threat to their own security. Any Government having recourse to force in this manner, in violation of the undertakings under the E.D.C. Treaty, will be deprived by the three Governments of any form of military support and aid; and they will regard themselves, to the extent that they consider necessary to this end, as released from their commitments to that Government. Finally, they will act in accordance with Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty with a view to taking any other measures which they may deem appropriate.]
- (3) will act similarly in case a unified Germany should have recourse to force to modify the frontiers settled by the treaty of peace;
- (4) they will use their best efforts to obtain the association of the other member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with this declaration.