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S E C R E T SECTION ONE OF TWO PARIS 8014

1966 NOV 26 PM 1 39

PARIS-8014  
11-36-66

NATUS

EMBASSY BONN PASS MC CLOY; EMBASSY LONDON PASS CLEVELAND

SUBJ: DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING - DEFENSE PLANNING

1. DURING CLEVELAND DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, STATE, DEFENSE AND THE MC CLOY GROUP ASKED US TO SUBMIT VIEWS ON WHAT ACTIONS THE FOURTEEN MINISTERS, MEETING AS THE DPC, CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE AT THEIR DECEMBER MEETING ON NATO STRATEGY AND FORCES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE TRILATERAL SCHEDULE.

2. AMBASSADOR CLEVELAND'S CONSULTATIONS HERE AND THE 25 NOVEMBER DPC MEETING NOW PERMIT US TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

PAGE 2 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T  
PERHAPS THE MOST HOPEFUL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CURRENT NATO CLIMATE WAS GIVEN BY BOON (NETHERLANDS) AT THE 25 NOVEMBER MEETING. HE SAID THIS MEETING MIGHT BE REMEMBERED AS A WATER-SHED IN NATO BY SHOWING THE DETERMINATION OF THE FOURTEEN TO USE THE FREEDOM NATO NOW HAS TO GRAPPLE WITH ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN AVOIDED IN THE PAST, SO THAT HE FOR ONE SAW LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL.

3. TWO DISTINCT VIEWPOINTS APPEARED TO BE EMERGING AT THE END OF THE 25 NOVEMBER DISCUSSION. A MAJORITY (UK, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY AND, WE ASSUME, THE US ALTHOUGH UN-INSTRUCTED FOR THIS DISCUSSION) SEEM TO AGREE ON THE NEED FOR NEW SUBSTANTIVE GUIDANCE AROUND THE THEME OF FLEXIBILITY AND A STRATEGIC CONCEPT WHICH WOULD GIVE A REALISTIC ROLE TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SOVIET INTENTIONS AND PROBABLE

SECRET

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SECRET

2-PARIS 8014, NOVEMBER 26, (SECTION ONE OF TWO).

WARNING TIME. A SECOND GROUP (ITALY, GREECE AND TURKEY) STRESSED THE TRADITIONAL ELEMENTS OF ENEMY CAPABILITIES RATHER THAN THE INTENTIONS, AND MAINTAINING MAXIMUM NUCLEAR STRENGTH AND DETERRENCE SO AS TO INFLUENCE WARSAW PACT INTENTIONS, ETC. THE DANES, PORTUGALS LUXEMBOURG, ICELAND AND CANADA DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION; BUT ONLY THE CANADIANS, AND POSSIBLY THE DANES, ARE LIKELY TO HAVE ANY SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE. FROM PAST PERFORMANCE THEY WILL FALL INTO

PAGE 3 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T

THE FIRST GROUP WHILE PORTUGAL WILL JOIN THE SOUTHERN FLANK VIEWPOINT. THE FERMANNS HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE SECOND, OR "CONSERVATIVE" GROUP AND THEREFORE THEIR STATEMENT, WHILE SHORT AND NON-COMMITAL, WAS INTERESTING.

IT ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR RECOGNIZING THAT CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED, SAID A GERMAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION WAS IN PREPARATION BUT NOTED THAT THE OLD POLITICAL DIRECTIVE WOULD NECESSARILY REMAIN IN EFFECT UNTIL A NEW ONE HAD BEEN PREPARED, IF, LARGELY AS A RESULT OF THE TRILATERAL TALKS, THE GERMANS ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH THE US AND UK, THE ITALIANS WHO HAVE SHOWN SOME SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY WILL NOT PROVE AN OBSTACLE, ESSENTIALLY ISOLATING THE GREEKS AND TURKS WHO ARE IN ANY EVENT SPECIAL CASES.

4. SEVERAL SPEAKERS NOTED WITH APPROVAL THE MANY ITEMS OF SIMILIRITY BETWEEN VIEWPOINTS CONTAINED IN REPORTS TO NATO ON THE TRILATERAL TALKS AND THOSE EMERGING IN NATO ITSELF AS A RESULT OF DEFENSE PLANNING.

DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) LISTED THE MAIN SOURCES OF DECEMBER GUIDANCE AS THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE; THE TRILATERAL TALKS; AND THE SEVERAL DPWG STUDIES, WHICH HE ENUMERATED (SEE PARIS 7881 FOR DETAILS ON THESE STUDIES). THE US (FARLEY) SAID IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY "SURPRISES" FROM

PAGE 4 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T

ANY OF THESE SOURCES BETWEEN NOW AND DECEMBER AND THAT THEREFORE OUGHT TO BE POSSIBLE TO PUT TOGETHER NEXT WEEK A VERY USEFUL REPORT TO MINISTERS, BASED ON A CONSENSUS (WHERE IT EXISTS) WHICH WOULD GIVE THEM A BASIS FOR THEIR GUIDANCE ON THE MILITARY APPRECIATION. HE NOTED THAT WHILE GUIDANCE BY MINISTERS IN DECEMBER WOULD NECESSARILY BE INCOMPLETE, THIS WOULD NOT BE

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SECRET

-3-PARIS 8014, NOVEMBER 26, (SECTION ONE OF TWO).

A FATAL DEFECT SINCE THE DEFINITIVE GUIDANCE ON FORCE PLANNING WOULD COME AT A SPRING MEETING AT WHICH MINISTERS WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE MILITARY APPRECIATION, FURTHER STUDIES BY THE DPC, AND RESULTS OF THE TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. (COMMENT: THE SCENARIO FOR FORCE PLANNING WHICH WE OUTLINED IN PARIS 7852 APPEARS TO BE COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED HERE.)

6. BURROWS (UK) SPECIFICALLY PROPOSED THAT NATO MINISTERS INCLUDE GUIDANCE SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE "SIX POINTS" OF THE TRILATERAL "CONSENSUS" PAPER, WHICH HE SUMMARIZED IN HIS INTERVENTION. HE MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT HIS PROPOSAL WAS ONLY ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES AND WAS NOT INTENDED TO COMMIT THE US OR THE FRG. (ALTHOUGH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SIX POINTS WAS NOT DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING ITSELF OUR INFORMAL SOUNDINGS INDICATE THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE TOO MUCH DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THEM ACCEPTED IN NATO, ALTHOUGH A FEW DRAFTING CHANGES MIGHT HAVE TO BE MAKE.) COMMENT: THE REST OF BURROWS

PAGE 5 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T

PRESENTATION WAS ALONG THE STANDARD BRITISH LINE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DETERRED AND CAUTIOUS AND WOULD NOT RETURN TO HIGH RISK POLICIES WITHOUT GIVING SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL WARNING. END COMMENT.

7. THIS LEADS US TO SOUND A CAUTIONARY NOTE FOR THE TRIPARTITE EXERCISE. THE BRITISH HAVE SPENT MANY YEARS TRYING TO REDUCE NATO STRATEGY AND FORCE LEVEL REQUIREMENTS TO THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR OF BRITISH ABILITY TO PAY THEIR SHARE. THE KEY TO THIS DRIVE SEEMS TO BE A CONTINUING SENSITIVITY TO HAVING THE FINGER POINTED AT THEM FOR SHORTCOMINGS. NOW THAT THE BRITISH ARE AGAIN MANEUVERING TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR COMMON MARKET MEMBERSHIP, THEY WILL BE EVEN MORE SENSITIVE TO THE NEED TO AVOID DEFAULT ON NATO AND WESTERN EUROPEAN OBLIGATIONS. BUT BY THE SAME TOKEN, THEY MAY BE EVEN MORE DETERMINED TO CUT THE NATO SUIT TO FIT THEIR VERY SMALL PIECE OF CLOTH. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THEREFORE THAT WE EXACT FROM THE BRITISH A "QUID" IN THE FORM OF GETTING THEM TO SIGN ON TO A NATO STRATEGIC CONCEPT WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO US AND TO THE GERMANS, IN EXCHANGE FOR ANY "QUO" INVOLVING EITHER RELIEF FOR THEIR PAYMENTS PROBLEM OR NATO ACQUIESCENCE IN SOME LIMITED BAOR DRAWDOWNS. FAILURE TO DO SO MAY LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN THROUGH WHICH THE UK CAN RETURN TO THEIR PAROCHIAL APPROACH TO NATO DEFENSE WHEN

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SECRET

-4-PARIS 8014, NOVEMBER 26, (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PAGE 6 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T  
FINANCIAL PRESSURES OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER NEXT ARISE. TO MAKE  
SUCH A BARGAIN WILL BE HARDEST ON THE UK PROFESSIONALS,  
BECAUSE MANY BRITISH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS  
WILL HAVE TO TAKE BACK WORDS WHICH THEY HAVE SPOKEN -- ALTHOUGH  
NOT NECESSARILY BELIEVED -- ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH TREASURY.  
BUT IT WILL BE EASIER FOR THE POLITICAL LEADERS WHOSE MAIN  
CONCERN IS PUBLIC CHAFING AT DOMESTIC SACRIFICES WHICH REMAIN  
UNMATCHED BY FOREIGN AND DEFENSE SAVINGS. FOR THEM, EVEN SMALL  
CUTS MAY BE DOMESTIC POLITICAL BALM, WHEREAS THE PUBLIC KNOWS  
AND CARES RELATIVELY LITTLE ABOUT STRATEGIC THEOLOGY.

GP-4. FARLEY  
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 S E C R E T PARIS 8014 SECTION TWO OF TWO

1966 NOV 26 PM 1 39

NATUS

EMBASSY BONN PASS MCCLOY; EMBASSY LONDON PASS CLEVELAND.

SUBJ: DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING - DEFENSE PLANNING

8. THE PROCEDURAL OUTCOME OF THE MEETING WAS AGREEMENT THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FURTHER GENERAL DPC DISCUSSION ON TUESDAY MORNING, 29 NOVEMBER, FOR WHICH THE TURKS IN PARTICULAR ASKED. THE DPWG (REINFORCED AS NECESSARY BY POLITICAL ADVISERS) WILL THEN PREPARE A REPORT PROBABLY AS A FLESHED OUT VERSION OF DPWG/D(66)17 INCLUDING WHATEVER AGREEMENTS CAN BE REACHED ON POLITICAL GUIDANCE. THIS, TOGETHER WITH ANY FURTHER TRILATERAL

PAGE 2 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T  
 INPUTS, WOULD THEN BE CONSIDERED BY THE DPC AS THE FINAL REPORT TO MINISTERS ON TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 6.

9. CLEVELAND BELIEVES THAT WHAT IS LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THIS PROCESS ARE SOME OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF GUIDANCE TO BE PROPOSED TO MINISTERS:

(A) FIRST, A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHANGES IN THE SITUATION THAT CONFRONTS NATO -- THE EQUIVOCAL THREAT FROM A STILL DANGEROUS SOVIET UNION WHICH IS STRONGER THAN EVER BUT CONSTRAINED AND CAUTIOUS IN EUROPE FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS.

(B) SECOND, A RESTATEMENT OF THE NATURE OF AND REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE DETERRENCE IN AN AGE OF VARIED AND POWERFUL NUCLEAR WEAPONRY.

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Authority NND 959000  
By JAF NARA Date 8/27/01

SECRET

-2- PARIS 8014 NOV 26 (SECTION 2 OF 2)

(C) THIRD, A SUMMARY OF THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES NATO REQUIRES FOR DETERRENCE. (THIS WOULD PRESUMABLY BE AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE SIX-POINT STATEMENT IN THE AGREED MINUTE OF THE SECOND ROUND OF TRILATERAL TALKS SUPPLEMENTED BY SPECOM AGREEMENTS.)

(D) FOURTH, A SERIES OF SIMILAR AND PARALLEL DECLARATIONS ABOUT THE DEFENSE AND REINFORCEMENT OF THE FLANKS (INCLUDING A FOURTEEN-NATION ENDORSEMENT OF THE BROADER MOBILE REINFORCEMENT CONCEPT PROPOSED BY SECRETARY MCNAMARA AT THE MINISTERIAL NAC

PAGE 3 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T  
LAST JULY).

(E) FIFTH, SELECTED STATEMENTS, NECESSARILY RATHER GENERAL, AND PERHAPS INCOMPLETE, TAKEN FROM THE REPORTS JUST BEING COMPLETED BY THE DEFENSE PLANNING WORKING GROUP, ON STRATEGIC WARNING; THE BALANCE AND MIX OF SACEUR'S NUCLEAR FORCES; MOBILIZATION AND FORCE AUGMENTATION; AND THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE ON FORCE PLANNING (WHICH IS THE LOCAL EUPHEMISM FOR STRATEGIC MOBILITY). ANOTHER SOURCE FOR THIS SECTION MAY BE THE MILITARY COMMITTEE REPORT ON MALDEPLOYMENTS, WHICH IS JUST BEING COMPLETED AND WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN.

(F) SIXTH, GUIDANCE ABOUT THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR NATO FORCE PLANNING-- THAT IS, THE REALISTIC FIGURES ABOUT OVERALL NATO DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, WHICH APPEAR LIKELY TO BE SOMEWHERE BETWEEN A STRAIGHT-LINE PROJECTION OF CURRENT ABSOLUTE EXPENDITURES INCREASED FOR INFLATION AND A MORE SIZEABLE INCREASE REPRESENTING A CONSTANT PROPORTION OF GROWING GNPS. (TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE FOR PARTICULAR COUNTRIES, NOTABLY THOSE NOT PULLING THEIR WEIGHT, WE SHOULD DRAW ON THE SO-CALLED CALLAGHAN STUDY ON BURDEN SHARING TO URGE THEM TO INCREASE THE PERCENTAGE OF GNP FOR DEFENSE.)

(G) SEVENTH, A STATEMENT IMPLYING THAT THE NATO ALLIES WILL NEED A COMBINED MILITARY EFFORT (WHAT OUR ADVERSARIES WOULD CALL A "BLOC") NOT ONLY FOR DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE, BUT ALSO FOR STRIKING A DURABLE BARGAIN ABOUT THE FUTURE OF EUROPE AND ENSURING THAT PARTIES TO THE BARGAIN CONTINUE TO RESPECT IT AFTE

PAGE 4 FUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T

IT IS MADE. (THIS SECTION, DRAWING ON CURRENT "EAST-WEST" INTEREST, WOULD DEFINE AS ONE PURPOSE OF NATO FORCES THE AIM OF INDUCING SOVIETS TO TAKE RECIPROCAL STEPS TOWARD REDUCING THEIR OWN FORCES, AND MIGHT DECLARE THAT ARMS CONTROL IN EUROPE THROUGH MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN DEPLOYED FORCES, COMBINED WITH STEPS

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959000  
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SECRET

-3- PARIS 8014 NOV 26 (SECTION 2 OF 2)

TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, WILL BE THE CONTINUING OBJECT OF NATO SCRUTINY.)

(H) EIGHTH, A PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, PROJECTING ANOTHER MINISTERIAL MEETING FOR FORCE PLANNING PURPOSES (WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY BE SCHEDULED NOT LONG AFTER THE TRIPARTITE TALKS ARE COMPLETED) AND PROVIDING FOR GUIDANCE TO THE DPC - DPWG ON COMPLETION AND PRIORITIES OF STUDIES NOW UNDERWAY.

10. WE WOULD HOPE TO BE AUTHORIZED TO GO ALONG AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE EMERGING CONSENSUS IN THE GENERAL DIRECTION INDICATED ABOVE DURING NEXT WEEK'S DISCUSSIONS AND DRAFTING IN PARIS. AMBASSADOR CLEVELAND WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DRAW FOR THIS PURPOSE ON THE VIEWS CONTAINED IN SECTIONS I THROUGH V OF THE PAPER ENTITLED "DRAFT POLITICAL GUIDANCE FROM NATO MINISTERS" DATED NOVEMBER 15, WHICH HE DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON AND OF WHICH FARLEY WILL HAVE A COPY IN BONN. WE HOPE THAT THIS DETAILED

PAGE 5 RUFNCR 8014 S E C R E T

REPORT ON ATTITUDES HERE WILL BE HELPFUL NOT ONLY TO WASHINGTON BUT ALSO TO THE MCCLOY DELEGATION IN BONN, SINCE PART OF THEIR MISSION WILL INEVITABLY BE TO ACT AS AN INFORMAL CAUCUS OF THE THREE IN PREPARATION FOR THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING.

GP-4. FARLEY  
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