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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE
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Reg. P.A.
Boff

OTAN-NATO
PLACE DU MARECHAL DE LATTRE DE TASSIGNY
PARIS XVII^e FRANCE

May 15, 1967

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Dear Colleague:

There are attached, for the use of your representative to Sub-Group 3 of the Study of the Future Tasks of the Alliance, copies of a revised outline of the study on future defense policy prepared by the Rapporteur for use in the meeting of Sub-Group 3 to be held on May 18.

I would be grateful if you would bring this revised outline to the attention of your representative to Sub-Group 3 as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

James N. May

James N. May
Deputy Secretary of Delegation

The Lord Coleridge, Executive Secretary
Secretaries of Delegations

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The Future Tasks of the Alliance
Subgroup 3

(Future Defense Policy)

(Revised Outline)

Introduction

The defense policy of the Alliance is first, foremost and always to keep the peace and maintain the independence of its members. It is possible to do this in a way which

- permits and fosters detente,
- furthers Atlantic ties,
- aids European unity,
- helps arms control and disarmament, and
- supports a leading role in worldwide peacekeeping on the part of the respective members.

How the Alliance is organized and the arrangements it makes to fulfill these tasks are problems to be tackled not with the expectation of perfect solutions, but with the purpose of serving the foregoing ends. In a period of partial detente and growing prosperity, the Alliance must recognize that it will be subject to centrifugal pressures and divisive efforts that will tug against the need to maintain the Allied defense posture. Essential above all are common trust, steadiness of purpose and policy and a continuing will to maintain and use whatever force is necessary to defend freedom. The above are the fundamental premises on which this study is based.

Part I. The Current Politico-Military Situation

A. Trends in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

Significant changes have taken place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since NATO was founded. A central issue for our study is whether, and if so, how such changes affect the defense policies of the Alliance. First, these changes should be briefly identified: (1) Has Soviet policy toward NATO really changed? If so, in what ways? (2) What are the principal internal changes in the Soviet Union? (3) What are the significant facts of growing independence and prosperity in Eastern Europe and expanding East-West contacts? (4) What are the prospects for Sino-Soviet relations?

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B. Trends in Western Europe and North America

All members of the Alliance are increasingly concerned with internal problems, but the fundamental common purpose remains - in particular, a common concern with the security and stability of the NATO area. There are growing pressures for a more equitable sharing of decision-making responsibilities and financial burdens in the Alliance. Are NATO defense policies responsive to the changing political and economic relationships among its members?

C. The Nature of the Threat

An assessment of the threat to NATO involves evaluation of both the military capabilities and political intentions of the Warsaw Pact nations. An evaluation of the military threat has recently been completed by the Military Committee. This provides a useful point of departure for our study. We should, however, assess the possibility of future changes in the threat in light of Soviet political objectives vis-a-vis NATO and the implications of such changes for NATO defense policy. For example: What are the implications for NATO defense policy of: (1) Internal political conditions and changes in the Soviet Union; (2) The Soviet/Eastern European relationship, and growing independence and prosperity in Eastern Europe; (3) The Sino-Soviet relationship; (4) The Soviet relationship to the Communist parties in the West and the "Third World;" (5) The problem of resource allocation in the Soviet Union; (6) Worldwide Soviet diplomatic and economic interests and initiatives; (7) The broad prospects for Soviet technology; (8) The Soviet view on the role of military force in relation to their objective of the dissolution of NATO; (9) Events in the Mediterranean and Middle East affecting NATO security?

D. NATO's Deterrent Posture

The general postulates on which NATO strategy and force posture should be based have been examined recently by the DPC; and the Defense Ministers have approved certain propositions as guidance for force planning. Much progress has been made toward a common NATO strategy and an agreed basis for force planning. However, we have not reached, nor are we soon likely to reach, that millennium in which there is complete agreement among us on these issues. Examination of strategy and force requirements should be the subject of continuing intensive consultations like those in the NPG and DPWG. However, we can, from a broader and more political perspective than the force planners, examine the political purposes and implications of NATO's over-all deterrent posture and its major components and how they might change in the future. For example: What are the political implications for NATO of mutual deterrence at the strategic level? What are the political implications for NATO of changing

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assessments of the role of nuclear and non-nuclear forces? What are the relative roles of the nuclear and non-nuclear members of the Alliance in deterrence?

E. Current Efforts to Adapt NATO to a Changing Environment

NATO has not been standing still. Steps are being taken now to adapt NATO to changing circumstances, and we should be aware of these. They include:

(1) Revised and improved force planning procedures that relate strategy, force requirements and resources.

(2) A newly revised political directive to the Military Authorities that provides the basis for revision of NATO strategic concepts.

(3) An enhanced role for the non-nuclear powers in nuclear planning through the NDAC and NPG.

(4) Proposals for improved procedures and facilities for exchange of intelligence and other data resulting from the work of the Special Committee of Defense Ministers.

Many of these proposals will be implemented in connection with the move of NATO Headquarters to Brussels.

(5) Reorganization and streamlining of the Military Committee and the NATO command structure.

These are impressive advances in recent months. However, do foreseeable political developments suggest the need to further modify NATO defense policies in the future?

Part II. The Relationship of NATO Defense Policies and Programs to the Broader Political Objectives of the Alliance.

The very existence of NATO as a defensive Alliance, with coordinated policies and an integrated military command structure is a reality which affects international politics profoundly. The way in which the Alliance conducts its business affects political relationships among the members and between members and other states. The defense policies and programs of NATO serve both the security needs of the Alliance and broader political goals. A principal objective of this study is to explore fully how they might do so.

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A. The Relationship of Deterrence to Detente

(1) What do the Soviets see as the objectives of their policy of "Peaceful Coexistence?"

(2) How far has detente been reflected in the military sphere?

(3) How does NATO's military strength serve as a counter-balance to Soviet political influence now and in a situation where political tensions would be further reduced?

(4) What are the implications of partial detente for NATO's deterrent posture? Can we modify our deterrent posture in the light of current international developments?

(5) What future developments in East-West relations might affect NATO's posture and how?

B. The Contribution of NATO Defense Policy to European Unity Now and in the Future

(1) What is the importance of NATO defense arrangements today as both a symbol and a practical example of Western European cooperation?

(2) How can the defense policy and structure of NATO contribute to possible future Western European unification?

(3) What are the political advantages and liabilities of an integrated military command structure?

C. The Contribution of NATO Defense Policy to Strengthening Atlantic Cooperation

(1) What role has NATO defense policy played in forging closer trans-Atlantic ties, and what role can it play in the future?

(2) Are there ways in which current procedures can be modified to strengthen consultation and give national governments a greater voice in the defense policy of the Alliance?

(3) What should be the nature of the military relationship between Western Europe and North America in the future politico-military environment? In what ways will each side of the Atlantic continue to be

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militarily dependent on the other? In what ways is this relationship changing?

(4) How do improvements in communications and transportation alter the trans-Atlantic relationship?

D. The Role of NATO Defense Policies in Moving Toward and Eventually Achieving a Future European Political Settlement

(1) In what ways do NATO defense policies contribute toward East-West reconciliation and German unification? In what ways do they impede such developments?

(2) Are there changes that can be made in NATO defense policies, structure and programs which would improve chances for East-West reconciliation and German unification?

E. Arms Control and Disarmament Prospects and Their Implications for the Alliance

(1) What NATO objectives might be achieved by arms control and disarmament measures affecting the NATO area?

(2) What specific measures appear practical at the present time and might have some promise of being negotiated with the Soviets?

(3) What are the prospects for and risks of balanced force reductions?

(4) What future European security arrangements can be envisioned and what might be their effect on NATO defense policies?

(5) What impact would specific measures have on the security of the NATO area?

(6) What impact would these measures have on intra-Alliance political relationships? On the prospects for European integration? On the prospects for a European political settlement, including German reunification?

(7) What measures are worthy of further study in NATO, and how might such study be conducted?

(8) Can NATO better coordinate arms control policies in the future?

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F. Trends in Technology and Their Impact on the Alliance.

The technology of defense is becoming increasingly complex and costly, and it is changing at an ever-accelerating rate.

(1) Are NATO defense policies and forces keeping pace with technological changes?

(2) What are the implications for NATO defense policy of the increasing cost and complexity of defense technology?

(3) What, broadly speaking, are the prospective technological developments which will have a bearing on future defense policy of the Alliance and its forces?

(4) What are the implications for NATO of the rising costs of modern military equipment in terms of maintaining force levels and their quality?

(5) What impact does changing technology have on arms control prospects?

G. Organization of the Alliance Defense Machinery.

(1) What further improvements might be made that will strengthen the politico-military role of the Alliance, and which will better assure an equitable sharing of burdens and responsibilities?

H. The Relationship of NATO Defense Policies to the "Third World."

(1) How might NATO defense policies contribute to stability in non-NATO areas? Can NATO play a role in international peacekeeping?

(2) What are the general criteria for defense programs NATO might consider which could contribute to stability in non-NATO areas, especially those areas on the NATO periphery?

Part III. Conclusions

A. What are the major elements of a defense policy for the Alliance including appropriate measures of arms control which will:

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(1) Continue to guarantee the security and freedom of the West as an indispensable basis for political solutions,

(2) Make a direct contribution to the comprehensive political objectives of the Alliance, especially a lasting, peaceful order in Europe?

- B. What should be the major short-term defense tasks of the Alliance given our assessment of the current politico-military situation and that for the immediate future?
- C. What should be the major future defense tasks of the Alliance given our estimate of political and military trends over the next several years?

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