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UNITED STATES PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
ON THE  
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Leg. P.A.  
1073

May 25, 1967

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His Excellency  
Manlio Brosio  
Secretary General  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
Paris, France

Dear Manlio:

Ambassador Kohler has asked me to send you the enclosed status report for Sub-Group 3 of the Study of the Future Tasks of the Alliance. Attached to it is the outline for the Study of Future Defense Policy which has been revised as a result of the discussion during the meeting of Sub-Group 3 last week.

On behalf of Ambassador Kohler, I am also providing to all delegations a copy of this letter and enclosures.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harlan Cleveland

Enclosures  
As stated above

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Future Tasks of the Alliance

Sub-Group 3

(Future Defense Policy)

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Manlio Brosio, Chairman  
Special Group  
Future Tasks of the Alliance

SUBJECT: Sub-Group 3 Status Report

Sub-Group 3 has held two meetings--April 18 and May 18, 1967. We have had a general discussion of the topics which we shall address in our report, and this discussion has been very helpful in determining the approach which will be taken in this portion of the study. As a result of our discussions, I have developed an expanded outline for the report of this group which is attached. I believe it reflects a general consensus of the discussion as to the issues that we should address.

Taking into account the nature of detente, its relationship to deterrence and its implications for Alliance defense policies, we will try to explore the continuing need for an integrated defense effort and its importance to broader political objectives of the Alliance; we will also examine the potential benefits and risks of arms control measures in relation to the security requirements and political objectives of the Alliance; we intend to examine whether political developments suggest the need to further review NATO defense policies in the future. We intend to focus particularly on the relation of NATO defense policies to such broader political objectives as Western Europe unity, Atlantic partnership, future political settlement and a lasting peaceful order in Europe.

As rapporteur, I intend to prepare an initial draft of our report, based on the attached outline, that will be available no later than mid-September. We then intend to meet again in early October to discuss this draft. We plan to have a final report ready for the Special Group to consider soon thereafter.

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I believe our study is well launched, and that we can make a useful contribution to identifying the future defense tasks of the Alliance.

Foy D. Kohler  
Rapporteur, Sub-Group 3

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The Future Tasks of the Alliance  
Sub-Group 3

(Future Defense Policy)

(Outline)

Introduction

The security 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

- provides a basis for 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 military strength. However, the need for multilateral defense arrangements continues. 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

(A brief review, to be coordinated with and draw upon work of other sub-groups where appropriate.)

B. Trends in Western Europe and North America

(A brief review, to be coordinated with and draw upon work of other sub-groups where appropriate.)

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## C. The Nature of the Threat

Assessment of the threat to NATO involves evaluation of both the military capabilities and political intentions of the Warsaw Pact nations. The military threat is under continuous review in various Alliance bodies, providing a useful point of departure for our study. We should, however, assess the implications for NATO security policy of developments within the Soviet Union and among the communist countries and 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 security policy. Of particular importance are recent indications of a Soviet campaign against NATO in 1969.

## D. NATO's Security Policy

There is no disagreement in the Alliance on the need to maintain strong military force in the face of a continuing danger. 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 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? What are the implications of changing technology for NATO's security policy?

## 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.

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(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.

(6) Proposals for improving NATO's decision-making process in times of crisis.

These are impressive advances in recent months. What conclusions can be drawn from these recent developments? Do foreseeable political developments suggest the need to further modify NATO security policies in the future?

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

The very existence of NATO as a defensive Alliance, with coordinated security 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 security policies and programs of NATO are designed primarily to keep the peace and maintain the independence of the member states, but they also can serve broader political goals. For example, we will want to examine whether the Alliance can, through agreed policies and actions, bring about further evolution in the Soviet Bloc favorable to NATO.

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?

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(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 security policies? Can we modify our security policies in the light of current international developments?

(b) What future developments in East-West relations might affect NATO's security policies and force posture and how?

B. The Contribution of NATO Defense Policy to European Unity and Atlantic Cooperation 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 and Atlantic cooperation, and what role can they play in the future?

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

(3) 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?

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

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

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

There is an inevitable relationship between arms control and defense policy. A balance of forces is a necessary basis for meaningful progress toward disarmament. Conversely, disarmament measures must take account of the need for a continued force balance.

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

(2) What specific measures including collateral 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? (under study by DPC)

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

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

(6) What impact would specific arms control measures, including the NPT, 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 particular arms control measures are worthy of further study in NATO, and how might such study be conducted?

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

(9) What impact does changing technology have on stability and on arms control prospects?

D. 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?

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

E. 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?

F. The Relationship between NATO Security Policies and World-wide Developments

(1) How might NATO security policies contribute to stability in the world, consistent with Article 51 of the UN charter?

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

(3) What are the consequences of developments outside the NATO area for the security policies of the Alliance?

Part III. Summary.

A. What role can NATO security policies play 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?

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

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

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

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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