

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~SECRET~~

May 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Attorney General
The Under Secretary of State
The Deputy Secretary of Defense
The Director, Central Intelligence Agency
The Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

SUBJECT: Preparation for NSC Meeting on MBFR

The President has directed the Verification Panel to prepare for the National Security Council an evaluation of the substantive and procedural issues involved in developing a common position within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions with the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies.

The preparations for NSC consideration of these MBFR issues entail the following efforts:

(1) U. S. Position on MBFR

In order to lay the substantive ground work for Presidential decision on the elements of MBFR, the Verification Panel should formulate the major alternatives and evaluate the pros and cons of each. The purpose would be to formulate for Presidential consideration a range of possible elements which the United States could be willing to discuss within NATO and in exploratory talks with the Soviet Union and its allies. The paper should draw extensively upon earlier interagency work to consider, inter alia;

-- The areas for MBFR.

-- The participants (e. g., all NATO and all Pact countries or selected countries).

NSS, DOS, OSD Reviews
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-- The question of reducing "foreign (i. e. , stationed) forces only or all forces in the area. "

-- The size and timing of reductions to be considered including the possibility of ceilings.

-- The variety of nuclear and conventional force components involved including manpower, equipment, reinforcement capability, and provisions regarding each.

-- Provisions regarding verification and warning.

-- Other collateral measures, including NATO force improvements made desirable by MBFR.

To illustrate the specific implications of a choice of elements, the Verification Panel's on-going work on detailed options should also be incorporated along with a preliminary assessment of the implications of each.

(2) Consultation Scenario

The Verification Panel should prepare a scenario for comprehensive consultations with our NATO allies aimed toward the development of an allied consensus on the major substantive issues and the procedures to be used in the negotiations. The paper should identify the questions of substance and procedure which should be decided within the alliance before formal negotiations can be launched, indicate the appropriate form (e. g. , intensified consideration of MBFR by the NAC, followed by a special meeting of NATO Deputy Foreign Ministers at an early date) and provide a timetable for accomplishing the consultations, taking into account any decisions reached at the NATO Spring Ministerial (June 3-4) on these matters. The paper should also take into account the need to coordinate MBFR consultations with the parallel work within the alliance on NATO force improvements.

Concepts for Negotiations

The Verification Panel also should prepare a paper assessing alternative concepts for entering into negotiations with the Soviet Union and its allies on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.

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URGENT ACTION

May 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM: K. Wayne Smith *KWS*

SUBJECT: Preparations for a Presidential Decision on MBFR

In NSDM-108, you directed that the Verification Panel prepare an evaluation of the procedural and substantive issues and alternatives involved in U. S. positions on MBFR. I have prepared a directive from you to the Panel spelling out the work that needs to be done (Tab A).

The guidance calls for preparation of:

-- A formulation of the range of possible elements in the U. S. position and an evaluation of their implications. As you know, much of the substantive work needed for this has already been done but it needs to be refined and restructured for Presidential consideration.

-- A fairly detailed scenario for substantive preparation in NATO. This is necessary given past heavy NATO involvement, German and U. K. resistance to MBFR and the obvious need to get an alliance position before negotiations start.

-- A formulation of alternative concepts for exploratory talks and eventually negotiations with the Warsaw Pact.

This work is necessary if we are to get off on the right foot on MBFR with a Presidential decision on the procedural issues and the broad outlines of a substantive U. S. position. Hal Sonnenfeldt concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the directive at Tab A.

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