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Last Updated: 04/03/2023

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT

(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE

Withdrawer

DLB 5/20/2014

File Folder

IT067 (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION -

NATO) (500000-509999)

FOIA

S697

Box Number

15

SYSTEMATIC

Document Description Doc Date Restrictions ID Doc No of Type **Pages**

165021 MEMO

FRITZ ERMARTH/NELSON LEDSKY TO FRANK CARLUCCI, RE: YOUR MEETING

WITH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL CARRINGTON, NOVEMBER 5, 1987

PAR

3/28/2023

F00-091, #8372, CAS,

6/18/2008

165022 LETTER

HELMUT KOHL TO REAGAN, IN **GERMAN**

2 9/17/1987 B1

2 11/4/1987 B1

3/28/2023 R

LIBRARY RE-REVIEW

165023 LETTER

HELMUT KOHL TO REAGAN, ENGLISH

2 9/17/1987 B1

TRANSLATION OF #165022

3/28/2023

LIBRARY RE-REVIEW

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 5, 1987

Deputy Nati Sec Advisor

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL/FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM:

JOHN ON Frank DON MAHLEY/BOB LINHARD

SUBJECT:

Defense Review Committee (DRC) Visit to Washington

The NATO Defense Review Committee -- the principal NATO working body for the Defense Planning Committee -- is visiting the United States during the week of 15-19 June 1987. At the request of OSD/ISP, Don Mahley has scheduled a meeting with them in the Situation Room from 1630-1730 on Monday, June 15th. At that meeting Don will review current NATO issues and discuss the need for conventional defense improvements in NATO.

We have not requested a formal meeting on either of your schedules because, frankly, we do not believe this visit requires a formal diversion of your time. However, if either of you could drop by the Situation Room for 5 minutes during the 1630-1730 period we are certain that both OSD and the DRC will appreciate it.

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National Security Council The White House

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Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci		-	***************************************
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cc: VP Baker	Other		
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TO

CARLUCCI

FROM MAHLEY

DOCDATE 05 JUN 87

LINHARD

05 JUN 87

KEYWORDS: NATO

SUBJECT: DEFENSE REVIEW COM VISIT TO WASHINGTON

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CARLUCCI

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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File Folder	FOIA
IT067 (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION - NATO) (520000-527999)	S697 SYSTEMATIC
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15	46

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pages

Doc Date

165021 MEMO 2 11/4/1987 B1

FRITZ ERMARTH/NELSON LEDSKY TO FRANK CARLUCCI, RE: YOUR MEETING WITH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL CARRINGTON, NOVEMBER 5, 1987 | PARTIPLE

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Document Type

Document Description

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506 523333

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November 4, 1987

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> Nati Sec Advisor has seen

INFORMATION

FROM:

FRITZ W. ERMARTH

NELSON C. LEDSKY

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

SUBJECT:

Your Meeting with NATO Secretary General

Carrington, Thursday, November 5, 1987, 6:00 PM

You will be meeting with Lord Carrington near the end of the day after his meetings with the President, Vice President, Secretary Shultz and several key Senators. He will probably have been talked to extensively about how the Administration views the INF agreement, and what value European support for the Treaty will have on our ratification process. You can certainly touch on these points again, but you might better focus the conversation on some other key subjects. These would include:

a. A NATO Summit

Carrington is known to favor a short NATO meeting before the U.S.-Soviet Summit, to go over our strategy for the Gorbachev visit, and to ensure the Allies that there will be no surprises. You might outline the problems we see in arranging a Western Summit before December 7, and explore with Carrington what kind of lower-level NATO consultations might be substituted. It is also important that you sound Carrington out on the kind of consultations he believes necessary after the Summit and whether, when, and where a full NATO Summit should be planned for early 1988.

b. NPG Results, the Forthcoming DPC and NATO Ministerial

You should begin by expressing our view that the results of the NPG communique was useful in reaffirming NATO's intention and its capacity to maintain the forces necessary for deterrence. You should seek Lord Carrington's assessment of the recently concluded NPG session in Monterey and ask how he believes the OPC and NATO Ministerials in early December should be shaped. Can the Alliance refine the arms control agenda which it reached at Reykjavik?

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLRR F60-071, #7372, CAS G/18/08

BY MARA DATE 3/23/2023

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c. Conventional Stability Talks

The Alliance has begun to put together a substantive proposal for the conventional stability talks, which we hope can commence next Spring. We have about reached an internal U.S. position

should seek Lord Carrington's views on how the Alliance can best reach an early consensus for the conventional stability negotiations. What time-table should we strive to maintain in developing our Western proposals?

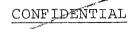
d. WEU Defense Cooperation

WEU Foreign and Defense Minister recently issued a declaration calling for more European military cooperation to buttress the second pillar of Alliance, the maintenance of nuclear deterrence, and the continuation of U.S. troop presence in Europe. The President welcomed this declaration in his West Point speech and recent Worldnet address. It would be interesting to have Lord Carrington's judgment of the value of this WEU document, whether it can be used as a foundation for a broader NATO declaration to be issued, perhaps at some point after the U.S.-Soviet Summit. More broadly, we need to know whether the kind of defense cooperation some Europeans are now contemplating represents a potential threat or benefit to the Alliance.

e. Spanish Base Negotiations

President Reagan has emphasized the necessity of placing the base discussions in a NATO context and removing it, as much as possible, from the contentious bilateral arena. Secretary Weinberger generated considerable support for our position at the NPG, but was undermined by a public response Carrington gave on the subject—asserting that the negotiations were strictly a bilateral issue. You should stress with Carrington that the status of dual capable systems, such as the F-16s, are extremely important to NATO's post-INF strategy.

cc: Bob Linhard Don Mahley



National Security Council The White House

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RECEIVED 30 OCT 87 18

TO CARLUCCI

FROM LINHARD

DOCDATE 30 OCT 87

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30 OCT 87

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04 NOV 87

KEYWORDS: NATO

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CARRINGTON, PETER

SUBJECT: MTG W/ NATO SYG CARRINGTON ON 5 NOV

ACTION: FOR DECISION

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CARLUCCI

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

523295

ACTION

October 30, 1987 I T 067

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM:

BOB LANGARD/DON MAHLEYHAM

SUBJECT:

Meeting with NATO SYG Lord Carrington

Nati See Advisor has seen

NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has requested a private meeting with you in addition to his meeting with the President (scheduled for 9:50 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 5 November).

If you agree to such a private meeting, we would suggest 30 minutes immediately following the meeting with the President, from 10:00-10:30 a.m. on Thursday, November 5. If you agree to this meeting NSC staff (Mahley or Ledsky) will provide talking points for your use.

SYG Carrington has also requested a private meeting with Howard Baker. NSC staff do not recommend attempting to schedule a third White House meeting for SYG Carrington on Thursday. If you agree, we would as an alternative recommend inviting Senator Baker to be present at the meeting in your office from 10:00-10:30 a.m. on Thursday. A memo from you to Senator Baker forwarding that recommendation is at Tab I for your use if you approve.

Nelson Ledsky concurs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you agree to meet with Lord Carrington in your office from 10:00-10:30 a.m. on Thursday, November 5.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ That you agree to forward the memorandum (TAB I) to Senator Baker inviting him to participate in the meeting in your office.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Test Jack Color of the senator Baker inviting him to participate in the meeting in your office.

Attachment

Tab I Ca

Carlucci/Baker Memo

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WASHINGTON

MEMO	DRANDUM	FOR	THE	CHIEF	OF	STAFF
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FROM:

FRANK C. CARLUCCI

SUBJECT:

Meeting with NATO Secretary General

Lord Carrington

NATO Secretary General Carrington is scheduled to meet with the President in the Oval Office from 9:50-10:00 a.m. on Thursday, November 5. SYG Carrington has also requested to meet with you and me independently of his meeting with the President. I have agreed to meet with Lord Carrington in my office from 10:00-10:30 a.m. on November 5.

I would like you to participate in all or part of the meeting in my office as your schedule and interests permit. Alternatively, if you wish to meet privately with Lord Carrington, I will have my staff work with your schedule and Lord Carrington's to arrange such a meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

I	will	attend	the	meeting	in	your	office	at	10:00	a.m.	on
No	ovembe	r 5.									

Approve	Disapprove	
Please schedule a Carrington.	separate meeting in my offi	ice with Lord
Approve	Disapprove	
I do not wish to m Office meeting.	eet with Lord Carrington οι	itside the Oval
Approve	Disapprove	

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National Security Council The White House

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TOCARLUCCI

FROM LINHARD

DOCDATE 30 OCT 87

MAHLLY

30 OCT 87

KLYWORDS: NATO

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CARRINGTON, PLTER

SUBJECT: MTG W/ NATO SYG CARRINGTON ON 5 NOV

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506 6973 3100 I1061 L005H-02 September 24, 1987





INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM:

FRITZ W. ERMARTH

NELSON C. LEDSKY

SUBJECT:

Letter from Chancellor Kohl

The German Embassy has forwarded a second letter from Chancellor Kohl to the President pressing for US support for the candidacy of Manfred Woerner for the position of NATO Secretary General.

You will recall that the first Kohl letter on this subject was received approximately two weeks ago and answered in polite but non-committal terms. We have since decided to support the Woerner candidacy and Secretary Shultz has so informed FRG Foreign Minister Genscher in New York.

The State Department is preparing a reply to this latest Kohl letter expressing our support for the Woerner candidacy, which will be sent to the NSC by crosshatch today.

Attachment

Tab A Ltr from Kohl

15048106973

THE AMBASSADOR OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you the attached message from Federal Chancellor Kohl.

Sincerely yours,

Günther van Well

Washington D.C., September 21st, 1987

Enclosure

The President

The White House

Washington D.C.

Bundesrepublik Deutschland der Bundeskanzler

Bonn, den 17. September 1987

Historical File

Seiner Exzellenz dem Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika Herrn Ronald W. Reagan Washington D.C.

Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, lieber Ron,

mit meinem Schreiben vom 26. August 1987 habe ich Ihnen den Bundesminister der Verteidigung, Dr. Manfred Wörner, als Kandidaten für die Nachfolge für NATO-Generalsekretär Lord Carrington benannt.

Ich möchte mir erlauben, Ihnen nochmals meine Gründe für diese Nominierung im einzelnen darzulegen:

Dr. Wörner ist ein außerordentlich erfahrener und befähigter Sicherheitspolitiker, der in den Mitgliedstaaten der Allianz hohes Ansehen genießt.

Aufgrund seiner langjährigen Erfahrungen und seiner umfassenden Kenntnisse zu Fragen des Bündnisses wäre er in hohem Maße geeignet, die transatlantische Partnerschaft und Solidarität zu stärken, und weiter auszubauen.

Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist durch ihre geopolitische Lage innerhalb des Bündnisgebietes in besonderer Weise exponiert. Mein Land stellt die stärkste konventionelle Streitkraft der NATO in Westeuropa und ist das wichtigste Stationierungs- und Übungsland des Bündnisses. Die Bevölkerung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland trägt die damit verbundenen Belastungen - wie sich

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bei den derzeitigen großen Herbstmanövern zeigt - mit großem Verständnis.

Angesichts dieser Situation würde die Wahl eines Deutschen zum NATO-Generalsekretär in meinem Lande als politisches Signal verstanden, daß unser Beitrag zur Verteidigungsbereitschaft des Westens von den Mitgliedstaaten der Allianz gewürdigt wird.

Schließlich hat die Bundesrepublik Deutschland seit den schwierigen Anfängen ihrer Mitgliedschaft im Atlantischen Bündnis vor 32 Jahren noch nie den Generalsekretär gestellt. In Anbetracht ses seither erbrachten Beitrags meines Landes zu den Aufgaben Lasten der Allianz sowie des ausgezeichneten Kandidaten, den wir präsentieren können, hielte ich die Wahl von Dr. Wörner zum neuen Generalsekretär der NATO für eine gute Wahl im Interesse der Allianz.

Ich möchte Ihnen versichern, daß ich die persönliche Qualifikation des von der norwegischen Regierung benannten Kandidaten, den ich persönlich kenne und schätze, in keiner Weise in Zweifel ziehen möchte.

Da Ihre Regierung bisher noch keine Entscheidung über die Nachfolgefrage getroffen hat, wäre ich für eine wohlwollende Prüfung dankbar und bitte Sie um die Unterstützung der Kandidatur von Dr. Wörner.

Ich würde mich freuen, wenn ich dieses Thema mit Vizepräsident Bush anläßlich seines Besuches am 30. September 1987 in Bonn besprechen könnte.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

I du

Translation

His Excellency
Mr Ronald W. Reagan,
President of the United States of America,
Washington D.C.

17 September 1987

Dear Mr President, Dear Ron,

On 26 August 1987 I wrote to you proposing Dr Manfred Wörner, Federal Minister of Defence, as a candidate to succeed NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington.

Allow me to explain again in greater detail the reasons for this nomination. Dr Wörner is an extremely capable politician who has wide experience in defence matters and is highly respected in the countries members of the Alliance.

Owing to his long experience and extensive knowledge of the Alliance and its problems, he would be highly qualified to strengthen and further develop transatlantic partnership and solidarity.

The Federal Republic of Germany is particularly exposed on account of its geopolitical position within the NATO area. My country provides the largest contingent of conventional NATO forces in Western Europe. It is also host to the biggest contingent of non-German allied forces and is the Alliance's main location for military exercises. The people of the Federal Republic of Germany accept the burdens this entails, as during the current large-scale autumn manoeuvres, with great understanding.

In view of this situation, the election of a German as NATO Secretary-General would be seen in my country as a political signal that our contribution to the West's defence preparedness is appreciated by the members of the Alliance.

Moreover, since becoming a member of the Atlantic Alliance under difficult circumstances 32 years ago, the Federal Republic of Germany has never filled the post of Secretary-General. Considering my country's contribution in fulfilling the Alliance's mission and carrying its burdens, and considering that we are able to present an excellent candidate, I feel that the election of Dr Wörner as new Secretary-General of NATO would be a good choice in the interest of the Alliance.

Let me assure you that I in no way wish to cast doubt on the qualifications of the candidate nominated by the Norwegian Government, whom I know and hold in high esteem.

As your Government has not yet taken a decision on the question of the Secretary-General's successor, I would be grateful if you would give the matter your sympathetic consideration and support Dr Wörner's candidature.

I would be glad if I could discuss this matter with Vice-President Bush during his visit to Bonn on 30 September.

Sincerely, (sgd.) Helmut Kohl

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National Security Council The White House

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Lou Michael				
Situation Room				
West Wing Desk				N
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

10/19/87

523557 IT067

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FRANK CARLUCCI

FROM:

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. 78

SUBJECT:

APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING:

Meeting with Lord Carrington, Secretary General of NATO

DATE:

November 5, 1987

TIME:

9:50 am

DURATION:

10 minutes

LOCATION:

Oval Office

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED:

To be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY

PARTICIPATION: No

PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST NOTE:

M. Archambault

W. Ball

J. Courtemanche

E. Crispen

R. Dawson

F. Donatelli

D. Dellinger

A. Dolan

J. Erkenbeck

L. Faulkner

C. Fuller

M. Fitzwater

T. Griscom

Advance Office

G. Green

J. Hooley

J. Kuhn

J. Lamb

J. Manning

J. McKinney

N. Risque

D. Johnson

R. Shaddick

G. Walters

WHCA Audio/Visual WHCA Operations

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9:50 (10 min)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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SCHEDULING KS 10/13

October 9, 1987

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO:

FRED RYAN, Director Presidential

Appointments and Scheduling

FROM:

GRANT S. GREEN, JR WHE

REQUEST:

Meeting between the President and NATO Secretary General Peter Lord

Carrington

PURPOSE:

To provide Lord Carrington with the President's views on the status of the INF treaty and reaffirm US

commitment to NATO

BACKGROUND:

Lord Carrington will be returning from NATO's Nuclear Planning Group

(NPG) Ministerial meeting in California, where he will have to supported US policy positions.

PREVIOUS

PARTICIPATION

The President has received Lord Carrington on previous visits.

DATE AND TIME:

November 5, 1987
DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION:

Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS:

See TAB A.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS:

The President greets Lord

Carrington, discusses NATO issues,

closes with photo opportunity.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

Talking Points will be provided by

NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE:

White House photographer only

RECOMMENDED BY:

Department of State, NSC

OPPOSED BY:

None

Attachment

TAB A

List of Participants

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Senator Howard Baker
Kenneth Duberstein
Frank C. Carlucci
Assistant Secretary of State Rozanne Ridgway
Fritz Ermarth, NSC
Don Mahley, NSC

Secretary General Carrington Kevin Tobbitt, Chef du Cabinet to SYG Carrington Thomas McCahill Alton Keel, US Ambassador to NATO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 9, 1987

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO:

FRED RYAN, Director Presidential FGO//
Appointments and Scheduling

FROM:

GRANT S. GREEN, JR WH

REQUEST:

Meeting between the President and NATO Secretary General Peter Lord Carrington

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PARTICIPATION

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DATE AND TIME:

November 5, 1987 DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION:

Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS:

See TAB A.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS:

The President greets Lord Carrington, discusses NATO issues, closes with photo opportunity.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

Talking Points will be provided by

NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE:

White House photographer only

RECOMMENDED BY:

Department of State, NSC

OPPOSED BY:

None

Attachment

TAB A List of Participants

CONFIDENTIAL
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

NSC#8106657



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Senator Howard Baker
Kenneth Duberstein
Frank C. Carlucci
Assistant Secretary of State Rozanne Ridgway
Fritz Ermarth, NSC
Don Mahley, NSC

Secretary General Carrington Kevin Tobbitt, Chef du Cabinet to SYG Carrington Thomas McCahill Alton Keel, US Ambassador to NATO



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

October 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

Med Sec Advisor has seen

FROM:

BOBILINHARD/DON MAHLEY

SUBJECT:

Request for Meeting with the President - NATO SYG

Carrington

NATO SYG Carrington has requested a meeting with the President during his visit to the US at the end of October-early November. This is a standard request every time Carrington is in town. Normally we deflect the appointment to you or Colin Powell. In this instance, since Carrington is returning from the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) Ministerial meeting in California and the Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting in Moscow will just have concluded, we recommend that we attempt to get a meeting with the President.

Attached at $\overline{\text{TAB}}$ $\underline{\text{I}}$ is a schedule proposal recommending a meeting with the President for 10 minutes, which indicates that the NSC staff will provide talking points if the meeting takes place. We believe the meeting would be an opportunity to reinforce SYG Carrington's support for both the INF agreement and the US commitment to NATO.

Fritz Ermarth, Bill Sockell, and Marghel Batjer concur.

Recommendation:

That you approve the schedule proposal at TAB I.

Approve

Disapprove _

Attachments

TAB I Schedule Proposal

TAB II Incoming Request from State

TAB III Original Request from State

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CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

CONTIDENT



S/S 8728566 United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 3, 1987







MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Change in Request for Presidential Meeting With

NATO SYG Carrington

NATO Secretary General Peter Carrington has altered his travel plans for his coming trip to the United States. Instead of being in Washington on October 29, he will be here November 5. Carrington would still like very much to meet briefly with the President while he is in Washington, and the Department continues to support his request.

Melvyn Levitsky Executive Secretary

Attachment:

September 11 Levitsky/Carlucci Memorandum

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DECL: OADR

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87 OCT 5 A7: 14 COVEDENTIAL



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8725425 United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 11, 1987 Eun/hpm

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with NATO SYG Carrington

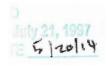
NATO Secretary General Peter Carrington will be in Washington on October 29, on his way to the NATO Nuclear Planning Group Ministerial in California. He would like to meet briefly with the President. Carrington believes, and we agree, that a meeting would be substantively useful at this juncture and also serve to reaffirm the U.S. commitment to Alliance consultations -- especially important during the current period of intense activity in East-West relations.

Lord Carrington has been an able supporter of the President's efforts to build a new basis for East-West relations. He has also played a key role in the successful management of Alliance deliberations on the INF issue. Carrington's support for the President's security program will continue to be invaluable, especially in light of repeated Soviet efforts to sow disharmony within the Alliance.

The Department strongly supports this request. A meeting would provide the President with an opportunity to update NATO on progress in the INF negotiations specifically, and on U.S.-Soviet relations in general, while demonstrating the President's personal commitment to dialogue within the Alliance.

> Melvyn Levitsky **Executive Secretary**





DECL: OADR



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 11, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with NATO SYG Carrington

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Melvyn Levitsky Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

DECL: OADR

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5/10/19



Washington, D.C. 20520

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September 11, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with NATO SYG Carrington

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Melvyn Levitsky Executive Secretary

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DECL: OADR

By dh

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TO

CARLUCCI

FROM LEVITSKY, M

DOCDATE 11 SEP 87

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SUBJECT: SECGEN CARRINGTON REQUEST MTG W/ PRES 29 OCT

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Congress of the United States OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8025

July 6, 1987

JOHN H. GIBBONS

5769

The Honorable Frank Carlucci Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Room 1/WW The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Carlucci:

Enclosed is a copy of the second and final report of OTA's assessment of NATO's new Follow-On Forces Attack (FOFA) concept. It analyzes the relevance of FOFA to the threat in Central Europe, the responses of the Soviets to FOFA, the attitudes of our European Allies, operational concepts for FOFA, systems to implement those concepts, and outstanding technical issues.

In late 1984, NATO adopted FOFA as one of the critical warfighting missions for its conventional forces in Europe. The concept calls for the use of airplanes and missiles to strike beyond the front lines in order to impede the ability of the Warsaw Pact to bring new forces forward to augment those already attacking NATO. Doing so would reduce the pressure on NATO's defenders, making them better able to withstand the assault.

Over the past year, rapid progress has been made in defining more specifically what the individual member nations will do to support FOFA. But differences still remain among the Allies. Some of these differences, as well as others that were part of the initial debate over FOFA, have surfaced again in relation to recent arms control proposals.

Major technical advances have been made in those systems that would support FOFA. However, significant problems still remain to be solved. these is the issue of how deeply the United States is willing to become involved in multi-national development programs.

I hope you will find the report useful and informative.

Sincerely,

ohn H. Gibbons

Enclosures

NSC#8705169

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JOHN H. GIBBONS

Hold for release until: Thursday, June 25, AM's

Congress of the United States

OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8025

For further information contact: Ellen Mika or Jean McDonald (202)226-2115

NATO's recent efforts to offset the Warsaw Pact's advantages in conventional forces in Europe still face both technical and political obstacles, according to a report released today by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). Recent developments in U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations have highlighted both the conventional force imbalance in Europe and internal disagreements over how much the Alliance should rely on conventional defense. Moreover, they have added immediacy to NATO's conventional defense efforts.

One of NATO's key conventional defense initiatives, called Follow-On Forces Attack (FOFA), seeks to impede the Warsaw Pact from capitalizing on its numerically superior army forces in Central Europe by attacking some of those forces before they can join the battle. NATO has some capability to implement FOFA today, says OTA, but that capability could be greatly improved if various systems now being developed perform as advertised and if NATO procures them in sufficient numbers.

Although the NATO Allies have agreed on the FOFA concept and on the general guidelines for putting it into force, the debate over implementation has revealed some basic disagreements within NATO. Understanding the debate over FOFA, as analyzed in OTA's report, forms a solid basis for understanding the current Alliance debate over theater nuclear arms control.

Formally adopted in late 1984, FOFA was initially a contentious issue within the Alliance. By early 1987 the controversy had subsided, but not ended. OTA points out that serious questions still remain regarding the role of FOFA within NATO's "Flexible Response" strategy, what is actually to be done by the members of the Alliance to implement FOFA, and whether the technology will really perform as advertised. In addition, FOFA has stimulated thinking about how to produce the next generation of technologically sophisticated weapons, and the future of armaments developments within NATO.

FOFA relies both on sophisticated sensor systems that look deep into enemy territory and find tanks and other targets, and on modern weapons that can kill those targets. While the technology for both these applications is well into development, many

of the systems have yet to be demonstrated, OTA reports. Strong doubts remain about how well they will work under realistic combat situations, and about whether the ultimate performance will justify the cost. Some concerns are: the performance of many sophisticated systems in the presence of countermeasures; the survivability of important airplanes; and overall performance when several sophisticated systems are combined.

The U.S. Army and Air Force are strong believers in the value of FOFA, termed "deep battle" by the Army and "interdiction" by the Air Force. Reservations over how to do it and how much emphasis to give it remain on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly in Europe. Differences exist concerning how deep to strike, what kinds of targets to attack, what to strike with, what priority to give FOFA within NATO's warfighting missions, and whether it is better to attack massively or selectively. Over the past few years there has been significant movement toward consensus, accompanied by a modification of the FOFA concept to fit individual national views, says OTA.

NATO's deterrent strategy presents the Warsaw Pact with the prospect that any attack could escalate to an unacceptable nuclear conflict. Some Europeans fear that FOFA and other conventional force improvements could weaken deterrence by making NATO's conventional forces too strong, leading the Warsaw Pact leadership to think that NATO would keep a conflict conventional and not escalate to nuclear weapons. Indeed, this same reluctance to "conventionalize" a potential conflict and thereby make it more likely lies behind misgivings about drastic reductions in theater nuclear weapons. Those Allies on whose territory a conflict would take place—particularly the Federal Republic of Germany—see the least difference between a nuclear conflict and a highly destructive conventional one, and hence are most reluctant to weaken nuclear deterrence, according to OTA. Additionally, some Europeans argue that FOFA is aggressive, destabilizing, and out of keeping with NATO's posture as a defensive alliance.

Procurement issues—what will be needed to implement FOFA, who will produce it, and how it will be paid for—have assumed major importance within the Alliance, says OTA. Implementing FOFA will mean bringing many new, high technology systems on line. Some will have to be procured in large quantities. Congress will face the issue of how to finance this in an era of little or no increases in defense budgets.

The Europeans are also faced with tight, in some cases declining, defense budgets. They are reluctant to embark on large spending programs, particularly the very large spending programs that could be associated with a conventional build-up to compensate for drastic reductions in nuclear weapons. FOFA is unlikely to require spending on that same scale. The Europeans are concerned not only about how much will have to be spent,

but also about where and how it will be spent. FOFA arrived on the scene concurrently with a number of U.S. equipment developments. This led many Europeans to view FOFA as a U.S.-inspired plan to sell U.S. equipment. But they are unlikely to simply buy many U.S. systems, preferring codevelopment programs that stimulate European technology development as well as American.

OTA is a non-partisan analytical agency that serves the U.S. Congress. Its purpose is to aid Congress in dealing with the complex and often highly technical issues that increasingly confront our society.

Copies of the report, New Technology for NATO: Implementing Follow-On Forces Attack, are available to the public at the U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO), Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402, phone (202) 783-3238. The GPO stock number is 052-003-01063-1. The price is \$10.00. Copies for Congressional use may be obtained by calling the OTA at 49241.

###

CONGRESSIONAL COMMENT

Rep. Les Aspin, (D-Wis.) - Chairman Committee on Armed Services:

"The subject of NATO's conventional defense has been one of enduring concern for the Congress. But this year it has taken on a renewed immediacy as the United States and the Soviets move to reduce nuclear weapons in Europe. OTA's new report, New Technology for NATO: Implementing Follow-On Forces Attack, is very timely and relevant. It examines in detail NATO's major new conventional defense initiative and lays out much of the debate within the Alliance over reliance on, and upgrading of, conventional forces."

Rep. William L. Dickinson (R-Ala.) - Ranking Minority, Committee on Armed Services:

OTA's new report covers an important aspect of NATO's effort to upgrade its defensive posture in Europe. It follows and complements last year's OTA report which has received respect and praise from senior defense officials here and in Europe."

For Further Information Contact:
Dave Barton 225-5244
Chris Kojm 225-3345

Committee on Foreign Affairs

PASCELL AND HAMILITON ANNOUNCE RELEASE OF OTA STUDY ON NEW TECHNOLOGY FOR NATO

Dante B. Fascell (D-F1) and Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind) announced the release of an Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) study entitled: "New Technology for NATO: Implementing Follow-On Forces Attack."

Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security, and Science of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, noted: "This study makes an important contribution to the debate within NATO and will help Congress, the Administration, and our allies make informed decisions about the contribution new technology can make to NATO's military forces." Hamilton, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, added, "This study takes a careful look at the apparent conventional imbalance of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. It assesses NATO's strengths and weaknesses and what new technology in NATO can do to compensate for any imbalance."

Fascell commented further about the current debate in Europe: "NATO countries are still handling the political repercussions of the 1983 decision on the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles to counter the Soviet SS-20s, and now they are dealing with the zero option proposal to match the Soviet withdrawal offer. NATO is surviving this political turnoil very well, but it has fueled a debate about NATO's conventional capabilities and policy."

The OTA study shows that NATO has done some homework on how to compensate for the numerical military imbalance in Europe by using the superiority the Alliance enjoys in new technology.

As Fascell observed, "What the report is saying also has relevance to other military and political issues in the alliance. The report indicates that NATO's use of new technology to implement the Follow-On Forces Attack (FOFA) strategy has the makings of a success story if our country and our NATO allies are willing to push themselves hard to cooperate and contribute significantly to a common defense effort on the conventional side. That takes trust, respect, and steadfastness of purpose, both to fund necessary military programs and to foster effective political decisionmaking."

Fascell and Hamilton concluded: "We welcome this report as an important contribution to a larger effort which should be made to reassess the strengths and weaknessess of our NATO alliance and set a firm positive course for the future."

Fascell and Hamilton also announced that General Bernard W. Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, is expected to appear with the Office of Technology Assessment at a joint subcommittee hearing planned for mid-July. The hearing will focus on new technology for NATO, NATO's conventional and nuclear defense, and the implications of an INF agreement for NATO defense planning.

Copies of the study are available from the Press Office, Office of Technology Assessment, 600 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E., Fifth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20003, Phone 226-2115.

NEW TECHNOLOGY FOR

IMPLEMENTING FOLLOW-ON FORCES ATTACK



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