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ALL NATO CAPITALS  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
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EXDIS

DECAPTIONED

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 11/29/99 (BENNETT, W. TAPLEY) OR-M  
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MNUC, NPG, MPOL  
SUBJECT: (S) TNF MODERNIZATION -- DETAILED REPORT OF  
DISCUSSIONS ON IDD AT 28 NOVEMBER SESSION OF  
REINFORCED PERMREPS

REFS: (A) STATE 305363, DTG 242225Z NOV 79  
(B) COPENHAGEN 7201, DTG 271601Z NOV 79  
(C) USNATO 8275, DTG 281914Z NOV 79

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)
2. THERE FOLLOWS BELOW A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE  
28 NOVEMBER 1979 MEETING OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES

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OF THE NATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE WORK OF THE NUCLEAR  
PLANNING GROUP'S HIGH LEVEL GROUP, WHICH DEALT WITH  
LONG-RANGE THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE (LRTNF) MODERNIZATION,  
AND THE SPECIAL GROUP ON ARMS CONTROL INVOLVING TNF.  
THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE  
INTEGRATED DECISION DOCUMENT, REF A. A SUMMARY OF THE  
MEETING WAS TRANSMITTED IN REF C. THE FULL TEXTS OF  
STATEMENTS BY AARON, ROSE AND HOLST ARE CONTAINED IN  
PARAGRAPHS 25-27.

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3. SYG LUNS OPENED THE MEETING STATING THAT HE HOPED AT THE CONCLUSION TO BE ABLE TO SEND THE IDD/COMMUNIQUE WITH THE SUPPORTING HLG AND SG REPORTS TO MINISTERS VIA A PO. THESE WOULD INFORM MINISTERS OF ALL RELEVANT FACTS.

LUNS ALSO STATED HE WOULD CIRCULATE A PO OUTLINING THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE COMBINED MEETING OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN MINISTERS ON 12 DECEMBER.

4. SVART (DENMARK) OPENED BY RECALLING HIS COMMENTS ON 6 NOVEMBER ON THE INTERNAL AND PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW THAT DENMARK WOULD BE GIVING LRTNF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THE ALLIANCE HAD BEEN WARNED OF THE POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE IN THE DANISH POSITION. HE THEN EXPLAINED THE DANISH PROPOSAL AND, ON INSTRUCTIONS, REQUESTED ITS CONSIDERATION. THE PROPOSAL WAS OUTLINED ON FAMILIAR GROUNDS, I.E., THAT NATO SHOULD POSTPONE ITS TNF DECISION FOR SIX MONTHS DURING WHICH TIME THE SOVIETS SHOULD "INSTANTLY" STOP SS-20 AND BACKFIRE PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIETS MUST DECLARE THEMSELVES READY TO ENTER INTO TALKS ON A FREEZE ON SOVIET LRTNF AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR FURTHER REDUCTION OF WEAPONS ON

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BOTH SIDES. IF THE SOVIETS DID NOT PROVE RESPONSIVE TO THE NATO MOVE, A TNF DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN ALONG THE LINES OF THE CURRENT ALLIANCE PROPOSAL. ANY ALLIANCE PROPOSAL SHOULD, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE ARMS CONTROL ASPECTS.

SVART FURTHER COMMENDED THE DANISH PROPOSAL AS TIME-LIMITED AND STATED THAT IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE ALLIANCE STRENGTH BY ITS WILLINGNESS TO STRIVE FOR DETENTE. OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS, THIS PROPOSAL COMBINED WITH MOVES IN MBFR, PREPARATIONS FOR MADRID AND CDE WOULD POSITIVELY AFFECT ARMS CONTROL.

AFTER REVIEWING THE RESULTS OF THE DANISH PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON 27 NOVEMBER ALONG THE LINES OF REF B, SVART CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT HE COULD NOT ADDRESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE IDD/COMMUNIQUE.

5. PRESIDENTIAL REPRESENTATIVE AARON EXPRESSED HIS PLEASURE AT RETURNING TO BRUSSELS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF LRTNF MODERNIZATION AND NOTED PRESIDENT CARTER'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE ALLIANCE WOULD SOON BE TAKING A CRUCIAL AND HISTORIC STEP. AARON STATED THAT THE COMBINED DECISIONS TO MODERNIZE TNF AND TO INCLUDE TNF IN OUR ARMS CONTROL AGENDA WILL SHOW THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS A VITAL, COURAGEOUS INSTITUTION.

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AFTER BRIEFLY REVIEWING THE PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND OF THE IDD, AARON REPEATED THE COMPLEMENTARITY OF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL: THERE CAN BE NO ARMS CONTROL WITHOUT A MODERNIZATION DECISION BUT WITH SUCH A DECISION, CONCRETE ARMS CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH REDUCE THE SOVIET THREAT CAN REDUCE ALLIANCE TNF

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REQUIREMENTS.

AARON STATED THAT "TWO DAYS AFTER THE DECEMBER 12 TNF DECISIONS," THE NAC WILL PROBABLY PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE ARMS CONTROL PROGRAM WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL INCLUDE THE THRUST OF THE NEW MBFR PROPOSAL. SUCH A PRESENTATION IN COMBINATION WITH A DECISION TO WITHDRAW 1,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS WOULD DEMONSTRATE A MAJOR EFFORT TO ENGAGE THE EAST IN SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL. THIS WILL PROVIDE THE ALLIANCE RESPONSE TO RECENT EASTERN PROPOSALS.

AARON NOTED THAT WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. STILL, THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO INTERFERE IN ALLIANCE DECISIONS ON STEPS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE NECESSARY BY SOVIET DEPLOYMENT ACTIONS.

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REPORTING ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET

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SS-20 FORCE, AARON STATED THAT ANOTHER BASE HAD BEEN DISCOVERED BRINGING THE TOTAL OF SS-20 BASES EITHER OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION TO 23. THIS WOULD EQUATE TO A SOVIET SS-20 FORCE OF 621 WARHEADS -- A NUMBER EXCEEDING THE TOTAL NATO-PROPOSED LRTNF FORCE WITHOUT COUNTING THE HUNDREDS OF SOVIET SS-4/5'S AND MEDIUM BOMBERS.

FIRMLY REJECTING THE DANISH PROPOSAL, AARON STATED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIANCE TO TAKE DECISIONS DEMONSTRATING THAT NATO WILL NOT BOW TO THREATS OR BE TEMPTED BY VAGUE INEQUITABLE PROPOSALS. HE CONCLUDED BY CITING THE HARMEL REPORT WHICH DEDICATED THE ALLIANCE TO PURSUING DEFENSE AND DETENTE AND HOPED THAT NATO WOULD HAVE THE COURAGE TO MATCH ITS WISDOM IN TAKING A DECISION ON TNF MODERNIZATION/ARMS CONTROL WHICH EMBRACES BOTH PRINCIPLES.  
(FULL TEXT OF AARON'S REMARKS ARE AT PARAGRAPH 25.)

SEPARATELY LUNS SUGGESTED THAT THE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE 621 SOVIET SS-20 WARHEADS WOULD BE USEFUL IF IT COULD BE MADE PUBLIC AND REQUESTED AARON'S COMMENT. AARON PROMISED TO RESPOND TO THE REQUEST AND HOPED HE WOULD BE ABLE TO REPLY BEFORE THE FIGURE WAS LEAKED.

6. ROSE (UK) STATED STRONGLY THAT POSITIVE DECISIONS ON LRTNF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL SHOULD BE TAKEN IN DECEMBER. IT IS OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY THAT MODERNIZATION BEGIN WITHOUT DELAY AND THAT IN PARALLEL THE SOVIETS BE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIETS HOWEVER WILL NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ONLY IF FACED BY REAL DETERMINATION BY THE ALLIANCE. WITHOUT MODERNIZATION, ROSE ASKED "WHAT ARE WE GOING TO

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BARGAIN WITH?"

COMMENTING ON THE DUTCH POSITION OF A LIMITED PRODUCTION DECISION LEAVING A DEPLOYMENT DECISION UNTIL LATER, HE LABELED SUCH A POSTURE "WHOLLY INEFFECTIVE" IN PROVIDING THE NECESSARY EVIDENCE OF DETERMINATION. INSTEAD, THE SOVIETS WOULD DRAG OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS, CONTINUE THEIR BUILD-UP AND INCREASE THE IMBALANCE.

REGARDING THE DANISH PROPOSAL, ROSE CHARACTERIZED IT AS "IMPRACTICAL" WITH MAJOR DISADVANTAGES FOR THE ALLIANCE IN MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ARMS CONTROL TERMS. HE SUGGESTED THAT PUTTING OFF DECISIONS FOR SIX MONTHS WOULD CAST DOUBT ON THE ALLIANCE'S ABILITY TO TAKE DIFFICULT DECISIONS AND GIVE THE IMPRESSION WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO MEET OUR MUCH PUBLICIZED, SELF-SET MILITARY TARGETS. MOREOVER, NATO'S FAILURE TO TAKE THESE DECISIONS WOULD BE CREDITED TO SOVIET PRESSURE/PROPAGANDA.

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ROSE ALSO BELIEVED THAT DELAY WOULD DAMAGE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS CONTROL AND INTRODUCE A NEW ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY INTO THE SALT II RATIFICATION DEBATE. HE COMMENTED THAT INDECISION NOW WOULD SUGGEST TO THE US THAT EUROPEANS WERE RELUCTANT TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR SELF DEFENSE AND THIS COULD ONLY BE HARMFUL TO INTRA-ALLIANCE RELATIONS. ADDITIONALLY, HOWEVER, DELAY WOULD COST THE ALLIANCE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEIZE THE ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE BY PRESENTING A PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS IN PARALLEL WITH THE MODERNIZATION. DELAY WOULD PRESUMABLY AFFECT THE US PROPOSAL TO WITHDRAW 1,000 WARHEADS AND RADICALLY CHANGE THE CONTEXT FOR CONSIDERING AN INTERIM PHASE I PROPOSAL IN MBFR.

EXAMINING THE NEGOTIABILITY OF THE DANISH

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PROPOSAL, ROSE FOUND "LITTLE POSSIBILITY" OF ACHIEVING POSITIVE RESULTS WITHIN SIX MONTHS. HE SUGGESTED THAT EVEN WITH A FREEZE THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE FROZEN INTO INFERIORITY. THAT WOULD NOT BE A SATISFACTORY BASIS FOR SECURING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO LIMITATIONS OR REDUCTIONS. ROSE NOTED THE QUESTIONS OF SOVIET ADHERENCE TO ANY FREEZE AND WHEN WITHIN THE SIX MONTH PERIOD IT MIGHT BEGIN. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT A SOVIET FREEZE WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT ON VERIFICATION MEASURES AND A COMMON DATA BASE WOULD BE OF LITTLE VALUE. SALT AND MBFR

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EXPERIENCE SUGGEST THAT SUCH COMPLICATED ISSUES COULD NOT BE SOLVED IN SIX MONTHS.

CONSEQUENTLY, ROSE CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS NO

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SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE FOR PARALLEL DECEMBER DECISIONS ON TNF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL AND THAT THE IDD PROVIDES A SATISFACTORY BASIS FOR MINISTERIAL DECISION.

(FULL TEXT OF ROSE'S STATEMENT IS AT PARAGRAPH 26.)

7. PAULS (FRG) RECALLED HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE IDD AT THE 6 NOVEMBER MEETING AND STATED THAT THE PRESENT VERSION REFLECTS THE 6 NOVEMBER DISCUSSIONS. HE WENT ON TO NOTE WITH APPROVAL THE NEW ELEMENT -- THE AMERICAN WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW 1,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS FROM EUROPE IN CONNECTION WITH DECEMBER DECISIONS, BUT ONLY IF THERE ARE POSITIVE DECEMBER DECISIONS. PAULS AGREED WITHOUT RESERVATION TO THE IDD, TOGETHER WITH THE HLG AND SG REPORTS AS THE BASIS FOR DECISION BY MINISTERS ON 12 DECEMBER.

SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, PAULS NOTED THAT THE DECEMBER DECISION ON TNF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL IS OF "FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE" FOR ALLIANCE POSITIONS ON DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE AND AN "ESSENTIAL EXPRESSION" OF NATO'S COHERENCE, SOLIDARITY AND ABILITY TO ACT. LIKEWISE, THE ABSENCE OF A DECISION WOULD ILLUSTRATE LESS COHERENCE, WEAKENED SOLIDARITY AND INABILITY TO ACT.

PAULS NOTED THAT THE DECEMBER DECISIONS HAVE BEEN PRECEDED BY EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE ENDED IN FAR-REACHING CONSENSUS. CONSEQUENTLY, HESITATIONS OR ATTEMPTS TO MODIFY/CANCEL THE CONSENSUS WOULD DO VERY SERIOUS DAMAGE TO ALLIANCE COHESION AND SECURITY. TO MAKE SUCH MOVES AT THE HEIGHT OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA PRESSURE WOULD CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIANCE IS SENSITIVE TO SUCH PRESSURE IF THE INTERFERENCE IS MASSIVE ENOUGH.

IN AN EXTENDED REVIEW OF THE RECENT TALKS WITH

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GROMYKO, PAULS CITED ONE ELEMENT OF THE FRG/USSR JOINT COMMUNIQUE AS FOLLOWS:

"THE TALKS ABOUT TOPICAL PROBLEMS WERE CONCENTRATED ON THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. BOTH SIDES REAFFIRM THAT THEY SEE NO REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE POLICY OF DETENTE. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR

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DETERMINATION TO EXPAND AND TO INTENSIFY THE  
PROCESS OF DETENTE AND TO MAKE IT PERMANENT.  
IN THIS CONTEXT, BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED THE UNANI-  
MOUS VIEW THAT THE PREPARATION OF CONCRETE STEPS  
IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL  
SHOULD BE SPEEDED UP."

PAULS NOTED EXPECTED DIFFERENCES OF OPINION DURING  
THE TALKS ON TNF MODERNIZATION AND ASSUMED THAT THE  
SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO CRITICIZE THE PLANNED ALLIANCE  
DECISION BUT ALSO EXPECT THAT THE DECISION WILL BE  
TAKEN. IN REGARD TO GROMYKO'S STATEMENT THAT THERE  
WOULD BE NO NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MATTER ONCE THE ALLIES  
HAD ADOPTED THE DECISION ON LRTNF MODERNIZATION, PAULS  
COMMENTED THAT:

-- SUCH A STATEMENT WAS NOT MADE IN THE OFFICIAL TALKS  
WITH THE FRG;

-- AN INTERPRETATION THAT THERE WOULD BE NO POSSIBILITY  
OF NEGOTIATIONS AFTER A DECEMBER DECISION ON LRTNF  
WOULD BE UNJUSTIFIED AS THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE (CONFIRMED



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AFTER THE GROMYKO PRESS CONFERENCE) EXPLICITLY UNDER-  
LINES THE CONTINUATION OF DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT  
NEGOTIATIONS;



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-- SUCH AN INTERPRETATION WOULD CONFLICT WITH OTHER SOVIET STATEMENTS WHICH APPARENTLY ASSUME THAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE POSSIBLE AFTER THE DECEMBER DECISION;

-- IN HIS BONN DISCUSSIONS, GROMYKO REFERRED TO THE BREZHNEV SPEECH PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTIONS IN MEDIUM RANGE SYSTEMS IF NATO DID NOT MAKE A TNF MODERNIZATION DECISION. AS CONFIRMED BY SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH GROMYKO, THE FRG CONCLUDED THAT IT IS THIS

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SPECIFIC SOVIET PROPOSAL WHICH WILL BE TERMINATED BY AN ALLIANCE TNF DECISION RATHER THAN THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS FOR TNF ARMS CONTROL.

PAULS CONSEQUENTLY JUDGED THAT THE ALLIANCE'S CURRENT EFFORTS OF INTENSIFICATION OF ARMS CONTROL POLICY IS ALONG THE RIGHT LINES AND THAT WE CAN ASSUME THAT THERE WILL BE NEGOTIATIONS IN ALL FIELDS EVEN AFTER THE ALLIANCE HAS TAKEN DECISIONS IN DECEMBER.

WITH CONSIDERABLE PASSION, PAULS STATED THAT MODIFICATION OR POSTPONEMENT OF THE ALLIANCE TNF DECISION WOULD HARM TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION. HE NOTED THAT IF THE ALLIANCE DID NOT MAKE THE TNF MODERNIZATION DECISION, AMERICANS COULD CONCLUDE THAT EUROPEANS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN DEFENDING EUROPE. CONSEQUENTLY, PAULS CONCLUDED THE ALLIANCE WAS APPROACHING AN HISTORIC MOMENT WITH MUCH MORE AT STAKE THAN MODERNIZING WARHEADS BUT RATHER ITS VERY EXISTENCE.

8. CATALANO (ITALY) STATED THAT ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALFATI HAS EMPHASIZED THAT A BALANCE OF FORCES IS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR REAL ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT PROGRESS. HISTORICALLY, MILITARY ASYMMETRIES HAVE LED TO ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT THE IMBALANCE AND THUS HAVE BEEN DESTABILIZING. THE CURRENT EMERGING IMBALANCE THUS PROVIDES THE BACKGROUND FOR NATO'S DECISIONS, AND UNDERSCORES THE NEED FOR REAL PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. CATALANO PRAISED THE WORK OF THE HLG AND THE SG IN PROVIDING AN EFFECTIVE BASIS FOR THE DECISION, AND AS REFLECTING AN EXPRESSION OF A COMMON ALLIANCE EFFORT. THE IDD ADEQUATELY TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THIS COMMON WORK AND STRIKES A SOUND BALANCE BETWEEN

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TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO FORM A SUITABLE BASIS FOR MINISTERIAL DECISION. HE ADDED THAT THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO IS ADEQUATE FOR INFORMING PUBLICS. CATALANO THEN STATED THAT, SINCE THE COMMUNIQUE CONVEYS SUCH A SENSITIVE MESSAGE, HIS AUTHORITIES DID NOT YET CONSIDER THE TEXT TO BE FINAL. CATALANO THEN CIRCULATED SEVERAL MINOR CHANGES FOR CONSIDERATION. SUBSEQUENTLY, TWO MINOR WORDING CHANGES WERE ACCEPTED, AS RECOUNTED IN SUMMARY MESSAGE (REF C).

CATALANO THEN TURNED TO THE DANISH PROPOSAL, REMINDING THE GROUP THAT HIS GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS SEVERAL OTHERS, HAS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED TO THE SOVIET UNION A CLEAR DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE ON NUCLEAR MATTERS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER ACCEPTED THESE PROPOSALS IN ANY SATISFACTORY WAY. THEREFORE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE WHY NATO NOW SHOULD POSTPONE ITS DECISION, WHEN TO PROCEED WOULD PROVIDE TO THE SOVIETS A POSITIVE INCENTIVE TO NEGOTIATE. IN ANY CASE, IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE, DURING A SIX-MONTH POSTPONEMENT, TO NEGOTIATE SUFFICIENTLY MEANINGFUL RESULTS AS TO PRECLUDE THE NEED TO MODERNIZE THE LRTNF. FINALLY, IT WOULD NOT BE ANY EASIER TO REACH A MODERNIZATION DECISION AFTER A POST-PONEMENT. RATHER, A MODERNIZATION DECISION THEN WOULD TAKE ON A NEW CHARACTER AND MEANING, PERHAPS FORECLOSING ANY FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

9. SCHUURMANS (BELGIUM), IN A BRIEF INTERVENTION, STATED THAT HE WAS AUTHORIZED, "ON A TECHNICAL PLANE," TO ACCEPT THE IDD FOR FORWARDING TO MINISTERS. HE

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SAID THAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET TAKEN A FIRM DECISION, SO ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDD SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A FIRM GOVERNMENT POSITION ON BASING. SCHUURMANS EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE DANISH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT CONSULTED OTHERS BEFORE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCING ITS PROPOSAL, AND SAID THE DANISH POSITION WILL CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR OTHER ALLIES. SCHUURMANS CONCLUDED BY SUPPORTING THE ITALIAN VIEW THAT THE IDD COMMUNIQUE'S TEXT NOT YET BE CONSIDERED AS FINAL.

10. STATE SECRETARY HOLST SPOKE FOR NORWAY, EMPHASIZING THAT NORWAY'S BASIC POLICY OF NOT STATIONING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS NOT AFFECTED. DURING FINAL REVIEW OF ITS POSITION, HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE PARTICULAR WEIGHT

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TO THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THOSE NATIONS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED, I.E., THOSE WHICH WILL BASE THE LRTNF. NORWAY PLACES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE ON NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE PURPOSE OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EQUILIBRIUM AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE FORCE LEVEL.

THE URGENCY OF ESTABLISHING AN EQUILIBRIUM IS UNDERScoreD BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE US THAT THE PROJECTED NUMBER OF SS-20 WARHEADS EXCEEDS THE NATO PROGRAM UNDER CONSIDERATION. NORWAY BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE IN AN ALLIANCE ARMS CONTROL PACKAGE THE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF 1,000 US NUCLEAR WARHEADS, AGAIN, THE SOONER THE BETTER. NORWAY ALSO HOPES THAT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED SPEEDILY ON A NEW FIRST-PHASE MBFR OFFER, SO THAT IT MAY BECOME PART OF A VIGOROUS AND BROAD ALLIANCE DECLARATION ON ARMS CONTROL IN DECEMBER.

NORWAY WILL REACH ITS FINAL DECISION THROUGH CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES, PROBABLY DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF DECEMBER. CONSEQUENTLY, HOLST SAID, HE WOULD RESTRICT HIS COMMENTS TODAY TO GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. THE IDD'S COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE ASSESSED IN POLITICAL TERMS, SINCE IT WILL BE THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE PRESENTATION BY THE ALLIANCE ON MODERNIZATION AND THE OFFER TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT CONTINENTAL WEAPONS. THE PRESENT DRAFT IS TOO TECHNICAL, DESIGNED MORE FOR EXPERTS THAN FOR THE PUBLIC, YET THE PUBLIC IS THE REAL TARGET. THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE A POLITICAL "PLATFORM", FROM

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WHICH GOVERNMENTS MAY EXPLAIN THE ALLIANCE DECISION,  
AND THEREFORE MUST EXPLAIN FULLY THE ALLIANCE'S POLITICAL  
RATIONALE. HOLST DID NOT PROPOSE ANY CHANGES TO THE  
COMMUNIQUE, BUT STATED THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A

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CREDIBLE ALIGNMENT OF THE DECISION TO MODERNIZE AND  
THE OFFER TO NEGOTIATE. TO BE SPECIFIC, HE SAID, THE  
IDEA THAT THE SCALE OF THE EVENTUAL DEPLOYMENT WILL  
NEED TO BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF  
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN A SALIENT PRESENTATION IN  
THE COMMUNIQUE. ALLIES ALSO SHOULD PAY CLOSE ATTENTION  
TO THIS POINT IN THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF THE  
DECISIONS AFTER THE MEETING ON 12 DECEMBER.

11. BARKMAN (NETHERLANDS), NOTING THAT THE NETHERLANDS  
HAS NOT YET TAKEN A DECISION, STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT  
DID NOT SHARE DENMARK'S VIEW OF POSTPONING A DECISION  
IN DECEMBER. BARKMAN STATED THAT THE DUTCH DECISION  
WILL DEPEND ON THE DEGREE TO WHICH EMPHASIS IS PLACED  
ON THE NEED TO REDUCE THE ROLE OF AND THE ALLIANCE'S  
DEPENDENCE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE AGAIN ADVANCED THE  
NETHERLANDS' DESIRE TO SEPARATE PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT  
DECISIONS, WITH THE DEPLOYMENT DECISION COMING AFTER  
REVIEWING THE RESULTS OF ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES. HE  
SAID THAT IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR DESIRE TO REDUCE THE  
ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HIS GOVERNMENT HAD "GREAT  
DIFFICULTY" WITH THE NUMBER OF 572 WARHEADS. EVERYONE  
AGREES THAT THE NUMBER IS A JUDGMENT RATHER THAN A  
PRECISE CALCULATION. THE ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT START INTO  
NEGOTIATIONS ON A "WORST CASE" BASIS -- THE POINT OF  
DEPARTURE SHOULD BE A NUMBER LOWER THAN THE RECOMMENDED  
572, TO SIGNAL EXPLICITLY THE POSSIBILITY OF REDUCTIONS,  
WHILE RETAINING THE OPTION TO GO HIGHER IF A SUITABLE  
RESPONSE IS NOT RECEIVED. ONE ADVANTAGE TO A LOWER  
LRTNF NUMBER IS THAT PERSHING 1A WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE

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-----032868 292029Z /64

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USMISSION USBERLIN  
ALL NATO CAPITALS  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GER

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EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

REPLACED ON A ONE-TO-ONE BASIS AND OPTION III WOULD  
REMAIN. HE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE NETHERLANDS  
THAT OPTION III NOT BE UNILATERALLY WITHDRAWN FROM MBFR.

BARKMAN THEN CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING REVISION TO  
PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE IDD, AND REQUESTED THAT IT  
BE PLACED IN BRACKETS. SYG LUNS REJECTED PUTTING  
THE PROPOSAL INTO THE IDD IN BRACKETS, BUT AGREED TO  
CIRCULATE THE REWORDING FORMALLY BUT SEPARATELY SO THAT  
IT WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR CONSIDERATION IN DECEMBER.

NETHERLANDS' PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 15  
OF INTEGRATIVE DECISION DOCUMENT.

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"MINISTERS AGREED THAT NATO'S LRTNF MODERNIZATION  
GOALS CAN BEST BE MET BY A DECISION ON THE PRODUCTION  
OF A LIMITED NUMBER OF LAND-BASED PERSHING TWO BALLISTIC  
MISSILES AND GROUND LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES (GLCM)  
RESPECTIVELY; THE DEPLOYMENT WOULD BE MADE DEPENDENT  
ON THE RESULTS OF ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. THE  
ACTUAL NUMBER TO BE DEPLOYED WILL HAVE TO BE ESTABLISHED  
ON THE BASIS OF A COMMON ALLIED EVALUATION OF THE  
OUTCOME OF ARMS CONTROL."

BARKMAN SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF MAKING PUBLIC THE  
NEW PROJECTION OF A TOTAL OF 621 SS-20 WARHEADS. HE  
ALSO REFERRED TO PARAGRAPH 21 OF THE IDD, SUGGESTING  
THAT THE HIGH LEVEL GROUP SHOULD UNDERTAKE THE "SHIFT  
STUDY" WHEN DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN DECEMBER.  
BARKMAN CONCLUDED BY SUPPORTING NORWAY'S CALL FOR  
A MORE COMPREHENSIVE TREATMENT IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE  
POSSIBILITY OF DOWNWARD ADJUSTMENT OF NATO'S NUMBER.

12. SYG LUNS SUGGESTED THAT THERE WAS A CONTRADICTION  
IN THE NETHERLANDS' POSITION. IF IN THE FUTURE, ARMS

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CONTROL RESULTS MAKE POSSIBLE A REDUCTION IN THE ALLIANCE'S PLANNED DEPLOYMENT, CERTAINLY ALL ALLIES WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISION TO DO SO. WHY, THEN, SHOULD THE ALLIANCE NOT WAIT UNTIL THEN TO DECIDE ON A REDUCED PROGRAM, RATHER THAN NOW, WHEN THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SUCH A DECISION.

13. ZEINER GUNDERSEN (CMC) STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE APPROACH SET OUT IN THE IDD, AND REITERATED THAT, FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, THE MODERNIZATION DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN THIS YEAR. ZEINER GUNDERSEN STATED HIS OPPOSITION TO ANY REDUCTION IN THE PROPOSED MODERNIZATION

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PACKAGE.

14. HARDY (CANADA) AGREED THAT THE IDD FORMS A SUITABLE BASIS FOR DECEMBER DECISIONS. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT THE IDD AND ITS COMMUNIQUE FOR REFERRAL TO MINISTERS. CANADA, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THE NEED TO DECIDE ON BOTH PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT IN DECEMBER. WITH RESPECT TO THE DANISH PROPOSAL, HARDY STATED HE UNDERSTOOD THE PREDICAMENT FACING DANISH LEADERS, BUT FOR THE ALLIANCE TO DELAY DECISION NOW WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY THE EAST AND BY FRIENDS ALIKE AS WEAKNESS, UNDERMINING THE COHESIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE.

15. WURTH (LUXEMBOURG) AND DE VILLAS-BOAS (PORTUGAL) SPOKE BRIEFLY IN SUPPORT OF THE IDD.

16. ATHANASSIOU (GREECE), REFERRING TO HIS STATEMENT AT THE 6 NOVEMBER PERMREPS MEETING, STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT FINDS THE IDD A PERFECTLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR THE ALLIANCE TO TAKE DECISIONS IN TWO WEEKS ON MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WILL JOIN THE ALLIANCE DECISION WITHOUT RESERVATION. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, HE AGREED WITH ITALY AND BELGIUM IN LEAVING OPEN THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE UNTIL A TIME CLOSER TO THE ACTUAL DECISION. ATHANASSIOU CIRCULATED A RECOMMENDATION TO CHANGE PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE COMMUNIQUE TO DELETE THE LAST PHRASE "WHICH MINISTERS ALL PLEDGED THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT." ENCOUNTERING NO SUPPORT AND US AND TURKISH RESISTANCE, HE SUBSEQUENTLY WITHDREW HIS RECOMMENDATION.

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
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MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

17. OLCAY (TURKEY) STATED THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD NO DIFFICULTY WITH THE IDD, FINAL DECISIONS WOULD BE TAKEN ON DECEMBER 12. HE ADDED THAT THE COMMUNIQUE WORDING SHOULD BE LEFT OPEN UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT AND SHARED THE NORWEGIAN VIEW THAT THE STYLE WAS TOO "HIGH-BROW," TOO EXPERTLY WORDED FOR THE LAYMAN.

18. BJORNSSON (ICELAND) SAID THAT THE ICELANDIC POSITION WAS AS STATED AT THE NOVEMBER 6 MEETING. HE ACCEPTED THE IDD AS A BASIS FOR FINAL ACTION BY MINISTERS NEXT MONTH.

19.  SYG LUNS, SUMMING UP BEFORE A SHORT BREAK,

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EMPHATICALLY ASSERTED THAT IT WAS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT THERE BE A CONSENSUS ON THE MESSAGE THE OTHER ALLIES CONVEY TO THE US ABOUT LRTNF PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT; THAT THE US HAD ASKED THAT THERE BE SUCH A CONSENSUS. HOWEVER, HE STRONGLY EMPHASIZED, THE DECISION ON PRODUCTION REMAINS AN AMERICAN DECISION. LUNS ADDED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM RELIABLE SOURCES THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON LRTNF ARMS CONTROL EVEN IF THE ALLIANCE DECIDES ON MODERNIZATION.

20. THE MEETING RESUMED WITH AARON RESPONDING TO ALLIES' COMMENTS AND



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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGES TO THE IDD. HE SAID IT WAS VERY GRATIFYING TO GET SUCH WIDESPREAD AND GENERAL SUPPORT. HE STATED THAT WHILE THE US SAW NO NEED FOR CHANGES TO THE IDD AFTER THIS MEETING, OF COURSE IT WAS THE PREROGATIVE OF MINISTERS TO DO SO IF THEY SO DECIDED ON DECEMBER 12. AARON ACCEPTED WITH APPRECIATION THE SYG'S SUGGESTION ON HANDLING THE NETHERLANDS RECOMMENDED CHANGE TO PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE IDD.

AARON WENT ON TO MAKE A STRONG STATEMENT IN REBUTTAL TO THE NETHERLANDS POSITION:

-- THE EMERGING ALLIANCE CONSENSUS IN FACT MEETS THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS' POSITION. THE ULTIMATE SCALE OF DEPLOYMENTS WILL DEPEND ON ARMS CONTROL RESULTS. IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT IF WE SUCCEED IN REDUCING THE SOVIET THREAT WE CAN REDUCE OUR REQUIREMENTS.

-- THE FORMULA CHOSEN BY THE DUTCH TO GIVE EFFECT TO

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THEIR POSITION, THAT ONE CAN AND SHOULD SEPARATE PRODUCTION FROM DEPLOYMENT DECISIONS IS ARTIFICIAL AND SIMPLY NOT FEASIBLE.

-- THE US HAS BEEN AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO ALL ITS ALLIES' POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS.

-- THE US ALSO IS A DEMOCRACY AND HAS POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS. WE CANNOT ASK CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE FUNDS FOR PRODUCTION WITHOUT A DECISION TO DEPLOY -- IT'S SIMPLY A NONSTARTER.

-- IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ANY PARLIAMENT IN THE ALLIANCE, CERTAINLY NOT THE US CONGRESS, WOULD TAKE SUCH AN ACTION.

21. RESPONDING, BARKMAN ACKNOWLEDGED THE ELEMENTS OF REALISM IN AARON'S INTERVENTION. HE THEN ADDED AS FURTHER RATIONALE FOR THE DUTCH POSITION, THAT SINCE THE WEAPONS WERE INTENDED AS A DETERRENT, THE DECISION TO PRODUCE ALONE WOULD BE A KIND OF DETERRENT AS THE POSSIBILITY OF SUBSEQUENT DEPLOYMENT COULD THEN BE HELD OVER THE SOVIET UNION'S HEAD.

22. CATALANO (ITALY), SUPPORTED AARON'S REBUTTAL TO THE DUTCH. PAULS (FRG) ALSO COMMENTED ON THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. HE SAID THE NUMBER 572 WAS KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC, AS WAS NATO'S PROPOSAL TO PRODUCE AND DEPLOY

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MODERNIZED LRTNF WEAPONS. IF NOW THE ALLIANCE REDUCED  
THE NUMBERS AND DECIDED ON PRODUCTION AND NOT DEPLOYMENT,

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-----032937 292043Z /46

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4447  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

IT WOULD CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIANCE HAD  
MODIFIED ITS POSITION UNDER THE IMPACT OF SOVIET  
PRESSURE WHICH IN TURN WOULD WEAKEN THE ALLIANCE'S  
POSITION IN THE FORTHCOMING ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS  
WITH THE SOVIETS. PAULS ADDED THAT THE KREMLIN COULD  
PLAY ON TIME IF THE NATO DECISION WERE CURTAILED;  
THEREFORE, THE DUTCH PROPOSAL IN FACT WEAKENED THE  
ALLIANCE POSITION.

23. SYG LUNS REMINDED THE PERMREPS THAT SECRETARY  
BROWN HAD CLEARLY SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THE  
SENATE AND HOUSE TO VOTE FUNDS FOR LRTNF WITHOUT  
EUROPEAN ACCEPTANCE OF DEPLOYMENTS. HOLST (NORWAY)  
THEN RECAPITULATED WHAT HE SAW AS THE FOUR MOST

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SALIENT ISSUES IN THE LRTNF DECISION PROCESS:

(1) IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE STRUCTURE THE DECISION  
PROCESS SO THAT IT WILL CONTAIN BUT ONE SALIENT DECISION  
POINT. IF WE CREATE MORE WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN



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THE POLITICAL QUIET AND CONSENSUS WE NEED IN ORDER TO PURSUE CREDIBLE NEGOTIATIONS.

(2) WE MUST ACCEPT THAT THE DECISION ON PRODUCTION IS ESSENTIALLY AN AMERICAN DECISION.

(3) AN AMERICAN DECISION ON PRODUCTION DOES, WE ARE TOLD, PRESUPPOSE AN EXPRESSED EUROPEAN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT DEPLOYMENT.

(4) WITH A DECISION ON DEPLOYMENT, NEGOTIATIONS COULD PRODUCE AN OUTCOME WHEREUNDER THE SCALE OF NATO'S TNF DEPLOYMENT COULD BE RECONSIDERED. IT IS OUR OBJECTIVE TO BRING ABOUT THAT SITUATION. THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED WITH RESPECT TO ABM UNDER SALT I. WE HAVE TO PRODUCE OUR DECISIONS IN A MANNER WHICH WILL PROVIDE THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE MAXIMUM INCENTIVE TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY WITH A VIEW TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON AN EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL.

24. SYG LUNS READ A PROPOSED PARAGRAPH TO BE USED AS PRESS GUIDANCE RELATING TO THE MEETING. AFTER A SHORT DISCUSSION, THE FOLLOWING TWO PASSAGES WERE APPROVED AS PRESS GUIDANCE:

- A. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THOSE MEMBERS CONCERNED, REINFORCED BY SENIOR OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS, MET ON NOVEMBER 28 TO CONSIDER FURTHER THE QUESTIONS

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OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL. THEY REVIEWED THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HIGH LEVEL GROUP AND THE SPECIAL GROUP, IN PARTICULAR THE INTEGRATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TWO GROUPS, IN PREPARATION FOR THE DECEMBER 12 MEETING OF MINISTERS.

- B. THE DANISH DELEGATION PRESENTED TO THE ALLIES ITS GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS ON THE TNF ISSUE AND TOOK NOTE OF THEIR REACTIONS.

25. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY AARON'S REMARKS:

I AM PLEASED TO COME TO BRUSSELS AGAIN ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO CONCLUDE AT OUR LEVEL THE ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR LONG-RANGE THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES. DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES OF RECENT WEEKS, THE PRESIDENT HAS CLOSELY FOLLOWED THE ALLIANCE'S WORK ON TNF. I'M SURE YOU AGREE WITH HIS ASSESSMENT THAT IN TWO WEEKS, THE ALLIANCE WILL TAKE A CRUCIAL

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AND HISTORIC STEP. THE DECISION TO MODERNIZE TNF WILL DEMONSTRATE OUR RESOLVE, OUR COHESION, AND OUR DETERMINATION TO PROVIDE FOR THE SECURITY OF OUR NATIONS. THE DECISION TO EXPAND OUR ARMS CONTROL AGENDA TO INCLUDE TNF WILL DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO PURSUE WITH VIGOR AND VISION AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST AIMED AT ENHANCING SECURITY AND STABILITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS. TOGETHER, THESE DECISIONS WILL SHOW THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS A VITAL, COURAGEOUS INSTITUTION, CAPABLE OF ADAPTING TO NEW TIMES AND MEETING NEW CHALLENGES.

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ACTION SS-30

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-----032959 292051Z /70

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4448  
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INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
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EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

OUR PURPOSE TODAY IS TO REACH AGREEMENT THAT THE DOCUMENT BEFORE US IS A SUITABLE VEHICLE FOR THE DECISIONS OF OUR MINISTERS. WE WILL CULMINATE THE LONG, INTENSIVE, AND PRODUCTIVE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION AND PREPARATION THAT WAS NEEDED TO BRING THE ALLIANCE TO NEXT MONTH'S CRUCIAL MOMENT. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT TODAY'S MEETING WILL PRODUCE AGREEMENT ON THE IDD, SO THAT THE MINISTERS CAN MAKE THE APPROPRIATE DECISION TWO WEEKS FROM NOW.

THE IDD REFLECTS THE FINDINGS OF THE HLG AND THE SG, AS WELL AS THE CAREFUL PROCESS OF INTEGRATION OF THE WORK OF THOSE TWO GROUPS. IT EXPLAINS THE COMPLEMENTARITY OF MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL: THERE CAN BE NO ARMS

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CONTROL WITHOUT A MODERNIZATION DECISION, BUT WITH A MODERNIZATION DECISION, CONCRETE ARMS CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH REDUCE THE SOVIET THREAT CAN REDUCE OUR TNF REQUIREMENTS.

THE ALLIES HAVE HAD SIX WEEKS TO REVIEW DRAFTS OF THE IDD. IN THIS EXTENSIVE REVIEW PROCESS, WE HAVE INCORPORATED A NUMBER OF USEFUL CHANGES SUGGESTED BY ALLIES. IN OUR VIEW, THE DRAFTING AND EDITING PROCESS IS NOW FINISHED.

IF, NONETHELESS, ANY ALLIES HAVE SPECIFIC CHANGES IN THE IDD TO SUGGEST TODAY, WE ARE READY TO CONTINUE THIS MEETING UNTIL WE ALL AGREE THAT WE HAVE PRODUCED A SUITABLE DECISION DOCUMENT.

IN THAT CONNECTION, IT IS IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND THAT TWO DAYS AFTER THE DECEMBER 12 TNF DECISIONS, THE NAC WILL, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, COME FORWARD WITH AN AGGRESSIVE, COMPREHENSIVE ARMS CONTROL PROGRAM. WE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE AT THAT TIME TO REVEAL THE THRUST OF THE ALLIANCE'S NEW MBFR APPROACH. IN COMBINATION WITH A DECISION TO WITHDRAW 1000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS FROM EUROPE AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF TNF MODERNIZATION, THE ALLIANCE WILL HAVE MUCH TO BE PROUD OF IN ITS EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THE EAST IN SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL. THIS WILL BE OUR RESPONSE TO RECENT EASTERN PROPOSALS. THERE WILL BE NO MISTAKE ABOUT NATO'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE GENUINE ARMS CONTROL ACROSS A BROAD FRONT.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. BUT WE MUST GIVE NO GROUNDS FOR THE SOVIETS TO QUESTION THE DEPTH OF THE ALLIANCE'S COMMITMENT TO TNF MODERNIZATION. WE MUST BE CLEAR-EYED



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ABOUT CURRENT SOVIET INTENTIONS. WE HAVE WITNESSED AN UNMISTAKEABLE POLITICAL ATTEMPT BY MOSCOW TO INTERFERE IN OUR DECISIONS AND TO PREVENT US FROM TAKING STEPS THAT THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES ARE TAKING -- STEPS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE NECESSARY BY SOVIET DEPLOYMENT ACTIONS.

AT THE SAME TIME, SOVIET ACTIONS UNDERSCORE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US. I REPORTED TO YOU ON NOVEMBER 6TH RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SS-20 FORCE. AGAIN, JUST LAST WEEK, WE DISCOVERED YET ANOTHER SS-20 BASE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, BRINGING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SS-20 BASES OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION TO 23, AND



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THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SS-20 WARHEADS WHICH ARE BEING DE-  
PLOYED TO 621 -- A NUMBER WHICH ALONE NOW EXCEEDS THE  
NATO-PROPOSED PROGRAM OF LRTNF -- EVEN WITHOUT COUNTING  
THE HUNDREDS OF SS 4'S AND 5'S AND MEDIUM BOMBERS.

BY THEIR RECENT ACTIONS AND WORDS, THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE  
IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE FIRM DECISIONS.  
THESE DECISIONS WILL SHOW THE SOVIET UNION THAT NATO WILL  
NOT BOW TO THREATS NOR BE TEMPTED BY VAGUE AND INEQUITABLE  
PROPOSALS. NATO'S DECISION MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT THE BEST  
PATH FOR THE SOVIET UNION IS THAT OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.  
FOR THIS REASON THE UNITED STATES CANNOT ACCEPT THE PRO-  
POSAL OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT.

TWELVE YEARS AGO, THE ALLIANCE MADE A FUNDAMENTAL DECISION  
-- THAT NATO WOULD DEDICATE ITSELF BOTH TO DETENTE AND  
DEFENSE. FOR PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE HARMEL  
REPORT WAS ADOPTED, THE ALLIANCE IS BEING ASKED TO TAKE

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
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CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
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MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

A DECISION WHICH DIRECTLY EMBODIES BOTH PRINCIPLES  
SIMULTANEOUSLY. THE ESSENCE OF THE CHOICE THE ALLIANCE  
FACES IN DECEMBER, AND WHICH IS EMBODIED IN THIS DOCU-  
MENT, IS WHETHER WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO MATCH THAT WISDOM.

WE STAND ON THE THRESHHOLD OF WHAT MAY BE THE MOST IM-  
PORTANT ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATION EVER UNDERTAKEN AFFECT-

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ING EUROPE -- ONE THAT HOLDS OUT THE PROMISE OF LIFTING FOR THE FIRST TIME THE CLOUD OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION THAT HANGS OVER THIS CONTINENT. BUT THIS OPPORTUNITY WILL BE REALIZED ONLY IF WE ARE STRONG, ONLY IF WE ARE UNITED, AND ONLY IF WE MARK WELL THE ADVICE OF THE NATO WISEMEN OF A DOZEN YEARS AGO -- DETENTE AND DEFENSE ARE INDIVISIBLE.

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END TEXT OF AARON'S REMARKS.

26. THERE FOLLOWS BELOW SIR CLIVE ROSE'S REMARKS.  
BEGIN TEXT:

1. ONCE AGAIN I SHOULD LIKE TO WELCOME MR. AARON TO OUR MEETING. I HAVE LISTENED WITH INTEREST TO HIS STATEMENT. WHAT HE HAD TO SAY IS VERY MUCH IN LINE WITH THE VIEWS OF MY OWN AUTHORITIES.

2. WE REMAIN CONVINCED OF THE NEED TO TAKE POSITIVE DECISIONS IN DECEMBER BOTH ON LRTNF MODERNISATION AND ON PROPOSALS FOR TNF ARMS CONTROL. WE REGARD IT AS OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY THAT THESE DECISIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN IN PARALLEL SO THAT THE PRODUCTION AND IN DUE COURSE DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEW SYSTEMS CAN GO AHEAD WITHOUT DELAY AND THAT WE CAN, ALONGSIDE THIS, ENGAGE THE SOVIET UNION IN SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

3. WE DO NOT BELIEVE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE PRODUCTIVE UNLESS THE ALLIANCE HAS FIRST DEMONSTRATED ITS RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE THEATRE NUCLEAR FORCES OF ITS OWN. ALL OUR EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE ONLY LIKELY TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IF THEY ARE FACED WITH EVIDENCE OF REAL DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF THE ALLIANCE. FROM THIS WE DRAW THE FIRM CONCLUSION THAT NATO MUST DECIDE ON ITS MODERNISATION PROGRAMME AND HOW IT IS TO BE ACHIEVED BEFORE WE ATTEMPT TO BARGAIN ABOUT LIMITATIONS. IF WE DO NOT DO THIS WHAT ARE WE GOING TO BARGAIN WITH?

4. I HAVE LISTENED WITH INTEREST TO WHAT THE DANISH REPRESENTATIVE HAS SAID TODAY. MY AUTHORITIES ARE

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CONCERNED AT THE IDEAS WHICH ARE BEING DISCUSSED FOR DELAYING DECISIONS. WE BELIEVE THE SUGGESTION IN OTHER QUARTERS THAT WE SHOULD DECIDE IN DECEMBER ONLY TO GO AHEAD WITH LIMITED PRODUCTION, LEAVING A DECISION

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ON DEPLOYMENT UNTIL LATER, WOULD BE WHOLLY INEFFECTIVE. IT WOULD NOT PROVIDE THE EVIDENCE OF DETERMINATION WHICH IS NEEDED IF WE ARE TO GET THE RUSSIANS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ABOUT LIMITATIONS. INDEED IT WOULD GIVE THEM AMPLE SCOPE FOR DRAGGING OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OBJECT OF DEFERRING NATO DECISIONS ABOUT DEPLOYMENT. MEANWHILE THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THEIR OWN BUILD-UP. SO THE IMBALANCE WOULD BE INCREASED.

5. WE ARE EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROPOSAL OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT THAT DECISIONS ON BOTH PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT SHOULD BE DEFERRED FOR SIX MONTHS IN RETURN FOR A FREEZE ON SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS AT THEIR CURRENT LEVELS. I HAVE TO SAY FRANKLY THAT WE REGARD THIS NOT ONLY AS IMPRACTICAL BUT ALSO AS HAVING MAJOR DISADVANTAGES FOR THE ALLIANCE IN MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ARMS CONTROL TERMS.

6. TO PUT OFF DECISIONS NOW FOR SIX MONTHS WOULD CAST DOUBT ON THE ALLIANCE'S ABILITY TO TAKE DIFFICULT DECISIONS. IT WOULD GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO MEET THE MILITARY TARGETS WHICH WE HAVE SET OURSELVES AND WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN SO MUCH PUBLISIZED. AND OUR FAILURE TO DO THIS WOULD BE WIDELY INTERPRETED AS BEING THE RESULT OF SOVIET PRESSURE AND PROPAGANDA. THIS COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
ALL NATO CAPITALS  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

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NATO'S CREDIBILITY. IT WOULD SHOW A LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN OURSELVES WHICH WOULD BODE ILL FOR THE FUTURE COHESION OF THE ALLIANCE.

7. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT POSTPONEMENT WOULD DAMAGE THE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS CONTROL. WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT ON THE SALT II RATIFICATION DEBATE? AT THE LEAST IT WOULD INTRODUCE A NEW ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY INTO THE SITUATION. INDECISION AT THIS STAGE WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY MANY PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES AS SHOWING THAT EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WERE RELUCTANT TO TAKE THE MEASURES NECESSARY FOR THEIR DEFENCE. THIS COULD ONLY BE HARMFUL TO RELATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

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8. BUT MORE THAN THIS, WE WOULD LOSE THE OPPORTUNITY - TO WHICH I REFERRED IN MY REMARKS ON 6 NOVEMBER - TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL BY PUTTING FORWARD A NUMBER OF MEASURES WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, WOULD ADD UP TO A SIGNIFICANT PACKAGE IN PARALLEL WITH THE MODERNIZATION DECISION. IT WOULD PRESUMABLY NO LONGER BE POSSIBLE TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PROPOSAL FOR WITHDRAWING WARHEADS FROM THE STOCKPILE IN EUROPE. AND THE CONTEXT IN WHICH WE WERE CONSIDERING NEW INITIATIVES IN MBFR WOULD BE RADICALLY CHANGED. IN THE NEW SITUATION WE SHOULD HAVE TO RE-EXAMINE THE BASIS FOR CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR SIMPLIFIED PHASE I. AND THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE IMPACT OF ANY PROPOSALS ON WHICH WE WERE ABLE TO AGREE WOULD BE MUCH REDUCED.

9. IN ANY CASE, WE SEE LITTLE POSSIBILITY WITHIN SIX MONTHS OF ACHIEVING ANY POSITIVE RESULTS ON TNF ARMS CONTROL. EVEN IF WE COULD ACHIEVE A FREEZE, THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE FROZEN IN ITS EXISTING POSITION OF INFERIORITY. THAT WOULD BE THE BASIS ON WHICH WE SHOULD HAVE TO EMBARK ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS AND IT IS NOT IN OUR VIEW A SATISFACTORY BASIS FOR SECURING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO LIMITATION OR REDUCTIONS. MOREOVER WHAT ASSURANCE WOULD WE HAVE THAT A FREEZE WOULD BE OBSERVED BY THE RUSSIANS? AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE PROPOSAL IS THAT IT WOULD BE BASED ON A UNILATERAL SOVIET DECLARATION. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US AT WHAT POINT WITHIN THE PROPOSED SIX MONTH PERIOD THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE EXPECTED TO GIVE ANY SUCH COMMITMENT. BUT IN ANY CASE IS IT SUGGESTED THAT WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE VERIFICATION MEASURES AND AN AGREED DATA BASE BEFORE IT STARTS? THERE WOULD BE LITTLE VALUE IN A SOVIET COMMITMENT TO A FREEZE WITHOUT

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AGREEMENT ON THESE TWO POINTS. BUT - HAVING IN MIND THE EXPERIENCE OF SALT II AND MBFR - CAN WE CONTEMPLATE THAT AGREEMENT ON THESE POINTS ALONE WOULD BE REACHED EVEN WITHIN THE PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS?

10. MY AUTHORITIES REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THERE CAN BE NO SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE FOR PARALLEL DECISIONS IN DECEMBER ON TNF MODERNISATION AND ARMS CONTROL. THEY CONSIDER THE REVISED VERSION OF THE IDD PROVIDES A SUITABLE BASIS FOR SUCH DECISIONS.

27.  
FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT BY NORWEGIAN STATE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JOHAN HOLST

BEGIN TEXT OF FIRST STATEMENT:

. I WANT FIRST OF ALL TO ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH THOSE WHO HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR THE SUCCINCT AND IMPORTANT STATEMENT MADE BY MR. AARON AT THIS MEETING.

. ALLOW ME TO INFORM YOU ABOUT THE POSITION AND TIME SCHEDULE OF MY GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER. THE NORWEGIAN POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE NON-STATIONING AND NON-STOCK-PILING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL NOT BE AFFECTED BY THE NATO DECISIONS ON MODERNIZATION. THEREFORE, MY GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE PARTICULAR WEIGHT TO THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THOSE COUNTRIES THAT ARE MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE DECISIONS. THIS ATTITUDE HAS IMPLICATIONS ALSO FOR THE TIMING OF DECISIONS. NORWAY CANNOT BE UP FRONT IN

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4451  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
ALL NATO CAPITALS  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
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MAKING HER DECISIONS SINCE WE SHALL HAVE TO AWAIT THE CLARIFICATION OF POSITIONS IN THE MOST AFFECTED CAPITALS.

. NORWAY ATTRIBUTES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE PRESENTATION OF A CREDIBLE AND PERSUASIVE OFFER TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO CONTINENTAL WEAPONS. NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD START AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE PURPOSE OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE TO ESTABLISH EQUILIBRIUM AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE FORCE LEVEL. THE URGENGE OF THIS OBJECTIVE IS UNDERSCORED BY THE DISTURBING FACT REPORTED BY MR. AARON THIS MORNING, THAT THE NUMBER OF SS-20 WARHEADS OPERATIONAL OR UNDER DEPLOYMENT ALREADY EXCEEDS THE PROJECTED LEVEL OF NATO TNF-DEPLOYMENTS.

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. IT IS THE NORWEGIAN VIEW THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE AS PART OF THE TNF DECISION PACKAGE THE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF 1000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ARMS CONTROL IN A VIGOROUS MANNER, THE SOONER THIS INITIATIVE BE PLACED ON THE PUBLIC RECORD THE BETTER. IN THE SAME VEIN WE HOPE THE OBSTACLES TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM FIRST PHASE MBFR-AGREEMENT CAN BE SPEEDILY REMOVED. THAT PROPOSAL OUGHT TO BE PART OF WHAT WILL IN FACT AMOUNT TO A VIGOROUS AND COMPREHENSIVE NATO DECLARATION ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS IN DECEMBER.

. MR. CHAIRMAN, SINCE THE FINAL POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE SHAPED THROUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS, WE CANNOT TODAY GIVE ANY FINAL APPROVAL OF THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE. I EXPECT THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT TO BE CLARIFIED TOWARDS THE END OF THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER, I.E., WEEK 49.

. THEREFORE, MR. CHAIRMAN, I SHALL LIMIT MYSELF AT THIS POINT TO A FEW GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE COMMUNIQUE.

. THE COMMUNIQUE WE ARE DISCUSSING TODAY SHOULD BE ASSESSED IN POLITICAL TERMS SINCE IT WILL BE THE MOST

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AUTHORITATIVE PRESENTATION OF THE COLLECTIVE DECISION OF THIS ALLIANCE WITH RESPECT TO MODERNIZATION AND THE OFFER TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE EAST ABOUT CONTINENTAL WEAPONS.

. FURTHERMORE, THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD AND DOES REFLECT THE CONSENSUS OF VIEWS AND CONSIDERATIONS CONTAINED

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IN THE INTEGRATED DOCUMENT BASED ON THE REPORTS OF THE HLG AND THE SG.

. ALTHOUGH I RECOGNIZE THE COMPLEX NATURE OF THE MATTER INVOLVED, THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WE ARE DISCUSSING TODAY IS PERHAPS SOMEWHAT TECHNICAL IN CHARACTER, SEEMINGLY ADDRESSED MORE TO THE EXPERT THAN THE GENERAL PUBLIC. IT IS NOT EASY TO PENETRATE FOR THE ATTENTIVE LAYMAN. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO OUR PUBLICS. HOWEVER, WE SHALL NOT PROPOSE A REWRITING OF THE COMMUNIQUE AT THIS LATE POINT IN TIME.

. IN POLITICAL TERMS THE COMMUNIQUE MUST CONSTITUTE A PLATFORM FROM WHICH GOVERNMENTS CAN DRAW IN PRESENTING AND EXPLAINING THE COLLECTIVE DECISIONS TO THEIR PUBLICS. IT IS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE COMMUNIQUE AMPLY REFLECT THE POLITICAL RATIONALE COLLECTIVELY DEVELOPED AND THE ARGUMENTS DEPLOYED IN NATIONAL DEBATES. IN THIS CONNECTION I WANT TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE NEED FOR A CREDIBLE ALIGNMENT OF THE DECISION ON MODERNIZATION AND THE OFFER TO NEGOTIATE. MOST PARTICULARLY, THE POINT THAT THE SCALE OF THE EVENTUAL DEPLOYMENT WILL NEED TO BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN A SALIENT PRESENTATION IN THE COMMUNIQUE. WE SHOULD PAY ATTENTION ALSO TO THIS POINT IN THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF THE DECISIONS AFTER THE MEETING ON DECEMBER 12TH.  
END TEXT. BENNETT

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