

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
Authority: EO 13526  
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
Date: MAR 03 2016

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XVII. 9a

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JOINT STAFF  
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IMMEDIATE ZYUW RUFHNA4168 2561723  
O 131723Z SEP 91  
FM USMISSION USNATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4300  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
ZEN//USDELMC BRUSSELS BE//POUCH

THE VIEW THAT PRESERVING SOME KIND OF CENTER, PARTICULARLY  
TO DEAL WITH SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL QUESTIONS, WAS IN  
THE ALLIES' BROAD INTERESTS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 09 USNATO 04168

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEU, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
VIENNA FOR USDEL CSBM, USVIENNA FOR CFE

~~E.O. 12356~~ DECL. OADR  
TAGS: NATO, PREL, UR  
SUBJECT: NATO: MAC DISCUSSION OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1991

5. ON THE BALTICS, THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT WHEN, AS  
ANTICIPATED, THE BALTIC STATES APPROACHED NATO FOR  
CONTACTS, LIAISON STATUS OR SOMETHING PARALLEL TO IT  
SHOULD BE ACCORDED THEM. AMB. TAFT SUGGESTED THAT THE  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE WORK OUT DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS FOR  
DEALING WITH THE BALTIC REPUBLICS.

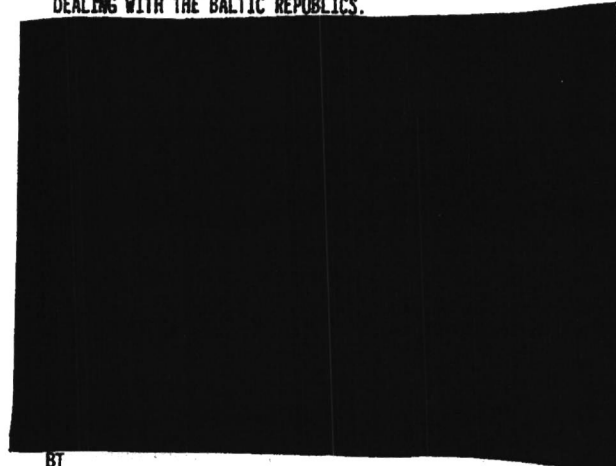
REF: (A) STATE 295576, (B) USNATO 4044

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~EFFERE TENT~~ THIS IS AN ACTION  
REQUEST. SEE PARA 46.

SUMMARY  
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OSD 3.3(b)(6)(9)  
DOS 3.3(b)(6)(9)

2. FOLLOWING UP LAST WEEK'S MAC DISCUSSION OF THE ROME  
SUMMIT, AT THEIR SEPTEMBER 11 MEETING NATO PERMREPS TURNED  
TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION  
AND THE APPROPRIATE NATO RESPONSE.



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STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEU, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
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DENMARK  
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3. A MAJOR ISSUE WHICH EMERGED IN THE INTERVENTIONS WAS  
THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE STRATEGY REVIEW DOCUMENT HAD TO BE  
CHANGED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
SOVIET UNION.

4. ON THE CHAIRMAN'S OPERATIONAL QUESTIONS, MOST PERMREPS  
ENDORSED SECRETARY BAKER'S FIVE POINTS FOR DEALING WITH  
THE SOVIET CENTER AND REPUBLICS (REFTEL). THERE WAS WIDE  
AGREEMENT THAT THE SITUATION WAS STILL TOO FLUID TO PERMIT  
MORE DEFINITIVE POLICIES. MOST ALLIES, HOWEVER, EXPRESSED

ACTION (U,6,7,8,F)

INFO CJCS(1) J3(4) J5(2) QUAL CONTROL(1)  
USRMCLO(1) SECDEF-W(1) DARPA(1) USDP:FILE(1)  
ASD:RA(2) USDA:PBL(1) USDA:ADMIN(1) USDA:AE(1)  
USDA:TVP(1) USDA:IP(2) USDA:STNF(1) ASD:PA(1) GC(1)  
ASD:P&E/EPF(1) ASD:P&E/LF(1) ASD:P&E/FS(1)  
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USDP:EW ECOM(1) USDP:EUR POL(1) USDP:SEE(1)  
USDP:MATOPOL(1) USDP:DSDSBVP(1) DIO-WE(1)  
+CDRPSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SB//  
+OSIA WASHINGTON DC  
+DNA WASHINGTON DC//OPAC/OPMA//  
+SAFE



UNITED STATES  
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9. AMBASSADOR TAFT, NOTING THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST  
COUNCIL EXCHANGE ON THE POST-COUP SOVIET UNION, STRESSED  
THAT WESTERN SECURITY INTERESTS IN A TIME OF MOMENTOUS  
CHANGE AND UNCERTAINTY CONTINUE TO BE BEST SERVED BY  
POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, COORDINATED  
WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. HE SAID POST-COUP SOVIET EVENTS  
REFLECTED GRASS-ROOTS SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND  
FREE-MARKET ECONOMICS IN THAT COUNTRY. WHILE NATO SHOULD

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PAGE 1 OF 5  
131723Z SEP 91

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Geoffrey Chapman, Senior Reviewer

NOT OVERESTIMATE ITS INFLUENCE, NEITHER SHOULD IT SHRINK FROM REAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ENCOURAGE AND EXTEND POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION. HE DREW ATTENTION TO SECRETARY BAKER'S SEPTEMBER 4 STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GUIDE FUTURE LINKS WITH THE CENTER AND THE REPUBLICS AND THE BACKGROUND WHICH HE HAD CIRCULATED ON THEM (REFTEL).

10. AMB TAT SAID THERE WERE TWO PREREQUISITES FOR ALLIANCE ACTION: DETERMINATION OF THE STRUCTURES AND WITH WHOM WE ARE DEALING IN THE SOVIET UNION, FOLLOWED BY A DETERMINATION OF HOW OUR POLICIES CAN BEST FIT INTO THE RUBRIC OF DEVELOPMENTS THERE. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ECLIPSED BY THE REPUBLICS IN MANY AREAS. YET NOT ALL REPUBLICS ARE EQUAL, AND MOST NOW SEEM TO BACK GORBACHEV'S CALL FOR A RECONSTITUTED, CONFEDERAL SOVIET UNION IN WHICH THE CENTER WOULD STILL EXERCISE SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE PREROGATIVES. FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, THEN, WE MUST CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE CENTER, ESPECIALLY ON ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. WE MUST MAKE OUR EXPECTATIONS CLEAR TO THE CENTER ALONG THE WAY, INCLUDING OUR EXPECTATION OF A CENTRAL COMMAND AND CONTROL AUTHORITY OVER SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

11. AT THE SAME TIME, THE AMBASSADOR CONTINUED, THE U.S. HAS LONG ADVOCATED EXPANDING BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE REPUBLICS, EMPHASIZING PRACTICAL COOPERATION RATHER THAN FORMAL POLITICAL TIES. WE WILL LIKELY BE DEVELOPING MORE FORMAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL TIES AS THE REPUBLICS ASSUME AUTHORITY OVER MORE ISSUES. UNTIL THE DEMARCATION OF CENTRAL AND REPUBLIC POWERS BECOMES CLEAR, HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO FORMALLY EXTEND NATO LIAISON TO THE REPUBLICS, WHICH THUS FAR LACK FULLY DEVELOPED FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE INSTITUTIONS. THE BALTICS ARE A SPECIAL CASE: THE UNITED STATES RECOMMENDS THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE BE TASKED WITH DEVELOPING GUIDELINES FOR IMPLEMENTING, AT THE PROPER TIME, AN EXTENSION OR VARIATION OF NATO LIAISON POLICY TOWARD THEM.

12. THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SUCCESSOR STATES FACE AN ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH COULD UNDERMINE THE DEMOCRATIC

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 09 USNATO 04188

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~~E.O. 12958: DECL. OADR~~

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REVOLUTION; THE AMBASSADOR SAID. THE ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE PAPER ON THIS CRISIS, IF ANYTHING, UNDERSTATES ITS GRAVITY. SOVIET ECONOMIC DISORDER ALSO THREATENS THE NEW CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES. COLLAPSE OF THEIR TRADE WITH THE SOVIETS HAS ADDED TO THEIR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. WHILE UNCERTAINTY OVER WHO HOLDS EFFECTIVE POWER WILL COMPLICATE THE PROVISION OF EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION, WE WILL HAVE TO OFFER AN IMAGINATIVE MIX OF SHORT-TERM EMERGENCY AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, WHILE NOT NEGLECTING CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WE NEED TO PROVIDE OPENINGS FOR INTEGRATION OF ALL THESE COUNTRIES INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY.

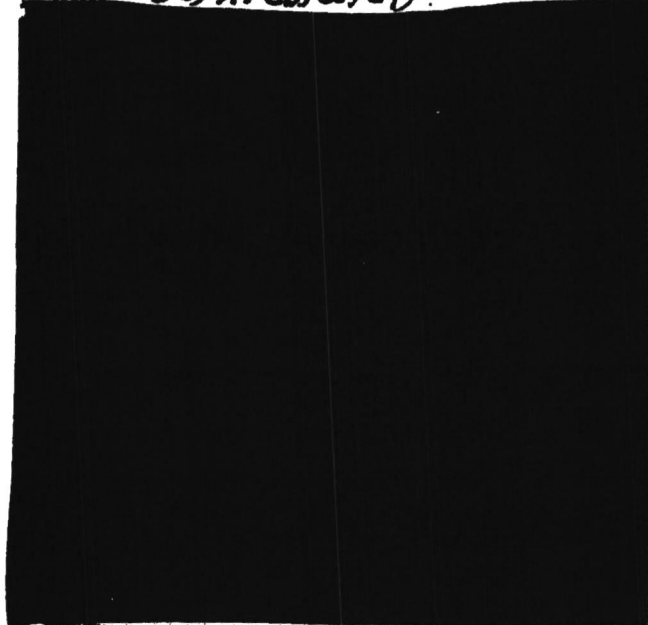
13. AMBASSADOR TAFT STRESSED THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD CONTINUE DELIBERATIONS ON THE EFFECTS OF SOVIET DEVELOPMENTS IN ITS PLANNING FOR THE ROME SUMMIT. ALLIED LEADERS HAVE TO MAKE CLEAR TO NATO PUBLICS, AS WELL AS TO THE SOVIETS AND EAST EUROPEANS, NATO'S CENTRAL ROLE IN BUILDING NEW SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. COMPLETION OF THE NATO STRATEGY REVIEW ALONG ITS CURRENT LINES WILL DEMONSTRATE ALLIANCE RESPONSIVENESS

TO ALL RECENT CHANGES AS WELL AS THE CONTINUED IMPORTANCE OF NATO FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY.

14. BUT NATO ALSO NEEDS TO SHOW ITS POLITICAL VITALITY. AMB TAFT SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER WAYS TO EXPAND AND INSTITUTIONALIZE ITS LIAISON PROGRAM INCLUDING REGULARIZING CONSULTATIONS IN MORE FREQUENT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SIXTEEN PERMREPS AND LIAISON AMBASSADORS. NATO SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THE SUBJECTS ON WHICH ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS WITH LIAISON PARTNERS SHOULD BE SOUGHT. FINALLY, EXPANDED LIAISON SHOULD INCLUDE WAYS TO SHARE NATO'S EXPERTISE AND EXPERIENCE IN AREAS LIKE DEFENSE CONVERSION, FORCE PLANNING, AND CIVIL EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS.

CANADA

OSD 3.3(b)(6)(9)  
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TURKEY



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 04 OF 09 USNATO 04188

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEU, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC, VIENNA FOR USDEL CSBM, USVIENNA FOR CFE

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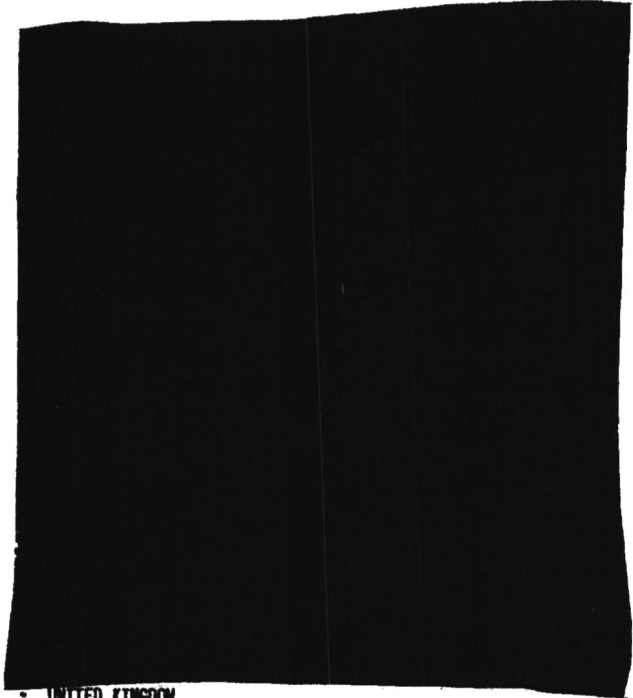
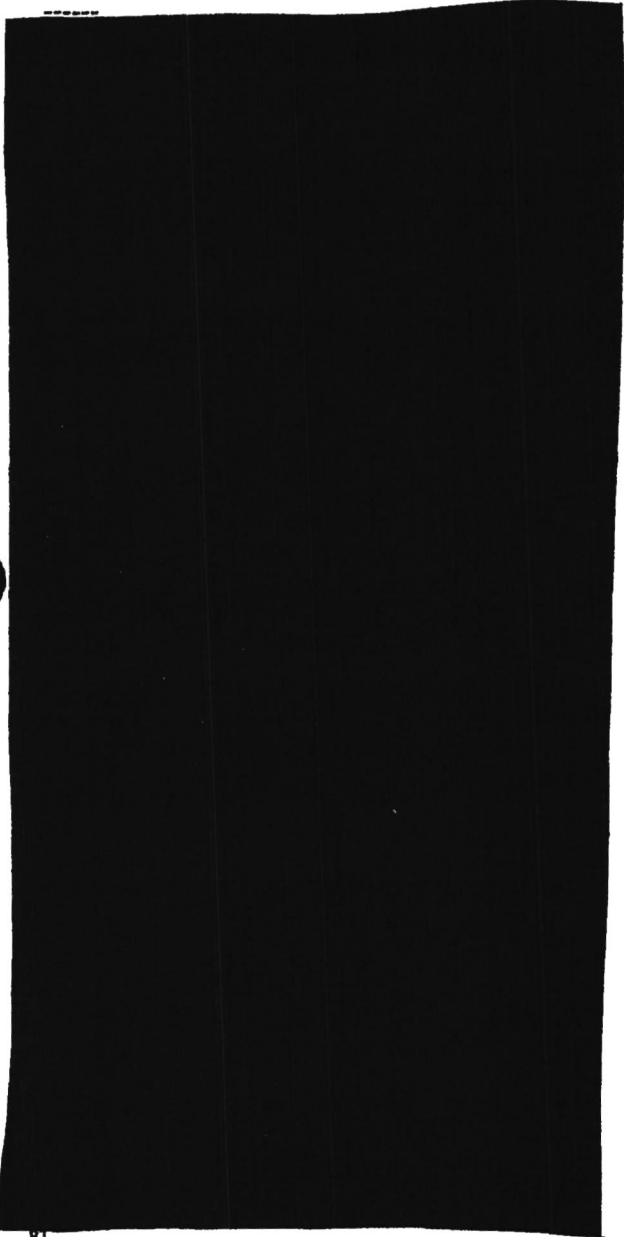
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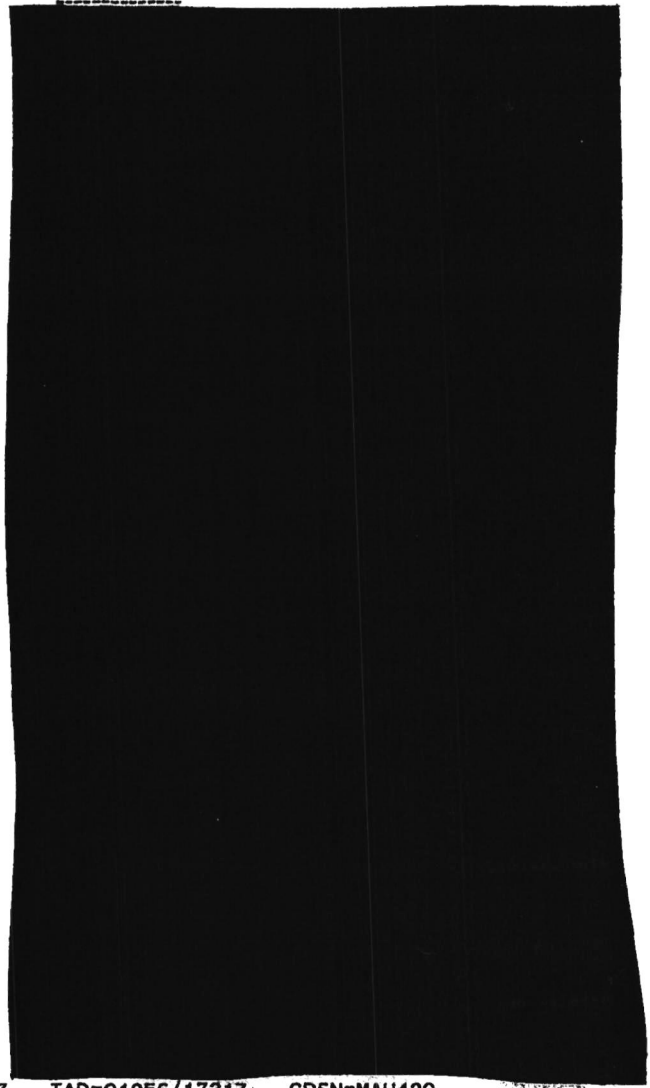
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Date: MAR 03 2016



FRANCE



UNITED KINGDOM



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STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEY, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
VIENNA FOR USDEL CSBM, USVIENNA FOR CFE

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SUBJECT: NATO: NAC DISCUSSION OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1991

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PAGE 3 OF 5  
131723Z SEP 91

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STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEY, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
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SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1991

[REDACTED]

GERMANY

[REDACTED]

BELGIUM

[REDACTED]

ITALY

[REDACTED]

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STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEY, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
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SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1991

[REDACTED]

NETHERLANDS

[REDACTED]

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PORTUGAL

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STATE FOR EUR/RPM, SOV AND EEU, BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC,  
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SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1991

[REDACTED]

SPAIN, NORWAY, GREECE, LUXEMBOURG INTERVENTIONS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SYG WOERNER'S SUMMARY

[REDACTED]

ACTION  
REQUEST. MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON  
THIS ISSUE, SEE OUR RECOMMENDATIONS IN REF B. END ACTION  
REQUEST.

[REDACTED]

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TAFT

Office of the Secretary of Defense  
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS

Date: 03 MAR 2016 Authority: EO 13526

Declassify: \_\_\_\_\_ Deny in Full: \_\_\_\_\_

Declassify in Part: \_\_\_\_\_

Reason: 3.3(b)(6)(c9)

MDR: 13 -M-3432

MCN=91256/06001

TDR=91256/17232

TAD=91256/17312

CDSN=MAU420

PAGE 5 OF 5  
1317232 SEP 91

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