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NOTE FOR FRANK MILLER
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SUBJECT: Wrap-up of "The Alliance's New Strategic Concept"

As the Summit dust settles, this memo provides a summary of the nuclear-related sections of the new NATO strategy document as it was finally approved in Rome, under the title as above.

There was obviously some considerable last-minute negotiations on the document in Rome, because the nuclear section (paras 55-57) changed considerably from even the SRG-amended version of the French proposal tabled the previous week. In addition, the Italian bracket in para 39, which had been opposed by virtually everyone, was accepted.

The attached mark-up tracks the last-minute changes. We got most of what we wanted. Steve Hadley was particularly happy with the reinsertion of "last resort" language in para 57 (although the term fell out). There were also a few things we might have preferred to go differently:

-- the opening phrase of para 57, "For the Allies concerned in collective defense planning," which clearly only applies to France, was changed to: "the Allies concerned," which we had fought because it could be used by some other allies to drop their nuclear roles;

-- the phrase "by European Allies involved in collective defence planning" was reintroduced into para 56, along with "and committed to NATO," thereby effectively divorcing France from any of the prescriptions of para 56 (as well as para 57), notably: participation in nuclear roles, linkage, and the need to maintain adequate nuclear forces with the appropriate characteristics;

-- we lost the idea in para 55 that nuclear forces of UK and FR complicate the planning and risk assessment on any potential aggressor.

Nevertheless, I believe we have a document we can live with.

Rob Irvine

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39. TO PROTECT PEACE AND TO PREVENT WAR OR ANY KIND OF COERCION, THE ALLIANCE WILL MAINTAIN FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE AN APPROPRIATE MIX OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES BASED IN EUROPE AND KEPT UP TO DATE WHERE NECESSARY, ALTHOUGH AT A SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED LEVEL. BOTH ELEMENTS ARE ESSENTIAL TO ALLIANCE SECURITY AND CANNOT SUBSTITUTE ONE FOR THE OTHER. CONVENTIONAL FORCES CONTRIBUTE TO WAR PREVENTION BY ENSURING THAT NO POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR COULD CONTEMPLATE A QUICK OR EASY VICTORY, OR TERRITORIAL GAINS, BY CONVENTIONAL MEANS. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE DIVERSITY OF RISKS WITH WHICH THE ALLIANCE COULD BE FACED, IT MUST MAINTAIN THE FORCES NECESSARY TO PROVIDE A WIDE RANGE OF CONVENTIONAL RESPONSE OPTIONS. THE ALLIANCE'S CONVENTIONAL FORCES ALONE CANNOT ENSURE THE PREVENTION OF WAR. NUCLEAR WEAPONS MAKE A UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION IN RENDERING THE RISKS OF ANY

AGGRESSION INCALCULABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE. ~~THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE U.S., UK AND FRANCE, INCLUDING U.S. NUCLEAR SYSTEMS BASED IN EUROPE WITH BROAD ALLIED PARTICIPATION, ARE THUS ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVE PEACE BY DETERRING ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE ALLIANCE. ((THUS, THEY REMAIN ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVE PEACE.)) (ITALIAN PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE TO FINAL SENTENCE.)~~

Amendments to Nuclear Section at Rome

(using FR text as modified by SRG as baseline)

55. The fundamental purpose of the nuclear forces of the Allies is political: to preserve peace and prevent coercion and any kind of war. They will continue to fulfill an essential role by ensuring uncertainty in the mind of any aggressor about the nature of the Allies' response to military aggression. They demonstrate that aggression of any kind is not a rational option. The ~~minimum~~ guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the strategic nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France, ~~fulfill~~ a deterrent role of their own, ~~and~~ contribute to the overall ~~war prevention strategy of the Alliance by completing the planning and risk assessment of a potential aggressor.~~

supreme

which have

deterrence and security of the Allies.

56. ~~Widespread participation by European Allies in nuclear roles in peacetime basing of nuclear forces on their territory and in command, control and consultation arrangements, continues to be required for a credible Alliance nuclear posture and demonstration of Alliance solidarity and common commitment to war prevention. Nuclear forces based in Europe provide an essential political and military link ~~between strategic nuclear forces~~ and between the European and the North American members of the Alliance. The Alliance will therefore maintain adequate nuclear forces in Europe. These forces need to have the necessary characteristics and appropriate flexibility and survivability, be perceived as a credible and effective element of the Allies' strategy in preventing war. They will be maintained at the minimum level sufficient to preserve peace and stability.~~

and the

continue to require widespread participation by European Allies involved in collective defense planning in nuclear roles, in peacetime basing of nuclear forces on their territory and in command control and consultation arrangements.

and committed to NATO

to

The Allies concerned consider that,

57. ~~With the radical changes in the security situation, ~~sub-strategic nuclear forces~~ significantly reduce their sub-strategic forces. They will maintain adequate sub-strategic forces based in Europe consisting solely of dual-capable aircraft. These could, if necessary, be supplemented by offshore systems. Sub-strategic nuclear weapons will, however, not be deployed in normal circumstances on surface vessels and attack submarines. There is no requirement for nuclear artillery or ground-launched short-range nuclear missiles and they will be eliminated.~~

nuclear

including conventional force levels in Europe maintained in relative balance and increased reaction times, NATO's ability to defuse a crisis through diplomatic and other means or, should it be necessary, to mount a successful conventional defence will significantly improve. The circumstances in which any use of nuclear weapons might have to be contemplated by them are therefore even more remote. They

which will provide an essential link with strategic nuclear forces, reinforcing the trans Atlantic link. These will

which

PREVIOUS SRG TEXT: DRAFT 11
CHARACTERISTICS OF NUCLEAR FORCES

- 55. THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE ALLIES IS POLITICAL: TO PRESERVE PEACE AND PREVENT COERCION AND ANY KIND OF WAR. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO FULFILL AN ESSENTIAL ROLE BY INSURING UNCERTAINTY IN THE MIND OF ANY AGGRESSOR ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE ALLIES' RESPONSE TO MILITARY AGGRESSION. THEY DEMONSTRATE THAT AGGRESSION OF ANY KIND IS NOT A RATIONAL OPTION.
- 56. WITH THE RADICAL CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION, THE ALLIES CONCERNED IN COLLECTIVE DEFENCE PLANNING CAN REDUCE THEIR RELIANCE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WITH CONVENTIONAL FORCE LEVELS IN EUROPE MAINTAINED IN RELATIVE BALANCE AND WITH INCREASED REACTION TIMES TO EXPAND ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES, NATO'S ABILITY TO DEFUSE A CRISIS THROUGH DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER MEANS OR, SHOULD IT BE NECESSARY, TO MOUNT A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE WILL SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVE. THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE ALLIANCE MIGHT HAVE TO CONTEMPLATE ANY USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE THEREFORE EVEN MORE RARE: THEY ARE WEAPONS OF LAST RESORT.
- 57. FOR THE ALLIES CONCERNED IN COLLECTIVE DEFENCE PLANNING THE ULTIMATE GUARANTEE OF THEIR SECURITY IS PROVIDED BY THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE FULFILL A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE OVERALL WAR PREVENTION STRATEGY OF THE ALLIANCE BY COMPLICATING THE PLANNING AND RISK ASSESSMENT OF A POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR. SUBSTRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES BASED IN EUROPE PROVIDE AN ESSENTIAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY LINK TO NATO'S STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES AND BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. A CREDIBLE ALLIANCE NUCLEAR POSTURE CONTINUES TO REQUIRE WIDESPREAD PARTICIPATION BY THE EUROPEAN ALLIES IN NUCLEAR ROLES, IN PEACETIME BASING OF ALLIED NUCLEAR FORCES ON THEIR TERRITORY AND IN COMMAND, CONTROL AND CONSULTATION ARRANGEMENTS, AS A DEMONSTRATION OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AND COMMON COMMITMENT TO WAR PREVENTION. NATO WILL THEREFORE MAINTAIN ADEQUATE SUB-STRATEGIC FORCES BASED IN EUROPE CONSISTING SOLELY OF DUAL-CAPABLE AIRCRAFT. THESE COULD, IF NECESSARY, BE SUPPLEMENTED BY OFFSHORE SYSTEMS. SUB-STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL, HOWEVER, NOT BE DEPLOYED IN NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES ON SURFACE VESSELS AND ATTACK SUBMARINES. THE ALLIANCE'S SUB-STRATEGIC FORCES NEED TO HAVE THE NECESSARY CHARACTERISTICS, AND APPROPRIATE FLEXIBILITY AND SURVIVABILITY, TO BE PERCEIVED AS A CREDIBLE AND EFFECTIVE ELEMENT OF THE ALLIES' STRATEGY IN PREVENTING WAR. THEY WILL BE REDUCED SIGNIFICANTLY AND MAINTAINED AT THE MINIMUM LEVEL SUFFICIENT TO PRESERVE PEACE AND STABILITY. WITHIN THIS MINIMUM LEVEL THERE IS NO REQUIREMENT FOR NUCLEAR ARTILLERY OR GROUND-LAUNCHED SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES AND THEY WILL BE ELIMINATED.