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RBW 10/23/2008

File Folder NSC 00087 06 SEP 1983 [MBFR/LEBANON; (2 OF 2)
(3 of 3)]

FOIA

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2

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
56474	FORM	DISTRIBUTION RECORD [PARTIAL] PAR 8/22/2000 F98-008/1 #14; UPHELD 5/19/2010 M08-098/9 #56474	1	8/31/1983	B1 B3
56475	FORM	DISTRIBUTION RECORD [PARTIAL] PAR 8/22/2000 F98-008/1 #14; UPHELD 5/19/2010 M08-098/9 #56475	15	8/31/1983	B1 B3
56476	FORM	DISTRIBUTION RECORD [PARTIAL] PAR 8/22/2000 F98-008/1 #14; UPHELD 5/19/2010 M08-098/9 #56476	16	8/31/1983	B1 B3
56477	FORM	DISTRIBUTION RECORD [PARTIAL] PAR 8/22/2000 F98-008/1 #14; UPHELD 5/19/2010 M08-098/9 #56477	17	8/31/1983	B1 B3
56478	PAPER	MBFR OPTIONS [COPY OF DOC 56468] R 2/14/2011 M098/9	9	ND	B1
56479	PAPER	VERIFICATION ANNEX TO THE MBFR OPTIONS PAPER [DUP. OF DOC. 56469] R 2/14/2011 M098/9	4	ND	B1
56480	MEMO	KRAEMER TO KIMMITT RE NSC MTG ON MBFR R 10/4/2010 M098/9	2	8/31/1983	B1

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FOIA

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2

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
56481	MEMO	C. WEINBERGER TO CLARK RE NSC MTG ON MBFR [PARTIAL] PAR 11/14/2000 R 5/19/2010 M08-098/9 #56481	2	9/6/1983	B1
56482	TALKING PTS.	RE [LEBANON; COPY OF DOC. 56473; PARTIAL] R 10/4/2010 M098/9	3	ND	B1

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: NSC MEETING FILES

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File Folder: NSC 00087 06 Sep 1983 [MBFR/Lebanon] (2 of 2)
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Date: 11/18/99
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Form	Distribution Recprd, (partial), 1 p. P F98-008/1 #14 8/22/00, P 5/19/10	8/31/83	P1/F1/P3/F3 #56474 upheld
2. Form	Distribution Record, (partial), 1 p. P " #15 1, P 5/19/10	8/31/83	P1/F1/P3/F3 #56475 upheld
3. Form	Distribution Record, (partial), 1 p. P " #16 2, P 5/19/10	8/31/83	P1/F1/P3/F3 #56476 upheld
4. Form	Distribution Record, (partial), 1 p. P " #17 3, P 5/19/10	8/31/83	P1/F1/P3/F3 #56477 upheld
5. Memo	Robert Kimmitt to Donald Gregg, Charles Hill, et al. re: NSC Meeting on MBFR..., (partial), 1 p.	8/31/83	P1/F1/P3/F3 #56478 upheld
6. Paper	MBFR Options, 9 p. R 2/14/11 MD8-098/9 #56478	n.d.	P1/F1
7. Annex	Verification Annex to the MBFR Options Paper, 4 p. R 2/14/11 MD8-098/9 #56479	n.d.	P1/F1
8. Memo	Sven Kraemer to Robert Kimmitt, re: NSC Meeting on MBFR..., 2 p. R 10/4/10 M098/9 #56480	8/31/83	P1/F1
9. Agenda	NSC Meeting on MBFR/Lebanon, 1 p. R 11/9/05 M1347 #26	n.d.	P1/F1
10. Agenda	NSC Meeting on MBFR/Lebanon, with handwritten notes, 1 p. R " " #27	n.d.	P1/F1
11. Memo	Cap Weinberger to William Clark, re: 6 September 1983 NSC Meeting on MBFR, 2 p. P F98-008/1 #23 11/14/00; R 5/19/2010	9/6/83	P1/F1
12. Talking Pts	re: [Lebanon], 3 p. PAET 4/19/06 NSCF98-008/1 #24 R 10/4/10 M098/9 #56482	n.d.	P1/F1

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SYSTEM II
91005

August 18, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: MBFR Options

Attached for NSC consideration is a paper on MBFR Options which has been developed by the IG on NATO Conventional Forces and Arms Control. An early NSC meeting on this subject is requested.

Thomas McKinley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
"MBFR Options"

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By *clb* NARA, Date *11/18/99*

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DECL: OADR

~~SECRET~~

SYSTEM II
91033

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~

August 31, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Donald P. Gregg
Assistant to the Vice President for
National Security Affairs

Mr. Charles Hill
Executive Secretary
Department of State

Lieutenant Colonel W. Richard Higgins
Assistant for Interagency Matters
Office of the Secretary of Defense

Dr. Alton Keel
Associate Director for National Security
and International Affairs
Office of Management and Budget

Mr. Thomas B. Cormack
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

Ms. Jacqueline Tillman
Executive Assistant to the
United States
Representative to the United
Nations

Brig Gen George A. Joulwan
Executive Assistant to the
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon

Mr. William B. Staples
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency

Ambassador Morton Abramowitz
Head of the United States
Delegation to the Mutual
and Balanced Force Reductions
Negotiations

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting on MBFR -- Tuesday, September 6 -- 11:00 A.M.-12:00 P.M.

The attached paper on MBFR policy options has been prepared for discussion at the National Security Council meeting to be held in the Cabinet Room on Tuesday, September 6, at 11:00 a.m. (S)

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Attachment

MBFR Options Paper

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By ALG NARA, Date 11/18/99

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MBFR Options

Issue for Decision

NATO is now faced with the question of how to respond formally to the latest Eastern proposal which moves in principle toward US requirements on verification measures. The US needs to decide whether or not this response should be a move in the multilateral forum on data that incorporates in some fashion the USG position on MBFR approved by the President as a result of the NSC meeting of May 18. Two particular considerations are involved in this decision: (a) how to extract further Soviet concessions on verification; and (b) how to deal with Allied, especially FRG, pressures to be forthcoming in Vienna for INF reasons.

A trilateral meeting with the UK and FRG to discuss these issues is scheduled for September 13, and a US position is required before then if we are to take the lead in shaping NATO's response.

Recent Developments

On May 18, the NSC considered whether the US should change its long-term position that, prior to signature of an MBFR treaty and any subsequent troop reductions in Central Europe, both sides in the NATO - Warsaw Pact talks in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) must reach agreement on the number of Eastern military personnel in the reduction area in light of Soviet hints of willingness to accept effective verification measures.

On the basis of that NSC meeting, the President authorized a bilateral probe to determine whether genuine and timely progress was possible in the MBFR negotiations on the basis of a trade-off between Western willingness to postpone data agreement and Soviet willingness to agree to verifiable reductions to parity. Accordingly, we told the Soviets in mid-June that there is flexibility in the US position on data agreement prior to reductions if the East is willing to accept the entire package for verification which the West has proposed, large asymmetrical reductions to parity and data agreement at some stage.

Since then, there have been a number of significant developments:

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BY RW NARA DATE 2/14/11

Soviet reply: In a mid-July response to our probe, the Soviets acknowledged that the US appeared interested in overcoming the data impasse in Vienna, but suggested that the US preconditions would only prolong the deadlock. They also, however, indicated willingness to consider verification measures beyond those in the new Eastern treaty, provided they did not become an end in themselves.

In light of these mixed results, we will continue bilaterally to seek to pocket any concessions and move the Soviet position on verification still closer to our own.

New Eastern Proposal: On June 23, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies, in a move independent of our bilateral probe, tabled a new draft agreement covering the third element of their proposed three-step reduction process: i.e., US-Soviet mutual example cuts, a freeze, and reductions to parity. This draft agreement calls for reductions within three years to common ceilings of 700,000 ground force personnel and 200,000 air force personnel. This Eastern draft moved closer in principle to the Western position on verification. The East has now suggested a set of measures which, although highly conditioned, are more intrusive than anything the East has been willing to accept before, including some form of on-site inspection, permanent exit/entry points with observers, voluntary invitation of observers to witness reductions of "the most substantial contingents", a continuing exchange of information and a permanent joint commission. As they stand, however, these measures remain inadequate; all but one of them would not go into effect until after completion of the reduction process, and many have other significant shortcomings.

FRG and UK proposals: In mid-July, Chancellor Kohl and the German Federal Security Council decided to introduce into NATO, following trilateral discussion, a new data initiative as a response to the Eastern draft agreement, for tabling in Vienna during the fall round. They have asked for US concurrence. The FRG wants a significant Western initiative in MBFR in order to enhance the credibility of the US-FRG posture on arms control, especially given the prospective difficulties over INF deployments.

Specifically, the FRG proposes that the Allies agree to postpone data agreement until after initial, verified US - Soviet reductions. The condition would be that cooperative verification measures would then be implemented in order to

verify a non-contractual commitment by all direct participants (US, UK, FRG, Belgium, Luxembourg, Canada, USSR, GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia) not to increase their forces in the reduction area. Until this verification process yielded agreement on the size of those forces, there would be no further Western reductions.

The British, although preferring to maintain the strong current Western data position, have recently responded to the US-USSR bilateral effort and to building FRG political pressures by proposing a new scheme of their own which would also postpone formal data agreement until after initial US-Soviet reductions, but would use Western data for the purpose of establishing numerically expressed ceilings on US and Soviet forces remaining after reductions. The UK proposes larger first step reductions of US (25,000) and Soviet (60,000) forces on the grounds that such a reduction would be justified on its own merits, regardless of the ultimate outcome of follow-on negotiations.

Congressional interest: The Congress is showing increased interest in MBFR because of the high level of political interest this year in arms control and the growing Congressional intent to limit US force levels in Europe in the absence of greater Allied contributions. The House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Intelligence Committee are planning hearings on MBFR in September.

To the extent that the Vienna negotiations still have credibility as a realistic alternative to self-imposed troop cuts, it would be desirable to go into these hearings with an agreed US position on how we wish to proceed with MBFR in meeting Congressional concerns.

Timing

The Western Allies should determine their response to the Eastern draft treaty by the opening of the next MBFR round on September 29 or very soon thereafter. This would also be the most favorable moment for tabling a new Western initiative, should we wish to do so, since it would come at a time of sharpened public interest in arms control in Europe and heightened public concerns over INF deployment. It would also coincide with the tenth anniversary of the MBFR talks.

The key dates would therefore need to be close to the following:

Early September - Decision on US position and transmittal to FRG and UK for their preliminary reaction prior to trilateral meeting.

September 13 - Trilateral meeting scheduled in London.

September 19 - Suggested Western response tabled in NATO.

September 29 - Scheduled opening of fall MBFR round in Vienna.

October 3 - NATO transmits response to Western negotiators in Vienna.

October 6 - West responds formally in the MBFR negotiations.

The Options

The IG has identified three basic options for a NATO response to the Eastern draft treaty:

1) Stick to our position that data agreement is a prerequisite for initial US-Soviet reductions but modify the Western position on non-data issues.

2) Postpone data agreement until after treaty signature but before reductions.

3) Postpone data agreement until after initial US-Soviet reductions.

These options differ principally with respect to the timing of a data agreement. All options include the same package of verification measures, which would be agreed before treaty signature. There are some differences, as noted below in the description of each option, with respect to when the verification measures would be implemented.

The options are discussed below.

Option 1: Stick to our position that data agreement is a prerequisite for initial US-Soviet reductions but modify the Western position on non-data issues. We would press the East for further improvements in their proposed verification measures, perhaps by expanding informal talks on Associated Measures, and seek to maintain the focus on the Western draft treaty of July 82. Under that draft treaty, implementation of all the verification measures would begin at the same time as

initial reductions. We could also begin a carefully controlled discussion of armaments by adopting a flexible formula offered by the UK at the last Trilateral in Bonn.

Discussion: The current Western position has long been a defensible and coherent one. Changing our data position would carry the risk of eroding the West's present strong substantive position on the need for verifiable asymmetric reductions to parity. MBFR does not at present have high visibility with European publics; however, concrete signs of progress could lead to pressure in Western Europe to compromise essential Western goals in MBFR in order to bring about quick reductions. If even a partial agreement were actually reached, pressures on Western defense budgets and force modernization programs would intensify. Moving forward on issues other than data, such as armaments, could not be characterized by the Soviets as "unforthcoming," nor by our Allies as "stonewalling."

On the other hand, holding fast to our current data position would most likely continue the stalemate on the central issues, in the absence of private Soviet indications to the contrary. Potential moves on minor issues would, by design, be cosmetic in nature, and would therefore provide no incentive for the East to move further on verification. Proceeding with this option would probably mean sacrificing an opportunity this year to enhance our public posture on conventional arms control, and in light of demonstrations of apparent Eastern flexibility on the central issue of verification, the Alliance could be faced with a difficult public relations problem. Some of our Allies could conclude that the US is not serious about conventional force reductions, with potentially serious negative repercussions for INF deployments. Such a clear deadlock in MBFR after 10 years of negotiations could finally kill any future utility of these talks toward countering Congressional pressures for unilateral US reductions. Signs of progress in the negotiations, however, could encourage both the Congress and European parliaments to at least maintain current force levels and modernization plans until a verifiable mutual reductions agreement is reached.

Option 2: Postpone data agreement until after treaty signature but before reductions. We would maintain the present Western approach of seeking agreement on staged reductions to parity, plus a package of on-site verification measures. However, instead of insisting that both sides reach data agreement on existing force levels as a prerequisite to signing an MBFR treaty, we would agree to postpone data agreement until after treaty signature. In exchange, the East would have to

agree to implement a package of verification measures acceptable to the West before there were any reductions.* If following mutual inspection of each other's force levels, data agreement were reached, then reductions in stages, separated by further verification, would follow.

Discussion: Such a proposal would place the Soviets on the defensive by forcing them to go on the record as opposing verification rather than claiming that the West is using inflated intelligence figures to block progress or seek unfair advantage. At the same time, it would enable us to hold the Soviets to account, since no reductions would take place unless agreement on force levels were forthcoming. This is important because political and financial constraints would prevent the re-introduction of forces withdrawn in any initial U.S./Soviet reductions phase, regardless of whether -- as is likely -- agreement on force levels was not reached subsequently. It would also guard against any "slippery slope" pressures from Allies and Congress either to follow up on initial dataless reductions with more of the same on the grounds that the approach used for phase one was "working" in the sense of bringing down manpower levels, or to move on to stage three general reductions despite inadequate verification of force levels. The FRG's problems with filling the ranks of the Bundeswehr will be a special stimulus for German pressure in this regard. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that following initial U.S./Soviet reductions, Allies will be under considerable political pressure to follow suit and thus demonstrate equal commitment to arms control.

On the other hand, while this option postpones data agreement until after treaty signature, it does not change the Western position that agreement on starting force levels is required before any reductions are taken. For this reason, this option would be viewed by our Allies, the East, and the knowledgeable press and public as only a cosmetic modifi-

* The aim would be to confirm the size of current levels through mutual inspection of each other's forces and data exchange, rather than (as heretofore) through a data discussion confined to assertions and counter-assertions about numbers. Inspection, through random sampling of Eastern units, would provide useful additional evidence (though not absolute proof) to support Western intelligence estimates of Eastern strength. This evidence could put pressure on the East either to agree to Western data, or to bring reality into line with its claims by unilaterally reducing its forces before inspection came into effect.

cation. Whatever debating points it might temporarily give the West, a strong public case could be made that the West was simply postponing the current data dispute without any serious attempt to find a way out of that dispute, and in the process, was also further delaying any possible reductions. This option would therefore not meet FRG interests in a significant initiative on data. The East would immediately dismiss this option, arguing that it is another Western effort, and a highly intrusive one, to prove its own data. This option therefore would not provide any potential for gaining further Eastern concessions or for moving the talks forward. Finally, if no agreement were reached over the next round or two, the Soviets could "pocket" Western acceptance in principle of data postponement.

Option 3: Postpone data agreement until after initial US-Soviet reductions. The FRG, the UK, and US delegation proposals are all based upon this approach.

The version proposed by Ambassador Abramowitz would postpone data agreement until after initial US-Soviet reductions, provided the Soviets agreed in advance on the framework for the overall process of reductions to parity. This process will include all the essential elements of associated measures, including the format for data exchanges, which will facilitate effective verification of reductions and limitations at each stage. Building upon the FRG and UK proposals, the major elements of this process would be the following:

- First step: a verified withdrawal of 13,000 US and 30,000 Soviet troops;
- Second step: a verifiable, time limited no-increase commitment; data agreement to be reached during this period;
- Third step: verified reductions to parity within three years.

This permits initial US-Soviet reductions before requiring agreement on data, a publicly perceptible change in the basic Western position on data. As such, it would provide a convincing public demonstration of US and Allied negotiating flexibility and seriousness, and thus meet FRG interests. By indicating flexibility on an issue on which the East puts a premium -- immediate reductions without prior agreed data -- the West is in a position to press for further Eastern flexibility on issues of importance to the West. At the same time, because this option would require that all basic elements

be worked out in advance of initial US-Soviet reductions, we would not be "giving away" our data position. Requiring data agreement before further reductions to parity took place will also be very difficult for the East to accept.

On the other hand, if stage two did not produce agreement on force levels following initial US-Soviet reductions, the US would have withdrawn 13,000 troops which it might be politically impossible to return. If the desired public impact were not achieved by our initial tabling of the proposal in Vienna, increased pressure by some of our Allies -- and perhaps our own Congress -- could lead to first stage mutual reductions before a satisfactory arrangement for verifying the next stage had been agreed to. This proposal would probably also be rejected by the Soviets, since they would have to agree in advance to measures to verify their force levels in the area before any follow-on reductions (e.g., FRG reductions) would take place. Should the Soviets agree to verifiable first stage reductions and to the West's set of verification measures, post-reduction data agreement might be difficult to achieve even with the aid of these verification measures. The longer the proposal lay on the table, regardless of Soviet performance, pressures in Congress and in Western Europe for further reductions might be strong and hard to resist, and the Soviets might feel they would be able to impede effective verification once reductions had begun. Finally, if no agreement were reached over the next round or two, the Soviets could "pocket" Western acceptance in principle of data postponement until after initial reductions and a no increase stage had occurred.

Verification

An MBFR agreement to reduce and limit manpower presents difficult verification problems. Because Intelligence has no direct means of counting men, its monitoring methods focus on unit structure and personnel strength estimates. These in turn are strongly affected by assumptions concerning Eastern manpower policies and practices for which only fragmentary evidence exists. Intelligence has high confidence in its ability to detect promptly violations involving changes in force structure that would threaten NATO security, but has low confidence that it could detect promptly marginal violations up to several tens of thousands in manpower alone.

Historical experience argues against concluding treaties, such as the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, containing complex and largely untested verification measures before reaching a full understanding among the parties on the precise nature of these measures and their relationship to treaty compliance.

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- 9 -

See Annex I of this paper for a discussion of the MBFR verification problem.

Attachment:

Verification Annex.

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Verification Annex to the MBFR Options Paper

Summary

This brief assessment of US MBFR monitoring capabilities concludes that Intelligence could promptly detect and report violations large enough to pose significant threats to NATO security in Central Europe. While negotiated verification measures would allow for high confidence in judging the fact and size of Soviet withdrawals and at least moderate confidence in East European reductions, they would only modestly enhance existing unilateral capabilities for monitoring residual ceilings. They should not be expected to ensure detection of all potential Eastern violations, especially marginal ones.

Intelligence would expect to continue to monitor large combat units with moderate to high confidence but, even with the full package of associated measures, it would have low confidence in its ability to estimate manpower in non-combat elements that make up some 25 percent of Pact ground forces. Even though on-site inspection could help confirm the structure of individual units, estimates of Pact manpower strengths would continue to be based largely on indirect methods. The measures would enhance Western confidence of detecting and confirming potential ceiling violations that would threaten Western security, but any MBFR agreement based on manpower seems likely to require that the West accept a certain measure of uncertainty about strict Eastern compliance.

General Intelligence Monitoring Capabilities

1. The selection of manpower as the basis for MBFR poses verification difficulties that are much more severe than any associated with strategic forces arms control. This is because intelligence has no direct means for counting Warsaw Pact military personnel and must therefore estimate manpower totals by inference from force structure. As a result, there is some imprecision inherent in these estimates.
2. With associated measures in place, however, Intelligence could monitor promptly and with high confidence the withdrawal of large Soviet combat units from the reductions area. It would be

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confident that most of the men and major weapons associated with the units had been withdrawn, but some uncertainty might persist indefinitely as to whether marginal cheating on disposal of men or weapons had occurred. It could have only moderate confidence in monitoring the disbandment of indigenous Eastern units, and then only if their equipment were removed, mothballed, or scrapped. -- Intelligence would have low confidence in its capacity to monitor reductions of indigenous manpower and equipment not in units.

3. In the post-reductions phase, there is high confidence that Intelligence would promptly detect the formation of large Soviet combat units. It would be difficult, however, even with associated measures, to make a prompt assessment of the net effect of such an action on overall troop levels if the activity involved only one or two such units. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to detect, especially in the short term, a covert, incremental introduction of Soviet troops distributed among units already existing in the area unless increases were very large. Even large increases could take months to demonstrate conclusively with high confidence. Increases by indigenous forces could be even more difficult to detect than Soviet increases.

The Value of Associated Measures

4. Associated measures would modestly enhance our monitoring capability. They would be most helpful for monitoring reductions; probably less helpful, although still valuable, for monitoring post-reduction ceilings. Each of the verification measures currently proposed by the West is assessed below according to its potential contribution to monitoring Eastern troop levels.

5. Inspection. An inspection system which provided for periodic direct access to Eastern military units would improve our ability to monitor MBFR reductions and limitations by:

- helping clarify the structure of residual Eastern forces upon which our manpower assessments are based;
- helping confirm that preannounced Eastern reductions occurred in fact;
- engaging the East in a verification arrangement that would increase the perceived risk of detection of marginal cheating for the sake of small gains in military advantage.

6. An inspection measure will contribute most heavily to the assessment of Eastern force structure. It could help improve further the Intelligence Community's fairly good understanding of the structure of large Eastern combat formations -- especially divisions -- which comprise more than half of Eastern ground forces manpower. More importantly, it could help define elements of the Eastern force structure which currently are invisible or at best vaguely defined, such as certain rear services units and organizations. An inspection system would not, however, enable Intelligence to by-pass the estimative process and obtain direct accountings of the manpower strengths of Eastern forces. The degree of intrusiveness required even to attempt this would likely be non-negotiable and reciprocally unacceptable.

7. Information Exchange. The Western proposal for an exchange of information is potentially the most important of the cooperative verification procedures proposed by the West. This measure would require the East periodically (e.g., annually) to provide detailed information on the structure and manpower strength of its forces in the MBFR area down to the level of small units. Such an exchange would give us a detailed Eastern statement of its forces against which Intelligence could more easily direct its monitoring resources, including any inspections, and would be a baseline against which compliance challenges could be made.

8. Entry/Exit Points and Prior Notification. The West also proposes that all Soviet forces entering and leaving Central Europe be required to pass through designated entry/exit points permanently manned by Western observers, and that prior notification be given if a move into the reductions area involves more than one complete division or more than 25,000 individual soldiers in one calendar month. Coupled with the prenotification of Soviet withdrawal plans, these measures would be critically important in establishing high-confidence monitoring of Soviet force withdrawals and would improve the Intelligence Community's ability to determine whether post-reduction Soviet troop movements into and out of Central Europe were violating post-reduction limitations.

9. The Issue of Warning Versus Verification. A basic premise of the Western MBFR position is that the outcome should reduce the disparity in military forces in Central Europe and that such an outcome would enhance Western security -- especially against short warning attack. In particular, a number of Soviet combat divisions probably would be removed from the reductions area to the USSR from whence their movement back toward Central Europe would provide additional warning.

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- 4 -

10. It is also expected that the associated measures in the agreement would contribute to better warning intelligence, as well as aiding verification and generally enhancing confidence and stability. It is reasonable to assume that the East would be unlikely to risk being caught at marginal cheating for the sake of small gains in military advantage. If the East did violate the agreement it would be much more likely to do so for large gains that would involve major force changes which intelligence should detect promptly.

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National Security Council
The White House

II

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JS

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>MM</u>	
John Poindexter			
Bud McFarlane			
Jacque Hill			
Judge Clark			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>		<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

Send cc to Fortier ✓

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SYSTEM II
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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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ACTION

August 31, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SIGNED

FROM: SVEN KRAEMER SK

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting on MBFR -- Tuesday, September 6, 1983

Attached for your transmittal to agencies is the IG Options Paper to be discussed at the NSC meeting next Tuesday, September 6, on the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) negotiations. A decision is required before MBFR Trilaterals begin on September 13 between the US, UK, and FRG.

After the IG paper was initially forwarded to us, OSD (Fred Ikle) objected, and we agreed that OSD and PM should seek to revise the paper. During the past week, OSD, PM, and ACDA worked hard to reconcile their differences, but were unable to resolve them. We understand that OSD intends to forward a memorandum to IG Chairman Jon Howe later today suggesting changes in the IG paper, and stating that OSD feels the MBFR options can be decided at the Senior Arms Control Policy Group level, together with the President, without requiring an NSC meeting. We also understand that Ikle will recommend to Secretary Weinberger that the latter call Judge Clark along these lines. ACDA's Ken Adelman also agrees with Ikle's recommendations.

Earlier, all agencies favored an NSC meeting. Now, agencies are divided on whether an NSC meeting is required, with OSD and ACDA clearly opposed; JCS is unenthusiastic; and State is somewhat, but not strongly, in favor. NSC staff believe it does not matter much from the substantive or procedural point of view whether the issue is taken up at the Senior Arms Control Policy Group level and then with the President, or via an NSC meeting. The issue should thus turn on whether principals are available for an NSC meeting, and whether or not there are higher priorities (e.g., Lebanon) for a September 6 NSC meeting at this time.

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NLRR M098/9 #56486

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BY KML NARA DATE 10/4/10

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In view of the fact that the principals need to review this paper formally if the NSC meeting is to remain on the schedule, the Options Paper needs to be circulated later today.

unavailable, but agrees in principle
Ron Lehman and Ty Cobb concur. *TWC*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I transmitting the IG Options Paper to agencies.

Approve K Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Agencies, with Attachment

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NSC MEETING ON MBFR/LEBANON

The Cabinet Room

September 6, 1983 -- 11:00 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.

AGENDA

1. MBFR

A. Negotiations Status - Ambassador Abramowitz

B. Discussion

-- Description of the Options - Judge Clark

-- Agency Positions on Options - Principals

2. Lebanon

A. Intelligence/Military Update - DCI Casey
- General Vessey

B. Discussion

-- Status of Photoreconnaissance of Syrian and Syrian-controlled indirect fire positions - General Vessey

-- Agency views on proposed augmentation of naval assets in Mediterranean - Principals

NSC MEETING ON MBFR / Lebanon

The Cabinet Room

September 6, 1983 -- 11:00 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.

AGENDA

~~1. Introduction (2 minutes) - Judge Clark~~

1. MBFR

4. A. Negotiations Status (3 minutes) - Ambassador Abramowitz

3. B. Discussion (minutes)

-- Description of the Options () - Judge Clark

-- Agency Positions on Options () - Principals

2. Lebanon ()

A. Intelligence / Military Update - DCF Casey
General Vessey

B. Discussion

-- Status of Photoreconnaissance of Syrian and non-controlled indirect fire positions - General Vessey

-- Agency views on proposed assignment of naval assets in Mediterranean - Principals

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BY CU, NARA, DATE 11/9/85

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

CHRON FILE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

10: P 7. 01

September 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER, MILITARY ASSISTANT
TO THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Sir:

The attached is forwarded per our telephone conversation
today.

Very resp'y

RJP
R. J. Zlatoper
Captain, U.S. Navy
Military Assistant to the
Secretary of Defense

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CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

alls 11/18/99

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENTS THIS
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



6 SEP 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: 6 September 1983 NSC Meeting on MBFR (S)

(S) The basic question before the NSC on MBFR is whether to respond to the latest Eastern proposal and to pressure from some allies--especially the FRG--with a fundamental concession on our long-standing, public positions in MBFR. The main argument for a new MBFR position is that it might help with public opinion in the INF context. Foreign Minister Genscher has been pushing for such a change; Defense Minister Woerner, however, does not share these views and feels a new MBFR initiative now would do little for public opinion on INF. In any event, no one expects an agreement on MBFR in the near term, regardless of which options we select.

(S) My understanding of the 18 May NSC meeting is that the President was concerned that we not abandon our strong substantive positions in Vienna until there is clear agreement with the Soviet Union on the precise verification process to be implemented, an understanding on when we could agree on initial data and an indication that the East would take the large asymmetrical reductions necessary to reach parity.

(S) Defense has no objection to bypassing the data dispute for the time being by trying to engage in more substantive verification discussions (much like our private demarche). But I do not see the need to concede formally data agreement in principle, and in public, at this time. Moreover, we should not risk becoming locked into a ceiling on US forces before we are satisfied that we have a verifiable and adequate ceiling on Soviet forces.

(S) The latest Eastern proposal moves marginally in our direction on verification--and we should pursue that vigorously. Their proposal, however, is far from acceptable. We have no clear agreement on this subject and only the vaguest hint that the East may be willing to modify their position further. We have nothing on data agreement except the East's assertion that we will be able to verify the ultimate force levels after all reductions have been completed. The Soviets have given no indication that they are willing to take the sizeable reductions required to reach parity, but they continue to insist that a balance exists.

(S) With respect to the MBFR paper State forwarded for the NSC meeting, my staff has transmitted our reservations for interagency

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BY RW NARA DATE 5-19-10

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consideration. In the paper, only Option 1 retains the present position on data agreement; Options 2 and 3 change our position. Option 2 postpones data agreement until after treaty signature. Option 2, however, requires no reductions until there is data agreement. If the Soviets were to agree to satisfactory verification measures and we implemented them, this could be acceptable. Nevertheless, we are concerned that this option takes away our data leverage. Once having indicated our willingness to postpone data agreement, the Soviets might then simply go to work on softening our position on verification. As this process continued, we could again come under pressure "to show flexibility."

(S) Option 3 has the same weakness as 2 and, in addition, leads to reduction prior to data agreement. Option 3 also would freeze the alliance manpower for a specified period of time--a freeze that would be difficult politically to thaw even after that period.

(S) The bottom line is that Option 1 should be the response to the Eastern draft agreement of June 1983. Assuming armaments are removed from Option 1, it is the alternative that has the fewest problems.

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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

August 6, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: HOWARD J. TEICHER *HTJ*
PHILIP DUR *HTD*

SUBJECT: NSC Discussion on Lebanon, September 6, 1983,
11:00 a.m.

In light of your decision to include a portion of this morning's NSC time on Lebanon, we have prepared talking points to focus discussion on the immediate problems which may require early decisions by the President.

Recommendation

That you use the talking points at Tab I.

Approve

Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Talking points

cc: Kimmitt

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White House Guidelines, August 23, 1997

By dlb NARA, Date 11/18/99

TALKING POINTS

THE MARINES

-- WHAT IS THE SITUATION AT THE AIRPORT? ARE THE MARINES COMING UNDER FIRE? HAVE THEY TAKEN ADDITIONAL CASUALTIES? ARE THE MARINES RETURNING FIRE?

INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY

-- WHAT IS THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE ALEY-SHUF? CAN WE CONFIRM THAT BHAMDOUN FELL TO COMBINED DRUZE-PLO FORCES? HAVE ADDITIONAL MASSACRES BEEN REPORTED?

-- THE ISRAELIS OBVIOUSLY HAVE SUPERB INTELLIGENCE [REDACTED] ON SYRIAN ACTIVITY. ARE WE GETTING AS COMPLETE A READOUT OF THEIR TAKE AS WE MIGHT? DO THEY HAVE ANY HARD EVIDENCE OF SYRIAN COMPLICITY IN THE FIGHTING NOW UNDERWAY IN THE SHOUF?

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NLRR M098/9 #56482

BY KML NARA DATE 10/4/10

TALKING POINTS

DIPLOMATIC STATUS

- BUD SHOULD ARRIVE IN DAMASCUS LATER TODAY. WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR HIS CONVINCING ASSAD TO RESTRAIN THE DRUZE? ARE SAUDI EFFORTS ANY CLOSER TO BRINGING ABOUT AN ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN SYRIAN-LEBANON-INTERNAL FORCES?
- WE HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT GEMAYEL MAY CALL THE PRESIDENT AND ASK US FOR A SENSE OF WHERE U.S. "RED LINES" ARE AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD WE CONSIDER DIRECT MILITARY ACTION AGAINST SYRIAN-SUPPORTED FORCES. IS THE INTEGRITY OF GREATER BEIRUT THE PLACE TO DRAW THE LINE?

U.S. MILITARY MOVEMENTS

- THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW JERSEY HAS BEEN APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE BUT WE WANT TO DISCUSS THE TARGETS SHE MIGHT BE CALLED ON TO ENGAGE IF OUR MARINES ARE ATTACHED.
- PSP MILITIA ARTILLERY NOT COLLOCATED WITH CIVILIAN VILLAGES (LITTLE RISK OF COLLATERAL DAMAGE).
- SYRIAN ARTILLERY -- IF WE HAVE FIRM EVIDENCE THAT IT IS BEING USED TO SHELL MARINES, EMBASSY OR EMBASSY RESIDENCE.
- SECOND CARRIER BATTLE GROUP. WOULD SEND A STRONG SIGNAL OF CONCERN FOR BROADER STRATEGIC PICTURE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.
- CARRIER BATTLE GROUP SHOULD BE CHOSEN WITH A VIEW TO GETTING A SECOND NUNIT THERE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

TALKING POINTS

- IF CHOICE IS USS CARL VINSON, WE'LL HAVE TO REQUEST NPW TRANSIT CLEARANCE FOR SUEZ CANAL.
- WHILE A TOUGH CALL, THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MUBARAK TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED. HE CAN KEEP THIS UNPRECEDENTED CVN TRANSIT LOW-KEY.
- VINSON TRANSIT SHOULD BE TREATED AS "NORMAL" DEPLOYMENT ILLUSTRATIVE OF FLEXIBLE OPERATIONS OF OUR CARRIER FORCES.