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AS REQUIRED BY THE MBFR WORKING GROUP AT THEIR MEETING ON 26 MARCH THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS THE AMENDED TEXT OF SIGNAL 2002 DTG 201410Z MARCH ON THE SUBJECT OF THE MEASURES IN C-M(73)83(FINAL) PARAS 30(i)-(vi). THE SUBJECT IS TO BE DISCUSSED IN SPC ON 1 APRIL. MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP ARE THEREFORE REQUESTED TO CLEAR THIS

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AMENDED TEXT BY SILENT PROCEDURE WITH A TIME LIMIT OF  
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MBFR - EXAMINATION OF THE POSSIBLE STABILISING MEASURES  
LISTED AT PARA 30 OF C-M(73)83(FINAL)

At the request(1) of the Senior Political Committee, the MBFR Working Group have examined the possible stabilising measures listed in paragraph 30 of "The Alliance Approach to Negotiations on MBFR"(2), with the aim of providing advice on the military/technical implications, including the assessment of the effects of reciprocal application, of those measures.

2. The Working Group's examination has been based primarily on relevant technical and military studies(3) and has taken full account of contributions by the German, Turkish(4), and United Kingdom representatives

Scope of this Paper

3. This paper addresses the first six measures listed at para 30 of C-M(73)83(Final). For ease of reference, these are listed below:

- a. Measure 1. Possible provisions for the disbandment of Soviet withdrawn forces without replacement from the Soviet Strategic Reserve.
- b. Measure 2. Possible provisions to put into reserve the Soviet withdrawn forces.
- c. Measure 3. Provisions to prevent the Soviet withdrawn forces to be deployed to the three Western Military, the Leningrad, Odessa, Kiev, Northern Caucasian, and Trans-Caucasian Military Districts, as well as to the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact countries.
- d. Measure 4. Pre-reduction stabilising measures in the Area comprising the Soviet military districts of Odessa, Kiev and Carpathia

(1) AC/119-R(74)12

(2) C-M(73)83(Final)

(3) See AC/276-WP(72)3

(4) a. Turkish Delegation Note of 19 Feb 74

b. Turkish Perm Rep letter of 11 Jan 74

as well as Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece. These measures would apply only to external NATO and Warsaw Pact ground forces and to Soviet ground forces which may move into the aforementioned military districts.

e. Measure 5. Stabilising Measures for certain parts of the Leningrad Military District and for Norwegian territory.

f. Measure 6. Other stabilising measures to accompany reductions, including non-circumvention provisions.

4. These measures fall into three distinct categories:

a. The first two deal with disbandment or placing in reserve of withdrawn forces.

b. The third, fourth and fifth are concerned with measures to prevent deployment of Soviet withdrawn forces to specified areas. Such an outcome could be achieved by various means, notably by clauses within an MBFR agreement or by application of constraints on movement of forces to the territories specified. In view of the content of para c. below, it has been assumed that these three measures envisage the application of movement constraints.

c. Measure 6 postulates other stabilising measures to accompany reductions, including non-circumvention provisions.

5. The succeeding paragraphs of this paper address the military/technical implications of these three groups of measures, in the order listed.

#### DISBANDMENT OR PLACEMENT IN RESERVE

6. This section addresses Measures 1 and 2 of C-M(73)83(Final), paragraph 30, i.e. those concerned with disbandment or placing in reserve of withdrawn Soviet forces. In view of the fact that these two measures are capable of different interpretations, the Staff Group believe it necessary to explain the approach they have adopted, thus:

a. The measure at paragraph 2(a) (Disbandment) is taken to mean that the Soviet units and formations withdrawn from the reduction area would cease to exist as formed units in peacetime, even as cadre or skeletonmanned units. The effect would be to reduce the Soviet peacetime establishment of formed military units.

b. The measure at paragraph 2(b) (possible provision to put in reserve the Soviet withdrawn forces) is interpreted to mean that the Soviet units withdrawn could remain in being as cadre or skeleton formations with minimal peacetime manning and, at most, training on a periodic pattern for short periods.

7. It is recognized that these measures could/more restrictively interpreted to mean that:

a. For Disbandment. After disbandment of withdrawn units and formations, the personnel who had manned these units and formations would be demobilized and put into civilian status.

b. For placement in Reserve. After placement of units and formations in reserve status (see 6b above), the personnel who had manned these units and formations would be disposed as follows:

(i) A cadre to provide the peacetime nucleus of the reserve units, say not more than the 25% manning currently estimated for Category III Soviet divisions in peacetime.

(ii) The remaining personnel (75%+) would be demobilized and transferred to the Soviet manpower reserve.

These more restrictive interpretations would result in a de facto ceiling on ground force manpower in the Soviet Union or at least in the European part of it. This goes beyond the principal objectives of MBFR, which aims at a balanced outcome that will ensure undiminished security for all members of the Alliance at a lower level of forces in Central Europe.

8. The Working Group have therefore concentrated on the interpretations at para 6 above.

The Effect of the Measures Applied Unilaterally to Soviet Forces

9. The practical effect of the two measures, in the context of the approach at para 6 would be broadly similar in military terms. The first would, however, effectively impose an upper limit, in Soviet territory, on the number of peacetime Soviet units/formations of the type withdrawn from the reduction area and is therefore more restrictive. The second measure (placing in reserve) would enable the Soviets to retain the units/formations in being as peacetime skeletons, capable of being fully equipped and manned in war and, in peacetime, of being trained. When withdrawn Soviet forces are put into reserve status, reactivation can be achieved in a few weeks because the skeletons of the original combat ready formations still exist. In the case of disbandment reactivation would take much longer and might indeed not even be considered by the Russians. In neither case would the Soviet manpower ceiling within the European part of Soviet territory necessarily be affected; personnel of the withdrawn formations/units, whether these formations/units were disbanded or placed in reserve status, could be absorbed, to the extent required by manning shortages or other factors, into other Soviet peacetime formations or units.

10. The net effect of either measure, in terms of military capability, would be to reduce the number of ready, standing Soviet formations/units in peacetime. There would be a reduction, in the early days of build-up of the number of units/formations which the Soviets could bring to bear in combat. It has been pointed out, however, that the personnel of the disbanded units/formations might be used to increase the degree of readiness of other Soviet ground formations; and that such an improvement in readiness would mitigate to some extent the effect of the disbandment. SHAPE has

estimated(1) that it would take six days, in such circumstances, for the

(1) SHAPE 1000.1/20-9-4/864/73, 19 Jul 73

Soviets to re-introduce five divisions (four tank, one MRD) into Central Europe from the three Western Military Districts.

11. In the same context (the Assessment of the "US Approach to MBFR") SHAPE(1) has made the point that:

"The conflict of interest between the flanks and Central Region is based on the assumption that withdrawn Soviet forces will be kept on active duty in an area from which they threaten one of the regions of Allied Command Europe. Therefore, the security interests of all regions of ACE could best be safeguarded if conditions envisaged for Pact stationed forces withdrawn under Option 3 (of "US Approach to MBFR") were extended to those withdrawn under Options 1 and 2 (units to be disbanded and equipment stockpiled)." The study also points out that: "NATO security is diminished if, in an emergency, NATO withdrawn forces return to the theatre later than Pact forces withdrawn under the same agreement. Thus, undiminished security is determined by two factors: status and redeployment capability of Pact forces and status and redeployment capability of NATO forces."

12. Furthermore, the net effect of these measures must be considered against the background verified in all the studies and analyses conducted by NATO and individual Allied Nations, that the Soviet peacetime superiority, force levels, and readiness, are such that the Soviets would not need to bring to bear all their available conventional armored forces in war, either in Central Europe or on the flanks, to be assured of success in attack as long as the Allied response were restricted to conventionally armed forces.

13. It remains true that any decrease in combat strengths of Soviet standing forces would enhance NATO's military posture, vis-a-vis the Warsaw Pact in peacetime. The Staff and Authorities have argued cogently,

in a letter by the Staff to the Joint Chiefs of Staff dated 11 Jan 74, and  
(1) SSI 1000.1/10-004/5-1/1, 23 Jan 74, para 37

para 37

subsequently in discussion, that the Allies could make an excellent case for unilateral Soviet action. The Working Group believe that the British case, in the context, is sound.

14. Essentially, there would be advantage for NATO if disbandment or reduction to reserve status of the western Soviet forces could be achieved on a unilateral basis. The advantage must be weighed against the effects of possible reciprocal demand. The implications of reciprocity are discussed below.

#### Possible Reciprocity

15. The crux of the issue is that the benefits achieved must be weighed against the disadvantages which would occur if, in seeking disbandment or placement in reserve of Soviet forces, the Allies were to be expected to reciprocal measures.

16. Demands for almost reciprocal action, if made, would involve Canada, UK and US forces (US only in the first envisaged phase of 1950). These forces must rely for their initial reaction in an emergency upon active (regular) units, supplemented in the case of the UK by territorial reserves at immediate readiness. Therefore the ultimate impact of reciprocal actions - disbandment or reduction to reserve of units/formations - would reduce the capability of these forces to react in an emergency. While it is for the nations concerned to assess the precise implications of such a measure, it is believed that the effect would be to limit the scale on which those nations could respond to an emergency within NATO, whether in Central Europe or on the flanks. The effect of such allied reductions would be increased, post reduction, partly because, the potential physical threat being undiminished, NATO will be more than ever dependent on effective mobilisation and partly because the NATO standing ready forces indigenous to continental Europe will have been reduced. The credibility and effect-



iveness of NATO's conventional response would both be diminished.

### Conclusion

17. In respect of these first two measures, the Working Group concludes that:

a. There would be advantage for the Allies if either the Soviet withdrawn forces were unilaterally disbanded or placed in reserve if this could be achieved.

b. The advantage would be lessened to some extent if the Soviets used the personnel of the withdrawn units to raise the Manning and readiness of other Soviet peacetime units/formations.

c. Reciprocal application of these two measures to NATO (NA, UK, US) forces would be to NATO's disadvantage.

### MEASURES TO MAINTAIN CONVENTIONAL AND OTHER ELEMENTS

18. The succeeding paragraphs address Measures (iii) to (vi) inclusive of COM(73)63(Final), as listed at para 3 above.

#### Measure 3

19. The objective in measure 3 (i.e. the prevention of deployment of Soviet withdrawn forces to military installations contiguous or adjacent to NATO territory) could be achieved by:

a. Disbandment or placing in reserve the withdrawn Soviet forces.

b. Applying movement constraints which would prohibit the permanent introduction of additional combat units into the prescribed military districts and which for temporary increases would limit the scale of such increases and would provide for prior or simultaneous notification of movement of any significant military formation below the prescribed scale.

c. ... having a provision in an agreement under which the

Soviets would undertake not to deploy withdrawn forces into the military districts listed.

d. By concluding a non-circumvention agreement under which the Soviets would undertake not to relocate other forces than withdrawn forces in the military districts listed. SHAPE in the context of the disposal of withdrawn forces have drawn attention(1) to the requirement for collateral measures with a preference for a force limitation covering the three WMDs.

20. Illustrative movement constraints have been considered which, if applied to the Soviet forces, would effectively meet the requirements of para 20b. Movement constraints on this pattern if applied to Soviet forces, would effectively constrain the Soviets from increasing the current level of forces on a permanent basis within the Military Districts listed; they would involve the removal of the forces withdrawn from the reduction area to Central Russia and/or the Military Districts East of the Ural. They would not impose or imply a ceiling on Soviet forces in Soviet territory.

21. g. Movement constraints are technically feasible and if applied to Soviet forces only would have a military advantage for NATO of basically the same character as described for a reduction of the Soviet forces in paragraphs 9 and 12 above. In RDP-266-72 the NS agreed that "the proposed constraints, although useful, will not prevent Warsaw Pact an NATO capability in emergency and war. There should be taken to ensure that the effect of the constraints, in so many cases, is not overvalued. Their effectiveness in, and will remain dependent on the benefits derived for them ... and this be applied in military context. However, in part of a package including reductions and verification and other stabilizing measures, they could be a considerable value. Further work should be done ..."

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Some attention is also paid for the provision of Soviet troops and equipment in the Western USSR.

It is noted that it is essential to ensure the way with such equipment, as to administrative, technical and other matters, a high level of cooperation and coordination is required. The provision of Soviet troops and equipment to the various countries in the Western USSR would probably have to be subject to conditions and arrangements which would be agreed with the relevant countries.

22. Soviet troops present in the respective territories of movement and activities could be subject to constraints.

23. The application of similar constraints on the territory of NATO nations could be the subject of reciprocal arrangements.

24. It is proposed to apply similar constraints to the US, and possibly the Canada and the UK, and

- (i) concerning their own territories
- (ii) in territories and waters from which their capability could be brought to bear on NATO territory
- (iii) to restrict their own effective reinforcement of any part of the area of Allied Command Europe.

25. The Norwegian authorities have indicated that they would be prepared to accept certain movement constraints for their own forces in Norwegian territory provided that these were also applied to Soviet forces facing them. Because of the relatively low level of Norwegian ground forces in Northern Norway, any such movement constraints - to be effective - would have to be set at a lower level than would be applicable in other areas of ACE. With regard to the northern flank of NATO, the nations of the Southern Region will not accept reciprocal application of movement constraints within their respective territories; and the other nations of NATO have undertaken to support their decision(1). In view of the foregoing

(1) C-II(73)83(Final)

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decisions, the question of considering the reciprocal application of such measures in the territory of individual NATO nations is not discussed in this note. The issue devolves therefore to the military and technical implications of reciprocal constraints which the Soviet Union might seek under para 23b above. The effect of such efforts by the Soviets would be an extension of certain aspects of MBFR into forces and areas which have not been examined with the Alliance.

24. It is the view of the Working Group that such reciprocal applications as described in para 23b above would not be tolerable to NATO because it would:

a. Seriously limit the freedom of movement of Canadian, UK and US forces at sea and in areas outside Europe in normal peacetime.

b. Prevent or inhibit response to any emergency or request for assistance both in Central Europe and on the flanks.

However, the question of whether such subjects should be opened for discussion is a matter for political judgement.

Measure 4 (Pre-Reduction Stabilising Measures in certain Soviet Military Districts and in Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece etc. to External Forces).

25. The comments made in the preceding paragraphs in relation to the possible movement constraints on Canadian, UK and US forces apply with equal force to this measure..

Measure 5

26. Stabilising Measures for certain parts of the Leningrad MD etc. This has already been subject to comment in para 23 above.

Measure 6

27. Other stabilising measures etc. The measure at para 29c taken entirely alone would not legally nor morally prevent the Soviets from deploying forces, other than those withdrawn, to the areas facing the flanks

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or to the three WMDs. It would not be verifiable in any reasonable time-scale.

28. The measures could, however, be combined with a non-circumvention agreement, which would include an undertaking by the Soviets not to deploy permanently any additional forces to the areas facing the flanks or to the three WMDs. Taken together these two measures, if honoured, would have the same effect as the movement constraints discussed above. The verification problem would be of broadly the same character as that discussed for movement constraints.

29. It is unlikely that NATO would have difficulty with a reciprocal arrangement which, within or in conjunction with a non-circumvention agreement, specified that withdrawn forces should not be deployed into specified areas in peacetime, provided that the specified areas were land territories in Europe, and therefore within the general context of MBFR. It is believed that NATO nations would not wish either to circumvent an MBFR agreement nor to reinforce such areas in the normal conditions in which an MBFR agreement would be valid. Any non-circumvention agreement should be so framed that it does not inhibit the deployment of the ACE Mobile Force.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS30. a. Measures (1) and (2) (para 17)

(1) There would be an advantage for the Allies if either the Soviet withdrawn forces were disbanded or placed in reserve.

(2) The advantage would be lessened to some extent if the Soviets used the personnel of the withdrawn units to raise the manning and readiness of other Soviet peacetime units/formations.

(3) Reciprocal application of these two measures to NATO (CA, UK, US) forces would be to NATO's <sup>dis</sup> advantage.

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b. Measure 3

(1) Movement Constraints, if applied to Soviet forces only would have a military advantage for NATO (para 21).

(2) Norway would be prepared to accept certain movement constraints for her own forces, the nations of the Southern Region will not accept reciprocal application of movement constraints within their respective territories (para 23).

(3) Reciprocity affecting Canadian, UK and US forces would not be tolerable (para 24).

c. Measure 4 Reciprocity affecting Canadian, UK and US forces would not be tolerable (para 25).

d. Measure 5 Reciprocity for certain parts of the Leningrad MD+ would be acceptable (paras 23 and 26).

e. Measure 6

(1) This measure combined with a non-circumvention agreement which would include an undertaking by the Soviets not to deploy permanently any additional forces to the areas facing the flanks or to the three WMDs would have the same effects as the movement constraints discussed above. (para 28).

(2) It is unlikely that NATO would have difficulty with a reciprocal arrangement which, within or in conjunction with a non-circumvention agreement, specified that withdrawn forces should not be deployed into specified areas in peacetime, provided that the specified areas were land territories in Europe, and therefore within the general context of MBFR (para 29).

(3) A non-circumvention agreement should be so framed that it does not inhibit the deployment of the ACE mobile force (para 29).

Overall Conclusion

31. The Working Group have been concerned in this paper to determine, from the military/technical point of view, whether the stabilising measures listed in para 30 C-M(73)83(Final) could mitigate the effects of MBFR in

Central Europe for the flanks and could be so devised that they would satisfy the legitimate security interests of the flanks. The Working Group's view is that the measures examined if applied unilaterally, would have value; if applied reciprocally however, it would have adverse military effects for NATO. The Working Group believe that this finding would apply equally to other forms of movement constraints which might be examined. The only exception to this general statement would be a measure as described in para 30.e. above in the context of a non-circumvention agreement. The question of whether NATO should pursue these measures unilaterally is a matter for political judgement.