

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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February 1, 1977

Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC-9

TO: The Vice President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of Defense

ALSO: The Secretary of the Treasury
The United States Representative to
the United Nations
The Director, Office of Management
and Budget
The Chairman, Council of Economic
Advisors
The Director, Arms Control and Dis-
armament Agency
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Comprehensive Review of European Issues (U)

The President has directed that the Policy Review Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Department of State, undertake a broad review of US policy concerning key European issues. The review should be completed no later than March 1, 1977.

The review should address the following issues:

1. US-European Relations: Examine broad trends in US relations with Western Europe, the European Community, and other major institutions, as well as internal issues (e. g., Euro-Communism); the major issues -- political, economic and military -- in US-European relations and their interaction; and the relative utility of available frameworks in which the US and Western Europe deal with each other. This section should concentrate on conceptual

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issues and the general overall approaches the US might adopt. More detailed PRM/NSCs may follow an NSC consideration of mid and longer term policy issues, or be dealt with in more specialized studies.

2. NATO: The review should identify major issues confronting NATO, including steps the US might take to invigorate the Alliance politically. Taking into account the improvements in Warsaw Pact and NATO capabilities, and the ongoing MBFR negotiations, there should also be a general examination of NATO's basic military posture and overall force structure and current strategy and tactics, including the question of warning time of an unreinforced surprise attack. The review should consider: the issue of warning time, questions of Allied defense investment, procurement procedures, standardization, and interoperability of weapons systems; and whether a basic NATO review of important aspects of the Alliance's strategy and doctrine would be appropriate. Detailed military force structure issues will be dealt with separately in other PRMs/NSC.

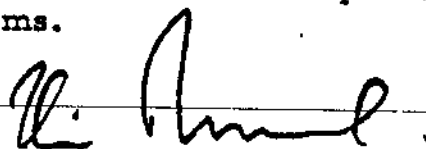
3. Economic Issues: An analysis should be made of our present economic relations with Western European countries -- both as a whole and in terms of major economic problem cases including Italy, Britain, Spain and Portugal. The review should consider how we and the Europeans can cooperate more closely on transnational policy issues facing the industrial democracies: trade, energy, monetary policy, and international finance, using available institutions and/or new institutional arrangements.

4. Eastern Europe: This section should analyze the situation in the area in terms of general trends-- political, economic and social stability. The status and outlook in each country for relative internal liberalization and external independence should be examined. In particular, there should be a discussion of how the US should approach the area and the countries involved; whether and how we should differentiate among the countries in trading or political relations, e. g., treat them more or less uniformly, or primarily as a function of the policy toward the USSR, or on the basis of other criteria, e. g., should US policy be more forthcoming toward Eastern European countries that are relatively more liberal internally (e. g., Poland

and Hungary), or relatively more independent from Moscow (e.g., Romania). This review should include an examination of the role of RFE/RL. This analysis should also address the GDR in the context of US-German and Berlin policies, as well as Eastern Europe.

5. Security Issues: East-West: An analysis should be made of East-West relations in Europe, probable trends, tradeoffs, and issues or contingencies that might arise. It should examine the constraints on further progress, the main elements of an East-West agenda and priorities of US policy. This analysis should include an examination of Soviet policy and objectives in European security. In particular, the following sub-issues should be covered:

- (a) MBFR: As a follow up to the priority work being undertaken in PRM/NSC-6, an analysis should be included in this study of the role of mutual force reduction (including MBFR) in East-West relations, its priority, objectives, prospects, as well as possible US initiatives.
- (b) CSCE: This section should describe the status, and examine the utility of CSCE, particularly for increasing East-West contacts and effecting changes in the human rights area. It should analyze the role of CSCE in the overall East-West relationship and its priority in US policy during and beyond the Belgrade Conference.
- (c) Berlin and Germany: This section should describe the present situation in terms of the Quadripartite Agreement, the inter-German relationship, possible Soviet-GDR moves, and the efficacy of current Allied consultative arrangements; an examination should be made of whether the Three Western Powers and/or the FRG should undertake any new initiatives to improve the situation; analysis also should include the FRG-Soviet relationship in broader European security terms.



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