DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, as amended, Seci 3.5 NSC/Soubers to Smith 09/06/2002 By app Date 02/06/01

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SECRET

October 2, 1971

National Security Study Memorandum 138

TO: The Secretary of State The Secretary of Defense

SUBJECT: European Security Conference

The President has directed that an interagency study be prepared to examine all the issues related to a Conference on European Security. Taking account of studies submitted to NATO as well as known Soviet proposals, the study should discuss differing concepts of such a conference and what US objectives might be under alternative concepts.

The study should address such specific issues as

- -- various methods for preparing a conference;
- -- possible agenda items, including possible US initiatives;
- -- the possible modalities of a conference;

-- possible outcomes of a conference and follow-up actions to it (e.g., the question of "permanent machinery").

In discussing the issues associated with a conference, the study should not be limited to matters already agreed within NATO in its preparations to date.

The study should include consideration of the views of our NATO allies and of other European states and it should discuss the probable aims of the USSR and of other Warsaw Pact members.

The study should examine how the US posture toward a conference might be affected by developments in such related areas as the Berlin agreement, the status of the Soviet-German treaty, MBFR and SALT.

The study should be prepared by the Interdepartmental Group for Europe and be submitted for consideration by the NSC Senior Review Group by November 1, 1971.

Henry/A. Kissinger

cc: The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff The Director of Central Intelligence