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OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

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6 October 1983

INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY POLICY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

THROUGH: DR. HOEHN *Handwritten initials*

SUBJECT: Recent Developments with Respect to START (U)

(S) The President has signed NSDD-106 on START, and the Back-stopping Committee is currently working instructions for the Delegation based on it.

(S) The following are the major changes to our START position decided by the President:

- the build-down initiative, consisting of
 - proposal of a 5% annual reduction in ballistic missile RVs,
 - discussion of additional provisions tied to modernization (e.g. 2 for 1 reduction for new MIRVed ICBM warheads and 3 for 2 reduction for new SLBM warheads.)
 - RV reductions paced by whichever of these two rules produces the greatest reductions in a specific year,
 - proposal (details yet to be worked out) for a bomber build-down at an appropriate time during this round,
 - discussion/negotiation of provisions addressing destructive capacity of ballistic missiles and bombers in frameworks that relate the two in an appropriate manner.
- willingness to explore lower ALCM limits in the context of reciprocal Soviet flexibility on items of concern to the U. S. The intent is to make clear that U. S. proposal is not aimed at protecting 8000 (400 bombers x 20 ALCMs/bomber) ALCMs, as the Soviets assert.

Contrary to press reports, the President did not decide to abandon the 2500 sublimit on ICBM warheads. Also, the President did not instruct the Delegation to change our current stance of not raising SLCMs in the negotiation and responding to Soviet statements on them by asking how limits on SLCMs might be verified.

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Authority: EO 13526

Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS

Date:

APR 5 - 2018

USFK 388.3

6 Oct 83

Classified by Dir, START Policy
Declassify on OADR

18-M-0694

EXEMPT PER EO 12958 as amended
Date 28 Feb 2008 Sec 3.3 (b) 1
OAG F.S. 212 Other Agency Equity: TBD
Review/Declassify On: 31 Dec 2033

380-85-0023, 6x28 ↑ (Apr-07)

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(6) The NSDD also expresses the judgment that reaching an agreement in START will require trade-offs between areas of U. S. advantage in strategic forces and areas of Soviet advantage. It states, however, that the U. S. remains firm in rejecting similar treatment for bomber weapons and ballistic missile warheads.

(6) At this point, my main concern is that the ambiguous language (closely paraphrased above) used in the describing the build-down proposal will lead to confusion and uncertainty concerning our position. In particular, there is almost no concrete guidance for the Delegation on how to

"initiate discussion/negotiation of an appropriate parallel build-down provision which addresses the destructive capacity of ballistic missiles [and] of appropriate ways for addressing the destructive capacity of bombers in frameworks that also address the destructive capacity of missiles and which relate the two in an appropriate manner.

We will work to develop a proposal which will accomplish this objective while insuring that the agreement as a whole has an adequate incentive for the deployment of less destabilizing systems, recognizes that bombers and their weapons face unconstrained defenses and accommodates U. S. modernization plans for our bomber force.

Abram N. Shulsky

ABRAM N. SHULSKY
Director, Strategic
Arms Control Policy

cc: Mr. Perle

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 15 APR 2018 Authority: EO 13526 + 5 USC § 552
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 18 -M- 0694

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Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 5 - 2018

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