

TOP SECRET

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PAGE 1

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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: AUG 22 2018

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ZNY HNSH
O 050945Z MAY 82 ZYH ZFF-4
FM BRUSSELS
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
INFO SECDEF/CARLUCCI
ZEM

~~EYES ONLY~~

~~SECRET~~ 05945Z MAY 82 ~~VERIFIED CHANNEL~~

FROM WEINBERGER

TO: THE WHITE HOUSE,

INFO: SEC DEF, DEP SEC DEF CARLUCCI

FOR: THE PRESIDENT THRU BILL CLARK FROM WEINBERGER

SUMMING UP WHAT I THINK SHOULD BE THE ESSENTIAL
INGREDIENTS OF THE STAFF POSITION: I BELIEVE YOU NOW HAVE A

CI/A 3.3(w)SOX1, OSD 3.3(6X)(1)

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...T OPPORTUNITY TO SET YOUR OWN COURSE IN STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL. WE SHOULD MAKE THE BEST OF IT. WE MUST EFFECTIVELY WALK AWAY FROM THE PAST APPROACHES THAT HAVE SO CLEARLY FAILED.

...I AM CONVINCED THAT THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND ENDURING WAY OF LIMITING BALLISTIC MISSILES IS THROUGH DIRECT REDUCTIONS IN MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT. WE ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH ALL THE OTHER AGENCIES IN ASKING FOR REDUCTIONS IN THE NUMBER OF MISSILE WARHEADS, WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES, TOO, WOULD HAVE TO DISMANTLE MISSILES UNDER ITS OWN PROPOSAL. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE MAIN ARGUMENT AGAINST THROW-WEIGHT LIMITS IS THAT THEY WOULD BE SEEN AS "UNFAIR" TO THE SOVIETS OR THAT THEY WOULD NOT DISCUSS THEM SINCE WE WOULD BE ASKING THE SOVIET UNION TO MAKE MUCH DEEPER CUTS THAN WE. YET THE LAUNCHER LIMITS ENVISAGED IN STATE'S PROPOSAL WOULD ALSO REQUIRE MUCH DEEPER CUTS BY THE SOVIET UNION. BESIDES, YOU HAVE PROVEN WITH YOUR SUCCESSFUL PROPOSAL LAST NOVEMBER THAT THE PUBLIC SUPPORTS AND UNDERSTANDS THE PRINCIPLE THAT, SINCE THE SOVIETS ARE AHEAD, THERE MUST BE UNEQUAL REDUCTIONS TO GET EQUAL LEVELS.

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...AT THE END OF THE NSC MEETING YOU EXPRESSED THE THOUGHT THAT THROW-WEIGHT MIGHT BE ADEQUATELY REDUCED BY MEANS OF THE "INDIRECT" APPROACH, WHICH LIMITS LAUNCHERS. I AM CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS APPROACH, WHICH IS REALLY THE SAME APPROACH USED IN SALT II, EITHER WOULD LEAVE US WITH DANGEROUS LOOPHOLES WHICH THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT HESITATE TO EXPLOIT, OR NECESSITATE AN ELABORATE ARRAY OF SO-CALLED "COLLATERAL" CONSTRAINTS, SUCH AS PROHIBITIONS AGAINST "NEW TYPES OF LAUNCHERS", SPECIAL PROHIBITIONS ON "LARGE" MISSILES, ETC. IF THESE COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE STRUCTURE OF THE AGREEMENT, WE ARE RIGHT BACK TO WHERE JIMMY CARTER'S SALT II PROPOSAL LEFT OFF: THE SAME CRITERIA, THE SAME CATEGORIES, THE SAME DEFINITIONS. ESSENTIALLY, ALL WE WOULD BE PROPOSING IS TO INSERT LOWER NUMBERS INTO HIS TREATY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WILL BE HARD FOR US TO DEFLECT THE DEMANDS NOW BEING MADE IN CONGRESS THAT WE GO AHEAD AND RATIFY SALT II AND REDUCE THE NUMBERS AFTERWARDS. IT WOULD ALSO BE HARD TO EXPLAIN WHY WE TOOK OVER A YEAR TO COME UP WITH ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PHILOSOPHY WHERE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION LEFT OFF.

...THE POSITION WHICH AL HAIG PRESENTED TO US AT THE VERY END OF OUR NSC MEETING OF COURSE MERITS CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, BUT I AM VERY DOUBTFUL ABOUT THE IDEA OF HAVING TWO PHASES IN OUR START APPROACH. WE MUST NOT MOVE TO SUCH AN

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IMPORTANT NEW VARIANT HASTILY, WITHOUT TAKING A FEW MORE DAYS TO ANALYZE IT AND MAKE SURE WE AVOID POSSIBLE PITFALLS, MY REAL WORRY IS THAT IF WE GOT THE FIRST PHASE, WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY NOT WHERE WE WANT TO END UP, THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NEVER AGREE TO SECOND PHASE TALKS. IN ANY EVENT I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON AL HAIG'S PROPOSAL ON THE BASIS OF A THOROUGH ANALYSIS AND AS APPROPRIATE TO SUGGEST POSSIBLE CHANGES, ALTHOUGH AT THIS POINT I DO BELIEVE THE SIMPLE, ALL-INCLUSIVE LIMIT ON THROW-WEIGHT IS THE BEST PROPOSAL. IN ANY EVENT, AFTER FRIDAY I WILL BE ABLE TO REPORT BACK TO YOU SOME OF THE GENERAL THINKING OF OUR ALLIES AS A RESULT OF THE NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETING THAT I AM NOW ATTENDING. I FULLY AGREE THAT YOU MUST HAVE A DETAILED FINAL START PROPOSAL WELL BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH AND I STILL LIKE THE SUGGESTION THAT YOU WOULD PRESENT YOUR IDEAS TO THE NATION AND TO THE WORLD AS PART OF A SPEECH ON MEMORIAL DAY.

#8042

Office of the Secretary of Defense

Chief, RDP, FSD, WHS

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Declassify: _____ Deny in Full: _____

Declassify in Part: X

Reason: 3.3(C)(1)

MDR: 18 M: 0705

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