

United States Department of State SYSTEM

Washington. D.C. 20520

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SECRET

May 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Issues Paper for NSC Meeting on START

The Interdepartmental Group on START Policy has prepared the attached paper for discussion at the NSC meeting on June 7.

The first part of this paper summarizes the key considerations regarding the ceiling on deployed ballistic missiles, throw-weight limits and other issues. All agencies agree that, at a minimum, the issue of the deployed missile ceiling should be resolved at the NSC meeting.

The second part of the paper presents the recommendations from State, ACDA and the Chairman of the START Delegation regarding more comprehensive changes in our START proposal.

Recommendations from JCS and OSD will be provided prior to the NSC meeting. The JCS wish to note at this time that they believe that deployed ballistic missiles should be retained as a unit of account. It is not clear at this point that the US need for small ICBMs will require an increase in the 850 deployed ballistic missile ceiling. Before any decision is made to raise the limit of deployed ballistic missiles, the impact of higher limits on the relative military capabilities of the United States and the Soviet Union must be determined. The JCS are studying the need for and the military implications of an increase in the level of deployed ballistic missiles and will provide their views before the next meeting of the NSC on START.

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While all IG agencies have participated in the preparation of the issues paper, it is being forwarded without the concurrence of OSD. OSD believes that the paper should note that the Soviet initial position, from which they have not moved, would have blocked or sharply curtailed all the strategic force initiatives in the Strategic Modernization Program. On the other hand, the U.S. tabled a "Basic Elements" document in order to assure the Soviets of our willingness to discuss bombers and air-launched cruise missiles; this U.S. concession did not meet with corresponding movement by the Soviets. Finally, OSD notes that each package must be considered in its entirety, and that individual items cannot be considered except in the context of a total package and its goals and guiding principles.

charles will Executive Secretary

Attachment

As stated.

Drafted by:PM/SNP:GSuchan:twm 05/28/83:ext 632-8688

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United States Department of State

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Washington, D.C. 20520

June 4, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT:

START Papers for NSC Meeting

Attached is a revised version of the START issues paper sent to the NSC on May 28. The only change is a brief reference (on page 7) to the phasing issue. An OSD package for discussion at the NSC meeting may be submitted on Monday. JCS is not expected to provide a written position before the NSC meeting.

Also attached is an interagency approved draft START treaty text. This draft text will be modified on the basis of decisions made at the NSC meeting.

> Charles Hill Executive Secretary

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Attachment:

As stated.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ The Secretary of State

THE HONORABLE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER The Secretary of Defense

SUBJECT: Analysis of Build-down Proposals (U)

In his May 12 letter to Senators Cohen, Nunn, and Percy, the President indicated his conditional endorsement of the build-down concept and his commitment to work with them to develop a concrete proposal reflecting this endorsement. (U)

The START Interagency Group should produce an analysis which identifies and evaluates alternative build-down proposals which satisfy the criteria listed in the President's May 12 letter. It should also offer its critical assessment of alternatives, whether meeting the President's criteria or not, which have or which it anticipates may be proposed to the Administration for consideration in the upcoming weeks. (U)

This analysis should address the following questions with regard to build-down and START: (U)

- Are there alternatives/options that are clearly in the US national security interest and that could be implemented now? (C)
- Are there alternatives/options that appear promising and worthy of additional study? (C)
- Are there alternatives/options that have been proposed that should be rejected and eliminated at this time from further consideration? (C)
- How would alternatives/options that are under consideration relate to our position in START? Would they complement our achievement of our fundamental objectives in START or detract from, or delay the achievement of these objectives? (S)
- And, based on the above, what should be the stance that the Administration should take with the Congress on this subject until a suitable alternative/option is developed and implemented? (C)

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An initial version of the paper documenting this analysis should be provided no later than May 31. This initial version will be used to support the discussion of this area at the June 7th NSC meeting on START. A more complete version of the same paper reflecting the NSC discussion and further analysis as tasked should be completed as soon as possible following the NSC meeting. (U)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

cc: The Director of Central Intelligence Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Chairman U.S. START Delegation