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NSC 00086 12 AUGUST 1983 [INTERMEDIATE RANGE

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1334 TALKING POINTS	FOR J	UDGE CLARK		7	ND	B1
	R	6/6/2006				
1335 DISTRIBUTION RECORD	RE NS	SC PAPERS		1	8/10/1983	В3
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MEMORANDUM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

August 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

SVEN KRAEMER SK

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on INF -- August 12, 1983, 10:30 A.M.

Attached for your transmittal to the President is a memorandum for his use in preparing for the NSC meeting on INF issues scheduled for Friday, August 12, 1983, at 10:30 a.m.

The memorandum describes the context of the meeting and the options to be considered there and forwards the following items for the President's review:

Proposed Agenda. (May be altered by discussions and Tab A: recommendations of the Senior Arms Control Policy Group at their meeting with you on Thursday, August 11, at 1 to President 4:00 p.m.)

Your Proposed Talking Points. Tab B:

Executive Summary of Discussion Paper (prepared for NSC Tab meeting by Senior Arms Control Policy Group).

Table of Options (from Discussion Paper).

Discussion Paper.

While preparation of the proposed memo to the President at Tab I involved no major pitfalls, I have been less sure about the sequence and allocation of time proposed in the Agenda and Talking Points, both of which would directly benefit from the discussion scheduled at today's 4:00 p.m. meeting of the Senior Arms Control Policy Group, which will also include Paul Nitze, and for which I have forwarded a separate memo.

It may well be that as a result of today's discussion, we will need to reconsider and revise some of the precise sequence and time allocations proposed. This is one reason I earlier recommended (the Bob Kimmitt) that we not distribute an agenda to agencies today along with the Discussion Paper. However, if the proposed Agenda holds up after today's Policy Group meeting, I would recommend that it be distributed at the outset of Friday's NSC meeting.

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FYI, I have earlier indicated to Jon Howe that you would probably be asking Secretary Shultz to lead off the NSC discussion with a brief review of the INF situation in Europe. (Rick Burt had asked us to put him on the agenda, but we and Jon Howe believe that to be inappropriate, as Secretary Shultz should be able to handle this as he wants.)

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I transmitting the attachments for his use in preparing for the August 12 NSC meeting on INF issues.

Approve	Disapprove	
		•

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

A Proposed Agenda

B Judge Clark's Talking Points

ZE Executive Summary of Discussion Paper

Table of Options

Discussion Paper

Tab II Judge Clark's Talking Points

Tab III Clearance Roster (List of Attendees)

cc: Ron Lehman (travelling)
 Bob Linhard (travelling)

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TALKING POINTS FOR JUDGE CLARK

NSC Meeting on INF
August 12, 1983 -- 10:30 A.M.

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS (5 minutes)

- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) for the remainder of 1983. We have one more negotiating round before initial deployments of the Pershing II and the Ground-Launched Cruise Missile (GLCM) are in place in December. The negotiations resume on September 6. How we manage the negotiations will be crucial to our success in sustaining Allied and public support for the remainder of 1983 and in the years ahead.
- -- Our meeting today will be principally a discussion meeting.

 We will not be making final decisions today. But we will be seeking to establish the path we will be setting for the months ahead.
- -- Our discussion today will be based on the paper prepared by our new Senior Arms Control Policy Group. We have benefited from that Group's earlier discussion, including one yesterday with (Ambassador) Paul Nitze, and we appreciate Admiral Howe's fine work in coordinating this paper for us. Because the

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issues involved are unusually sensitive from a NATO Alliance point of view, we have sought to keep the paper on a very close-hold basis.

- -- Mr. President, the specific questions before us today (which are examined in the discussion paper) are these:
 - Should we change our negotiating approach for the fall round?
 - 2. If so, which of the available substantive elements (such as aircraft, regional limits, and other steps) should we choose?
 - 3. If we decide on one or more moves, how should they be introduced into the negotiations -- as a comprehensive package or as a series of individual steps?
 - 4. What should be the timing of such a move or moves?
 - 5. What quids should we seek from the Soviets?
- -- As we address these questions and consider our options, we will need to take a number of factors into account: (1) U.S. goals and criteria; (2) the concerns of our Allies; (3) likely Soviet moves and their impact, especially on the FRG; and (4) key events outside the negotiations, which represent either pontential opportunities to be exploited or dangers to be neutralized. (Annex I of paper has partial listing of such events.)

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- -- As the discussion paper makes clear, all in the Senior Policy
 Group agreed that we will not wish to alter our basic criteria
 for agreement. They are good, and they have held up well. In
 particular, the Pershing II remains a fundamental element of
 our position, and we should not compensate the Soviets for UK
 and French strategic systems.
- -- We could, however, consider two major substantive changes to our negotiating position: the possible inclusion of INF aircraft, and regional missile limitations within a global missile ceiling.

II. SCHULTZ/NITZE COMMENTS ON CONTEXT (10-15 minutes)

-- Before we consider the nature and possible timing of such changes in detail, I would like to ask George (Shultz) and Paul (Nitze) to lead off our discussion.

A. The Situation in Europe

-- George, would give us a summary of the current situation in Europe as you see it with regard to the INF negotiations and deployments.

[George Shultz comments -- 3-5 minutes]

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B. The State of the Negotiations

-- Paul (Nitze), could you summarize the current state-of-play in the negotiations as you see it.

[Paul Nitze comments -- 3-5 minutes]

-- Thank you, Paul. These have been helpful introductory remarks in setting the context for our considerations today.

III. THE BASIC OPTIONS (40 minutes)

- -- I propose that we now turn to the major options we need to consider for our future approach to the negotiations. These options involve issues of possible <u>substantive</u> changes in our position on aircraft, on global limits, and on other elements. Such substantive changes could be combined in several illustrative packages as indicated in the discussion paper.
- -- But as that paper points out, the options before us also involve complex <u>diplomatic</u> issues of tactics and timing, and these are likely to prove as important, or even more important, than the substantive issues themselves.
- -- In order to make maximum use of today's discussion period, I propose that we briefly summarize some of the substantive SESRET



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options available (all of which will require more specific analysis if chosen), but that we focus the bulk of our time today on the larger issues of diplomatic strategy, tactics, and timing. In any case, it will be these larger issues that will help us frame the substantive decisions we may wish to make.

- A. The Substantive Options (15-20 minutes)
- -- I would like Ron Lehman of the NSC Staff to review the substantive options for us as outlined in the Summary of the discussion paper at pages 1 and 2.

[Ron Lehman highlights outline of aircraft, global/regional limitations, and "other elements" options as outlined in Summary -- 3-5 minutes.]

As I said earlier, I don't believe this is the time to address in detail the merits of these individual substantive options.

We will be discussing several of these individual elements when we consider the diplomatic options and illustrative packages to which our discussion will turn next. But are there some general observations about these that any of you would like to offer? Cap (Weinberger), perhaps you'd like to start out. George (Shultz)? Ken (Adelman)?





[Brief discussion by principals of illustrative substantive options -- 10-15 minutes.]

- -- This discussion suggests that we may be reaching a consensus on the merits of several of these Options. Options ___ and __ appear to have substantive support and ___ have little support.
- -- Our staff will now seek to crystallize the implications of this discussion in terms of a recommendation and a decision.

 And we will no doubt want to have the Senior Arms Control Policy Group and/or the INF IG do some further work on the specific options.

B. The Diplomatic Options (20 minutes)

- -- Let us turn how to the diplomatic options. In terms of negotiating tactics and public handling of the negotiations, the discussion paper identifies a number of issues and gives us a very useful Table of Options with various illustrative packages. Perhaps we can keep that Table in front of us.
- -- The Table suggests as options: (1) that we essentially maintain our current negotiating position; or (2) that we table a comprehensive new proposal with an illustrative

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package involving regional limits and aircraft limits as indicated; or (3) that we undertake a step-by-step presentation of major elements, either as a single package in early September, or in two phases, one in early September and one in late October.

-- Can we have your views about these options, which of these approaches and illustrative you favor and about the timing involved. George (Shultz), will you begin? Paul (Nitze)? Cap (Weinberger)? Ken (Adelman)? Others?

[Discussion by principals -- 15 minutes]

-- We appear to have a general consensus around Option ___, with some opposition to Option ___ (if applies). Do we have a consensus about the elements of the specific package.

IV. WRAP UP (5 minutes)

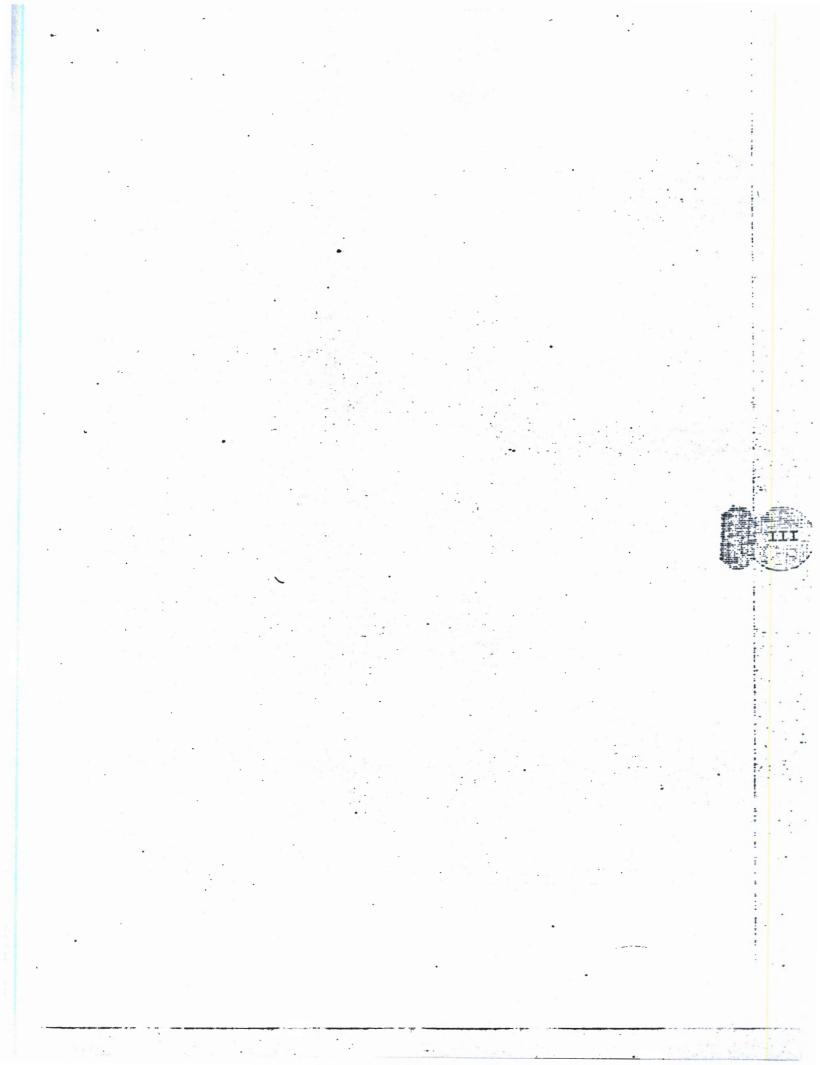
-- We have made good progress today in clarifying the issues and in setting the path for the next round.

[You might at this point call on Ron Lehman to summarize/clarify the discussion.]

-- Our staff will prepare a recommendation/decision package framed in terms of today's discussion.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SECRET

August 10, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Donald P. Gregg Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

Mr. Charles Hill Executive Secretary Department of State

Lieutenant Colonel W. Richard Higgins Assistant for Interagency Matters Office of the Secretary of Defense

Dr. Alton Keel
Associate Director for National Security
and International Affairs
Office of Management and Budget

Mr. Thomas B. Cormack Executive Secretary Central Intelligence Agency Ms. Jacqueline Tillman
Executive Assistant to the
United States
Representative to the United
Nations

Brig Gen George A. Joulwan
Executive Assistant to the
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon

Mr. William B. Staples
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency

Ambassador Paul Nitze
Head of the United States
Delegation to the Intermediate
Range Nuclear Force Negotiations

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting on INF -- Friday, August 12, 1983, 10:30-11:30 A.M.

The attached paper on INF policy issues has been prepared for discussion at the National Security Council meeting to be held in the Cabinet Room on Friday, August 12, 1983, at 10:30 a.m. Because of special sensitivities involved, the paper is for attendees only, and further dissemination must be cleared by my office. Attendance at the meeting is limited to principal plus one, and names must be forwarded to Carol Cleveland (395-3044) by noon, Thursday, August 11.

Robert M. Kimmitt Executive Secretary

Attachment

INF Discussion Paper

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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ACTION

August 10, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

SVEN KRAEMER SK

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on INF -- Friday, August 12, 1983

Attached for your signature is a memorandum to agencies forwarding the "eyes only" discussion paper on INF policy issues prepared for use at the National Security Council meeting on Friday, August 12, 1983, at 10:30 a.m.

As you know, this paper was prepared on a very close-hold basis by the Senior Arms Control Policy Group, rather than by the INF IG. Because of Alliance sensitivities, any leak would be very serious. Per our earlier discussion, a few words have been added limiting access to the paper.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A forwarding the discussion paper for the August 12 NSC meeting on INF issues.

Approve	muc	Disapprove	
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Attachment

Tab A INF Discussion Paper, with Attachment

cc: Ron Lehman (traveling)
Bob Linhard (traveling)

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CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING:

DATE:

SUBJECT:

8/12/83 10:32-11:32 a.m. Cabinet Room INF

PARTICIPANTS:

The President The Vice President Mr. Donald Gregg State: Secretary George P. Shultz Dep Sec Kenneth W. Dam Admiral Jonathan Howe (Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs) Mr. Richard Burt (Assistant Secretary for European Affairs) Defense: Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger Dr. Fred C. Ikle (Under Secretary for Policy) Mr. Joseph Wright (Deputy Director) CIA: Mr. William J. Casey Mr. Douglas George (Director, Arms Control Intelligence Stf) Amb Jeane J. Kirkpatrick ACDA: Mr. Kenneth Adelman Mr. Michael C. Guhin (Counselor) General John W. Vessey, Jr. Admiral Arthur S. Moreau White House: Mr. Edwin Meese, III Mr. James A. Baker, III Mr. Michael K. Deaver Judge William P. Clark NSC: Mr. Robert M. Kimmitt Mr. Ronald E. Lehman Mr. Sven Kraemer

Col Robert Linhard

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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August 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE CLARK

FROM:

Sven Kraemer Sa

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on INF

-- August 12 - 10:30 am

In view of the discussion at today's Senior Arms Control Policy Group meeting, we have revised the proposed agenda at Roman Numberal III to structure the discussion in terms of the Discussion Paper's "Basic Questions" and "Table of Options". To facilitate discussion at the NSC meeting we recommend distributing the revised Agenda, the Basic Questions and the Table of Options -- with the latter two items drawn directly from the Discussion Paper.

In terms of your Talking Points, these would remain the same through the Shultz and Nitze presentations on page 4, at which point you would ask each principal in turn to discuss the Basic Questions and Table of Options. We anticipate some consensus shaping up around Option #3, illustrative approach #2. A wrap-up on consensus should be sought near end of meeting. Then Policy Group should be asked to work with NSC staff to prepare further/refined recommendations for highest level review.

Concurrence: Ron Lehman We are realy to meet with you in the morning; if you wish

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White House Guidelines, August 29 _ NARA, Date.

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The rissue is whether there atems should be in the red folders for tomorrow's NSC.