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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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October 26, 1979

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZS*  
SUBJECT: NSC Weekly Report #114

1. Opinion

Status of TNF

David Aaron provides the following results of his visit last week to Europe concerning TNF.

We are much closer to a firm consensus on our proposed TNF program than anyone would have anticipated only a few weeks ago. The UK, FRG and Italy have all taken firm internal government decisions to support the NATO program. In Belgium, the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Defense Minister all support the NATO program and Belgian participation and are prepared to make a vote of confidence in their Parliament. The same is true in the Netherlands except that the Dutch want to change the program significantly and are spending more time trying to modify the NATO decision in an effort to win acceptance than they are trying to defend it.

In my judgment the other allies will be willing to go ahead with the program without the Dutch with the possible exception of the Belgians. We should, however, do our best to get them to participate, otherwise their absence could unravel the support of other countries and create a long-term problem with the West Germans.

Despite the firm government position in the FRG and Italy, both countries will avoid firm public commitments to the NATO TNF program for as long as possible in order to avoid provoking public opposition. However, we must also recognize that this leaves Schmidt and Cossiga an opportunity to back out or trim their commitment. We should not make too much of this, however, because increasingly it's publicly known that the Germans and Italians support the program and backing off would provoke a major political crisis for both leaders. Interestingly, both the Italians and the Belgians are keying their presentation and strategy to the position of the Germans (not the Dutch). If Schmidt stays firm, they will remain firm.

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Classified and Extended by Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Review October 26, 1999  
Reason for Extension: NSC 1.1

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BY *g*  
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The Belgians have invited Schmidt to come to Belgium in November for the purpose of strengthening the Belgian Socialist support for LRTNF.

There are several other aspects of the trip which deserve comment.

-- The Brezhnev initiative is a dead letter. If anything, it was counterproductive and the current harsh Soviet stance makes clear that the Russians' peace offensive is more offensive than peaceful. Nonetheless, if it continues, there may be second thoughts in various sectors of the German SPD.

-- The Italians have backed off their insistence on some kind of physical veto of LRTNF in Italy. They are prepared for a face-saving device and have suggested we form a committee to consider the problem once NATO has reached its decision in December.

-- The Europeans will not make any formal linkage between TNF and SALT ratification. The Dutch wanted to do this, but David persuaded them that this would be counterproductive for SALT. They will make a unilateral statement that their agreement to TNF will be conditional on SALT.

-- The Dutch proposal to deploy only 286 weapons while we negotiate for three years could prove troublesome, particularly in Belgium. We need to push our own warhead reduction initiative as a counter. I believe we can count on the Allies to support us, but Defense Minister Apel is a little soft on this issue.

We will have an SCC next week to consider next steps to recommend to you.

## 2. Vance/Brown/Brzezinski Decisions

The following decisions were taken at the VBB luncheon yesterday:

-- Brown Paper: We touched on Harold's paper to you of October 3 on responding to Soviet assertiveness. The original of the memorandum is with you, and I would prefer to have your guidance before we discuss the memo and its recommendations further. Do you have any instructions for us?

-- Czechoslovakia: In response to the sentencing of the six dissidents, the U.S. Ambassador will be recalled for consultations in Washington within a week.

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