

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

May 31,
'79

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI **ZB**

SUBJECT: Correspondence with
Chancellor Schmidt on TNF (U)

As you directed, we prepared a letter to Chancellor Schmidt, outlining your views on TNF in advance of your June 6 meeting. The letter (Tab A) follows closely the approach Cy and Harold spelled out in their May 9 memo to you, which you approved: Deployments are needed; you are prepared to take the lead in forging an Alliance consensus; you understand the German position and are determined to bring about the conditions the Germans seek -- deployments in other countries and a serious arms control approach, though neither TNF arms control nor MBFR should stand in the way of needed deployments. (S)

This letter also takes account of Schmidt's letter to you of May 23. He says that his support of SALT II is made "all the easier" by US willingness to take into account German reservations: by the US interpretative statement on non-circumvention; by the unilateral statement that future limitations on theater systems must be mutual; and by assurances that after Protocol expiration, defense and arms control options for cruise missiles will be open. Schmidt also encloses a memorandum reflecting conclusions of Federal Security Council meetings on TNF. (S)

The German memorandum is positive: it broadly endorses deployment of new long-range TNF systems without specific commitments. It stresses the political boost a positive TNF decision would give the Alliance and underlines the consequences of failure -- "danger of visible disintegration of the Alliance." It says the US must lead the Alliance decision, but Europe must take a substantial share of the political risk and material burden. But, the memo stresses that any "singular" responsibilities of Germany for long-range TNF would -- in view of the historical situation -- have a negative effect not only on Germany's internal and external situation, but also "eurostrategically." The memo repeats now familiar German positions:

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- The FRG will not participate in long-range TNF as a "user nation";
- Any stationing of new US systems in the FRG should be accompanied by deployment elsewhere in Europe;
- An integrated TNF modernization and arms control approach is indispensable but needed TNF modernization measures should not be jeopardized by arms control hopes. In December, the Alliance should take a decision and begin to implement it, and at the same time make an arms control proposal to the Soviets in the context of SALT II. (S)

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Schmidt at Tab A.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove

State and Defense have reviewed the letter and concur. Bernie Aronson has reviewed and approved the letter. (U)