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FM THE WHITE HOUSE

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS WH05305

State Dept. review completed

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE SHOULD BE DELIVERED IN A SEALED ENVELOPE MARKED "EYES ONLY" TO SENATOR ROBERT BYRD, WHO IS CURRENTLY VISITING TOKYO.

NLC Review Completed.

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE DELIVERY OF MESSAGE THROUGH THIS CHANNEL.

TO: SENATOR ROBERT BYRD
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO INFORM YOU OF AN IMPORTANT STRATEGIC DECISION THAT WILL BE ANNOUNCED TOMMOROW, JULY 15, AT 1030 A.M., WASHINGTON TIME.

AT THAT TIME IN LONDON PRIME MINISTER THATCHER WILL BE INFORMING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO MODERNIZE THE BRITISH STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCE OF POLARIS SUBS. IN THIS CONNECTION SHE HAS REQUESTED THAT THE PRESIDENT AGREE TO SELL TRIDENT I MISSILES TO THE UNITED KINGDOM. THE PRESIDENT HAS TOLD HER THAT HE AGREES. THESE NEW MISSILES WOULD BE CARRIED IN 4 OR 5 NEW BRITISH SUBMARINES AND WOULD GO INTO FORCE IN THE EARLY 1990S. THE WARHEADS WOULD OF COURSE BE PROVIDED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT STRATEGIC DECISION FOR BOTH THE US AND THE UK. THE INDEPENDENT BRITISH STRATEGIC FORCE HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE NATO DETERRENT STRUCTURE FOR SOME TIME. WE STRONGLY FAVOR MAINTAINING A VARIABLE BRITISH STRATEGIC FORCE INTO THE 21ST CENTURY AND AGREE WITH THE BRITISH ASSESSMENT THAT THE MIRVED TRIDENT IS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS. IN ADDITION, OUR STRATEGIC COOPERATION IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND UK ON A RANGE OF FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY MATTERS. IT IS CRUCIAL

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FOR OUR FUTURE THAT THIS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BE CONTINUED.

SINCE THE BRITISH WILL PAY THE FULL COST OF THE SYSTEM, THE TRIDENT SALE WILL BE FINANCIAL BENEFICIAL TO THE US. WE ESTIMATE THAT IT WILL BE WORTH ROUGHLY \$2.5 BILLION IN 1988 DOLLARS FOR THE US, A SUM WHICH INCLUDES A 5 PERCENT SURCHARGE TO COVER THE ALREADY SUNK R&D EXPENSES ON TRIDENT. TO MAKE A FURTHER CONTRIBUTION TO OUR R&D COOPERATION, THE BRITISH HAVE AGREED TO MAN -- AT THEIR COST -- THE HIGHLY CAPABLE RAPIER AIR DEFENSE MISSILE SYSTEM WHICH WE WILL BUY TO DEFEND US AIR BASES IN THE UK FROM AIR ATTACK. THIS WILL BE WORTH ANOTHER \$100 MILLION TO US OVER THE NEXT 20 YEARS. DESPITE THE COST OF STRATEGIC FORCE MODERNIZATION, PRIME MINISTER THATCHER HAS STATED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT IT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM "TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ECONOMIES MADE POSSIBLE BY COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IN MAKING THE TRIDENT MISSILE SYSTEM AVAILABLE IN ORDER TO REINFORCE ITS EFFORTS TO UPGRADE CONVENTIONAL FORCES."

AS YOU KNOW FROM SALT RATIFICATION DISCUSSIONS, THIS SALE IS CONSISTENT WITH SALT. WE MAKE CLEAR THAT COOPERATION WITH THE ALLIES WOULD BE PERMITTED UNDER THE SALT II TREATY. I RECALL THAT MOST OF THE SENATE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THIS POSITION. THE BRITISH DETERRENT FORCE WAS CLEARLY IN EVERYBODY'S MIND.

WE HAVE TOLD THE BRITISH THAT WE INTEND TO NOTIFY THE CONGRESS OF THIS SALE AS CALLED FOR BY SECTION 36-B OF THE ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT. WE WILL NEED YOUR HELP TOWARD ENSURING A SMOOTH AND EXPEDITIOUS CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW, SINCE TO AVOID DELAYS IN THEIR PROGRAM, THE BRITISH NEED TO START WORK UNDER A FORMALLY BINDING AGREEMENT IN THE EARLY FALL. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO SUBMIT THE FORMAL NOTICE TO CONGRESS WHEN YOU RECONVENE ON JULY 31. WE BELIEVE THAT THE NATURE OF THIS CASE, WHICH INVOLVES THE CONTINUATION OF LONGSTANDING COOPERATION WITH OUR CLOSEST ALLY, JUSTIFIES ABBREVIATING THE 90-DAY INFORMAL NOTICE THAT WE NORMALLY GIVE CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS BEFORE SUBMITTING OUR FORMAL NOTICE. WE ARE FOLLOWING THIS PROCEDURE BECAUSE WE COULD NOT ANNOUNCE THIS DECISION SOONER FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS THAT I AM PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH YOU IN PRIVATE UPON YOUR RETURN. OF COURSE, TO HELP THE CONGRESS IN ITS REVIEW, THE ADMINISTRATION IS READY TO PROVIDE WHATEVER DETAILS THE CONGRESS NEEDS.

I KNOW YOU WILL KEEP THIS INFORMATION IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE UNTIL THE PRIME MINISTER MAKES HER ANNOUNCEMENT ON TUESDAY. THE BRITISH HAVE STRONGLY REQUESTED THAT WE KEEP THESE FACTS LIMITED TO A VERY FEW PEOPLE, BUT THE PRESIDENT FELT THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU HAVE ADVANCE NOTICE.

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