January 10, 1974

National Security Decision Memorandum 241

TO: The Secretary of Defense  
The Deputy Secretary of State  
The Chairman, U.S. MBFR Delegation

SUBJECT: Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions

The President has approved the following instructions for the U.S. Delegation in the next phase of MBFR:

1. The U.S. Delegation, in coordination with the Allies, is authorized to begin discussion of U.S.-Soviet ground force reductions with the Soviet and Warsaw Pact Delegations in accordance with Phase I of the agreed Allied proposal.

2. In this connection, the Delegation, together with the Allies, may inform the Soviets that:

   -- At a suitable time in negotiating the first phase of our proposal, we would be willing to discuss the specific language of a provision in a first phase agreement which would cover the linkage between the two phases.

   -- We could agree that the second phase negotiations could start within a fixed period of time after conclusion of the Phase I agreement; the precise period would be agreed later in the Phase I negotiations.

3. As for Soviet desire for assurance that the second phase would include the forces of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Delegation should emphasize that the common ceiling reduction which should result from Phase II would, on the Allied side, focus on the other direct participants in the area of reductions. The Delegation may informally tell the Soviets that it is our assumption that the Bundeswehr would be included under the common ceiling reduction,

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but that any advance commitment to FRG reductions in the second phase would require an equivalent Soviet commitment to the common ceiling as the outcome of Phase II.

4. The Delegation should, as appropriate, make clear to the Allies and the Soviets that the only sub-ceilings to result from MBFR, in either phase, should solely apply to Soviet and American forces.

5. As discussed in the Verification Panel Meeting, January 7, 1974, the Delegation should continue to oppose the inclusion of air and nuclear forces and make clear to the Soviets that we are not prepared to address them.

Discussion of nuclear issues with UK and FRG should be postponed until February. A paper with recommended guidance for use in response to the UK/FRG questions, together with an analysis of the underlying issues, should be prepared by the Working Group for the consideration of the Verification Panel by January 28, 1974.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
    The Director of Central Intelligence
    The Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency