

MEMORANDUM

~~TOP SECRET~~ #2

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3615  
J

TOP SECRET

June 15, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB*  
SUBJECT: Possible Conversation with Giscard

In response to Giscard's cable, you may wish to telephone him on Friday, June 17, in addition to a cabled response. The rationale for the date is that you will be leaving for Camp David later that day, and Brezhnev is arriving in Paris on Sunday, the 20th.

In that conversation, you may wish to mention to Giscard that you are anxious to continue on a personal basis with Brezhnev your strong determination to reduce the dependence of both the U. S. and the Soviet Union on nuclear weaponry, thereby taking a step towards the eventual elimination of such weaponry.

You might stress to Giscard that it is premature at this stage to make formal proposals but that you would be grateful to him for making the following points to Brezhnev, in addition to your cabled response -- which you hope Giscard will convey orally (attached):

(1) That you would like to explore with Brezhnev the possibility of a joint US-Soviet statement to the effect that neither power would ever use nuclear weapons first unless its territory or its forces or its allies were attacked. This would highlight the notion that nuclear weapons are designed only for defensive purposes and it would throw the burden of nuclear responsibility on the party initiating military hostilities. Joint agreement would furnish a commendable example of US-Soviet willingness to move, on a step-by-step basis, towards increased restraint on nuclear weaponry.

(2) That you might consider also a bilateral commitment of no-first-use against non-nuclear states, preferably in conjunction with the above. You might wish to be most careful on this one because at this stage it could make South Korea feel more vulnerable to a North Korean attack (and at this stage the North Koreans do not have the certainty -- even if they do have the probability -- that we would not use nuclear

TOP SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
MR. M/C-10-166  
PER 11/3/11 NSC LETTER  
BY *[Signature]* NARA, DATE 3/2/11

weapons). A slightly modified variant could involve a declaration that neither power would use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states unless such states were militarily supported in conflict by a nuclear power. For example, if North Korea were to launch an attack, under this formula it would be liable to a U.S. nuclear response only if it were aided in such an attack either by the Soviet Union or by China.

(3) That your concern for nuclear reductions and the freeze is not tactical in nature, nor is it designed to gain a short-term advantage over the Soviet Union, but that it is related to your general desire to decrease global dependence on nuclear weaponry, of which the above two propositions are an indication. Brezhnev should understand that you are anxious to set in motion a process of gradually decreasing both U.S. and Soviet dependence on nuclear weaponry.

(4) That irrespective of progress in current SALT negotiations, you would be glad to discuss these thoughts with Brezhnev on a personal basis in the U.S., perhaps along the lines of the Vladivostok meeting.

The above is sensitive and could be misinterpreted. Hence you might want to use notes in speaking to Giscard so that he does not misinterpret your message to Brezhnev.



National Security Archive,  
Suite 701, Gelman Library, The George Washington University,  
2130 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20037,  
Phone: 202/994-7000, Fax: 202/994-7005, [nsarchiv@gwu.edu](mailto:nsarchiv@gwu.edu)