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FM THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
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~~TOP SECRET~~ SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

WH31822

DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS

HR70-14  
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APPROVED FOR RELEASE  
DATE: MAR 2008

JULY 5, 1973

TO AMBASSADOR HELMS - EYES ONLY  
FROM HENRY A. KISSINGER

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST FOR BRIEFING INFORMATION ON THE SOVIET  
SUMMIT, THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE PROVIDED FOR THE SHAH'S PERSONAL  
INFORMATION.

THE PRINCIPAL TOPICS COVERED IN THE LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN  
THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV WERE THE PREVENTION OF  
NUCLEAR WAR, STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS, INDOCHINA, THE MIDDLE EAST,  
EUROPEAN ISSUES, AND COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE MIDDLE  
EAST MAY BE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE SHAH.

—PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. IN THE SUMMIT TALKS ONE OF OUR AIMS WAS TO ENSURE THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARY FULLY UNDERSTOOD OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE MEANING AND EFFECTS OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. WE STRESSED THAT ALTHOUGH THIS AGREEMENT IS BILATERAL ITS OBLIGATIONS EXTEND TO THE POLICIES OF BOTH THE U.S. AND THE USSR TOWARD THIRD COUNTRIES. WE REGARD THE AGREEMENT AS IN NO WAY DIMINISHING OUR COMMITMENTS.

THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT A SET OF RULES ON HOW TO CONDUCT A WAR; THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS IN NO SENSE A PROHIBITION ON THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HAVE AGREED ON A STANDARD OF BEHAVIOR THAT WE WOULD FOLLOW IN OUR GENERAL FOREIGN POLICIES IN PEACE TIME; BUT IF WAR DOES OCCUR, THERE IS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN VARIOUS KINDS OF WEAPONS.

BA THE SOVIETS ULTIMATELY ACCEPTED THIS EXPOSITION BUT WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT A DOCUMENT OF THIS KIND BY ITSELF GUARANTEES PEACE AND SECURITY.

—MIDDLE EAST. THE MIDDLE EAST WAS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH, AND AS INDICATED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, WE STILL HAVE DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIETS. BREZHNEV APPARENTLY FEELS THAT WE CAN PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND DICTATE A SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE MAXIMUM ARAB POSITION. HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN THE COMING MONTHS, AND NOW SEEMS TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM HIS SUPPORT FOR THE BASIC UN RESOLUTION IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN ENOUGH FLEXIBILITY TO GAIN A NEW RESOLUTION MORE FAVORABLE TO THE ARABS.

THERE WAS, HOWEVER, AGREEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES IN THE MIDDLE EAST SHOULD NOW REVIEW THEIR POSITIONS TO PROMOTE AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD ACCORD WITH THE INTEREST OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA, AND WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND SHOULD TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIANS.

THIS SERIES OF MEETINGS HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. THE GENERAL SECRETARY WAS BROUGHT INTO CONTACT WITH OUR CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AND WITH OUR BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND SPENT MANY HOURS IN TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE NOW SEEMS MORE PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF IMPROVED RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT ULTIMATE SOVIET OBJECTIVES.

THE PRESIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION OF THESE MATTERS WITH THE SHAH.

ON NEW SUBJECT, YOU MAY TELL SHAH THAT PRESIDENT HAS AGREED TO ATTEND RETURN DINNER DURING SHAH'S VISIT.

WARM REGARDS.

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