INCOMING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY MADRID, SPAIN

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MADRID

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER. HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE, SATURDAY, JAN. 24

NO. 19

NEW SPAPERS:

I. WASH POST (MARDER): HEADLINED: "NEW CUT SEEN IN A-ARMS; SALT ACCORD CLOSER, SAYS KISSINGER" (FROM BRUSSELS) SECRETARY RAISED HOPE TODAY SOVIET-AMERICAN NUCLEAR ARMS ACCORD MAY BE SIGNED AT WASHINGTON SUMMIT IN MID '76, POSSIBLY WITH ARMS LEVELS SET ABOUT 10 PERCENT LOWER THAN HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED.

SECRETARY SAID SOVIETS HAD MADE THE PROPOSALS FOR REDUCTIONS. HE TOLD NEWS CONFERENCE HERE THAT IN MOSCOW TALKS "PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE" FOR BREAKING THE DEADLOCK IN THE 14-MONTH SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT. "PROSPECT FOR REDUCTIONS" IN ARMS CEILINGS IN 1974 WAS RAISED BY SECRETARY, BUT HE HEDGED IT WITH NUMEROUS QUALIFICATIONS.

PROPOSED REDUCTIONS WOULD LOWER PROJECTED NUMBER OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR MISSILES AND BOMBERS ON EACH SIDE ... BY 200 OR SO.

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE WOULD BE SMALL BUT REDUCTION COULD COULD SUPPLY TOKEN OF INTENT TO PROCEED IN FURTHER STAGES OF TALKS TO SUBSTANTIVE REDUCTIONS.

AMERICAN SOURCES CONCEDE THAT EVEN POSSIBLE MODEST REDUCTION NOW BEING STUDIED WILL HAVE TO FACE CHALLENGE THAT IT REPRESENTS MUNIPULATION OF NUMBERS FOR POLITICAL EFFECT. THEY DENY THAT INTENT.

WHETHER THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT AT ALL IN NEAR FUTURE DEPENDS ON INTERNAL DEBATE AND DECISIONS IN WASHINGTON AND FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH SOVIET UNION, SECRETARY SAID.

HE ADDED THAT U.S. HAS AGAIN MADE CLEAR TO MOSCOW THAT SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA ARE NOT HELPFUL TO DETENTE.

... DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE BEING CONVEYED IS THAT U.S. IS LOOKING FOR SOVIET ACTION IN ANGOLA RECOGNIZING THAT INTERVENTION THERE CAN AFFECT AMERICAN ATTITUDES WHILE WASHINGTON IS MAKING SALT JUDGMENTS.

SOVIET UNION GLEARLY GOT MESSAGE IN TALKS . . . AMERICAN SOURCES SAID.

ACTION AMB DCM POL LIA **ECON** USIS **ADM** PER GS B&F SY C&R CON DEA JUSMG DAO AGR LEGAT BAR BIL SEV : D.O. CHRON

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COMING TELL TRAM

... AT BEST, U.S. CAN ONLY GET A FACE-SAVING DEVELOPMENT OUT OF THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT IN WHAT IS ESSENTIALLY A LOST AMERICAN VENTURE, DIPLOMATIC SOURCES CONCEDE. . .

2. NYTIMES (GWERTZMAN): HEADLINES: "SOVIET PROPOSES PLAN TO RESOLVE ARMS PACT SNAG..." (FROM BRUSSELS): THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROPOSED A NEW APPROACH TO RESOLVE ISSUES STILL HOLDING UP SALT TREATY, AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID TODAY.

REPORTERS TRAVELLING WITH SECRETARY WERE TOLD THAT RUSSIANS HAD ELABORATED PLAN TO TAKE CARE OF . . . WHETHER TO IN-CLUDE BACKFIRE IN OVER-ALL FORCE LEVEL OF 2,400 MISSILES AND BOMBERS A GREED IN VLADIVOSTOK.

UNDER NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL, THE MAXIMUM FORCE WOULD BE REDUCED ... TO 2,100 OR 2,200, BUT BACKFIRE WOULD NOT BE COUNTED. THIS WOULD MEET SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT BOMBER NOT BE INCLUDED AS A STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLE, WHILE MEETING AMERICAN CONCERN THAT DEPLOYMENT OF A FEW HUNDRED OF THE BOMBERS WOULD INCREASE SOVIET STRENGTH OVER 2,400 LIMIT. ..

MAJOR PROGRESS ALSO REPORTED ON CRUISE MISSILE, ALTHOUGH ON THIS QUESTION AS WELL AS ON BACKFIRE, MUCH WORK STILL TO BE DONE AND NEW PROPOSALS FORMULATED IN WASHINGTON.

ALTHOUGH SECRETARY SAID AT BRUSSELS NEWS CONFERENCE THAT HE WAS PLEASED BY RESULTS OF THE ARMS-CONTROL TALKS, HE APPARENTLY MADE NO HEADWAY IN PERSUADING SOVIETS TO REDUCE INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

THE SECRETARY'S MISSION ALSO FELL SHORT OF ACHIEVING SALT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE THAT HAD BEEN MAXIMUM GOAL. BUT THIS WAS EXPLAINED BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS AS RESULT OF UNEXPECTED SOVIET APPROACH UNVEILED BY BREZHNEV IN FINAL FOUR-HOUR MEETING AT THE KREMLIN.

BREZHNEV'S IDEAS, WORKED OUT BY THE POLITIBURO DURING THE DAY, WERE DESCRIBED AS SO SWEEPING AND UNEXPECTED THAT THEY WOULD REQUIRE CLOSE STUDY IN WASHINGTON. BEFORE LEAVING, KISSINGER SAID, "WE WILL REPLY IN A FEW WEEKS AND THEN CONTINUE THE NEGOITATIONS."

HE IS EXPECTED TO CONVEY AMERICAN RESPONSE TO DOBRYNIN IN WASHINGTON AND WILL PROBABLY RETURN TO MOSCOW FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID THAT RESULTS OF THE LAST DAYS HAD UNDERSCORED THAT ONLY EREZHNEV COULD ACTUALLY NEGOTIATE ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS. ...

3. NO LATIMES, WSJOURNAL, HEARST & NYDAILY NEWS AVAILABLE ON SATURDAY.

WIRES:

1. REUTER (NELSON): (FROM MADRID) THE U.S. WILL WITHDRAW ALL ITS NUCLEAR-MISSILE SUBMARINES FROM THEIR BASE AT ROTA, SPAIN, IN 1979, IT WAS A GREED TODAY.

SECRETARY FLEW HERE TO SIGN TREATY WHICH ALSO EXTENDS U.S. USE OF FOUR SPANISH MILITARY BASES IN RETURN FOR 1.25 BILLION IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS.

SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL ABOARD PLANE SAID SPAIN HAD INSISTED ON WITHDRAWAL OF MISSILE SUBMARINES SO AS NOT TO HAVE NUCS ON SPANISH SOIL.

U.S. AGREED BECAUSE POSEIDON SUBMARINES WILL BE REPLACED BY LONGER-RANGED TRIDENTS WHICH CAN OPERATE FROM U.S., AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID.

SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL SAID HE DID NOT THINK WITHDRAWAL FROM ROTA WOULD LEAD TO RENEVED PRESSURE IN BRITAIN FOR

REMOVAL OF POSEIDON SUBMARINES FROM BASE AT HOLY LOCH IN SCOTLAND.

THE U.S. WOULD NOT VOLUNTEER SUCH A WITHDRAWAL, HE SAID, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT TRIDENTS COULD EVENTUALLY REPLACE HOLY LOCH POSEIDONS AS WELL.

IN RETURN FOR CONTINUED USE OFBASES THE U.S. WILL GRANT SPAIN A VARIETY OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, U.S. OFFICIALS SAID.

THE PACKAGE INCLUDES 600 MILLION IN MILITARY CREDITS. 75 MILLION IN MILITARY GRANTS, 450 MILLION IN COMMERCIAL CREDITS AND 35 MILLION IN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS.

AGREEMENT WILL BE SUBMITTED TO SENATE FOR RATIFICATION AS TREATY, BUT IT WILL NOT BE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY REQUIRING U.S. TO DEFEND SPAIN. U.S. OFFICIALS SAID.

SECRETARY SAID TREATY WAS AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS BRINGING SPAIN CLOSER TO ATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

SPAIN MUST IN OUR VIEW BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF WESTERN RELATIONSHIP, HE SAID.

THE DECISION TO HAVE A TREATY, WHICH REQUIRES SENATE RATIFICATION, WAS APPARENTLY MADE AT THE LAST MINUTE. WORD 'AGREEMENT' WAS CROSSED OUT OF DRAFT TEXT AND REPLACED BY THE WORD 'TREATY.'

U.S. OFFICIALS SAID THEY FELT SENATE WOULD APPROVE THE PACT.

TREATY ESTABLISHES A U.S.-SPANISH COUNCIL DESIGNED TO PROMOTE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S., SPAIN AND NATO.

ON ANOTHER MATTER, U.S. OFFICIAL SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD PROPOSED A LOWERING OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS CEILING ON WEDNESDAY IN HOPES OF SECURING A CUT IN THE RANGE OF THE U.S. CRUISE MISSILE.

UPI (DANILOFF): FROM MADRID: SECRETARY ARRIVED TODAY TO MEET JUAN CARLOS AND SIGN A TREATY UNDER WHICH U.S. WILL WITHDRAW POLARIS SUBMARINES FROM SPAIN IN TWO YEARS.

THE TREATY WILL ALSO PROVIDE SPAIN WITH 1.25 BILLION PROGRAM OF MILITARY CREDITS, GRANT AID, CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD.

DETAILS OF TREATY WERE DISCUSSED BY SENIOR OFFICIAL ABOARD SECRETARY'S PLANE. OFFICIAL SAID ACCORD WAS NOT A MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY, BUT AN AGREEMENT ON MILITARY, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COLLABORATION.

OFFICIAL SAID WITHDRAWAL OF SUBMARINES FROM ROTA NAVAL BASE, STARTING IN JANAURY, 1979, WOULD NOT AFFECT U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE BECAUSE THEIR VALUE WAS BEING SUPERSEDED BY MORE ADVANCED POSEIDON AND TRIDENT SUBMARINES. WITH-DRAWAL WILL BE COMPLETED BY JULY, 1979, HE SAID.

DECISION TO WITHDRAW SUBMARINES, OFFICIAL SAID, ALSO SUITS SPAIN'S DESIRE FOR U.S. TO REMOVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM SPANISH TERRITORY AND DEMONSTRATE AN EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.

SECRETARY WILL ALSO CONFER WITH JUAN CARLOS. SECRETARY WILL BE TRYING TO ASSESS WHAT KIND OF LEADER KING WILL BE, AND WHAT CHANGES HE MAY BRING TO SPANISH POLITICS.

THE SENIOR OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS THE U.S. IS CONVINCED THAT SPAIN MUST DEVELOP CLOSER TIES TO WESTERN EUROPE AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

THE U.S., HE SAID, WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO ASSIST PROCESS.

ONE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY WILL CREATE A U.S.-SPANISH COUNCIL TO PROMOTE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE U.S., SPAIN AND NATO ON MILITARY AND POLITICAL MATTERS.

THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SUBMITTED TO SENATE AS A TREATY AT THE REQUEST OF SPAIN AND WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION.

3. AP - NO SCHWEID FILED.

4. LATE NIGHTLEAD REUTER (NELSON) FILED: (ADD TO EARLIER NELSON PIECE): ADD SUMMARIZES TREATY FROVISIONS AND CARRIES FOLLOWING INTERPRETATION BY U.S. OFFICIALS: U.S. OFFICIALS STRESSED TREATY WOULD BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO IN PSYCHOLOGICAL RATHER THAN LEGAL SENSE.

SPAIN CANNOT HAVE ASSOCIATE OR OBSERVER STATUS IN THE ALLIANCE, THEY SAID.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN U.S. COMMITMENT TO NATO AND ITS NEW COMMITMENT TO SPAIN IS THAT AN ATTACK UPON ONE NATO MEMBER

IS REGARDED AS AN ATTACK UPON ALL, WHILE AN ATTACK UPON SPAIN WOULD REQUIRE NO U.S. RESPONSE.

THE OFFICIALS REJECTED ANY SUGGESTION THAT THE TREATY WOULD MEAN THAT AN ATTACK UPON THE WEST WOULD EVOKE A RESPONSE FROM 16 NATIONS RATHER THAN THE 15 IN NATO.

THEY ADDED THAT SPAIN PREFERRED TO USE THE TERM 'THE WEST' RATHER THAN THE PHRASE 'NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE."

TV/RADIO:

1. BERNIE KALB, CBS RADIO, WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP, FROM MADRID:

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER HAS ARRIVED IN MADRID TODAY PERPARING TO TAKE PEN IN HAND AND SIGN A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH POST-FRANCO SPAIN.

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/29 : LOC-HAK-233-7-17-7

THE GIST OF THE FIVE-YEAR PACKAGE IS THAT SPAIN WOULD GET MORE THAN A BILLION DOLLARS IN CREDITS AND THE U.S. WOULD GET TO KEEP ITS FOUR MILITARY BASES IN SPAIN.

BUT THERE WILL BE ONE MAJOR CHANGE: REPORTERS ABOARD THE KISSINGER PLANE WERE TOLD THAT THE AGREEMENT, AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, CALLS ON THE U.S. TO PHASE OUT THE USE OF ITS NAVY BASE AT ROTA FOR SUBMARINES CAPABLE OF FIRING NUCLEAR MISSILES. THE WITHDRAWAL OF TEN SUCH SUBMARINES WILL BEGIN IN JANUARY 1979 AND END BY THE MIDDLE OF THAT YEAR, ACCORDING TO U.S. OFFICIALS, WHO SAY THAT THAT WITHDRAWAL WILL NOT AFFECT THE U.S. MILITARY POSURE IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE ROTA BASE WOULD BE CONTINUED TO BE USED FOR NON-NUCLEAR PURPOSES, ALONG WITH THE OTHER THREE U.S. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS ON SPANISH SOIL.

THE SUM INVOLVED IN THE PACKAGE, ACCORDING TO U.S. OFFICIALS, IS 450 MILLION IN EXPORT-IMPORT BANK CREDITS, 600 MILLION IN MILITARY SALES CREDITS, AND MORE THAN 100 MILLION IN GRANTS.

THE TREATY, THE WHOLE PACKAGE, THAT IS, IS BEING SIGNED TODAY, AND IT WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. IT WILL BE THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY 20 YEARS OF MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL BE INCORPORATED IN TREATY FORM. IN THE PAST, THESE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN HANDLED AS EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS, OVER THE PROTESTS OF SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. SISCO