

[Redacted]

Bunker Channel

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State Dept. review completed

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July 3, 1971

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS
APPLY

TO: David Halperin for Henry A. Kissinger (Saigon)
FROM: B/Gen Alexander M. Haig

Attached is memorandum received late last night from Gerard Smith which he urgently requested be transmitted to you. I consulted with Sonnenfeldt and provided the following oral reply to Smith. Please give me any modifications which you might consider are required: ~~(I assume he will wish this guidance in writing.)~~

1. Concerning Smith's main point, I have told him that language in NSDM intended to provide vehicle for tabling all elements U.S. desires for SALT outcome in one document. Question of whether all these elements will finally be incorporated in single document or in two; or, indeed, what form totality of agreements produced by SALT takes remains to be determined at later date. I have also told Smith that if Semyonov raises question of whether we negotiating separate ABM agreement plus supplementary offensive agreement or one single agreement, he should say that initial purpose is to agree on all measures relating to ABM's and offensive weapons with final form in which measures are packaged left open for later determination. Issue should not get in way of substance.

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c03416708

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2. Regarding Smith's second point -- whether he has authority raise zero ABM privately with Semyonov -- I understand you had indicated to Smith you would raise this yourself with Dobrynin. If you have not done so, suggest I tell Smith that he is to approach Semyonov privately and tell him that U. S. proposals on ABM limitation are being tabled on the assumption that Soviets have rejected zero ABM. If Soviets express serious interest in zero ABM, Smith would seek further instructions.

Attachment

AMH:lds:7/3/71

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July 2, 1971

EYES ONLY MESSAGE FOR
DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER,
THE WHITE HOUSE (Please pass on to Dr. Kissinger)

Dear Henry:

Re NSDM-117--Instructions for SALT V.

The covering memo speaks of preparation and tabling of "a draft agreement." Further on, the following appears: "Agreements on offensive and defensive systems must be concluded simultaneously." The attached "Detailed Statement of US Position" seems clearly addressed to an integral offensive/defensive agreement.

What seems to be called for is opening with a draft integral offensive/defensive agreement and ending up with separate offensive and defensive agreements.

However, tabling such an integral offensive/defensive agreement at the outset seems absolutely inconsistent with the high level communication of May 20th, which refers to "the agreement limiting ABM systems," and you will recall the Soviet insistence on the modifier "separate." It is also totally at odds with what the President said publicly in his June 1st press conference.

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While we would try to make the best case for this abrupt switch from the American commitment of May 20th, such procedure will lead to a sharp Soviet reaction and I should think a legitimate Soviet concern as to the seriousness of the American commitment of May 20th. I find it hard to believe in the light of the record that we would not have to quickly recede from this position with attendant embarrassment and psychological set back right at the start.

There should be no difficulty in putting all the elements of the US negotiating position on the table in a single document, if this is desired, early in SALT V, provided this is not in a form pointing to a single integral offensive/defensive agreement.

I trust that an official recommendation from me to proceed on the basis of a separate ABM agreement and a parallel offensive freeze agreement will be approved.

I plan to handle this matter in the NAC briefing in such a way as not to rule out either position.

NSDM-117 makes no reference to sounding out Semenov privately on a zero ABM level and says any fallback from

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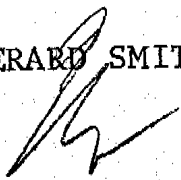
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two sites and 200 interceptors must be authorized by the President. I cannot take responsibility for raising zero ABM without some further directive from the President.

Regret having to insert SALT into your busy schedule.

Best regards,

GERARD SMITH



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