

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8 December 71

General Haig:

Smith requests guidance; NSC
before 4 January and a
Presidential appointment.

Send to Sonnenfeldt _____

File _____

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS
APPLY

Coleman

MORI C05138041

State Dept. review
completed

*This went to Sonnenfeldt
for action. (To be delivered
12/9 a.m.)*

wgd

No Objection to Declassification in Part 2012/12/20 : LOC-HAK-486-11-24-4

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~EYES ONLY~~

25X1

RECEIVED
WHCA

1971 DEC 8 18 28

*HICKS FOR HAR
H419*

DA587
OO [REDACTED]
DE [REDACTED] #1208 3421805
ZNY MMNSH
O 081755Z ZYH ZFF-1
FM VIENNA
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
ZEM

~~TOP SECRET~~ 081648Z DEC 71 [REDACTED]
FM AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH, SALT DELEGATION, VIENNA 012
TO THE WHITE HOUSE, EYES ONLY DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
DECEMBER 8, 1971
DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER,
THE WHITE HOUSE.

25X1

DE AR HENRY:

PERHAPS A ROUNDUP OF THE VIENNA SITUATION MAY BE
USEFUL. I THINK THAT WE HAVE NOW LARGELY FULFILLED NSDM-140.
SOVIETS HAVE MOVED CONSIDERABLY AND APPEAR TO WANT TO REACH
AGREEMENTS.

ON OFFENSIVES THEY HAVE CLEARED UP A NUMBER OF
UNCERTAINTIES. THEY ACCEPT OUR PROPOSED FORM OF AGREEMENT,
WILL TAKE COMMITMENT THAT MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT
WILL NOT PERMIT NEW DEPLOYMENTS, AND WILL AGREE NOT TO SUBSTITUTE
"HEAVY" FOR "LIGHT" ICBM'S. I THINK WE CAN GET GREATER PRECISION
HERE. THEY HINT THAT THEIR PROPOSED CUTOFF DATE IS NEGOTIABLE.

THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THEY HAVE NOT STARTED SIGNIFICANT
ICBM DEPLOYMENT SINCE MAY 20TH.

THEIR NEW ARTICLE I WOULD DECLARE AGAINST NATIONWIDE
ABM DEFENSE. THIS WOULD EVIDENCE ACCEPTANCE THEORY OF
MUTUAL DETERRENCE. USSR (PLUS US) ANNOUNCING TO THEIR
PEOPLE AND WORLD THAT THEY CANNOT DEFEND POPULATIONS AGAINST
NUCLEAR ATTACK WOULD HAVE SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

SOVIETS SAY THAT MOSCOW HAS ACCEPTED PROVISIONS
NEGOTIATED AD REFERENDUM ON EARLY WARNING RADARS AND
SAM UPGR. No Objection to Declassification in Part 2012/12/20 : LOC-HAK-486-11-24-4

THEY SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON OTHER DRAFTING PROBLEMS IN
ABM FIEL No Objection to Declassification in Part 2012/12/20 : LOC-HAK-486-11-24-4
APPARENTLY WANTING JOINT DRAFT TEXT BRACKETING ONE ARTICLE III
ON LEVELS AND RADARS, PENDING FINAL DECISION AT TOP LEVEL.
TODAY SEMENOV TOLD ME THAT WITHIN WEEK THEY WILL TABLE NEW ABM
PROPOSAL TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NCA AND ICBM DEFENSE WITHOUT
INCREASING ABM DEPLOYMENTS. I GUESS THIS WILL BE SOME FORM
OF "DEFERRED OPTIONS" THEY HINTED AT IN HELSINKI.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MINOR CLARIFICATION OF RIGHT TO
POST AGREEMENT SWITCH FROM NCA D ICBM DEFENSE AND VICE
VERSA, US HAS MADE NO MOVES.

WE CAN USEFULLY SPEND NEXT TWO WEEKS UNDER GENERAL
NSDM-140 GUIDANCE. IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL TO TELL THEM BEFORE
CHRISTMAS WE WILL GO FOR ABM TREATY.

BUT WE WILL SOON NEED FRESH GUIDANCE TO AVOID GIVING
IMPRESSION THAT OUR PURPOSE IS TO "STONEWALL" AND NOT NEGOTIATE.

IF THERE IS TO BE ANY FLEXIBILITY IN OUR ABM LEVEL POSITION,
I THINK IT IMPORTANT TO DISCLOSE AT LEAST SOME OF IT DURING THE
PERIOD JANUARY 4TH UNTIL THE END OF THE CURRENT SESSION (SOVIET
TARGET JANUARY 20TH). US MOVEMENT SHOULD PRODUCE FURTHER
SOVIET MOVE ON RADARS. KEY REMAING ISSUES (OTHER THAN
PERHAPS FINAL ABM MOVE) WOULD BE SL FREEZE INCLUSION AND
SPECIAL WITHDRAWAL RIGHT IN ABM TREATY TO LINK ITS LIFE EXPECTANCY
TO NEGOTIATION OF OFFENSIVE LIMITATION TREATY.

SO I TRUST NSC CAN ADDRESS SALT ISSUES BEFORE JANUARY 4TH
RENEWAL IN VIENNA AND THAT I CAN TALK TO PRESIDENT DURING MY
FORTNIGHT IN US.

WARM REGARDS.

GERRY SMITH

400
#1208

NNNN

~~TOP SECRET~~

EYES ONLY