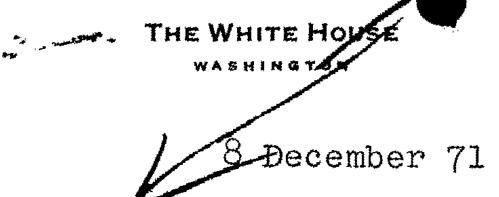
No Objection to Declassification in Part 2012/12/20 : LOC-HAK-486-11-24-4



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 west to Sornerfeldt for action. (In se delivered

12/9 a.m.)

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

25X1

RECEIVED WHCA

DA587

DE #1208 3421805

ZNY MMNSH

0 081755Z ZYH ZFF-1

FM VIENNA

TO THE WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

00

C R E T 081648Z DEC 71 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.

DE AR HENRY:

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

ON OFFENSIVES THEY HAVE CLEARED UP A NUMBER OF THEY ACCEPT OUR PROPOSED FORM OF AGREEMENT, UN CERTAINT IES. 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 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 THIS WOULD EVIDENCE ACCEPTANCE THEORY OF ABM DEFENSE. USSR (PLUS US) ANNOUNCING TO THEIR MUTUAL DETERRENCE. PEOPLE AND WORLD T HAT 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

1971 DEC 8

25X1

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 JOI DRAFT TEXT BRACKETING ON 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 T HE EXCEPTION OF MINOR CLAR IFICATION 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 WIL L 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

All Secret

EYES ONLY

NNNN