

TELCON

Mr. Kissinger/Ambassador Dobrynin

11:05 a.m. 5/26/73

HK: Anatol.

AD: Hello. Happy birthday to you.

HK: Tomorrow is my birthday.

AD: I know tomorrow, but tomorrow you will be in New York, I couldn't reach you, so I plan to sing it today. Happy Birthday to you.

HK: Thank you. Now Anatol do you mind not letting KGB guys running loose in the streets in Washington where I see them, at night.

AD: No. I am sure they all bear respect for you.

HK: Did they tell you? I saw five of them.

AD: When?

HK: Last night running around the streets.

AD: (laughing) And you were running around the streets too?

HK: If you must know, I just brought a girl home, when I run into five former body guards from General Antonov's (sp?) staff.

AD: I am sure he doesn't know about it.

HK: No, I stopped the car and got out and shook hands with all of them.

AD: Really?

HK: They were so nice to me when I was there, so I stopped and said hello.

AD: Where it was?

HK: It was near your Embassy.

AD: Ah the Embassy. They --I thought they were near your house!

HK: No, they weren't near my house

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AD: Yes, because they don't know it really--where you are.

HK: Now, Anatol, about San Clemente, about the stay of Brezhnev in San Clemente

AD: Yes.

HK: With great pleasure

AD: In San Clemente--you mean

HK: In the compound

AD: The Compound--it will be house or--

HK: Probably we will give him Julie's house.

AD: Julie's house---or two rooms within the house, ~~but~~

HK: Or two rooms within the house, but almost certainly Julie's house

AD: Okay.

HK: Julie's house is really just across the street from the President's

AD: But it is within the security area.

HK: Oh, it is within the perimeter; it's just 10 yards from the President's --not in the village. You know you go inside that fenced in area and the President's house is on one side of the street and Julie's is right across

AD: So it is within the walls?

HK: Oh yeh. And he'll have three rooms there.

AD: Okay, thank you very much.

HK: You know, it's not luxurious, it's like one of these houses--

AD: Yes, I understand--thank you very much, Henry, it is a good one.

HK: Good. Frankly, I think it is better than being inside the house because he will have some privacy.

AD: I understand, yes. I think it is better too. Thank you very much. This will settle the problem.

HK: But it's closer to the President's house and--

AD: Than the other building.

HK: Well certainly than any other building, but if you take the Zavidovo --it is closer to the President's house than that Politburo building is to the residence.

AD: Henry, thank you very much. No problem. It's all right. What about -how many houses could you give--

HK: We could give you six in Camp David

AD: Six?

HK: Yes.

AD: Okay fine. And the President is planning to stay there

HK: Yes.

AD: Okay. Thank you very much. By the way in this big hall, they told me--I was under the impression when I was there with you that this big conference room hall--does this have a \_\_\_\_\_ bit it doesn't have really.

HK: No, it doesn't have any--

AD: Just a conference room for movies and so on yeh?

HK: Yeh.

AD: Okay. I was under the impression that there is something there but

HK: No, but I'm sure there is some quarters we can put the security people.

AD: I understand. Thank you very much.

HK: Now let me tell you where we stand on Article IV. Let me read what we are willing to have: Working out more complete measure--

AD: ....more complete

HK: Why don't I send it over to you?

AD: Right now?

HK: We are accepting what you proposed yesterday with one qualification?

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AD: Yes, what was it.

HK: The dismantlement of SS-9 says to be listed as the high priority objective . .

AD: (laughs)

HK: What we want to say is after the destruction of SS-9, all other measures will be taken.

AD: Taken care of. I think it is a very nice proposal.

HK: And I thought that Smirnov wouldn't \_\_\_\_\_

AD: Although he has a strong heart, but still he's a very good man.

HK: The only think I am proposing is this:  
In working out more complete measures on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, the two sides agree to take account of all types of such arms, and then we would say, and to establish equitable limitations on inter-continental ballistic missile launchers, submarine launchers, and \_\_\_\_\_. They agree that neither side will circumvent a permanent agreement through systems not limited.

AD: They agree? Oh yes, I see, but you are leaving this principle of the \_\_\_\_\_ advantage--you are missing?

HK: Yes.  
That's what I thought you had proposed yesterday.

AD: No, I said after the such arms, I will put in here your phrase about the \_\_\_\_\_ text and then could you state the following phrase. Plus your last phrase.

HK: Oh that I didn't understand.

AD: My idea was to take ours and after such arms and use your proposal about this equitable limitation of this one--

HK: All right and then what would you say?

AD: Just a continuation of the phrase. Of such arms including---

HK: Well then and--I don't want to say including--I want to say and to establish

AD: I notice it but

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HK: But it is better than

AD: Maybe, let me put it this way--just thinking aloud -- who discuss --all types of such, etc., etc., and then we'll add your phrase, so to speak.

HK: You see we don't like the phrase the principle of equal security

AD: Well, neither do I, why don't you like it--it was just taken from the text.

HK: Well, I like what was in the principles better.

AD: Principles, but we like what is in the I should say the \_\_\_\_\_ of your communique.

HK: Is the communique more important than a statement of principle?

AD: Communique was the first specific \_\_\_\_\_; it is not a question of who is important, this is more important but that specifies our joint attitude to the agreement on the limitations, but the principles are trying to cover many aspects of the last --

HK: Do you know today is the anniversary of our agreeing to the SALT Agreement?

AD: Yes, I know. You are an exception because usually Americans do not remember for a long time in their foreign policy, but you do.

HK: Now Anatol

AD: (laughing)

HK: Now where are we?

AD: So what we are going to do with Article 4 because this what you say really you just add something much more difficult to accept

HK: Hold on a second, let me get your thing

AD: Why not put it this way, take our text. You have it--in working out, and so on. After such arms, yes,

HK: Yeh

AD: to put in brackets "including the establishment which you propose"

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HK: No, no, it is the phrase "including" that I don't like

AD: But why?

HK: Because that makes it look as if, then they'll ask what other arms are you talking about.

AD: Such arms--some other--all ! there are many other things as you know. Because as you try to --you'll think only three nothing else. This is what they are discussing for ~~52~~ two months now.

HK: So what do you want, you want only--you don't want me to have my ideas in there.

AD: No on the contrary, . . . . arms including the establishment with equitable limitations. Your phrase, so it will be your phrase. You can put in brackets "including the establishment of equitable limitations, then it will be clear. Up to now you didn't want to have any specific cases specifically, here I think we can be very specific. It would be a little more balanced, half of ours, half of yours.

HK: Well will you read me what you are proposing?  
Because you are breaking my heart right now.

AD: On the contrary I try to yield to you because--

HK: Yeh, but if you keep me on the phone much longer, I won't be able to get up there.

AD: Okay, so, in working out a more complete method on the limitation of the \_\_\_\_\_ arms, accounts will be taken of all such arms, and then in brackets in you like, including the establishment of equitable limitations of international ballistic missiles, submarine launchers, ballistic missiles and then comma and then I would like to have our text include the last phrase from your text of point 8--I think we could do it this way--I'm not sure about it, but we could try it.

HK: Okay.

AD: Okay?

HK: No, no, I'm not agreeing to it, I'm just understanding it. Let me consider it, I may call you back, if not we'll have to leave it till Monday

AD: But I have to wait -- you don't know whether you will call.

HK: Wait for 10 or 15 minutes.

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AD: Okay, Henry, the last proposal yesterday, if you don't want about third state, could we do it in this way just so ease your British treaty or agreement you have with them of saying that the \_\_\_\_\_ are circumvented through, new treaties with their --

HK: Through new treaties?

AD: Yeh

HK: That we could consider.

AD: Okay, that is a consideration then. I'll tell Brezhnev about Point 4

HK: Good

AD: Okay, thank you very much.