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TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

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IMMEDIATE

FROM: AMBASSADOR GERARD C. SMITH, CHAIRMAN, US SALT DELEGATION,
HELSINKI, FINLAND

8/7/71
#0170

TO: DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER

DEAR HENRY:

HERE ARE SOME POINTS WHICH STRIKE ME AS IN FAVOR OF AN ABM BAN PROPOSAL. I HOPE THE PRESIDENT WILL ACCEPT MY RECOMMENDATIONS IN USDEL SALT 875.

IT WOULD BE MILITARILY ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE U.S. TO HAVE A MUTUAL ABM BAN AS COMPARED WITH NCA OR ONE SAFEGUARD/NCA, OR TWO SAFEGUARD/NCA (ALREADY AUTHORIZED), OR EVEN THREE SAFEGUARD/NCA. THE ADDITIONAL SOVIET VULNERABILITY TO POSEIDON (OR RESIDUAL MINUTEMEN) ATTACK RESULTING FROM THE ELIMINATION OF SOVIET ABMS, THE REDUCED RISK OF SAM UPGRADE, AND THE EASIER CALCULABILITY OF ASSURED DESTRUCTION GREATLY OUTWEIGHS THE SMALL INCREASE IN MINUTEMEN SURVIVING AN ATTACK (EVEN ASSUMING THREE SAFEGUARD SITES).

IF WE SEEK MORE FROM THE SOVIETS IN THE CASE OF A BAN THAN IN A LIMITATION, THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO BEAR ONUS OF A FAILURE TO GET A BAN. IN THIS FISHBOWL WORLD, THE PROCESS BY WHICH A BAN ESCAPED US WILL BECOME PUBLIC.

ONE PROPOSAL IS FOR A TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT ALLOWING GRAND FORKS AND MOSCOW. FOR US TO INITIATE THIS PROPOSAL MAKES ALMOST CERTAIN THAT ANY SUBSEQUENT LIMITATION ARRANGEMENT (AS OPPOSED TO BAN) WILL BE ON A ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS. IN THE

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U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
Declass/Release () in whole () in part
by F. Smith Date 8/10/98

LAST ANALYSIS, WE MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FOR SUCH AN OUTCOME; BUT IF WE PROPOSE IT IN CONNECTION WITH ZERO, I THINK WE LOSE WHATEVER BARGAINING POWER WE HAVE ON SAM UPGRADE, OTHER LARGE PHASED-ARRAY RADARS, ETC. I THINK THAT SUCH LEVERAGE LOSS WOULD NOT BE ENTAILED IF WE PROPOSE A FLAT ABM BAN.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE STRATEGIC MILITARY, NEGOTIATING AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, APPROVAL IS URGED FOR DELEGATION TO PROCEED ALONG LINES OF PARAGRAPHS 1 - 6 OF USDEL SALT 875.

WARM REGARDS.


GERARD C. SMITH

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AMB. GERARD C. SMITH:pep
8-7-71