

UNCLASSIFIED

8/7/11
#0171

I O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 071115Z [REDACTED]
FM AMB. SMITH SALT HELSINKI 0171
TO THE WHITE HOUSE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER

DEAR HENRY:

I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR PASSING THE FOLLOWING TO
THE PRESIDENT.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

BEFORE YOU MAKE A DECISION ON THE "ESOTERIC" PROBLEM,
I.E.: WHETHER AN AGREEMENT SHOULD COVER ALL ABM SYSTEMS OR
ONLY THOSE USING RADARS AND MISSILES, I HOPE YOU WILL CONSIDER
MY PERSONAL VIEWS.

THIS IS A MORE IMPORTANT ISSUE THAN LEVELS AND RADAR
RESTRICTIONS. IT POSES THE BASIC QUESTION: DO WE SEEK AN ABM
CONSTRAINT TO PROVIDE GREATER STABILITY BY ASSURING MAINTENANCE
OF RETALIATORY CAPABILITY, HALTING A BUILDUP OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS
THAT COULD THREATEN THAT CAPABILITY AND LESSENING PRESSURES FOR
UNNECESSARY BUILDUP OF OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS -- OR JUST A TEMPORARY
TRUCE IN ABMS -- UNTIL SUCH TIME AS MORE EFFECTIVE FUTURISTIC
ABMS ARE DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED?

THE LATTER APPROACH RUNS COUNTER TO US STRATEGIC POLICY
AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE DESTABLIZING EFFECTS OF NATIONWIDE
ABM DEFENSES. IT COULD WELL LEAD TO A RACE FOR FUTURISTIC SYSTEMS
AND MERELY PUT OFF THE DANGER WE ARE TRYING TO PRECLUDE IN SALT.

THE LATTER APPROACH WOULD ALSO UNDERCUT OUR RATIONALE
FOR EFFECTIVE RESTRAINTS ON RADARS. ONE PROPOSAL UNDER CONSIDERATION
IN WASHINGTON WOULD PERMIT LASERS TO BE USED TO PERFORM THE FUNCTION
OF RADARS BUT NOT THE FUNCTION OF MISSILES. THAT WOULD PERMIT THE
SOVIETS TO DEPLOY A NATIONWIDE SENSOR INFRASTRUCTURE WHILE WE INSIST
ON TIGHT CONTROLS ON RADARS.

WE ARE STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF BLOCKING SOVIET USE OF
ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES AS ABMS. BUT A FAILURE TO LIMIT FUTURE ABM
SYSTEMS WILL PERMIT THEIR NATIONWIDE DEPLOYMENT EVEN THOUGH LABELED
AS ABMS. THAT WOULD MAKE OUR SAM UPGRADE CONTROL EFFORT SEEM
FOOLISH AND ILLOGICAL.

IF FUTURE ABM SYSTEMS ARE NOT TO BE LIMITED, THE BURDEN
SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO REST ON THE USSR.

I BELIEVE THE PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL EXPECTATION IS THAT
WE SEEK TO LIMIT ALL ABM SYSTEMS, NOT JUST EXISTING TYPE OF HARDWARE.
CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS DURING TWO YEARS OF SALT HAVE NOT SUGGESTED
OTHERWISE.

RESPECTFULLY,
GERARD SMITH

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

DEC 13 1988